

KARKAMIŠ IN THE FIRST MILLENNIUM B.C.:
SCULPTURE AND PROPAGANDA

A Master's Thesis

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May 2004

To my parents

KARKAMIŐ IN THE FIRST MILLENNIUM B.C.:
SCULPTURE AND PROPAGANDA

The Institute of Economics and Social Sciences
of
Bilkent University

by

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I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in the Department of Archaeology and History of Art.

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ABSTRACT

KARKAMIŠ IN THE FIRST MILLENNIUM B.C.:

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M.A., Department of Archaeology and History of Art

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May 2004

This thesis examines how the monumental art of Karkamiš, which consists of architectural reliefs and free-standing colossal statues, was used by its rulers for their propaganda advantages. The basic geo-politic and ethnic factors related to Karkamiš and other “Syro-Hittite” city-states of the Iron Age are investigated in order to obtain insights about the meanings assigned to the monumental sculpture of Karkamiš.

Architectural remains of the city and their sculptural decoration are studied and reviewed to provide a basis for subsequent discussions and statements. Monumental portal-lions, inscribed door-jambes and other reliefs placed on principal gate-ways, bearers of symbolic and functional meaning, demonstrate the essential role of these monumental gates for the city and its rulers to announce their ideologies. A close analysis of local monumental inscriptions provides us the link between the content of texts inscribed on large stone blocks and the themes represented on orthostat reliefs. Royal titles inscribed on monuments as well as a

group of reliefs and statues associated with ancestral cult were used deliberately by the dynasties and rulers of the 1st millennium B.C. Karkamiš to show their own and their state's connection to the past heritage, a key element in the search of identity.

This case study on the Iron Age city of Karkamiš reveals the importance of socio-political factors in forming the basic characteristics of monumental art and in creating its special meanings and functions.

Keywords: Karkamiš, Syro-Hittite, Neo-Hittite, city states, architecture, art, sculpture, orthostat reliefs, propaganda.

ÖZET

M.Ö. BİRİNCİ BİNYILDA KARKAMIŞ: HEYKELVE PROPAGANDA

Günaydın, Kadriye

Master, Arkeoloji ve Sanat Tarihi Bölümü

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Bu tez, Karkamiş'in mimari taş kabartmacılığı ve anıtsal heykellerden oluşan sanatının şehrin yöneticileri tarafından propaganda amacıyla nasıl kullanıldığını irdelemektedir. Karkamiş ve diğer "Suriye-Hitit" şehir devletlerinin Demir Çağ'daki jeopolitik konumu ve etnik yapısı, Karkamiş'in anıtsal sanatına yüklenen özel anlamı ortaya çıkartması açısından büyük önem taşır.

Şehrin gerek mimari kalıntılarının, gerekse kabartma ve heykel dekorasyonuna ait buluntularının gözden geçirilmesi ve tanımı düşünce ve yorumlarımız için temel oluşturmaktadır. Özel sembolik ve fonksiyonel anlamlar taşıyan anıtsal kapı aslanları, yazıtla kaplı kapı pervazları ve kapı girişlerine yerleştirilen diğer taş kabartmalar bize bu anıtsal kapıların kentin kendisi ve ideolojilerini yansıtmaları açısından onun yöneticileri için önemini göstermektedir. Karkamiş'in anıtsal yazıtlarının incelenmesi bize metinlerin içeriği ve büyük taş bloklar üzerindeki kabartmaların temaları arasındaki uyumu ve bağlantıyı göstermektedir. Anıtlar üzerine kaydedilen kraliyet ünvanları ve atalara tapma

töreniyle ilişkilendirilen bir grup rölyef ve heykel, bir kimlik arayışı içinde olan devletlerini ve kendilerini tarihi bir miras ile ilişkilendirmek isteyen hanedan ve krallarca kullanmıştır.

Demir Çağ'daki Karkamiş şehri üzerine olan bu çalışmamız bize sosyo-politik faktörlerin anıtsal sanatın temel karakterlerini nasıl oluşturduğunu ve ona nasıl özel bir anlam ve işlev yüklediğini göstermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kargamiş, Suriye Hitit, Geç Hitit, şehir devletleri, mimari, sanat, heykel, taş rölyef , kabartma, propaganda.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

“All art is to some extent propaganda.”

George Orwell¹

Throughout ancient history visual art was the most important means of propaganda. In ancient societies, and particularly in well-known empires, kingdoms and city-states, figurative art was favored in order to promote political, religious and social ideologies of the rulers. At that time, visual propaganda is most commonly revealed in paintings and sculptural reliefs adorning the interiors and exteriors of both secular and sacred monuments.

A number of studies (Reade 1972; Reade 1979; Liverani 1979; Winter 1981; Winter 1983b; Winter 1997; Parpola 1995; Porter 2000; Gerlach 2000) focusing particularly on the propagandist purpose and function of Neo-Assyrian art and architecture have led me to question whether the monumental art of the “Syro-Hittite” city of Karkamiš² could have carried such an intention. Other publications, (Larsen

¹ Quoted in, Evans 1992: 7.

² In previous publications which refer to Karkamiš, we find that the name of the city is transcribed in a number of different ways: Carchemish, Karkamiš, Kargamiš, Karkamish, Karkamiş and Karkamish. In my study I prefer to use the form Karkamiš as Hawkins (2000) does.

1979; Evans 1992; Nylander 1979; Asena 2002) which deal with visual art of various ancient cultures and claim that art has been an important media for transmitting certain messages, ideologies and beliefs, have further encouraged me to believe that the sculptural art of Karkamiš must have had such a role as well. Also studies on modern understanding of communication, propaganda and persuasion (Ellul 1973; Hawthorn 1987; Taylor 1996; Clark 1997; Sproule 1997; Severin and Tankard 1997; Jowett and O'Donnell 1999) allowed me to create my own ideas concerning how the art of Karkamiš will serve the propagandist goals of the state and its rulers.

In this thesis, out of a number of “Syro-Hittite” states I focus on Karkamiš. It was the central and the most vital of these states. Also, comparing to the other sites we have much more local textual and sculptural evidence as well as more complete scholarship (mostly written in English) about Karkamiš. Regarding other Syro-Hittite centers, most of the studies are excavation reports of the sites, which present the material without any deep analyses. Thus, Karkamiš is considered as a good representative of these Syro-Hittite states. For, the nature of literature and the function of sculptures and inscriptions seem not to differ much although the language and script of inscriptions show variations (depending on the ethnic dominators of the states).

Thus, this study will examine how art, particularly the representational art of Karkamiš, together with local inscribed texts, provide us evidence for the propagandist aims of the rulers of the state. Since the study attempts to detect some socio-political aspects from art and written sources, both the available information for the history of Karkamiš and its archaeological remains of sculpture will be examined.

Before introducing the content of chapters it seems important and necessary to define the term “propaganda” as used in this thesis, and to question why monumental art was significant as propaganda in ancient societies.

As Porter (2000: 145) states “the word propaganda has acquired a wide range of meaning in modern usage”. In the Near Eastern discussion, “it has been used in the more restricted and projective sense of the word” describing a deliberate, systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognition, direct behavior and modify the attitudes of an audience (Porter 2000: 145; Jowett - O’Donnell 1999: 6). On the other hand, modern understanding of propaganda allows us to see more clearly and to understand better the propagandist functions of the sculptural works. One imagines that the ancient people received propaganda in many ways, just as modern people do.

Clearly, the ancient rulers were also aware of the great effectiveness of representational art for the purpose of making the populace accept their interests and beliefs. Therefore, they chose to adorn the strategic places of their cities, city-gates, palaces and tombs with figurative scenes that carried their propagandist and protective messages. Similarly, the rulers of the 1st millennium city-state of Karkamiš used art on monumental scale to reiterate their power, glorify their victories or to intimidate and defame their enemies.

The monumental sculptural decoration was favored enormously in Karkamiš as it was in the other major cities of the Syro-Hittite states in the Iron Age. Obviously it was not merely employed for their decorative function. Instead orthostats that bear reliefs with various intentionally chosen themes and free-standing statues of deities and

rulers seem to be an important media for communication and for making propaganda for their rulers and for their states.

In a political unity rulers must communicate in some way with the populace under their rule. Those at the top of the administrative unit use several channels for communication to promote their own messages and objectives. The message, that is the representation of propaganda, can take a number of forms, such as significant symbols, pictures or other spoken, written or pictorial forms of social communication.

Through the ages, art has become one of the major channels used by political entities for communication and propaganda. When the art is “state art” and when the patron is the ruler of that state, then art and particularly monumental art inevitably included to some extent the element of propaganda and persuasion.

In state art, the propagandist is usually the ruler. So, it is quite understandable that the sculptural representations were the field for the king of the state to send his message to the public. Through the subject matter of figurative representations that were occasionally accompanied by inscriptions, the patrons intended to manipulate people’s beliefs, attitudes, or actions. Specific symbols and/or pictures were employed to control the public opinion in general. The purpose of the propagandist, in this case of the ruler, is to promote his or her own objectives and interests.

In antiquity, especially in the 2nd millennium B.C. and in the 1st millennium B.C. architectural and sculptural works were symbols intentionally created to evoke a specific image of superiority and power that the early propagandists wished to convey to their audience.

“Propaganda, to be effective, must be seen, remembered, understood, and acted upon” (Qalter 1962: xii, quoted in Jowett-O’Donnell 1999: 5). So the acts of seeing and understanding are among the basic factors of propaganda. Therefore, through figurative representations, which are open to visual perception and often are easily understandable by a large audience, the propagandists were able to achieve their goals more directly and effectively.

Visual propaganda was also one way to overcome illiteracy to reach a maximum audience. Obviously in antiquity, literacy was very limited. On the other hand, the target group of propaganda was usually the general public, who were mostly illiterate. So, conveying messages through visual representations was the most natural way in those days.

The durability of the media has a special importance as well, because the media also served for the transmission of the social heritage from one generation to the next. Definitely in the ancient times, stone was the most favored medium for the symbolic art. The artworks together with the given messages were passed to the next generations. This allowed the message a long-term effect and durability. So, the use of stone sculpture as a media for making propaganda is quite understandable.

Depending on these evaluations, I mean to suggest that the visual and verbal imagery of the reliefs of Karkamiš was designed less to inform than to persuade, and that the reliefs appear to have been designed at least in part to influence the political attitudes and behavior of different audiences. The discussion of propaganda in Karkamiš focuses primarily on the images and texts that were presented to audience in the gates, palaces(?) as part of other monumental buildings.

How I will achieve and emphasize the propagandist features on the sculptural works of Karkamiš will be given in the following. The second chapter gives a brief account of the history of archaeological research carried out at the site of Karkamiš, as well as the history of what has been studied so far about its remains, especially those of sculpture. It shows us how looking at art with a new, socio-political perspective is also necessary.

Based on documentary sources and archaeological studies, the third chapter gives the history and geography of the 1st millennium B.C. “Syro-Hittite” states, concentrating on that of Karkamiš.

The fourth chapter covers the city of Karkamiš, its possible major administrative and religious buildings and its architectural remains. It reviews the archaeological records related with the sculptural work of the site. Physical aspects of specific architectural features where the orthostats and statues were placed, as well as subject matter and dating of the sculptures will be examined. The chapter deals with each excavated architectural unit separately. The main sources that I will rely on in this chapter are the actual excavation reports (Hogarth 1914; Woolley 1921; Woolley, 1952), their basic review (Güterbock 1954), and a later work by Özyar (1991), which reevaluates the architectural relief sculpture of Karkamiš in accordance with new observations. The content of this chapter will serve as background information and provide us with basic supportive elements for my arguments.

Problems and related suggestions concerning the sculptural programs and dating of sculptures will also be considered. For which sculptural program belongs to which particular ruler is a crucial point for our discussions and statements. Summarizing the

basic characteristics of these architectural features and their sculptural program will contribute to the understanding of the architectural layout and decoration of the basic monuments at the citadel of Karkamiš.

The excavated area of the inner town, shown in Fig. 5 (Woolley - Barnett 1952: Pl. 41), will constitute the main basis of this chapter. The excavation of the site could not be completed; a big portion of the area including the citadel remains unknown. This will restrict our perspective and arguments. Nevertheless, an attempt to write in accordance with the available archaeological investigations and finds will give an idea about some issues concerning the socio-political circumstances of the state.

Most of the names of the uncovered building structures were nicknames given by the excavators themselves. Afterwards these names have continued to be used by the following scholars, and I shall do so in my study as well.

The following chapter five attempts to understand how the texts of the inscriptions correspond with representations of particular themes on orthostats, and the importance of royal and divine figures carved in the round. In most cases each theme will be firstly examined in the available textual sources and then in the sculptural depictions. My textual evidence will be the translations published by Hawkins (2000), where he also takes into account and reevaluates previous transliterations and translations of other scholars (Meriggi 1934a, 1934b, 1954, 1975; Laroche 1960a).

The sixth chapter focuses on the gate-structures of Karkamiš. It attempts to examine how portal lions, inscribed door-jambes and other reliefs on the gateways carried a particular symbolic and functional meaning.

The seventh chapter discusses how some particular items, such as the royal titles appearing on local written documents and the funerary monuments were used by the rulers to proclaim a socio-political identity for their states.

The final chapter summarizes my arguments concerning how free-standing sculpture as well as architectural reliefs with their intentionally chosen subject matters, mostly accompanied by textual evidence, contribute to the rulers of Karkamiš in their aims of transmitting their messages, ideologies and propaganda to the target audience. The historical and socio-political circumstances of Karkamiš, including the plan of the city within the “Syro-Hittite” culture in the Iron Age, will be correlated with the architectural and monumental sculptural remains of the site.

It is beyond the aim of this thesis to single out in detail the different iconographical and iconological aspects of sculpture of Karkamiš, its origin in the local Syrian and Anatolian past, or its possible stimulation from other contemporary cultures’ art. Since this study is a case study on one site, using the available local textual and sculptural evidence as the main supportive media, comparative material from other neighbor states and cultures will be included sparingly. For the modest aim of the study is to understand how the rulers of Karkamiš used sculpture as an efficient media for proclaiming their power, ideology and objectives.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY OF SCHOLARSHIP

Archaeological excavations at Karkamiš (modern Jerablus)³ were conducted on behalf of the British Museum in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Because of political circumstances, the excavations were done in three consecutive periods. The site was first excavated by P. Henderson from 1878 to 1881 (Hogarth 1914: 910). The second excavation program was directed by D. G. Hogarth and later T. E. Lawrence in 1911-1914 (Hogarth 1914: 12). Lastly the third one, carried out in 1920, was headed by C.L. Woolley (Hawkins 1976-80: 434-435). However, the excavations were not continued since Karkamiš is located on the frontier line between modern Turkey and Syria.

The principal publication of the site is entitled *Carchemish*, which consists of three volumes. Earlier excavations are described in *Carchemish*, Part I (“Introductory”), published by Hogarth in 1914, and then in *Carchemish*, Part II (“The Town Defences”), published by Woolley in 1921. The last, Part III, published in 1952, presents orthostat reliefs in the section “The Excavations in the Inner Town” by C. L. Woolley, and inscriptions in the section “The Hittite Inscriptions” by R. D. Barnett. In the original

³ While the inner town and the citadel are situated in Turkey, most of the outer town is in modern village of Jerablus, now in Syria (Hawkins 1976-80: 434-435).

publications the excavated inscriptions were defined as A- series and reliefs as B- series.

In my study I will also follow these original series numbers, as is the case in many other studies.

Since adequate evidence for dating of the orthostats is limited, the matter of chronology is one of the main issues which has been discussed about the Karkamiš finds. In *Carchemish*, Part III, Woolley (1952) not only presented the full range of material but also assigned the excavated buildings and monuments to various reigns and dates. For the epigraphic evidence of the Hieroglyphic Hittite/Luwian inscriptions, he relied on the study by R.D. Barnett (1952). Here Barnett constructed a chronological framework for Karkamiš based on the names and genealogies appearing in the inscriptions. However, several of his readings required subsequent correction. Detailed epigraphic criticism was presented particularly by Güterbock (1954: 102-14) and Meriggi (1954: 1-16) in their reviews of Barnett's volume.

Studies following *Carchemish* III, i.e. by Bossert (1951), Güterbock (1954), Meriggi (1952; 1953; 1954: 1-16) and Laroche (1955: 17-22) have in general confirmed Woolley's and Barnett's datings (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 263-66), even though they corrected and modified them in detail (Hawkins 1976-80: 439). On the other hand, Akurgal (1962; 1966: 104-110) and Ussishkin (1967a: 91-92)⁴ offered different chronological conclusions. Orthmann (1971), Mallowan (1972: 63-85), Hawkins (1972; 1972-75: 152-159; 1974) and Genge (1979) are among other scholars who further

⁴ In his study, Ussishkin (1967a: 91-92) proposed to add two more kings to the list of the Neo-Hittite kings in Karkamiš.

contribute to the argument⁵. Although a few controversial issues remain, they have agreed more or less with Woolley's view of chronology (Hawkins 1976-80: 439).

It also has been suggested that the stylistic differentiation will solve the problem related with the dating of the orthostat reliefs. The pioneers of such studies are Akurgal (1961; 1962; 1976) and Orthmann (1971: 29-44). They divided "Syro-Hittite" art into a number of stylistic groups which equate to a particular period of time. Genge (1979: 59-90) also examines the sculpture in stylistic terms in order to reach a more accurate chronology (Özyar 1991: 7). Orthmann's and Genge's studies and chronologies seem to be close, but independent from each other (Hawkins 1976-80: 439-441). Out of them Orthmann's chronological division is the most accepted and commonly referred one. Several scholars such as Hawkins (1972; 1974; 1976-80), Özyar (1991) and Darga (1992) use, comment or refer to Orthmann's chronology in their works.

Özyar (1991) in her Ph.D. thesis focused particularly on technical aspects, architectural context and the iconography of architectural relief sculptures at Karkamiš and Malatya, sites with Hittite/Luwian character, and Tell-Halaf, a site with Hurrian and later Aramaean character. She reevaluated the internal chronology of the reliefs, to follow the sculptural program, and to examine the possibility of changes in programs in different periods and in general to understand the cultural aspects of the iconography on the reliefs.

Also, some studies questioned the origin of the orthostat relief tradition in the "Syro-Hittite" states (Frankfort 1955: 166; Akurgal 1966: 62; Mallowan 1972: 64-66; Hawkins 1972: 106; Winter 1975a: 177; Bittel 1976: 238, 279; Winter 1982: 346;

⁵ A comprehensive bibliography about dating problems is given by Hawkins 1976-80: 438-439.

Özyar 1991: 5-7; Özyar 1998: 633). They asked whether the practice of using monumental reliefs was a continuation from the 2nd millennium B.C., or was an innovation, or was inspired by the Neo-Assyrian art. Frankfort (1955: 166) and Mallowan (1972: 64-66) believed that the common practice of orthostat carvings in Syro-Hittite states is a Neo-Assyrian influence rather than a continuation from the Hittite Empire, and that the earlier Karkamiš orthostats were inspired by Assurnasirpal II's palace at Nimrud (Özyar 1991: 5-6). The direction of influence of some themes (for instance, chariot reorientations) at least was most probably from Assyria to the west (Winter 1975a: 177).

On the other hand, some scholars have suggested that the art of the 1st millennium states of North Syria was a continuation of Hittite culture, rather than an Assyrian inspiration (Özyar 1991: 6-8; Akurgal 1966: 62⁶; Bittel 1976: 238, 279⁷; Hawkins 1972: 106⁸; Winter 1982: 364⁹). A very recent study (Melchert 2003a), which is based on a remarkable research about the Hittite/Luwian epigraphic and cultural remains, also supports the idea of continuity from the Hittite/Luwian culture, instead of innovation or adaptation from the Assyrian traditions. In this last publication a number of specialists (Melchert 2003b; Melchert 2003c; Melchert 2003d; Bryce 2003; Hawkins

⁶ Akurgal (1966: 62) believed in Hittite continuity and that is why he chose to use the term "Late Hittite" for the 1st millennium North Syrian states (Özyar 1991: 6, n. 1).

⁷ Judging from the use of Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions, Bittel (1976: 238, 279) also suggested the continuity of Hittite culture, however, with themes in a distinct stylistic manner, not related to earlier works of art (Özyar 1991: 6, nn. 2-3).

⁸ Hawkins (1972: 106) implied that Late Hittite art was independent of Assyrian art (Özyar 1991: 7, n. 3).

⁹ Winter (1982: 364) also disagreed with Mallowan's argument that the Neo-Assyrian art was the model for that of Karkamiš (Özyar 1991: 8, n. 2).

2003; Hutter 2003; Aro 2003) have seen various Luwian aspects within the Hittite culture by re-evaluating the “Hittite” cultural elements.

The inscriptions found in Karkamiš are another set of material that has interested a number of scholars. Publications about the decipherment of the Hittite/Luwian hieroglyphic script in general began in the 1930s. The earliest studies are by Meriggi (1933, 1934a, 1934b), Gelb (1931, 1935, 1942), Forrer (1932), Bossert (1932) and Hrozny (1933, 1934, 1937). The following publications in the 1960s by Laroche (1960a) and Meriggi (1962) have remained basic to the study of the Luwian hieroglyphs up to the present.

Contributions to the field of local inscriptions at Karkamiš are mainly published by Meriggi (1967; 1975) and Hawkins (1972; 1975; 2000). Meriggi’s work presented all Hittite/Luwian hieroglyphic texts in copy, transliteration and translation with commentary. For over 25 years it was considered as a main reference work. Hawkins (1972) also presents transliterations, translations and discussions of inscriptions relating to the Long Wall of Sculpture and the Great Staircase in order to illuminate the history of construction of these monuments.

Furthermore, Hawkins’ recent publication (2000) about the Hittite/Luwian inscriptions is an essential source. Here he presents Luwian Hieroglyphic inscriptions found throughout Central and Southeastern Anatolia and North Syria in the Iron Age, with descriptions, transliterations, translations and commentary as well as their photographs and drawings. This study will be my major source for socio-historical information about the state of Karkamiš.

The history and geography of the “Syro-Hittite” states, including Karkamiš have been presented by D. Hawkins (1982; 1995a, 1995b). Hawkins has also published a substantial summary of all aspects of Karkamiš including the topography, textual references, the history of excavation and scholarship, as well as other historical information about the site (Hawkins 1976-80; Hawkins 2000: 73-79). Another essential study concerning the geographical, historical and possible economic situations in North Syrian states in the 1st millennium B.C. is the Ph.D. dissertation of Winter (1975a). The potential economic power and role of the state of Karkamiš, is separately discussed later (Winter 1983). In both studies she suggests that Karkamiš was a significant economic center of art production and of craftsmen, thus being a cultural centre of the North Syrian and Southeast Anatolian states during the 10th - 9th century BC.

Recently a few studies have concentrated on the functional and symbolic meaning of the free-standing sculptural figures found frequently in the “Syro-Hittite” sites (Ussishkin 1970 and 1975; Hawkins 1980 and 1989; Bonatz 2000a and 2000b). It is a common assumption in these works that the colossal statues of the “Syro-Hittites” are related with the funerary cult and the worshipping of the dead.

Consequently the so-called “Syro-Hittites”, who geographically and in some extent historically take a position between the Hittite lands and the Neo-Assyrian Empires, have constantly attracted the interest of scholars for a long time. Most of the studies concerning Karkamiš and its art have been published in the 1970s and early 1980s. As we mentioned above, the majority of them have dealt with the stylistic and chronological problems. Recently, studies about the deciphering and interpretation of the Hieroglyphic Luwian from Karkamiš led to the appearance of new questions. Therefore, we see that the scholarship concerning Karkamiš lately again has revived.

New finds as well as new connections will add important links to our understanding of the historical framework of Karkamiš.

Inspired by the studies written on the propagandist purpose of the monumental art of the Assyrians, I believe that propaganda was one of the functions of Karkamiš sculpture. Therefore, I will try to reevaluate the existing epigraphic and material remains in terms of this new perspective.

CHAPTER III

HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY OF THE AREA

I believe that a look at the socio-political conditions of Southeast Anatolia and North Syria during the 1st millennium B.C. can contribute to the understanding of the propagandist function of the sculpture in the site of Karkamiš. For the state's and its rulers' ideology was closely connected to the internal and external political affairs, to the nature of ethnic groups and dynasties active within the state and in the neighborhood as well as the religious beliefs predominant in the area. Thus knowledge of basic political, ethnic and religious conditions within Karkamiš, other Syro-Hittite states and other dominant powers in the region will allow us to understand better the need for propaganda made via sculpture of the city.

3.1 The Syro-Hittite States

The 1st millennium and its culture in Southeast Anatolia and North Syria have been named variously by scholars. It seems difficult and debatable to give a certain and a united name for this culture and period. "Late-Hittite", "Neo-Hittite" and "Syro-Hittite" are the most favored ones. The term "Syro-Hittite" seems to me more appropriate. While the term "Syro" designates the geographical location of most of the

states, the “Hittite” designates the cultural content. In fact, these states occupied the region including North Syria and South Anatolia stretching to Konya. At least in the earlier periods of the states in South Anatolia and North Syria the Hittite/Luwian components dominated. Hawkins (1974: 68) also favors this term to emphasize the mixed nature of the Anatolian-Aramaeans population and culture of Syria. It is clear that some socio-cultural traditions were borrowed and continued from the Hittite Empire period. A number of ethnic groups with different languages and scripts have lived in the region.

After the collapse of the Hittite Empire towards the end of the 13th century B.C., Syria also participated in a common situation of destruction, instability and lack of power. The beginning of the Iron Age in Syria is characterized by the absence of both local and regional centers of political control. The political geography that was previously controlled by the Hittite Empire changed considerably. The disappearance of effective political control on almost all the territory of Syria resulted in the rise of new “autonomous political entities” in the area (Sader 2000: 62).

With the exception of Karkamiš, all local 2nd millennium kingdoms of the region disappeared in the 12th century B.C. “leaving no trace of their capitals and cities in the surviving documents of the Iron Age” (Sader 2000: 61). Two centuries later, new states had replaced them but with different names, and occupied different territories (Hawkins 1982: 374; Hawkins 1995b: 1296).

During the Iron Age we see a completely different political and geographical picture in the region. Now the geography was divided into a number of small kingdoms and city-states which had no general overlord (Fig. 1). The principal states were

Karkamiš, Melid, Gurgum, Kummuh, Unki, Que, Sam'al, Hamath, Bit-Agusi, Bit-Adini, Arpad and Damascus. These Syro-Hittite states existed and flourished in the area from the Late Bronze Age until the final annexation of these kingdoms to Assyria in the 8th century B.C. (Hawkins 1982: 380-420).

The geographical location of these “kingdom-like states” is worth noting. The city-state of Karkamiš possessed a kind of central place among these kingdoms and was located on a crossing of Euphrates (Winter 1975a: 41-42). To the west of Karkamiš at the eastern flank of the Amanus was located the small, principally Aramaean state of Sam'al (modern Zincirli) (Winter 1975a: 47-48, 108-112). To the north of Sam'al was the Hittite/Luwian kingdom of Gurgum with its capital at Marqas (Marqasi, modern Maraş) (Winter 1975a: 50, 112-113; Hawkins 2000: 249). Gurgum's eastern and Karkamiš's northern neighbor was another Hittite/Luwian kingdom, Kummuh (classical Commagene), with a capital of the same name at the site of Samsat Höyük (Samosata) (Winter 1975a: 52-53, 114; Hawkins 2000: 330). Across the Taurus on the Upper Euphrates, a large kingdom appeared at Melid (classical Melitene, modern Malatya), ruled from the capital of the same name. It controlled the northern-eastern passes through the Taurus (Winter 1975a: 60-63, 114-115; Hawkins 2000: 282-283).

Westwards through the Taurus, the southeastern corner of the Anatolian plateau was generally known as Tabal in this period, and seems to have been divided into a number of states (Winter 1975a: 115- 116; Hawkins 1982: 376: n. 18). In Cilicia there were two states, the Kingdom of Que (classical Campestris) and the land of Khilakku (classical Aspera) (Winter 1975a: 116-117; Hawkins 1982: 376, n. 19; Hawkins 2000: 38).

To the south of Karkamiš lay the tribal state of Bit-Adini, with its capital Til-Barsib (Winter 1975a: 55, 88-89; Hawkins 1982: 375, n. 9; Hawkins 2000: 224-225). West of this state lay another principal Aramaean state, Bit-Agusi, with its later capital at Arpad (modern Tell Rifa-at) (Winter 1975a: 89; Hawkins 1982: 375, n. 10; Hawkins 2000: 388-390). Bit-Agusi's southern neighbor was the large kingdom of Hamath with its capital of the same name (modern Hama) (Winter 1975a: 71-74; Hawkins 1982: 375, n. 11; Hawkins 2000: 398-399). This is the southernmost state with a Hittite/Luwian dynasty. This state occupied all of central Syria and lay between the major Aramaean powers of Bit-Adini and Damascus (Winter 1975a: 89-90). But the Hittite/Luwian dynasty which ruled in the 9th century, had by the 8th century been replaced by an Aramaean one (Hawkins 1995a: 95). North of Hamath and west of Bit-Agusi, on the Amuq plain, lay one of the Hittite/Luwian kingdoms, Unki (Hattina), with its capital at Kunulua perhaps Tell Tayinat (Winter 1975a: 106-108; Hawkins 1982: 375, n. 13; Hawkins 2000: 361). South of Hamath we find the state of Damascus, where there was a dense Aramaean population (Winter 1975a: 89-90; Hawkins 1982: 375, n. 12).

It seems that the North Syrian states were organized around complex commercial activities resulting from their situation at the crossroads of routes leading to all major centers of civilization and sources of natural resources in the ancient times (Winter 1975a: 430-447).

There seems to be no single geo-political name for the region. Also we do know how these people called themselves and their states. Neither local inscriptions nor the foreign contemporary documents provide any relevant information. The other neighboring nations such as the Assyrians, Urartians and Israelites entitled the general

land “Hatti” and its people “Hittites” (Hawkins 1972: 106; Hawkins 1974: 70-71; Hawkins 1972-75: 153). Sometimes the ethnic conditions were used to differentiate the Hittite/Luwian people from the Aramaeans. In many cases the general term “land of Hatti” is used for all the states with Hittite/Luwian character. So the geographical term “land of Hatti” was used in the same manner in the 2nd millennium B.C. Anatolian plateau and in the 1st millennium North Syria (Winter 1975a: 86; Hawkins 1973-75).

The ethnic identities of groups occupying the region always played a significant role. During the second millennium B.C. the ethnic picture of Southeastern Anatolia was very intricate. Judging from the Boğazköy archives the land of Kizzuwatna including Cilicia stretching into the Taurus, contained a mixture of Hurrian and Luwian speaking peoples (Winter 1975a: 82-83; Hawkins 1974: 68, n. 4; Melchert 2003a: 12; Bryce 2003: 33, 88-90; Hutter 2003: 214). Concerning the socio-political influence of the Mittanian and the Hittite Empires, this diversity is very acceptable (Winter 1975a: 83). Additionally, it seems that during the Bronze Age various West Semitic peoples, such as Canaanites and Amorites mingled with Hurrians from beyond the Euphrates in North Syria (Winter 1975a: 90; Hawkins 1974: 68, n. 4; Hutter 2003: 214).

During the 1st millennium B.C. we find a fairly different situation concerning the ethnic picture of the region. Now, in addition to the Hurrians and Luwians we find new population movements in Southeastern Anatolia and in the entire Syria. The Phoenicians resided largely along the East Mediterranean coasts. Newly arrived Aramaeans occupied mostly the lands in South Syria, mainly Damascus, and later extended northwards, where they ruled a number of Syro-Hittite states (Winter 1975a: 90, n. 40; Hawkins 1974: 68).

During the Iron Age in North Syria and in the Taurus region we find people of Anatolian origin. Recently it has been argued that the term “Luwians”, rather than “Hittites” much better designates these populations (Melchert 2003a). How and when these people increased in the region is not entirely clear. There are some assumptions that after the fall of the Hittite Empire some populations might have migrated and shifted from Central to Southeastern Anatolia (Hawkins 1982: 372; Hawkins 1995: 1297). On the other hand according to Landsberger (1948: 23-37) these Hittites/Luwians must have come into Syria as conquerors after 1200 B.C., probably from a region where a Luwian dialect was spoken (Winter 1975a: 109, n. 113). No firm conclusions, however, can be reached on these matters.

Nevertheless, it is acceptable that after the disappearance of the major Late Bronze Age kingdoms, new elements probably intruded in the area. Due to minor territorial control and weak political centralization of the period, the borders must have not been clearly defined. The process of mobility of Hittite/Luwian and Aramaean peoples is assumed to be continued from the end of the Late Bronze Age (Mazzoni, 2000: 34; Bryce 2003: 31, 84, 88, 126).

The ethnic identity of the ruling dynasties of the Syro-Hittite states is very determinative for the general character and naming of these states. The discrepancy of ruling people’s ethno-linguistic features in the region has led most scholars to classify the Syro-Hittite states under a few groups (Winter 1975a: 91-92). For instance, Hawkins (1974: 69) divided these states into three, according to their ethno-linguistic character:

1. States of largely Hittite character: Carchemish, Gurgum, Melid, Kummuh, Unki.

2. States of mixed population: Que, Sam'al, Til Barsib, Hamath.
3. States with the largely Aramaean character: Arpad, Damascus.

In order to understand the ethno-linguistic character of these states the language of their inscriptions and the surviving names of their rulers are very helpful, even though “not always language means ethnicity” (Hutter 2003: 211). While people of Hittite/Luwian origin spoke in Luwian, the Aramaeans spoke in their own Aramaean language (Aramaic) (Winter 1975a: 92, 109; Tadmor 1991). The Hittites of the 2nd millennium spoke in Nessite and wrote in Akkadian cuneiform script on clay tablets and presumably also on wooden tablets (Hawkins 2000: 3). However, we do not know which script was used in writing on wooden tablets, which are mentioned in some cuneiform documents of Hattuša (Symington 1991: 111-123; Hawkins 2000: 3, n. 20). Probably, while some of the wooden tablets have been written in cuneiform script, the others might have been written in hieroglyphic (Hawkins 2000: 3).

On the other hand, the Hittites did not use the cuneiform script for writing monumental inscriptions on stone (Hawkins 2000: 2). The archaeological finds show that the practice of putting Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions on stone monuments was used at least in the 14th century B.C. and especially was favored during the reigns of Tudhaliya IV and his son Šuppiluliuma II (Hawkins 2000: 2, 17-19, 35). While some¹⁰ of these stone monuments bear inscriptions consisting only of names of royal figures

¹⁰ Stone monuments of the Hittite Empire period which are inscribed with short hieroglyphic texts: Alaca Höyük 1-3, Boğazköy 4, 8; Çağdın, Hanyeri, Hemite, İmamkulu, Karabel, Malkaya, Sipylos, Sirkeli, Taçın, Taşçı, Tell Açıana, Yazılıkaya, Karakuyu, and some Boğazköy fragments (Hawkins 2000: 17-19).

and deities, the others¹¹ have historical and dedicatory inscriptions of the Hittite kings (Hawkins 1986: 363-376).

Similarly, it seems that neither the Hittites/Luwians nor the Aramaeans of the 1st millennium used cuneiform writing at least for their stone monuments. Instead they used their own indigenous scripts for their monumental inscriptions. The 1st millennium Hittites/Luwians used hieroglyphic, whereas the Aramaeans wrote in the alphabetic script. Generally it is accepted that they recorded most of their issues on perishable materials, which could not survive to our day (Hawkins 2000: 2-3; Bryce 2003: 127). However, only their stone inscriptions containing more formal texts have seen the light.

The historical reference about the political relationships and conflicts between the Syro-Hittite states and their powerful neighbors such as the Assyrians and Urartians, as well as between each other is crucial for the understanding of the political and economical development of these states.

Assyrian records point clearly to the Assyrian interest in the North Syrian states. In the 1st millennium B.C. Tukulti-Ninurta II (890-884 B.C.) was the first to organize a military expedition against the lands west of the Habur (Winter 1975a: 94). His successor Assurnasirpal II (883-859 B.C.) campaigned against Bit Adini and then moved on to the Mediterranean through Karkamiš and Unki (Winter 1975a: 94; Hawkins 1982: 388-390; Hawkins 2000: 38). In this expedition he took tribute from Karkamiš, apparently without any military encounter.

In the 9th century B.C. the most significant campaigns to the west were carried out by Shalmanesar III (858-824 B.C.) (Hawkins 1982: 390-395). As a result, most of

¹¹ Iğın (Yalburt), Boğazköy-Südburg, Nişantaş, Emirgazi altars, Emirgazi block, Emirgazi fragment, Fraktin, Karakuyu, Aleppo 1, Köylütolu Yayla, Boğazköy 1 and 2 stele bases (Hawkins 2000: 17-19).

the Syrian states had formed into a defensive coalition against him. In 858 B.C. his first battle was against the combined forces of Unki, Sam'al, Karkamiš and Bit-Adini (Winter 1975a: 97; Hawkins 1982: 391; Hawkins 2000: 38, 75, 361-363). In the end he captured Til Barsib, made it his military fort and changed its name to Kar Shalmanesar, and annexed the state of Bit Adini to Assyria (Hawkins 1982: 392; Winter 1975a: 98; Hawkins 2000: 224-225). Another alliance against Shalmanesar's army was organized in the south and consisted of the forces of Hamath, Damascus, Arvad, Israel, 'Amana', Siannu, Arabia, Irqata, Muşr and Gue (Hawkins 1982: 393; Winter 1975a: 118, n. 151; Hawkins 2000: 284, n. 33). Consequently, during his reign, Shalmanesar claimed territorial power over all the lands of "Hatti", Melid, Que, Tabal, Luhuti, Adri and Lebna (Winter 1975a: 119).

During the 9th century B.C. the North Syrian states did not only ally against Assyria, but also against each other. Sam'al asked the help of the Assyrian king against Que (Winter 1975a: 111, 116-117; Hawkins 2000: 41). The Assyrians allied with Kummuh against the north coalition of Sam'al (Winter 1975a: 114). As a result, Karkamiš from the north was controlled by this Assyrian alliance with Kummuh, and from the south by the Assyrian-controlled garrison at Til Barsib (Winter 1975a: 114). Evidently later on, too, these states allied themselves with whichever power would further serve their political and commercial interests (Winter 1975a: 151).

During the period after the reign of Shalmanesar III until that of Tiglath-Pilaser III (745-723 B.C.) the Assyrian Empire was weak due to a succession of weak kings (Šamši-Adad (823-811 B.C.), Adad Nirari III (810-783B.C.), Shalmanesar IV (782-773 B.C.), Assur-dan III (772-755 B.C.), Assur-Nirari V (754-745B.C.) paralleled by the

increasing Urartian power (Winter 1975a: 120-125; Hawkins 1982: 399-406). During this period, the North Syrian states seem to have enjoyed relative independence and prosperity. The Urartians never attempted to set up governmental controls in the region, and the local populations were left intact (Winter 1975a: 126-130; Hawkins 1982: 405-406).

When Tiglath-Pilaser came to the throne he re-conquered the old states and lands of Shalmanesar III and incorporated them into more tightly organized Assyrian districts and vassal states (Winter 1975a: 131-133; Hawkins 1982: 409-415). He fought against a coalition led by the Urartians, which was supported by Malatya, Gurgum, Kummuh and Arpad. On the way home, he received tribute from several states¹², including Karkamiš. By the end of the reign of Tiglath-Pilaser III, Karkamiš was the only North Syrian state that had not been submitted to the Assyrian rule.

Finally Sargon II had succeeded in establishing his rule in all of the troublesome regions (Hawkins 1982: 416-420). He tried to cut off the North Syrian states from alliances with the Northwest, particularly with Mita of Mushki and the powerful Phrygian states, and he achieved to bind most of them into the administrative and commercial system of Assyria (Winter 1975a: 142-144; Postgate 1973: 21-34)¹³. He conquered the city of Karkamiš in 717 B.C. and annexed its state to his empire. Then the North Syrian states remained as Assyrian provinces until the fall of the Empire.

¹² Bit-Agusi, Unqi, Sam'al, Kummuh and Karkamiš (Hawkins 1982: 391).

¹³ The so-called "Nimrud Letter" written by Sargon II (probably in 709 B.C.) mentions that Mita sends the Que embassy to Aššur-šarru-usur (an Assyrian governor). It seems that at least Que, which was already annexed by Assyria in the time of Tiglath-Pilaser III, intrigued with Mita and Urartu (Postgate 1973: 21-34). So the local rulers of Que seem to be still active, despite the presence of an Assyrian governor there (Postgate 1973: 21-34).

After this look at the socio-political circumstances of Syro-Hittite states in general, now we can turn to our main focus, the state of Karkamiš. Except for Karkamiš, the capitals of the other kingdoms of Syro-Hittite states were not important political centers in the 2nd millennium B.C. Only Karkamiš maintained some degree continuity and political prominence from the Hittite Empire period (Hawkins 1974: 69; Hutter 2003: 264). We find written evidence that the earliest dynasty of Iron Age Karkamiš had or at least has claimed to have a direct dynastic linkage to the Hittite Empire as well as to Malatya, another contemporary city-state of Hittite/Luwian character (Hawkins 1988: 103-109; Hawkins 1992: 269-270; Hawkins 2003: 146-147)¹⁴. Also it was the last state in North Syria annexed to the Assyrian Empire. Based on this evidence the city of Karkamiš with its better-known socio-political characteristics, may contribute to our topic.

3.1.1. Karkamiš

The city's name appears in numerous ancient written sources, both local and foreign, of the Bronze and Iron Ages (Hawkins 1976-80: 426-434)¹⁵. Besides local

¹⁴ Kuzi-Tešub in his own seal referred as “Kuzi-Tešub, king of the land of Karkamiš” (Hawkins 2000: 574-475, Pl. 328), whereas in genealogies of two rulers from Malatya he is entitled “Great King, Hero of Karkamiš” (Hawkins 1988: 101-104). At least three kings, most probably from the 1st millennium B.C., who seem to be contemporary to Suhis dynasty, are entitled “Great King”. Although there is no direct and clear evidence it is postulated that 1st millennium dynasty of Great Kings was descendant from Kuzi-Tešub's line (Hawkins 1995c: 83).

¹⁵ Textual references to Karkamiš occur in sources of the 3rd (in Ebla texts, in Mari period, and in the Old Assyrian Kaniš trade texts), 2nd (Period of Hittite viceroyalty (c. 1350-1200 B.C.)) and 1st millennia B.C. (Hawkins 1976-80: 426-434). The epigraphic forms found in the documents are: Assyrian, (KUR/URU) gar/kar/-ga/gar-miš/meš; Hieroglyphic Luwian: kar/ka + ra -ka-mi-sà- (CITY); and Hebrew, krkmyš (Hogarth 1914: 17-18; Hawkins, 1974: 69; Hawkins 1976-80: 426). The city's name is associated with the Moabite god Kemoš. So the meaning of kar-kamiš is suggested as “quay/karum of (the god) Kamiš” (Hawkins 1976-80: 426). Indeed the quay means a landing place on the river. “Karum of Karkemiš” is referred in the 3rd millennium B.C. in the Ebla texts (Hawkins 1976-80: 426).

Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions, the first millennium Karkamiš is attested particularly in Neo-Assyrian as well as a few Neo-Babylonian and Hebrew documents. All these written records dating from the Early Bronze Age to the 1st millennium B.C. show that the city of Karkamiš had an important position in the history of the region.

As mentioned above the site had a very important geographical position. It lies on the west bank of Euphrates at an important crossing point and at the north end of a wide plain, created by the river itself. This strategic location presumably was on the ancient trade routes, which brought richness and power to the city (Winter 1983: 177-179). In the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age, Karkamiš apparently became one of the major centers in North Syria. The Assyrians regarded Karkamiš as central in Hatti, and in many cases called it the “Land of Hatti” (Hawkins 1973-75: 156). Later the title “King of Hatti” was given only to the kings of Karkamiš (Hawkins 1973-75: 156-157).

The history of second millennium Karkamiš is very important for further cultural influences and developments of the city in the Iron Age. Most probably the site met with Hittite influence first after Mursili I's Syrian campaigns in the beginning of the 16th century B.C. (Hawkins 1976-80: 428-429; Gurney 1990: 17-18). Then in the 15th century B.C. the Mittanian Empire might have controlled the city until mid 14th century B.C. when it became a part of the Hittite Empire (Hawkins 1976-80: 429-431; Gurney 1990: 22-24). Now, Šuppiluliuma I established a vassal state here. At that time, Karkamiš was governed by royal princes connected to the court of Hattuša (Hawkins 1976-80: 429-431; Gurney 1990: 25). Moreover, the states of Syria under their own vassal kings were ruled primarily from Karkamiš (Gurney 1990: 25; Hawkins 2000: 73, n. 4).

After ca. 1200-1000 B.C., Bogazköy and Ugarit records disappear, and therefore the historical sources of this period became very limited (Hawkins 1976-80: 434). Dating to this period no reference to Karkamiš survived¹⁶. However, Tiglath-Pilaser I, crossing the Euphrates in ca. 1100 B.C., encountered and took tribute from Ini-Tešub, king of the “land of Hatti” (Ussishkin 1967a: 90; Hawkins 1974: 70, n. 21-26; Hawkins 1976-80: 434-435). This land is assumed to refer to Karkamiš. Presumably the city of Karkamiš escaped the destructive invasion of the “Sea Peoples” and the subsequent political collapse (Hawkins 1976-80: 434). Certainly the city unlike other Late Bronze Age capitals, revived to flourish once again in the early Iron Age. Indeed, archaeological and epigraphic finds related to Kuzi-Tešub, a successor of Talmi-Tešub, suggest that the Hittite royal line may have survived the collapse of the Hittite Empire.

Ethnically, during the second millennium Hurrian culture seems to be dominant in the city of Karkamiš (Bryce 2003: 89, n. 71), whereas in the first millennium a Hittite/Luwian culture was much more widespread. Today it is accepted that Karkamiš preserved to some extent the cultural traditions of the Hittite Empire period. Onomastics of the ruling classes preserved in their own and Assyrian inscriptions as well as other iconographic features of their art suggest that the ruling class in Karkamiš had principally a Hittite/Luwian character.

Identification of the Iron Age “Karkamišean” kings is possible both through local and Assyrian royal written sources (Hawkins 1976-80: 441-445). The decipherment of the Hittite/Luwian hieroglyphic texts has now made sufficient progress

¹⁶ However, some fragmentary and almost illegible but apparently royal inscriptions (hieroglyphic A 16c, and cuneiform A 18d; A 33i,) found in Karkamiš may have belonged to this period (Hawkins 1976-80: 434).

for scholars to identify and translate proper names of the kings and to establish their family tree. This is very crucial for the study of the Karkamiš monuments, many of which bear or are associated with royal inscriptions. While only two Iron Age rulers of Karkamiš appear in the Assyrian royal accounts¹⁷, the local texts inscribed mostly on stone orthostats or stelae provide us with great number of king names (Hawkins 1976-80: 441-444). On some of these local texts the kings themselves appear as the author, whereas the others, which were usually fragmentary, contain the ruler's name within the context or within the genealogy.

A number of scholars studying the orthostats and inscriptions of Karkamiš suggested a king list for Iron Age Karkamiš (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 240, 263-66; Güterbock 1954: 102-114; Meriggi 1954: 1-16; Laroche 1955: 17-22; Ussishkin 1967a: 89, 91-92; Hawkins 1972: 87; Hawkins 1974: 69-70; Hawkins 1976-80: 441-442)¹⁸. Since Hawkins has studied the discovered epigraphic records of Karkamiš extensively, his reconstruction and suggestions seem to be closer to the reality (Table. 2). Thus, one prefers to rely mostly on his reconstruction. However we must keep in mind that the chronological order is not certainly known and the kings are listed here arbitrarily.

Particularly the local orthostat inscriptions illuminate some dynasties of the 1st millennium B.C. Although there is not any clear evidence, it seems that first millennium dynasties of the state had somewhat direct links to the ruling succession coming from

¹⁷ Dated Assyrian royal annals introduce two kings of Karkamiš: Sangara, named by Assurnasirpal II and Shalmanesar III c. 870-848 B.C.; and Pisis, named by Tiglath-Pilaser III and Sargon II, 738-717 B.C. They both pay tribute to the contemporary Assyrian kings (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 260; Hawkins 1976-80: 441-442; Mallowan, 1972).

¹⁸ Ussishkin (1967a: 91-92) is the only one who proposed to add at least two more kings to the list of the Syro-Hittite kings of Karkamiš: A ruler (Aš... Tudhaliya, Great King) between Ini-Tešub and *x-pa-zitis* and Suhis III coming after Sangara and preceding Astiruwas. Furthermore, Woolley (1952: 240) and Ussishkin (1967a: 91-92) considered the possibility of having another ruler between Astiruwas and Yariris.

the Hittite Empire period (Hawkins 1995c: 83-84). The inscribed monuments provide evidence for at least three dynasties: the dynasty of “Great Kings”¹⁹ (the dynasty of *z-pa-zitis*), the “House of Suhis” and the “House of Astiruwas”. The dynasty of *z-pa-zitis* might have consisted at least of four generations: *x-pazitis*, Ura-Tarhinzas, Tudhaliyas and grandsons of Ura-Tarhunzas²⁰ (Table 1). Depending on local inscriptions, recently Hawkins (1995c: 80-84) suggested that the dynasty of *x-pa-zitis* is contemporary with that of Suhis²¹ (Table 1). It seems that the dynasty of Suhis (named also as Country Lords²²) also consisted of at least 4 generations: Suhis I, Astuwatamanzas, Suhis II and Katuwas. The last dynasty includes at least five rulers: Astiruwas, Yariris, Kamanis (+ Sasturas)²³ and Pisiris. The king Sangara, mentioned in the Assyrian records is generally placed between these two dynasties²⁴.

¹⁹ It is called the dynasty of “Great Kings” since their rulers are entitled as “Great Kings”.

²⁰ We do not have any direct statement in inscriptions pointing out that Tudhaliyas is son of Ura-Tarhunzas, and that grandsons of Ura-Tarhunzas are sons of Tudhaliyas.

²¹ The suggestion bases on the text on stele A 4b, whose author is Ura-Tarhunzas “the Great King”, but the stele is said to be erected by son of Suhis the ruler” (Hawkins 1995c: 77-78; Hawkins 2000: 80-82); on inscription A 11b+c, where the author Katuwas appears contemporary with Ura-Tarhunzas’ grandsons (Hawkins 1995c: 80-81; Hawkins 2000: 101-108); and on the text of KELEKLI stele, where Suhis II appears contemporary with Tudhaliyas (Hawkins 1995c: 82-83; Hawkins 2000: 92-93).

²² Since the rulers of this dynasty are entitled as “Country Lords” in their inscriptions, Hawkins names the dynasty also as that of Country Lords (Hawkins 1995c: 78-85).

²³ Sasturas is the vizier of Kamanis. Sasturas might have also had a kind of authority since the author of CEKKE inscription, states himself to be the servant of Sasturas, who is the “first servant” of Kamanis, the Ruler, the country Lord of Karkamiš and Malatya (Hawkins 2000: 145).

²⁴ Sangara appears in the Neo-Assyrian records dating to 870-848 B.C. The four-generation dynasty of Suhis is dated to period between ca. 1000-870 B.C. since Suhis I is attested in the inscription of Ura-Tarhunzas who bears the title “Great King”, and therefore both kings are attributed to an earlier date (Hawkins 1976-80: 443; Hawkins 1995c: 80-83). Based on stylistic comparisons of sculptures and on the assumption that Pisiris was Sasturas’ (Kamanis’ vizier) son, the House of Astiruwas was dated to a later period. As a result Sangara is placed between these two dynasties (Hawkins 1976-80: 444; Hawkins 1995c: 83-84; Hawkins 2000: 78-89).

The rulers were, as it is claimed in their inscriptions, enthroned according to the decision of the gods, but also as members of a royal family and/or descendants of the founder of the dynasty.

In sum, the hieroglyphic inscriptions of Karkamiš provide dynastic and historical information including an internal chronological sequence. However, absolute dates can only be suggested by references to the external Assyrian chronology. A king-list, based on the Assyrian or “indigenous” epigraphic sources will contribute to the understanding of the successive building and decoration projects taken place in the city (Tables 1 and 2).

The history of the most prosperous Hittite/Luwian city state in the 1st millennium North Syria, Karkamiš, came to the end with the ultimate Assyrian conquest during the reign of Pisiris, in 717 BC. Sargon II conquered the city and transformed it into an Assyrian province under a governor. As far is known Karkamiš remained an Assyrian province until the end of the Assyrian Empire.

CHAPTER IV

THE TOWN OF KARKAMIŠ AND ITS REMAINS

In this chapter the city of Karkamiš and its remains will be discussed. It summarizes the architectural remains and sculptural works associated with them: architectural reliefs, inscribed stone blocks and free-standing sculptures. The discussion to define these remains is necessary for dating of the sculptural programs; and at the same time to summarize scholarship and to state that there is still much to be learned. It is very clear that none of the evidence is concrete to reach any solid conclusions and statements for dating, function and the original provenance of most of the finds. So in a passive approach, in order to avoid rigid statements I put together the available information about different architectural units and their relieved orthostats as well as arguments about sculptural programs and their datings. Since the chronology of the sculptures and their programs are very complicate issues requiring a very extended research on various epigraphic and archaeological sources, I consciously avoid commenting on these issues, rather I quote the most attractive and acceptable suggestions of scholars. Consequently, here my purpose is to present the material as background information for the sake of the discussions in the following chapters.

4.1 Plan

The walls of the outer city of Karkamiš give the impression that the city is rectangular in plan (Fig. 2). The city is oriented north-south. In accordance to the contemporary Syro-Hittite tradition, the city consists of three parts, the citadel mound, the inner town and the outer town. The eastern side of the city was defined by the flow of the river Euphrates. Following tradition, the administrative and religious buildings as well as the royal residence presumably are located in the inner town. The inner city forms the northeastern half of the city itself, and contains the citadel mound as well. The rest of the city constituted the outer town, where we find houses and other domestic and public buildings. Two major gates, the West and South Gates, allowed entrance to the city. The outer West Gate is almost in the same axis as the inner West Gate (Woolley 1921: Pl. 4). The South Gate would have led directly to the South Gate of the inner town, although its location on the outer enclosure has not been definitely fixed yet (Woolley 1921: 55-57).

All three parts of the city were individually fortified with enclosure walls that were partially strengthened by guard towers, bastions and forts (Hawkins 1976-80: 438).

Piercing through the fortification wall of the inner town, three monumental gate-structures provided entrance to the inner city (Hawkins 1976-80: 438). These gates varied slightly in some aspects from each other with regard to their function and strategic locations. The South Gate was “the most elaborate one, for it opened on the plain which gave life to Karkamiš and through it passed the main road that led to the Euphrates crossing” (Woolley 1921: 44, 73-76, Pl. 12; Hawkins 1976-80: 438). The West Gate, on the basis of its remains seems to be the strongest (Woolley 1921: 44, 82-

85, Pl. 10; Hawkins 1976-80: 436). The Eastern Gate, which is usually called the Water Gate by the excavators, was the most ornate among the gates (Woolley 1921: 104-116) (Fig. 3). Here the river formed a natural boundary and would have limited access. The gate provided access from the river to the citadel and the palace area.

Despite some verification in plan and decoration, the gate-structures of the inner town were complexes, generally consisting of identical architectural elements. These gates have double- or triple-chambered plans, contained door-ways, recesses, guard-rooms, inner and outer gate-towers, sets of doors, platforms and flights of steps (Woolley 1921: 58-105).

All these gates seem to be furnished with some kind of decorative or non-decorative architectural sculpture (Hawkins 1976-80: 436, 438). Portal lions and a number of relieved orthostats decorate the Water Gate (Woolley 1921: 110-116). Two gate-chambers of the South Gate were paved and decorated with plain orthostats. Additionally, pieces of a statue and an inscribed base and a gate lion in front of the structure were discovered there as well (Woolley 1921: 82-95). We do not have sufficient evidence about the decoration of the West Gate (Woolley 1921: 73-79). The architectural sculpture of the gates will be examined in detail below.

4.2 Principal Buildings

The major administrative and religious monuments of Karkamiš have been sought in the inner city and the citadel mound (Hawkins 1976-80: 436). However, few satisfactory results have been obtained, due to limited excavations and destructions created by later inhabitants.

The citadel encloses two distinct hills in the northernmost section of the Karkamiš mound (Fig. 4). More important results were attained from the southeastern one (Hawkins 1976-80: 436). The Great Staircase lies at the foot of the southeastern mound and climbs up its slope (Fig. 5). Woolley (1921: 211) believed that it was the approach to an “‘Upper Palace’ crowning the summit”. But there is no solid evidence to support his idea. The so-called “Lower Palace” was considered to be located in an area at the southeastern mound, near the Water Gate (Woolley 1921: 158). In fact, the majority of façades, gateways, or other structures adorned with relief orthostats are coming from this section of the inner city (Fig. 5).

In Karkamiš the Temple of the Storm God and the Temple of Kubaba are attested in the Hittite/Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions. The structure erected on a platform adjoining the Great Staircase to the southwest (Fig. 6) is assumed to be the Temple of the Storm God (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 167-173; Hawkins 1976-80: 436-437). The east façade of its enclosure was decorated with a long series of reliefs and therefore is called the Long Wall of Sculpture (Woolley - Barnett 1952: Pl. 29-30). A small door-way at the end of this wall, opening towards the staircase provides access to the temple that has both an outer and an inner court (Fig. 7). Woolley (1952: 170) postulates that the outer court was perhaps decorated with reliefs. The shrine itself (Fig. 6) consisted of one room with a recessed entrance that was furnished with inscribed door-jambs (A 2 + 3 – by Katuwas) (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 167, 169; Hawkins 1976-80: 436). Although the inscribed door-jambs date to Katuwas’ reign, the temple itself seems to be built earlier than Katuwas or his father (Winter 1975a: 169). But there also seem to exist evidence indicating wholesale remodeling of the temple (Woolley 1952: 170).

The sculptural remains confirm that the structure was a temple. In room 3, there was found –apparently *in situ*- the inscribed basalt stele A 4*b* bearing a winged disk and an incised inscription (Hawkins 1976-80: 436-37; Hawkins 2000: Pl. 1). Also, an inscribed altar, A4*c*, was found in the cobbled courtyard (Hawkins 2000: Pl. 67). A semi-circular basalt block, possibly a base for a statue with inscription, A 4*a*, was also discovered in the court (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 167).

A number of archaeological finds have led the excavators to suggest that the northwestern mound of the citadel was the site of the Temple of Kubaba, the main deity of the city (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 210-214, 245, Pls. 49-51). Woolley assumes that the Temple “was approached presumably through the Palace, by the stairs on the southeastern sector” (Woolley-Barnet 1952: 245). On the other hand, the name “Kubaba Temple” for the building on the northwestern mound of the citadel does not rests on firm grounds. There are also suggestions that this monument was “Sargon’s Palace” (Güterbock, 1954: 109; Hawkins 1976-80: 436).

In fact, the Kubaba Temple stands on a platform that is dated by Woolley (1921: 212) to the Middle Hittite Period. Indeed it is probable that there in the Middle Hittite Period existed a temple for the cult of Kubaba (Güterbock 1954: 110). However, it must have been repaired, reconstructed or redecorated many times in later periods by various rulers of Karkamiš. Therefore, as Woolley (1952: 245) states, the furnishings and decorative elements could be of any date ranging from the Middle-Hittite to latest phases of Iron Age.

Inscribed texts on sculptures make us suggest that at least Katuwas and Kamanis were responsible for such rebuilding and redecorating activities in the Temple (Woolley

- Barnett 1952: 212). The inscribed eastern jamb (A 23 in Fig. 60) of the inner doorway of the staircase states that Katuwas dedicated a temple to the goddess Kubaba (Hawkins 2000: 119). A stele of Kubaba (B 62*a*) with an inscription of Kamanis (A 31/32) (Fig. 46) was found on the northwestern slope of the citadel (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 262). The inscription on the stele records that Kamanis built a precinct and temple for Kubaba (Hawkins 1976-80: 445; Hawkins 2000: 142). However, as Güterbock (1954: 109) points out, it cannot be ascertained whether this stele of Kubaba originally belonged to this temple, and we cannot be completely sure whether Katuwas refers to this temple in the inscription A 23.

Among the other finds found in the area and considered to come from a building at the northwestern end of the citadel and presumably from the Kubaba Temple, are a double lion column-base (B 32*a*) and an inscribed altar (A5*a*).

It is also recorded that basalt orthostats were found in the area. Apparently, “the walls [of the temple] were of mud brick, but the façade fronting on the court and the side walls of the passage ... were faced with finely cut and polished basalt orthostats” (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 212, Pl. 50*b*). However, according to the excavators a number of basalt orthostats from the façade had been removed presumably by Hellenistic builders (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 213).

4.3 Principal Architectural Units and Their Sculptural Programs

In the excavated portion of the inner town (Fig. 5) we find one of the three monumental gates, the so-called Water Gate, leading to the inner city and the long road leading to the major sacred and secular complexes of the city (Hawkins 1976-80: 436-

438). The excavations have clarified at least some building complexes and structures as well as orthostat blocks that mostly adorned their outer façades (Hawkins 1976-80: 436-438).

A monumental road leads one from the bank of Euphrates through the Water Gate to the “Lower Palace” area and the so-called King’s Gate (Fig. 5) (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 158). On the southern side (coming from the Water Gate) the road passes the structure called Hilani and then opens to a “plaza” and continues by the Herald’s Wall and turning left arrives at the King’s Gate complex. On the northern side of the road presumably the “Lower Palace” was located. Finally the road comes to an open area. The northwestern side of this precinct was formed by the long southeastern façade of the Temple of the Storm-God, which was adorned completely with relief slabs. Against this wall the lower terrace wall of the “Palace” was interrupted by a monumental staircase (the Great Staircase) which led up the slope, probably to the building(s) on the top of the Acropolis (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 158-159).

According to the plan, the façade of the so-called “Lower Palace” faced south towards the Herald’s Wall (Hawkins 1976-80: 436). Between the stairs and the Water Gate, numerous scattered fragments of sculpture have been found. So the passage from the river to the stairs may well have been adorned on either side with reliefs. It was suggested that “the Palace or part of it ... was built in terraces up the slope of the Acropolis mound... [and] a great wing of the “Palace” ran out over the flat ground at the mound’s foot (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 159).

The excavated architectural units in Karkamiš, which bear relief orthostats or sculpture in the round are the Water Gate, the Hilani, the Long Wall of Sculpture, the

Great Staircase, the Herald's Wall, and the King's Gate that consisted mainly of the Processional Entry, the gate-structure itself and the Inner Court (Fig. 8).

4.3.1 The Water Gate

(**Fig. 3; Fig. 9:** B 28*a,b*; B 29*a,b*; **Fig. 10:** B 30*a*; **Fig. 11:** B 30*b*; **Fig. 12:** B 31*a,b*; **Fig. 47:** B 52*f*)

The so-called Water Gate is the part of the inner town fortification System (Woolley 1921: 38-85; Hawkins 1976-80: 436). The gate was built on the eastern part of the inner city between the "Acropolis" and the gravel of the river bank (Woolley 1921: 103). The gateway created a passage to and from the Euphrates and it was rather like an "apanage of the palace" (Woolley 1921: 103).

Although only the southern side of the gate is preserved, the remains provide us with an insight about its plan and decoration (Fig. 3). It seems that the original ground plan of the gate was not much different from 2nd millennium Anatolian and Syrian gate constructions (Naumann 1955: 289-302; Özyar 1991: 19, n. 3-4; Özyar 1998: 634). Like the other two gates of the inner town, this gateway was also a complex of structures. It consisted of outer and/or inner monumental gate-towers divided into guard-chambers that flanked the entry, as well as buttresses and recesses and three door-ways (Woolley 1921: 104; Özyar 1991: 19). A flight of stone steps leading up from the river passed between the buttresses and then was connected to a paved road which went to the inner city and ran on to the foot of the Great Staircase (Woolley 1921: 104, Özyar 1991: 19).

It is evident that the original Water Gate was contemporary with the river wall and with the whole set of the inner town's defenses, which were originally dating to the

2nd millennium B.C. (Özyar 1991: 30, 102; Özyar 1998: 635) or to the Middle Hittite Period as Woolley suggested (1921: 107). Yet, the gates may have been rebuilt in later times (Woolley 1921: 107; Özyar 1991: 20; Özyar 1998: 634)²⁵. Indeed there is sufficient evidence that at a later date, the gateway underwent several alterations, modifications in details of its plan and decoration (Woolley 1921: 104).

Therefore, due to the fact of rebuilding, the architectural and sculptural layout of the Water Gate is controversial and difficult. Reusing²⁶ of many of the old sculptured stones in later reconstructions, but not always in their original positions seems to be possible (Özyar 1991: 30; Özyar 1998: 634-635). Even though the Water Gate does not give any clue about the date of its original sculptures, they have been interpreted as the oldest surviving pieces among all reliefs of Karkamiš (Woolley 1921: 301, 459; Güterbock 1954: 106; Orthmann 1971: 30; Winter 1975a: 167; Hawkins 1976-80: 440; Özyar 1991: 30; Özyar 1998: 634; contra see, Mallowan 1972: 78).

A number of reliefs are associated with the Water Gate and were found *in situ* (Fig. 3). They show that the preserved side of the gate was lined with limestone orthostats. Apparently, depending on their functional importance, the walls of the gateway were adorned with plain or relief orthostats. For the central buttresses and the western gate-chamber had plain orthostats, whereas the inner and outer buttresses and the eastern gate-chamber had relief orthostats (Woolley 1921: 104; Özyar 1991: 19; Özyar 1998: 634). Özyar (1991: 20) has also suggested that “in the original state the

²⁵ A process of rebuilding has been suggested because many orthostats, such as B 31a or B 30a, do not match the space available to them, and because some, such as the larger plain block of the central buttress, were reused in a secondary position (Woolley 1921: 107; Özyar 1991: 20; Özyar 1998: 634-635).

²⁶ The term “reused” may mean: either left as found and incorporated in the new building or brought from elsewhere and set up in a new place; or found on the spot and incorporated with slight alterations; or left as found but hidden under the new level (Güterbock 1954: 106).

corners (eastern corner of the central buttress, and western corner of the inner buttress) must have been covered with orthostats, either plain or with relief”.

What the original program of decoration in the Water Gate was, is difficult to determine²⁷. It is also impossible to know who were the last rulers rearranging the Water Gate and how many and what kinds of sculptural programs there were before the 1st millennium B.C. Özyar (1991: 31) relying on a comparison with the decoration of the 2nd millennium B.C. Temple at Ain Dara, has suggested a hypothetical decoration program for the gate, which consisted of a specific scheme rendering sphinxes or lions.

In fact, the excavations revealed a series of seven reliefs, B 28-31, (Fig. 9, 10, 11, 12) from the Water Gate (Woolley 1921: 110-116). The orthostats B 28*a* (an eroded relief most probably of a figural scene), and B 28*b* (a winged lion or sphinx) might have been corner blocks (Woolley 1921: 110). The carved blocks B 29*b* (a winged lion) and B 31*a* (a bull-man) were found *in situ* decorating the eastern recess. Similarly, a slab (B 29*a*) representing a bull and a lion was placed at the outer gate jamb. The slab of a bull-man (B 31*a*) is facing the inner corner of the gate-chamber. It might have flanked a passage with a similar counterpart (Özyar 1991: 30; Özyar 1998: 635). A representation of bull-man at the Water Gate would have been a guardian of the gate (Özyar 1998: 635). Thus, it is reasonable to assume that originally there would have been at least two bull-men (Özyar 1991: 29). Another piece, B 52*f*, depicting two bull-men that hold a stylized palm tree (Fig. 47) was found on the way to the Water Gate (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 282). Furthermore, rows of lion *protomes* decorating the outer façade of buildings

²⁷ Thematically some reliefs of the Water Gate are comparable to those found in Malatya (Delaporte 1940: Pls. XIX-XIV; Orthmann 1971: Pls. 40, 41) and Ain Dara (Orthmann 1971: 148; Winter 1975a: 168).

(Özyar 1991: 32) or even the lion figures guarding the entrance (Ussishkin 1967a: 88-89) are also likely.

Besides figures of power such as bulls, lions or bull-men, sculpted blocks showing libation (B 30a) and banquet (B 30b) scenes (Fig. 11, 12) were also found in the Water Gate precinct (Woolley 1921: 113-114; Özyar 1998: 634). The appearance of a Phrygian cup on A 30b led most of the scholars to date this relief to a later period than the rest of the Water Gate orthostats (Orthmann, 1971: 39; Mallowan 1972: 77, n. 49; Özyar 1991: 29; contra see, Woolley - Barnett 1952: 248). Due to similarities in size, shape and content, it was assumed that B 30a and b were produced at the same time probably for corresponding positions (Orthmann 1971: 39; Özyar 1991: 29)²⁸.

To sum up, the sculpture of the Water Gate is only part of an extensive group of fragments which cannot be dated securely but seem to be originally from the 2nd millennium B.C. (Winter 1975a: 167; Özyar 1991: 30; Özyar 1998: 636).

4.3.2 The Hilani (Fig. 13)

The Hilani (Fig. 13), building on a raised platform, lies about half-way between the Water Gate and the broken end of the Herald's Wall (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 177; Hawkins 1976-80: 437). On the road extending between the Water Gate and the foot of the Great Staircase and the Long Wall numerous carved or inscribed orthostat fragments were scattered. Some of these fragments might have been connected with the Hilani. If

²⁸ On the other hand, according to Mazzoni (1997: 316-317), basing on "the close similarities with the Malatya reliefs in the general outline of the scene and a few details" and on the existence of the winged sun-disk over the bull, the libation scene can be dated to an earlier date.

so, the outer façade of the building facing the road might have been decorated with relief orthostats.

The surrounding area cannot tell us much, since a massive wall of the Roman Forum crossed the site as far as an area east of the Great Staircase, destroying the Hittite level (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 178). The excavators suggested a wholesale remodeling and rebuilding of the quarter including the reuse of some old materials in the Iron Age and that the Hilani belonged to the later phase (Woolley, 1952: 178).

The function of the structure is not entirely clear. Woolley (1952: 178) claimed that the Hilani might have been part of the “Palace” complex, where rites related to the kings took part. A further assumption is that the Hilani together with the shrine in the Temple court was a kind of funerary chapel for kings of Karkamiš, “whose ashes were buried beneath the pavement while their statues stood in the shrine in constant adoration of the god to whom, the building was consecrated” (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 184).

4.3.3 The Long Wall of Sculpture

(Fig. 14: B 38- 40; Fig. 15: B 41- 43a; Fig. 16: B 44- 46; Fig. 17; Fig. 18)

The Long Wall of Sculpture forms the eastern wall of the compound surrounding the Temple of the Storm-God (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 164-167). As an architectural unit the nature of this sculpted wall is not entirely clear (Özyar 1991: 79-80). The northern section of the wall flanks the flight of stairs that led up to the monumental gate, the so-called Great Staircase (Özyar 1991: 78-79).

The Long Wall of Sculpture was adorned with a continuous series of reliefs starting at the door-way on the west side of the stairs continuing until the southeastern corner of the long façade, a total length of at least 37 meters (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 164; Özyar 1991: 79-80).

However, the series of orthostats from the wall were not completely preserved and most of them were not found *in situ* (Figs. 15, 16, 17) (Özyar 1991: 81). Therefore, inevitably problems of dating and interpretation have appeared. A reconstruction of the original placement of the scattered and fragmented material was made by Hawkins (1972: Fig. 4a). It shows a victory procession of chariots and infantry headed by a divine procession, both oriented towards the staircase leading to the citadel (Figs. 18, 19). This series of reliefs included also an inscribed slab, A 1a, whose author seems to be Suhis II (Hawkins 1972: 106; Hawkins 2000: 87-91).

The orthostats stood not at the ground level but above three courses of limestone masonry (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 165; Özyar 1991: 79). Therefore, the raised position of reliefs at eye-level makes them clear to be seen even from distance for the viewer (Özyar 1991: 79). The excavators also suggested that the orthostats on the Long Wall of Sculpture were placed at least in part alternately of limestone and basalt in accordance with a common Hittite convention to attract attention (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 164, *contra*, Özyar 1991: 104).

The dating of the series of reliefs on the Long Wall of Sculpture is very controversial. Judging from the inscribed orthostat A 1a and A 1b, the whole sequence might be dated to the reign of Suhis II (Hawkins 1972: 106; Winter 1975a: 169; Hawkins 1976-80: 439-440; Hawkins 2000: 87-91). On the contrary, Woolley believes

that the surviving reliefs rather date to two subsequent rulers. According to him (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 170) the whole stretch from the “Naked Goddess” slab to the southeastern corner including the military representations is a later addition to the original building by Katuwas. As an alternative, Özyar (1991: 80, 104) has proposed that later sculpture of similar depiction was used to replace some earlier possibly damaged pieces.

4.3.4 The Great Staircase:

(Fig. B 35a, b, c, d; B 36a, c; B 26f; Fig. 20: A 14a; Fig. 21: A 14b, Figs. 23, 24, 25)

The so-called Great Staircase is a stepped monumental gateway complex that lies at the foot of the southwestern part of the citadel and climbs up its slope (Woolley - Barnett 1952: pls. 29, 30; Hawkins 1976-80: 436). It consists of a flight of steps that leads to the gate-structure; the gate itself; and the stairs following the outer gate-chamber leading up into the citadel. This monumental gate had a connection to the road coming from the Water Gate and presumably to another, more important street coming from the South Gate (Özyar 1991: 95).

The Long Wall of Sculpture adjoins the western buttress of the gate (Özyar 1991: 78). So, the staircase and its western pier run along this sculpted long façade. On the eastern side of the stairs, behind the pier there is a rectangular room.

The gate itself was flanked by two buttresses probably above which the gate towers rose (Özyar 1991: 96). The first corridor of the gate-chamber comes after the stairs and the gate tower. It was apparently lined by small polished orthostats (Woolley – Barnett 1952: 172; Özyar 1991: 96). A small flight of steps placed in the gate-

chamber allows one to pass through the inner gate jambs and to arrive at a second landing. Here a much broader staircase leads further up into the citadel. The part after the second corridor is poorly preserved and the excavations stopped at that point. The steps of the stairway seem to be originally built in limestone but later repaired with basalt slabs (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 159; Özyar 1991: 96).

Depending on its strategic location and the monumental appearance as well as decoration, the staircase seems to have had a significant role. According to Woolley (1952: 243, n. 1) the Great Staircase served several purposes: “ it led presumably to the Upper Palace; it led to the Kubaba Temple on the mound’s top and the side door on the first flight led into a courtyard of the Temple of the Storm God...”

Many relief fragments, most of them inscribed,²⁹ have been associated with the decoration of this monumental gate-structure (Fig. 19). Indeed, fragments belonging to two inscribed gate jambs, two or three inscribed gate lions and seven carved orthostats - five of them also inscribed- were found in the area of the Great Staircase (Özyar 1991: 96).

It seems possible that the entrance had been flanked by figures of lions (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 163, Güterbock, 1954: 104). Inscribed lion fragments A 14*a* (Fig. 20) and a 14 *b* (Fig. 21) were restored as portal figures placed on the either side of the outer gate jamb (Figs.23, 24) (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 163)³⁰. However, the inscriptions on

²⁹ Orthostats both including figures and inscriptions are A 21/22 *a+b* (restored together with A 20*b*, figs. 1, 1*a*, 2, 4, 9, 11, 12 and 13 (Hawkins 2000: 139, Pls. 48-49)), A 22*c* (restored together with A 20*b* frag. 6, and A 20*b* frag. 3 and B 35*c* with frag. 14 (Hawkins 2000: 164, Pls. 50-51)).

³⁰ “Both lions found apparently by Henderson when digging trench from Great Staircase to Water Gate; they were taken to the river bank for transportation but abandoned and subsequently smashed” (Hawkins, 2000: 84). They were refound in 1912; and the workmen remembering Handerson’s excavations stated that they came from the area of the Great Staircase.

the lions inform us that A 14a (originally a left-hand door-jamb) was commissioned by Suhis, whose ancestors' name is not preserved, whereas A 14b (originally a right-hand door-jamb) was commissioned by Astuwatamanzas, the son of Suhis I (Hawkins 1972: 98-100; Özyar 1991: 97-98; Hawkins 2000: 85).

This diversity of patrons makes the restoration problematic. According to Woolley (1952: 163), due to constant alterations and adaptations of the buildings by successive kings, it seems possible to have two confronting jambs of the stairway entrance being the works of different kings. On the other hand the existence of a third lion is also possible (Fig. 24) (Ussishkin 1967a: 88-89, n. 12, Fig. 5, 7). If there has been another lion corresponding to A 14a as Ussishkin (1967a: 88-89) has assumed, then it would be reasonable to accept his suggestion that originally A 14a and the third lion also commissioned by Suhis formed a pair at the gate jamb of the Great Staircase. So, the lion A 14b originally must have stood in the area on the Water Gate (Ussishkin 1967a: 88-89). As a result, a pair of lions whether both ordered by Suhis or by Astuwatamanzas, or made due to restoration by two different kings, certainly guarded this entrance.

In addition, the fragments of basalt relief slabs (B 35a, b, c, d and B 36a, c) were found in various parts of the staircase. With the exception of B 35a, none of them were found *in situ*. Hawkins (1972: 106-108) reevaluated Woolley's restoration (1952: 162) of the sculptural program of the gateway. The fragments were arbitrarily placed to some extent in symmetry to the eastern façade. According to this restoration (Hawkins 1972:108, Fig. 4) there appear four "winged bird- headed genii holding buckets and

presumably cones”, placed on either side of the entry (Figs. 23, 24). In each case they seem to be standing behind a male figure probably a ruler (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 162; Özyar 1991: 100). The backgrounds of these figures are inscribed. Although the third figure on either side is missing, the arrangement seems to be continued around the corner of the eastern buttress (Özyar 1991: 100).

Consequently, the suggested program flanking the stairs is a group of three or four figures consisting of the “king” and “offrants” (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 162). Woolley (1952: 162) interprets the scene as follows:

“...All these [the king and the “offrants”] come out from the Palace to receive the gods who are shown on the Long Wall of Sculpture returning to the Temple from which they had been exiled. A plain basalt orthostat makes the logical separation between the incoming procession and the king who welcomes it...”

Besides inscribed figural orthostats and lions, a number of fully inscribed blocks (A 23, A 20a, A 26f) have also been found in the area. Woolley (1952: 160) suggests restoring A 23 to the eastern jamb of the inner door-way. Additionally, he (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 160) also assumed that A 20a may be a fragment of the corresponding piece at the western jamb. The most recent translation by Hawkins (2000: 116) confirms the author of the inscription on A 23 as Katuwas. However, inscriptions A23 and A 20a - whose author’s name is not preserved in their preserved part - do not refer specifically to the establishment of the gate or the orthostats placed there (Hawkins 2000: 116, 118).

The inscribed orthostat A 21*a* was placed on the eastern side of the staircase on the western face of the buttress forming a corner with the hypothetical gate lion (Özyar 1991: 99). The name of the author of A 21*a + b* -restored together with A 20*b*- (Hawkins 2000: 159) is not preserved but his father's name is *Sasturas* (Hawkins 1972: 102-106; 2000: 159). Hawkins (2000: 143, Pls. 42-43) interprets the text by comparing it with a stele from *Cekke* commissioned by *Kamanis*. In both texts similar titles of the authors and the name of *Sasturas* appear. Finally he proposes that this person, the grandson of *Kamanis*, could possibly be *Pisiris*, who is known to be a contemporary of *Tiglath Pilaser III* and *Sargon II* (Hawkins 1972: 105; Hawkins 2000: 159).

Chronologically, the reliefs in this group are usually treated as among the latest in date within the whole set of orthostats of *Karkamiš* (Orthmann 1971: 35-36; Hawkins 1976-80: 440). However, it is possible as *Woolley* suggested (1952: 242) that this program might have persisted through all the changes made by different rulers. *Hawkins* (1972: 106) has proposed that the complex of *Long Wall of Sculpture* and the *Great Staircase* was primarily the work of one dynasty. He explains the building activities as follows:

“...The *Astuwatimais* [*Astuwatamanzas*] lion seems to suggest that ruler may have built the gate-house at the head of the *Great Staircase*. To this his son *Suhis* added another lion and his grandson *Katuwas* the inner door-jambs. A much later ruler added the orthostats of the entrance, remodeling the earlier structure in a similar way to that in which *Yariris* added the *Royal Buttress* to the earlier building, to be ascribed probably to

Katuwas. The Long Wall seems to have been the sole work of Suhis...”
(Hawkins 1972: 106).

4.3.5 The Herald’s Wall

(Fig. 8, Fig. 25: B10- 12; Fig. 26: B13- 15a; Fig. 27: B15b- 16; Fig. 47: B 49a)

This nickname was given by the excavators to the wall which stretches between the King’s Gate on the west and the fragmentary wall running to the north of the Hilani, on the east (Hawkins 1976-80: 437). The Herald’s Wall stood on the opposite side of the street leading to the Long Wall and the citadel (Fig. 8).

Excavators assumed that the Herald’s Wall and the eastern wall of the King’s Gate proper including the Royal Buttress and the Processional Entry belonged to a large building whose interior was not excavated (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 190). Indeed, at first look, this wall seems to form the north façade of the King’s Gate building. However, Özyar’s observations (1991: 40) indicate that the Herald’s Wall with its bent shape could have not been the northern façade of the building to which the Processional Entry leads. She believes that “the Herald’s Wall was a make-shift solution to fill a possibly empty space between the Processional Entry and the long east-west oriented way, which continues all the way to the Water-Gate” (Özyar 1991: 40).

It is not entirely clear which orthostat blocks decorated the Herald’s Wall. According to Özyar (1991: 36-39), 13 orthostats, which were a mix of limestone and basalt, were found lining or fallen in front of this wall. Many of them were out of position (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 185). None of the sculptures from the Herald’s Wall is linked to any inscription. Usually it has been postulated that orthostats included in the

Herald's Wall are B 10-16 and B 49-50 (Woolley - Barnett 1952: Pls. B 49-50) and that the slab B 10a is the last in the series (Figs. 26, 27, 28) (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 190; Güterbock 1954: 108, Özyar 1991: 36-39). It has been further assumed that the Herald's Wall's sculptures have continued beyond the slab B 15b (the "camel-rider" slab). A suggested reconstruction forms "a return wall" to the corner of this "camel-rider" block (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 185). On the other hand, Mallowan (1972: 74) believes that the reliefs (B 2- B 3) depicting foot-soldiers (Fig. 28) originally were also been part of the Herald's Wall.

The existence of both limestone and basalt carved slabs has led the scholars to suggest that the Herald's Wall had an alternating arrangement of light limestone and dark basalt orthostats, except for four adjacent slabs in the easternmost section - B 15a + b and B 16a + b (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 185). Özyar, (1991: 102) assumes that the basalt/limestone alternation of the slabs was introduced when the "make-shift wall" was set-up, because the reuse groups of sculpture are made of limestone.

The subjects depicted on the Herald's Wall did not form parts of any unified composition. The slabs appear disconnected and without any plan. But this might have been because the old reliefs were here reused, by incorporating them into a new program.

The arrangement of figures seems to be based on a kind of heraldic composition (Özyar 1991: 47-52). Here we find separate themes like groups of crossed fighting animals, figures or animals flanking a sacred tree, hybrid creatures such as an animal with a human and a lion's head, a pair of bull-men holding spears together with a lion-headed genius, and a hero mastering animals. As Barnett has suggested these

representations and figures might have had a magical and/or apotropaic function (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 186, n. 1).

The dating of the reliefs from the Herald's Wall is also problematic (Hawkins 1976-80: 440-441). It seems that either the whole wall was a survival from an earlier period incorporated in a later building, or individual reliefs were taken from an older building and reused (Woolley: 1952: 191). Indeed reusing of earlier orthostats in a later arrangement is highly possible.

Özyar (1991: 52) divides the sculpture of the Herald's Wall into three chronological categories, which were built in succession. According to her if the heraldic limestone group (B 10*b*, B 13*a* + *b*, B 15*a* + *b*, B 16*a* + *b*) was reused it would antedate the basalt group (B 10*a*, B 11*a*, B 12, B 14 *a* + *b*) (Özyar 1991: 52). However, relying on close technical observations of the orthostat slabs, she (Özyar 1991: 41, 52) goes further and suggests that not only the limestone slabs but also some of the basalt ones could have been reused.

There are a number of suggestions in terms of attribution of the sculpture of the Herald's Wall to specific reigns. Previously it was proposed by Woolley (1952: 204) and Güterbock (1954: 106) that it was contemporary with the King's Gate, more specifically, the gate-chamber and the front toward the Inner Court B, and that they are older than Katuwas. However, some resemblance in detail between the reliefs of these two structures leads one to assume that they were reused by Katuwas in his refashioning of the King's Gate (Güterbock 1954: 108; Orthmann 1971; Hawkins 1976: 440-441).

Özyar (1991: 103) also points out the similarities especially in subject matter - heraldic compositions and hunting friezes- between the Herald's Wall and the gate-

chamber and the Inner Court of the King's Gate (Fig. 35). She dates both groups to the same period, namely Orthmann's³¹ "First Neo-Hittite Period" (Orthmann 1971: 31-32). Judging from the inscribed reused gate jambs A 11*a+b*, she also suggests that Katuwas could have been responsible for a great restoration program which included the production of part of the Herald's Wall reliefs and the King's Gate sculpture (Özyar 1991: 103). On the other hand, as we mentioned before she divides the reliefs of the Herald's Wall into three groups, which differ in date from each other. Among them earlier orthostats, possibly dating to the mid 2nd millennium B.C., may appear as reused materials (Özyar 1991: 52).

In addition, Winter (1975a: 173) provides another suggestion and dates the Herald's Wall to the time of Astuwatamanzas, whose sculptural activity is attested from his inscribed lion A 14*b*.

Another alternative dating has been postulated by Mallowan (1972: 71). He has suggested that the orthostats on the Herald's Wall were executed later than those on the Long Wall and were made to the order of king Katuwas, and that a few additions may have been made after his time.

I think precise dating for the sculptural groups in the Herald's Wall is still controversial. One hopes that future research and findings will articulate the dating problems.

³¹ Orthmann considers the Herald's Wall to be earlier than the Long Wall of Sculpture (1971: 31-34).

4.3.6 The King's Gate:

(**Fig. 8, Fig. 28:** B 2- 3; **Fig. 29:** B 4- 5; **Fig. 30:** B 6- 8; **Fig. 31:** B 17b-18; **Fig. 33:** B19- 22a; **Fig. 34:** B 22b-24a; **Fig. 35:** B 55b- 59; **Fig. 36:** B 25= B 54, B 26a; **Fig. 37:** B 26b, c; **Fig. 38:** B 61a; **Fig. 39:** B 54a; **Fig. 40:** B 60; **Fig.50:** B 55a)

The so-called King's Gate (Fig. 8) is a broad approach-complex consisting of a number of walls, gates and sub-structures, which occupies the area west of the Herald's Wall to which it is connected (Woolley, 1952: 192-204; Hawkins 1976-80: 437). Proceeding southward from the west corner of the Herald's Wall, it includes a "re-entrant" with a row of soldiers (B 2-3) (Fig. 28), the Royal Buttress (B 4-8) (Figs. 30, 31), the Staircase Recess (B 17b -18) (Fig. 31), and the Processional Entry (B 19-24) (Figs. 34, 35). At the south end of Processional Entry appears the gate proper that leads southward into the Inner Court. Two long side walls – the eastern and the western - of the approach are not parallel but converging.

The eastern wall of the King's Gate is the best preserved, fully decorated with relief slabs, and therefore, is the most significant one for our study. It is usually divided into four sections: the infantry reliefs (B 2- B 3) on the re-entrant; the Royal Buttress; the Staircase Recess; and the divine procession reliefs.

On the northern section of the wall, which is bound to the western end of the Herald's Wall we find four orthostats (B 2 a + b, B 3a + b) depicting armed infantry (Fig. 29). They are of basalt and limestone alternatively, and the soldier figures appear three on each limestone slab, and two on each of basalt. Standing in the corner, just in front of the slab B 3b, was found a double lion-base where apparently the statue of "the Storm-God" was installed (B 54a) (Fig. 39).

Adjacent to these foot-soldier slabs a “buttress-like projection” appears. It is called the **Royal Buttress**³², on the grounds of inscriptions on it. The nature of this structure is not completely explicit. As a whole it might be a later addition built against the Processional Wall, or part of the original plan so that only the reliefs were replaced (Özyar 1991: 91).

The northern short wall of the buttress is decorated with four basalt slabs (B 4a + b, B 5a + b), which depict a procession of armed officers (Fig. 30) (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 192). This row of sculpture showing a total of seven army officers was adjacent to the foot-soldiers. The two groups differ from each other in terms of weapons, rank and date.

The frontal wall of the buttress, from where the structure obtains its name, is more significant. It was also furnished with four basalt orthostats (B 6-8), which show inscribed scenes related to the king himself and the royal family (Fig. 30). More specifically, the northernmost orthostat, A 6, consists of an inscription concerning the ruler Yariris’ speech. Next, on B 7a, Yariris presents Kamanis, the successive king. The remaining two reliefs depict scenes related to the brothers of Kamanis (B 7b, B 8a).

The southern wall of the Royal Buttress forms the northern wing of a recess, where a flight of steps appear. This opening is named by the excavators as the **Staircase Recess**. Since the interior of the building was left as unexcavated, we do not know exactly where this staircase leads. A large relief (B 17b) representing a scene of musicians is standing on the north side of the staircase; and on the opposing wall we

³² It is named as “The Royal Buttress” because “the short stretch of wall between the re-entrant and the Staircase Recess gives the impression of a buttress” (Woolley – Barnett 1952: 192). However, architecturally it is not a buttress, rather the whole structure seems to be a single wall (Woolley – Barnett 1952: 192).

find two smaller orthostats (Fig. 32). The first depicts musicians playing instruments (B 18*b*), and the other at least a sphinx (B 18*a*).

Turning to the southeastern corner of the Staircase Recess towards the gate-chamber of the King's Gate, appears a long stretch of wall, called the **Processional Entry**. Here a religious procession, which is headed by a seated goddess and where priestesses (Fig. 33) and temple servants carry goats and/or gazelles for sacrifice (Fig. 34), is depicted (B 19*b* - B 24).

The actual **gateway of the King's Gate** was located at the south end of the Processional Entry. However, the door itself was placed off-center, being closer to the eastern wall of the plaza, the Processional Entry (Özyar 1991: 53). The door-way leads into a broad gate-chamber flanked by guard-rooms. The small room west of the gate-chamber had walls whose base was of small but solid and well-worked blocks (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 202). A second inner door in the same axis of the first one, passed into an Inner Court of a monumental building. This complex either was a palace (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 192), or another monumental building both with religious and administrative functions (Özyar 1991: 53).

The western jamb of the outer wall was an inscribed basalt block (A 8 = A 11*a*). The threshold between the door-jambs was composed of three large slabs of which the outer two were of basalt (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 203, Pl. 47*a*, on the floor). Clearly the basalt jambs (A 9 + 10 = A 11*b+c*) were old door-jambs, both inscribed by Katuwas and were reused (originally they might have stood at the door of the Staircase Recess) face-down as paving (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 203). So it seems possible that the threshold was entirely of limestone before Katuwas' reconstruction (Özyar 1991: 54).

Due to the later Roman constructions the walls of the gate-chamber were damaged severely. Several reliefs were found in the general area but none *in situ* (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 202). Excavations revealed that the northern wall was decorated with small polished but undecorated orthostats. As a result Woolley (1952: 201) suggests that “the side walls of the gate-chamber were unadorned”.

Inside the gate-chamber towards its southwestern corner was found a great lion-relief (Woolley - Barnett 1952: Pl. 47a). Presumably it had flanked that door. A second similar lion-relief, B 55a, was discovered in the northeastern corner of the gate-chamber (Fig. 50). Woolley (1952: 200) restored it in a corresponding position on the eastern side of the inner door. Thus it seems that great limestone reliefs of crouching lions flanked the inner door of the gateway. This inner door which was flanked too by door-jambs has a threshold consisting of 6 stone slabs.

A number of reliefs have been found in the **Inner Court** area, near the doorway (Fig. 35). According to a restoration (Woolley - Barnett 1952: Pl. 43a), carved orthostats were decorating either side-walls of the gate in the courtyard. Relief slabs B 56a, B 56b and B55b are among those found in the gate-chamber area (Özyar 1991: 55). Özyar (1991: 56) believes that “Woolley’s restoration of the ... reliefs B 55b, B 58 and B 59b as belonging to the eastern side of the courtyard ... is hypothetical and [they are placed only] as counterpart to the western side of the courtyard”. However, “none of those slabs was found in the courtyard area” (Özyar 1991: 56).

Woolley (1952: 193) believed that the Inner Court was decorated with “a continuous series of reliefs alternatively black and white”. On stylistic grounds he suggested (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 193) that all the reliefs from the Inner Court were

old, contemporary with the Herald's Wall and the series show the same variety of subject and the same mixture of mythical or symbolic figures.

To the west of the outer door, close to the door-jamb A 11*a*, a great seated statue (B 25) resting on a large double lion-base (B 26*a*) was erected (Fig. 36). The short wall between the statue and a guard room – which looks like a later “make-shift addition”- in the later western corner was also adorned with carved orthostats, B 26*b* (a demon) and B 26*c* (two warriors) (Fig. 37). The latter reliefs are out of context and might have been reused (Özyar 1991: 55). Özyar (1991: 55) believes that “they could be remains of the program of orthostats set up by Katuwas as he mentions on A 11*a*.”

Apparently the thick western wall of the King's Gate had no figural decoration. Very well-cut and polished basalt orthostats rested on rubble foundations (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 200). Özyar (1991: 53) assumes this western wall of the gate complex might have been always undecorated. Since excavations did not continue beyond the end of the wall, no return of the western wall of King's Gate was found.

In conclusion, the area called the King's Gate consisted of several elements, which had various architectural functions and had been decorated with various subjects related to their location. Since not all the elements were preserved in equal degree, it is extremely difficult to define the decorative program of every individual feature.

Archaeological evidence presumably together with the textual documents reveals the fact of rebuilding and restoration that was carried out partially in various successive periods. The Processional Entry, which is one of the few structures with complete decoration, might have also undergone reconstructions (Özyar 1991: 103). In any case, “the layout of the façade and its subject seem very coherent” (Özyar 1991:

103). According to Özyar (1991: 70, 103) the first priestess slab B 19*b* and probably B 2*a* among the soldiers slab might have been earlier and reused material. This reusing leads her to assume that “the building originally was decorated with two similar processions of which the two surviving block were incorporated into the restoration of the façade” (Özyar 1991: 103).

The composition of the sculptures in the Processional Entry resembles that on the Long Wall of Sculpture. Basically on stylistic grounds, they were placed in the same period, namely the “Second Neo-Hittite Period” (Orthmann 1971: 33-34; Özyar 1991: 63). According to Özyar (1991: 104):

“The program of the reliefs on both structures consists of long processions made up of repetitive figures ... in both walls later reliefs were used to replace earlier possibly damaged pieces, but the new reliefs seem to repeat what had been on the replaced reliefs because the coherence of the total program is not lost.”

The Royal Buttress appears to be the ultimate product of a rebuilding activity. It is not entirely clear whether the “buttress” is a later construction added to the existing wall or it had already existed there, but merely all its reliefs were later in date (Özyar 1991: 91). In any case, the Royal Buttress is a complete architectural unit with a coherent program preserved *in situ*. Moreover, it is the only complete structural unit with a complete inscription. Its eight basalt slabs form a frieze where the subject matter is expressed both visually and literally.

The Staircase Recess seems also to undergo various reconstructions (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 203; Güterbock 1954: 107; Özyar 1991: 69). Apparently the steps leading up into the building had been there for a long time. According to Özyar's analysis (1991: 69) all the remaining orthostats flanking the entrance have been reused in a way. Nevertheless, there could have been musician slabs flanking the jambs of the entrance for every reconstructed stage.

Defining the program that was originally designed for the southern wall of the main gateway itself (the Inner Court) seems to be almost impossible. Clearly this gate-structure underwent rebuilding activities, too (Özyar 1991: 103). The relief orthostats found in the area of this gate seem not be in their original set-up. Thematically, they resemble the subject matter of some of the Herald's Wall reliefs. So, the reliefs from the Inner Court and the Herald's Wall are seen as contemporary (Winter 1975a: 173-174). It is also suggested that the majority of reliefs of the Herald's Wall and the King's Gate were part of an extended restoration program of Katuwas, covering several buildings (Özyar 1991: 63, 103).

It is difficult to assess how much of the original layout of this broad approach to the King's Gate is preserved. The reused gate-jambs (A 11b+c = A 9 + A 10) in the threshold prove rebuilding activities, including production of new orthostats and/or rearranging old ones.

Inscribed blocks, particularly door-jambs show that Katuwas was responsible for a great deal of work in the area (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 203-204; Güterbock 1954: 107; Winter 1975a: 170; Özyar 1991: 63, 69, 103). Indeed, relying on inscription A 11a, - which tells us that Katuwas set up orthostats for an already built ancestral gate-

building, which needed restoration, one can imagine that most of the sculpture found in the King's Gate was produced for the restoration project commissioned by Katuwas (Özyar 1991: 63, 103). So, some of the reliefs may originate from an earlier program³³. In any case, it is evident that Katuwas was not the last ruler to make restorations, additions and alterations in the King's Gate. Instead these modifications appear to be a product of various rulers, including those after Katuwas.

According to Woolley, the King's Gate in its present form is the result of four successive building periods. In his "Period I" the general layout was considered as the same as the preserved decoration. A number of decorative programs and individual slabs³⁴ that were reused in later programs have been treated as belonging to this period. The "Period II" was entirely attributed to Katuwas:

"... the king Katuwas refaces the whole of the entry and sets up statues in it, leaving undisturbed the Herald's Wall and the Inner Court. He added the soldiers slabs of the re-entrant, presumably a "royal buttress" now disappeared, and the Processional Entry series of reliefs, including the musician slab B 18*b*. The Storm-God statue, the seated god statue and the outer door-jambs belong to him. In the south wall the soldier slab B

³³ For instance, according to Winter (1975a: 173) in addition to the orthostats of the Herald's Wall, the reliefs of the Inner Court of the King's Gate (B 55-59) are earlier than the Long Wall of Sculpture, and probably belong to the time of Astuwatamanzas. She (Winter 1975: 173, n. 9) agrees with Orthmann (1971: 31-34) that the reliefs of the Herald's Wall and the Inner Court are earlier than those of the Long Wall of Sculpture. She suggests dating these reliefs especially to the reign of Astuwatamanzas, since his sculptural activity is attested from his inscribed lion A 14*b*.

³⁴ The Herald's Wall, the musician slab B 17*b*, the Inner Court, possibly the sphinx (B 18*a*) and probably the fragmentary slab B 26*b* as well as the two lion reliefs flanking the inner door of the gate-chamber (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 203).

26c is his, and he seems to have re-used B 26b, taken from the old building...” (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 204).

Woolley ascribes his “Period III” to the ruler Yariris who seem to be responsible only for the Royal Buttress, i.e. the eight basalt slabs depicting seven army officers, the portraits of himself and his family. He (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 204) believes that the greater part of the old buttress was diminished and reconstructed.

To the “Period IV”, that is the time after Yariris, none of the standing buildings were attributed. But if the fragments of fine sculpture B 61 a³⁵ come from a building on the west side of King’s Gate then there could have been some monuments added after Yariris’ time (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 239-40).

As a conclusion, this chapter demonstrated how the reconstruction of sculptural programs of architectural units as well as their dating is still problematic (Hawkins 1976-80: 436). Technical and stylistic analyses of relief orthostats and epigraphic evidence do not always provide a consensus³⁶. The common practice of reusing orthostat blocks by successive rulers in new units complicates more the situation. All these lead us to be much more careful when we deal with issues closely related with chronology. Thus, one should consider these limitations in the following statements and arguments.

³⁵ B 61a is a fragmentary relief found in the King’s Gate area. In terms of subject it is considered to be a chariot scene with four men - whose heads are only preserved - presumably mounted on the chariot. Since carts driven by four charioteers do not appear until the time of Assurbanipal and the relief is purely Assyrian in style unlike any Syro-Hittite work, the piece is dated not earlier than ca. 660 BC. (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 239). If it is a chariot scene it must be part of a frieze occupying a considerable area. So, there was, after 660 BC a phase of building activity which involved the reconstruction with sculptures of at least one public monument. (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 240).

³⁶ For the chronological conclusions of Orthmann’ analysis of Karkamiš sculptures, see the table in, Hawkins 1976-80: 440.

CHAPTER V

THEMES IN THE LIGHT OF INSCRIPTIONAL AND SCULPTURAL EVIDENCE

The themes depicted on architectural reliefs have a particular importance. They must have not been chosen randomly; rather an intentional selection of subject matter must have been made to declare deliberate messages. The recent transliterations and translations of the Luwian texts (Hawkins 2000) found in Karkamiš have allowed us to understand better the possible relationship between the texts and the themes of the sculptures and the nature of statues. So, by examining the subject matters of the sculptural friezes and the nature of free-standing statues in the light of epigraphic and archaeological evidence I aim to indicate the potential connection between the monumental inscriptions and reliefs. The major themes are the royal images, military, divine and “mytho-heroic” representations as well as a few hunting depictions.

5.3 Royal Images

(**Fig. 17; Fig. 18; Fig. 39:** B 54a; **Fig. 41:** B 48b, B 68c; **Fig. 42:** B 27a; **Fig. 43:** B 53; **Fig. 53:** 13d)

If we judge from the indigenous textual sources, placing the image of the king himself onto the reliefs and depicting him as a free-standing statue seems to have

been a common tradition in Karkamiš as it is in the other Syro-Hittite states. Textual evidence gives us more information about the existence of such figures. The archaeological remains provide us with a limited number of examples.

The large inscribed block A 1a attributed to Suhis II (Hawkins 2000: 89, 95) mentions erection of the ruler's statue and offerings presented to it. However, none of the excavated statues have been associated with that reference so far. On the other hand, in his reconstruction of the sculptural program of the Long Wall of Sculpture, Hawkins (1972: 108, Fig. 4a) put another narrow orthostat with a full-size image of the king in front of the slab, A 1a (Fig. 17). Since the inscription is attributed to Suhis II, the figure might have easily depicted the king himself in front of his inscription (Hawkins 1972: 95).

Placing a figure of the ruler on stone monuments who introduces a Luwian inscription is a widespread practice among the Syro-Hittites³⁷. Such figures apparently serve as a full-length introductory portrait figure (Hawkins 2000: 382). Characteristically, most of them face right, wear a long robe with a fringed lower hem, and hold in one hand a long staff. The other hand has the typical hand gesture to be read as *amu* "I (am)..." (Hawkins 2000: 382, 514). In fact, in all other well-preserved monuments of the Syro-Hittite states inscribed with hieroglyphs the author is introducing himself with a logogram in the form of a human upper body having the same hand gesture. The introductory figures do not appear only on orthostats blocks, but

³⁷ Full-length introductory figures were placed on various monuments such as stelae, rock inscriptions, portal lions, inscribed building blocks and presumably statues. Evidently the practice was common in the states of Maraş (Maraş 8 stele, Hawkins 2000: 252-53, Pls. 106-107, Genge 1979: 23); Kummuh (Malpınar rock inscription, Hawkins 2000: 340-42, Pls. 166-168; Samsat stele, Hawkins 2000: 352-53, Pl. 179); Unqi (Tuleil 2 inscribed building block, Hawkins 2000: 382-83, Pls. 201-202; Orthmann 1971: Pl. 54f) and Tabal (Andaval stele, Hawkins 2000: 514-15, Pl. 291; Çiflik stele, Hawkins 2000: Pls. 248-249; Orthmann 1971: 448, Pl. 5e). In addition, on the obelisk-shaped Bor stele (Hawkins 2000: 518-20, Pl. 296; Orthmann 1971: 38a), the figure of the ruler Warpalawas is facing left in an attitude of prayer as at Ivriş 1 rock inscription (Hawkins 2000: 516-18, Pls. 292-295).

also on inscriptions placed on portal lions (Karatepe, Çambel – Özyar 2003: pls. 139-141) and on statues (Maraş 13, Hawkins 2000: 276-77, Pl. 128).

In Karkamiš, on one occasion the depiction of the ruler occupies completely one side of the height of inscribed slab, A 13*d* (Fig. 53). The slab in question represents the king Katuwas, which was found reused as a door step in the Processional Entry (Hawkins 2000: 115-116). If the assumptions of Hawkins (1972: 95) mentioned above are correct, Katuwas' image can be reasonably modeled on his fathers' representation. So, the figure of Suhis II reconstructed by Hawkins (Fig. 17) has the same hand gesture as well.

Another inscribed block where the full-size image of the author appears is the A 6 inscription (Fig. 31). Here like the image of Katuwas, Yariris is depicted heading the inscription. However, unlike the figure of Katuwas, that of Yariris occupies only the first three lines of the inscribed block, in one corner.

The representation of a king also appears in reliefs with other figures. In Karkamiš the only known example of this type is the series, B 6- 8, depicting Yariris, Kamanis and the royal family on the Royal Buttress (Fig. 31). Here Yariris shows himself leading by the hand the young Kamanis, and followed by other royal children playing in two registers. The rear orthostat depicts a person³⁸ holding a baby and leading an animal.

The text and figures illustrated on B 7*a* illuminates crucial points of the history of Karkamiš. Previously it has been generally understood from the combined inscription, pictures and context that Yariris was the king of Karkamiš and that he was

³⁸ İ. Özgen (1989: 374), looking at the costume, suggests that the figure might have been a man, rather than a woman.

presenting his eldest son, Kamanis, and the rest of his family³⁹ (Akurgal 1949: 38, 144; Barnett 1952: 261; Orthmann 1971: 187-191; Genge 1979: 153-167).

A more careful consideration of the wording of the inscriptions, however, indicates that the actual situation was different. The patron of the Royal Buttress, that is Yariris, claims neither the title “King” nor “Karkamišean Country-Lord” that was used by other Karkamiš rulers. Instead, he seems to be a regent and a guardian of the crown prince Kamanis, rather than by actual king⁴⁰ (Hawkins 1979: 157-60; Hawkins 1980-83: 444-445; Canby 1986: 61). So, Yariris must have ruled in Karkamiš presumably after his lord’s (Astiruwas’) death, when the prince Kamanis was still very young to be the king (Canby 1986: 61). The nature of the baby on the last orthostat is not entirely clear. It might have been the youngest of Kamanis’ brothers (Canby 1986: 62) or Yariris’ own son⁴¹ (Hawkins 1979: 159).

On the basis of the assumption that children of two queens are competing for the throne (Bossert 1951: 52-53, 56; Canby 1986: 62; Özgen 1989: 375), Canby defines the role of the Royal Buttress as following (1986: 62):

³⁹ Another suggestion was provided by Bossert who claimed that on the scene two different families of the deceased king and the children by two different queens should have been depicted (Bossert 1951: 52-53, 56). So, according to his assumption, the main purpose of the scene on the Royal Buttress was to clarify the question of which set of children was in line for the throne (Bossert 1951: 53, 56; Canby 1986: 62).

⁴⁰ Such a role of Yariris as regent and guardian of Karkamiš and the royal family of Astiruwas was not peculiar for the period. Similarly Azatiwata, the founder and ruler of Azatiwataya (Karatepe), acted towards the state of Adana and the prosperity of its king Awarikus (Hawkins 1979: 153-156; Hawkins 1982: 429-431; Çambel 1999: 51-55; Hawkins 2000: 45-70; Bryce 2003: 103).

⁴¹ It has been also suggested that the woman in the last slab holding the baby is the second queen who “won the harem intrigue”, and was the mother of the heir apparent and other children in the procession including the king’s youngest child (Canby 1986: 62, n. 42).

“The monument is, rather, a strongly stated political document in which Yariris, who undoubtedly aided the young queen in overthrowing the claims of her predecessor, proclaims himself regent for her child, Kamanis. He seeks to protect the child and the state from further harem intrigue by going on to show that the other children of the second queen are in line for the throne, but that the children of the former queen are relegated to idle pursuits.”

Whether the reliefs depicted two sets of children by two different queens or not, these depictions must have played an important role for Yariris in order to transmit his messages to the public⁴². So through the Royal Buttress the regent proclaims the public the name of the heir apparent, “specifies the order of succession” (?) as well as glorifies his authority and power.

Except for the block B 7a, we have no other inscribed orthostat block showing the ruler himself in an action. However, there are assumptions that in the original decorative program of the Processional Entry, the king Katuwas was leading his troops. However, whether only the slab A 13d was placed at the head of this procession or A 13d was followed by another figural scene including the king Katuwas, as it is the case in the Royal Buttress, is not clear yet.

⁴² It has been suggested that Yariris planned the Royal Buttress according to the earlier Alaca Höyük reliefs of the Hittite Empire period (Canby 1986: 62-63). Indeed two reliefs in Alaca Höyük were also interpreted as representing the heir of the throne and the other royal children (Canby 1986: Figs. 5-6, 5-7; Darga 1992: 142-143, Figs. 141-143). The general similarity of the layout of reliefs on the Royal Buttress (in connection to the adjacent thematic representations) to that of Alaca Höyük reliefs led Canby to propose that Yariris was already aware of the scenes at Alaca Höyük and their meaning (Canby 1986: 62-63).

Apart from kings' images, representation of queens also appears on the orthostats, at least in one occasion. B 40 with inscription A 1*b* depicts the enthroned queen Watis, the wife of Suhis II (Fig. 18). She is shown as confronting the Naked Goddess. The hieroglyphic text placed behind the queen informs us that Suhis II dedicated this orthostat. It has been assumed that the portrait of Watis is posthumous because her figure is presented as larger than other human figures and in the company of the gods (Hawkins 1980a: 215; Hawkins 2000: 91-92).

Another queen of Karkamiš is mentioned on the fragmentary inscription A 20*a* (Hawkins 1972: 102; Hawkins 2000: 119-120). It is reconstructed as a part from the counterpart of the door-jamb A 23 in the Great Staircase, which speak of the author Katuwas' certain building activities for Kubaba (Hawkins 1972: 101; Hawkins 2000: 119). So, one may imagine that inspired from his father Suhis II, Katuwas also might have announced on the incomplete door-jamb the dedication of a structure, orthostats or statue in honor of his deified (?) queen (Ana?).

Free-standing statues showing the image of a king were frequently sculpted in the Syro-Hittite states⁴³ as well as in the Neo-Assyrian world⁴⁴. One expects to find such figures from Karkamiš, too. For a long time no statue had been identified as representing a royal figure. However, Hawkins (1980a: 214, n. 24; 2000: 101) re-identified the monumental statue B 25, previously known as representing the seated god Atrisuhas, and has suggested that it does not depict an ordinary deity, rather a

⁴³ Colossal statues identified as ruler-figures were found in Zincirli (uninscribed, Orthmann 1971: Pls. 62c-d), Malatya (inscribed, Orthmann 1971: 41d-e), and Maraş (Maraş 4: fragment of an inscribed colossal figure, Orthmann 1971: Pl. 44c; Hawkins 2000: 255-57, Pls. 108-109; and Maraş 14: lower part of an inscribed statue, Hawkins 2000: 265-66, Pls. 114-115).

⁴⁴ A number of large statues depicting various Assyrian kings have been found in the Assyrian capitals (Parrot 1961: Pls. 19-23; Strommenger 1964: Pls. 196-197, 207, 215).

king (Fig. 36). He (Hawkins 1980a: 214) further argues that the statue represents the deified king Suhis and was erected posthumously by his son or grandson Katuwas. Furthermore, he (Hawkins 1976-80: 436-37) proposes that the inscription, A 11a, found at the south end of the Processional Entry, (Hawkins 2000: 89) mentions the erection of this particular statue.

Two more statues of seated figures were also found in Karkamiš (Fig. 41). They are very similar in form, representing figures seated on a throne-like seat and both of them were discovered headless. The basalt one, B 48b, was found on the wall of Hilani and has an erased cuneiform inscription (Orthmann 1971: Pl. 36a). The other figure, B 68c, is of limestone and was discovered in a rubbish pit in the Lower Palace area (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 174).

The latter example differs from the traditional seated figures, but resembles a colossal seated figure found near the East Gate of Tell Tayinat, which bears a Luwian hieroglyphic inscription (Gelb 1939: Pl. LXXIX; Hawkins 2000: 365-367, Pl. 189-192).

In addition to seated statues identified as kings, two statues of standing figures of Karkamiš are also interpreted as depicting rulers. Of the first figure, only the colossal basalt head (height 0.4m), B 54a, is preserved (Fig. 39). It has been suggested that it stood on the podium B 53 in front of the procession of soldiers (Fig. 43), which was attributed to Katuwas (Hawkins 1972: 96). For, the base of the statue was apparently still *in situ* when discovered, but the body was dispersed in numerous small fragments around it.

The figure was previously identified as “the Storm-God of the Lions” (Woolley 1921: 192, 243). It seems to be identical with a colossal statue in the round

from Zincirli (Orthmann 1971: Pl. 62c-d)⁴⁵. Two fragments of inscribed statues from Maraş (Orthmann 1971: Pl. 44c; Hawkins 2000: Pls. 108-109; 114-115), and a colossal from Malatya (Orthmann 1971: 41d-e) seem also to be of the same type, representing ruler figures.

After a comparison with the image of Katuwas on A 13*d*, Hawkins (1972: 97) proposed that the Karkamiš colossus represents either Katuwas himself or his father Suhis. Indeed this colossal was dated to the reign of Katuwas by several scholars (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 108; Hawkins 1972: 96, 97; Mallowan 1972: 82) or simply to the Suhis-Katuwas period (Bonatz 2000b: 207; Aro 2003: 329).

The second statue, B 27*a*, is a very fragmentary piece with only parts of head and shoulders preserved (Fig. 42). It was excavated from the South Gate together with other small fragments of the figure and with its base bearing a Luwian hieroglyphic inscription (Orthmann 1971: Pl. 34b; Hawkins 2000: 167-169). The 8th century B.C., presumably the reign of Kamanis, is the suggested date for this work (Hawkins 2000: 167-169).

In addition, a number of fragments, especially of heads (B 54*a*, B 67*a,b, d, e* in Fig. 39) that originally were part of monumental statues, have been discovered at Karkamiš. Such heads of statues were also found in other Syro-Hittite cities such as Malatya (Orthmann 1971: Pls. 42*d-e*; 42 *g-h*) and Maraş (Orthmann 1971: Pls. 48b-c). However, we do not know whether they represented gods or rulers. Apparently they all belong to male figures. In fact, none of them seem to have a horned headgear, a typical attribution of divine figures.

⁴⁵ Woolley further assumed that they could have been the work of the same sculptor (Woolley – Barnett 1952:192).

These finds of heads leads one to wonder whether the heads were knocked off deliberately. Was it a practice related with a kind of ritual or was it a manner of decapitating their enemy by the invaders?

The ruler statues of Zincirli and Malatya seem to be buried intentionally on a spot near the place where they had originally been erected in accordance with a ritual burial of monuments after the destruction of the sites by conquerors (Ussishkin 1970: 125-127). The statues were firstly knocked off their bases and then buried in a pit as they were lying on their back, presumably imitating the actual burying of human beings (Ussishkin 127-128).

On the other hand, excavators did not record any evidence pointing to such deliberate burial of monuments at Karkamiš. We cannot prove any practice of a ritual burial of statues in the site. However, the common finds of separate statue heads from different Syro-Hittite states should have not been a coincidence; rather they might point out a deliberate ritual or hostile activity.

It is evident that in the Syro-Hittite sphere, most of the statues either of royal figures or deities, stood on double lion-, bull- or sphinx- bases. Such bases were particularly found in Karkamiš, Zincirli (Orthmann 1971: Pls. 62e: lion, 64d: sphinx), Tell Tayinat (Orthmann 1971: Pls. 52d: lion), Arslantaş (Orthmann 1971: Pls. 4d: bull), Karatepe (Çambel 1999: Pls. 50-51: bull), and Domuztepe (Çambel – Özyar 2003: Pls. 226: bull)⁴⁶. Consequently this high number of statue bases indicates how common it was to set up statues of rulers as well as deities.

⁴⁶ A few double bull-bases similar to that of Karkamiš were also found in the vicinity of Urfa (Kulakoğlu 1999: Pls. 3-7). Also at Kurubel in Tabal a quadrangular lion-base (Hawkins 2000: Pl. 282), and in Kaletepe-Kululu fragments of double lion-bases were found (Özgüç 1971: 45).

5.2 Military Representations

Representations of military scenes in ancient Near Eastern art and related inscriptions commemorating victories over other countries/nations are favored topics. Such representations and textual references are also common in Karkamiš.

5.2.1 Epigraphic Evidence

At Karkamiš inscriptions quoting events related to military achievements are fairly high in number. Such inscriptions are placed either on stelae (A 4*b*; A 12 in Fig. 59) or on orthostat blocks, which were in some cases in the form of rebated door-jambs (A 11*a*, A 11*b+c*) (Figs. 55, 56, 57). In the majority of the almost complete inscribed texts, such historical records possess a prominent position. Such visual representations⁴⁷ and textual references⁴⁸ are also common among the finds from other Syro-Hittite areas.

Out of Karkamiš inscriptions one speaks of destruction of particular city(s) (A 1*a*, Hawkins 1972: 89-93; Hawkins 2000: 87-88). Others mention victories over single cities or specific lands, i.e. countries (A 1*a*, A 11*b*, A 12, A 25*a*, A 24*a*, Hawkins, 2000: 88, 162, 113, 122, 134). They tell us that some of the defeated places were “river-lands” or fortified cities (A 11*c*, Hawkins, 2000: 104). However, most of these city-names could not be identified yet. One surviving example also mentions the “resettlement of

⁴⁷ Reliefs depicting soldiers were common for instance in Zincirli (Orthmann 1971: 57*a*, 60*c*), Tell Tayinat (Orthmann 1971: 52*f*), Til-Barsib (Orthmann 1971: 54*b*, *c*) and Karatepe (Çambel – Özyar 2003: Pls. 56-57, 78-79, 148-149, 158-159).

⁴⁸ Texts recording extension of boundaries and river lands, or political and military events involving struggle against other cities are recorded for example on the Izgın stele 1 and 2 (Hawkins 2000: 314-316; Pls. 153-154), Topada rock inscription (Hawkins 2000: 541-544, Pls. 250-253) and on inscriptions on the gates of Karatepe (Hawkins 2000: 48-58; Çambel 1999: 51-55).

the devastated precincts” of a city after its conquest (A 31*b* 1-3, Hawkins, 2000: 141-142).

There exist also two inscribed blocks (A 11*a*, Hawkins 2000: 94-100; A 11 *b+c*, Hawkins 2000: 102-104) noting revolts either in the state of Karkamiš or the city itself. Interestingly, both of them date to the reign of Katuwas. The first one, A 11 *b+c*, mentions some rebellious cities, which probably had been controlled by Karkamiš (Hawkins 2000: 94-100). The other one tells the audience that 20 of Katuwas’s “TATI’s” revolted against him. These “TATI’s” have been suggested to be read as “kinsmen” (Hawkins 1980*b*: 148; Hawkins 1995*c*: 81, n. 69; Hawkins 2000: 95, 97). If they are not “kinsmen” one may also assume that here 20 towns or cities, which were under the control of Karkamiš might have been considered. In both texts, the recovery of the state of Karkamiš is stressed at the end, which provides a special prestige and importance to the king.

It is interesting to note that out of 8 inscriptions (A 4*b*, A1*a*, A 11*a*, A11*b*, A11*c*, A 12, A 25*a*, A 24*a*) which certainly mention some military victories, at least four belong to “the House of Suhis” and mostly to Katuwas’ reign (A 1*a*: attributed to Suhis II, A11*a*: Katuwas, A 12: Katuwas, A 25*a*: attributed to Katuwas).

As a result, the available textual evidence shows us that at least the reigns of Suhis II (Hawkins 2000: 88, 92) and his son, Katuwas, (Hawkins 2000: 94, 102) were politically and presumably economically prosperous. Clearly an expansionist policy is recognizable. It seems that these kings, especially Katuwas, have added numerous new cities and towns to their territory of control. Therefore, the recorded revolts seem to have been logical.

Judging from some inscriptions we may also assume that apart from having cities by conquest, “Karkamišean” kings have looked for other ways to enlarge their territories. At least three inscriptions and presumably both belonging to the reign of Kamanis⁴⁹ indicate that the rulers of Karkamiš involved in land purchases. They may have bought lands (Tünp1- Hawkins 2000: 155) or even “houses” (estates?) (A 4a, Hawkins 2000: 152). The Cekke inscription informs us that Kamanis and his vizier (?) Sasturas bought a city named Kamana from the Kanapuweans (Hawkins 2000: 145). Obviously, through land-purchases, the kings of Karkamiš might have found a peaceful and perhaps more economic way to expand their lands.

The extension of the state and territory of “Karkamišean” rulers is also apparent in their titles, inscribed on some monuments. For instance, in the Cekke stele on the reverse inscription, we find the king’s title as “Kamanis the Ruler, the Country-Lord of the cities Karkamiš (and) Malizi(?)⁵⁰...” (Hawkins 2000: 145). Similarly, in the fragment A 21 there exist the title “[I (am)...] the Hero, the Country-Lord of the city Karkamiš and the Ma(lizi)(?) –land...” It seems that the certain Malizi (?) was another important city of the period. Therefore it must be prestigious to place its name within the title of the king. During the Suhis dynasty the kings are entitled as “the Ruler, Karkamišean Country-Lord”. Thus, later additions of another city(s) next to Karkamiš in the title might have been an obvious sign for the

⁴⁹ Cekke and A 4a inscriptions involve Kamanis. TÜNPI stele that is also about land purchase shows similarities to the former ones, and therefore is assumed to have been contemporaneous (Hawkins 2000: 155).

⁵⁰ “Malizi” is the presumed reading of “calf-head + leg (-zi) city” which is the native designation of the city Malatya (?) found in kings’ titularies in the local inscriptions (Hawkins 2000: 284). The name appears in a number of monuments: Gürün rock inscription (Hawkins 2000: 295-96), Köttikale rock inscription (Hawkins 2000: 299-300), Ispekçür stele (Hawkins 2000: 301-302), Darende stele (Hawkins 2000: 304-305), İzgın stele (Hawkins 2000: 304-15) and Şırzı rock relief (Hawkins 2000: 322-23). But without any concrete textual evidence we cannot assume that Karkamiš once controlled or possessed the city of Malatya.

enlargement of the controlled area. Indeed the surviving example suggests that Kamanis might have been proud to stress his growth and power also through his title.

5.2.2 Sculptural Evidence

(**Fig. 15:** B 41- 43*a*; **Fig. 16:** B 44- 46; **Fig. 17;** **Fig. 28:** B 2- 3; **Fig. 29:** B 4- 5; **Fig. 37:** B 26*c*; **Fig. 38(?)**: B 61*a*)

Numerous orthostats depicting military scenes were uncovered from the inner town of Karkamiš (B2-B3, B 4-B 5, from the eastern wall of King's Gate (Figs. 29, 30); B 41-B 43*a*, B 44-B 46, from the Long Wall of Sculpture (Figs. 16, 17); and B 26*c* from the west of the gateway of the King's Gate (Fig. 37) showing military scenes). There are foot-soldiers (B 2- B3, B 44- B 46, B 26*c*), army officers (B 4- B 5) and soldiers on war chariots (B 41-43) aiming their arrows against the enemy who is always depicted wounded or dead under the horse. Another fragmentary relief, B 61*a*, depicts four heads of men, which is a part either of a battle or hunting scene (Fig. 38). It has been suggested that it might have been showing a chariot scene, either of a hunting or warfare (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 199).

The location and placement of the military depictions as well as their date are very important to understand their role and the intended messages. Sculptured blocks B 41-43 together with B 44-46 were adorning the largest part of the Long Wall of Sculpture. The orthostat reliefs B 41-43 were placed next to the divine representations. The chariots coming after the deities are followed by the foot-soldiers. Therefore, there seems to have been an importance of rank, which was emphasized even by the organization of the subject matters.

According to the reconstruction of Hawkins (1972: 107) the short gap between the divine and the chariot processions “could have been possibly filled by the figure of Suhis at the head of his troops”. According to his reconstruction the chariot procession has a minimum length of 8.40 meters, and the following infantry may occupy “the remaining 13 m. of the Long Wall” (Hawkins 1972: 107).

All chariot carts represented on the Long Wall of Sculpture carry two soldiers⁵¹ (Fig. 15). While one is pointing his arrow towards his enemy, the other one is driving the chariot. The horses are trampling enemies shown naked. The poses of the wounded or dead enemies under the horses are all different from each other. Such representations are also common in other Syro-Hittite cities⁵².

Apart from the Long Wall of Sculpture no other preserved façade depicts a chariot procession. On the other hand, orthostat B 61a is a basalt relief of four heads and it is described by Woolley (1952: 199) as a set of four charioteers. It is impossible to suggest any location for this fragment. Most probably it is of a later date (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 199; Mallowan 1972: 80; Özyar 1991: 55). On the basis of comparisons with the Assyrian reliefs, Woolley (1952: 199) attributes it to the time of Assurbanipal. On the other hand, Mallowan (1972: 80, n. 58) also finds Sargon’s reign possible. If it dates to Sargon’s time, then it might be associated with the king Pisiris or with a later Assyrian governor. If this assumption is correct, we still have no evidence showing us whether the relief is a military or hunting scene.

⁵¹ These chariot scenes from Karkamiš resemble very much those of Zincirli. Mallowan (1972: 82) sees these scenes in both sites as a crude version of those in the North West Palace of Assurnasirpal II at Nimrud. He suggests that Karkamiš and Zincirli chariot reliefs are presumably at least one or two decades older than the Assyrian ones.

⁵² Zincirli (Orthmann 1971: 57a), Tell Tayinat (Orthmann 52f). While the enemy figures in Zincirli relief are naked that one from Tell Tayinat are dressed.

Soldiers B 2-3 were sculpted on the King's Gate quarter. In terms of placement it seems that these infantry are led by the armed figures depicted on B 4 and B 5, although they are not contemporary. The single orthostat B 26c, found in the western façade of the King's Gate entrance depicts also two foot-soldiers, which are very reminiscent of those on slabs B 2-3. As we mentioned before, Özyar (1991: 55) believes that this piece was reused here and originally was part of Katuwas' program mentioned on A 11a.

Turning the corner towards the Royal Buttress we see that the infantry of the "re-entrant" leaves its place to armed high-ranking officers (B 4-5). These army officers decorate the northern short wall of the Royal Buttress. Their drapery differs from that of the infantry (B 2-3), but is close to those worn by the royal figures represented on B 7a. Except for the rear figure on B 4b – who carries a quiver on his back - all the officers carry swords on their belts and occasionally on their raised hands (B 4a, B 5b). The leading soldier of the multi-figured scenes holds an up-pointed spear in his raised hand. Only one of these armed figures carries a round shield on his back (B 5a). These apparently high-rank soldiers are put in such a place that they would lead the infantry towards the royal figures represented on the opposite corner of the Royal Buttress.

Judging from stylistic and technical analysis, high-ranking soldiers seem to have been part of the royal representations of Yariris. Evidently the infantry (B 2- 3) and the royal scenes (B 6- 8) including the armed officers on the Royal Buttress are different in date. While the former belonged to Katuwas' reign, the latter to the reign of Yariris. It is possible that Yariris left the row of four soldier reliefs, B 2-3, unchanged and incorporated them into his scene so that the soldiers follow the armed

officers. Therefore, they may have formed a unit with his Royal Buttress (Güterbock 1954: 108).

Although the reliefs showing foot-soldiers from the Long Wall of Sculpture are not well preserved, mostly being eroded, they have much in common with those coming from the King's Gate proper. It seems that all the infantry are shown more or less in a similar way. They are always lined in a repetitive row facing the same direction. All of the infantry are wearing short-sleeved short tunics and crested conical helmets on their heads. In all preserved cases in their right hand they hold a middle-size spear that is pointed down. The round equipment on their back appears to be a shield.

The foot-soldiers on the King's Gate slightly raise their fistful left hands rightwards, whereas those (or at least the better preserved ones – B 44*b*, B 45*a*, and B 46*a*) on the Long Wall of Sculpture carry decapitated heads presumably of their enemies on their left hands.

The depiction of conquered enemies, prisoners and/or tributaries was a common theme in the Near Eastern sphere, especially in the 1st millennium B.C. Assyrian art⁵³ (Parrot 1961: Pls. 53, 55-56, 115-117; Strommenger 1964: Pls. 205, 218; Moortgat 1967: 136-141). It goes at least back to the Standard from the Royal Cemetery at Ur (Moortgat 1967: 137, Pl. 260).

⁵³ The subject matter of prisoners are attested in the Throne Room of Assurnasirpal II's North West Palace at Nimrud (Moortgat 1967: 137, Pls. 262-63; Strommenger 1964: Pls. 204-205), in the Black Obelisk of Shalmanesar III (Strommenger 1964: Pl. 208) and on the 8th century wall paintings of Til Barsib (Parrot 1961: Pls. 115-117).

The reliefs of foot-soldiers on the Long Wall of Sculpture as well as a few pieces from Karkamiš, which were not found *in situ* (Fig. 44) indicate us that showing conquered enemies was also favored in Karkamiš.

A close observation on the eroded foot-soldier reliefs of the Long Wall of Sculpture shows us that almost on each preserved slab the soldiers are depicted in a way with the prisoners (Fig. 16). Some soldiers carry decapitated heads of their enemies, as a manner presented on a relief found in Tell Tayinat (Gerlich 2000: 244, Fig. 4). On the slab B 46*b* a beseeching enemy is kneeling before the soldier who is executing another naked enemy. Apparently the prisoners executed by the soldiers on B 45*a* and B 44*b* are shown naked and smaller in scale than those of the soldiers.

Two more reliefs found at Karkamiš but “omitted in the official report of the excavation” and seem to have been firstly published by Ussishkin also may belong to a frieze with military depictions (Ussishkin 1967a: 92, Figs. 9-10) (Fig. 44).

On the fragmentary relief, now in the Ashmolean Museum⁵⁴ at Oxford, a row of at least five figures are depicted hand in hand (Fig. 44b) (Ussishkin 1967a: 92, Fig. 9). They may have been prisoners, refugee or deported people of conquered city or state, for instance mentioned in A 1*a* or A 31*b*.

The other relief, now in the Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara (No: 85) shows a man with a pointed cap and a long garment, who carries a bag on his back (Fig. 44a) (Ussishkin 1967a: 92, Fig. 10). It is interpreted either as a tribute-bearer (Gerlach 2000: 248-49) or a man going into exile (Ussishkin 1967a: 87). The style of the relief is suggested to be Assyrian (Ussishkin 1967a: 92; Gerlach 2000: 248).

⁵⁴ Ashmolean Museum No: 1935-768.

A fragmentary relief, B 68*b*, found on the surface (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 283) shows a small figure carrying an object on his fore stretched hands (Fig. 44). It is interpreted as a tribute-bearer carrying a city-model(?) (Gerlach 2000: 248). Gerlach (2000: 245-248), by comparing the latter two reliefs with similar representations from Til Barsib (Gerlach 2000: 247, Fig. 7a,b) intends to date the pieces to the period of Assyrian dominance in Karkamiš, i.e. after 717 B.C. He (Gerlach 2000: 243) believes that they belong to Assyrians' redecoration program in the city, which features Assyrian propaganda.

On the other hand, the reliefs in Fig 44, found in Karkamiš, depicting prisoners, refugee and/or tribute-bearers may have been inspired from contemporary Neo-Assyrian art in terms of subject matter. They might not necessarily have belonged to a program commissioned by an Assyrian governor in Karkamiš. These reliefs may have served as a means of propaganda of "Karkamišan" rulers, rather than those of the Assyrians.

The examples of tributaries or prisoners from Karkamiš do not show any historical embedding, any typical garment or landscape. They are traditional representations intended to show the power, persuasion and sanction of the state.

The dating and possible affiliation of the orthostats with military representations to certain reigns may clarify some issues in the history of Karkamiš. As we saw above the majority of the reliefs with military depictions are coming from the Long Wall of Sculpture. There appear two different suggestions concerning the dating of these scenes. The diversity of opinions is basically due to different interpretations of the hieroglyphic inscriptions related with the complex.

Basing on the content of inscriptions A 2+3, some scholars date these military reliefs to Katuwas (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 170, 242-243; Güterbock 1954: 108; Orthmann 1971: 34)⁵⁵. In contrary, Hawkins (1972: 94, 96) relies on the text of A 1a and therefore believes that the whole series of orthostats here are dated to the reign of Suhis II, the father of Katuwas. He (1972: 107) argues that the foot soldiers and war-chariots may illustrate the victorious army of Suhis II as military exploits are also mentioned in the text, A 1a. Apparently, the latter suggestion has found many more supporters (Hawkins 1972: 107; Winter 1975a: 171; Özyar 1991: 83; Hawkins 2000: 87-91; Aro 2003: 315).

When we turn to the dating of the foot-soldiers on the King's Gate, we find more or less a consensus. According to Güterbock (1954: 108) orthostats B 2- 3 depicting foot-soldiers were placed by Katuwas. He (Güterbock 1954: 108) further assumes that Katuwas left the old wall decoration - the mythological scenes on the Herald's Wall, B 9-16, and B 49b, 50a, which are older than Katuwas - in place, but he or someone else may have changed the position of the easternmost reliefs.

Katuwas may have set up his victorious inscription in front of this wall, if the assumption that A12 stood on the substructure is correct (Güterbock 1954: 108). In addition, Özyar (1991: 103) emphasizes the possibility that the setting up of orthostats for a gate building by Katuwas - mentioned on the reused gate jamb A 11b+c - was part of a greater restoration project which included the production of part of the Herald's Wall reliefs and the King's Gate sculpture.

⁵⁵ According to Güterbock (1954: 108), foot-soldiers and chariots in the Long Wall of Sculpture should be considered as a later addition to the earlier orthostats of the gods and goddesses set up by Suhis II.

Since the army officers on B 4- B 5 are found *in situ* and are associated with a certainly dated inscription, they are clearly commissioned by Yariris.

In conclusion, running parallel to the epigraphic evidence, Suhis II and Katuwas as well as Yariris are the only rulers who chose to include military scenes on their sculptural programs. In the case of Suhis and Katuwas such visual depictions correspond with the surviving inscriptional contents related to these rulers. So, it seems clear that these rulers were actually involved in some military actions to extend their territories. Certain importance may have given to the military or reorganization may have been done.

In terms of iconography, the military representations seem to be new or at least have a new implication. The theme certainly is not part of Bronze Age iconography. On the other hand, a few fragments found in Boğazköy (but not *in situ*) belong to some kind of battle scene (Darga 1992: 129, Figs. 130-131). On one fragment we see a man attacking with a spear another falling figure (Darga 1992: Figs. 130-131). Another fragment being part of the same orthostat depicts a man on a chariot pointing his spear to the human figure lying beneath the horse (Darga 1992: Fig. 131)⁵⁶. However, the figures are interpreted as deities (relying on their dress and cap) and the struggle as the “battle of the gods” being part of a mythological scene (Darga 1992: 129).

So, the military representations in Karkamiš had a completely new character, since none of the figures appear to bear a divine aspect. Now they belong to a secular world, to the world of humans and kings. Thus the theme of warfare in Karkamiš had an important role in terms of showing power of the kingdom as a vehicle of propaganda.

⁵⁶ According to Darga (1992: 129) this is the earliest example of a chariot driven by a horse.

5.3 Religious Representations

Sculptural representations and texts related to the deities and religious rituals were the most favored subjects in the ancient Near Eastern civilizations. The content of inscriptions found at Karkamiš allows understanding more or less the reason behind the frequency of reliefs depicting deities and other scenes related to their cult.

5.3.1 Epigraphic Evidence

Orthostats of Karkamiš also bear a reasonable amount of texts, referring to the gods and to some extent to the pantheon and religion of the state. Almost all surviving monumental inscriptions from Karkamiš mention its principal deities in several contexts.

Texts inscribed on orthostat blocks or stelae inform us indirectly that the most worshipped deities of Karkamiš were Tarhunzas, Kubaba and Karhuhas (Hawkins 2000: 80-140). The Storm-God was the major male deity in Karkamiš⁵⁷, as it was in the 2nd millennium B.C. in Central-Southeastern Anatolia and North Syria. Like the 2nd millennium B.C. (Roller 1999: 44-45)⁵⁸, the principal female deity of the city's pantheon was Kubaba⁵⁹ (Hawkins 1980-83: 257-261; Hawkins 1981: 147-150; Gurney 1990: 111- 114; Roller 1999: 45). While during the Hittite Period she

⁵⁷ He is attested in the following inscriptions from Karkamiš: A 1a, A 11a, A 11b+c, A 2+3, A 12, A 13d, A 6, A 15b, A 4a, A 4b, A 25b, A 17b, A 17a, A 27u, Körkün.

⁵⁸ During the Hittite period, the goddess Hebat (or Hepit, the Hurrian Weather God Teshub's consort) was the most important deity in the Hurrian pantheon. Another prominent Hurrian deity was the goddess Shauska identified with Ishtar (Gurney 1990: 111-114). The goddess Kubaba appears occasionally in Boğazköy and Ras Šamra texts (Hawkins 1980-83: 257-258). She seems to be the local goddess of Karkamiš in the 2nd millennium B.C. (Hawkins 1980-83: 257).

⁵⁹ Kubaba is attested in numerous texts from Karkamiš (A 4b, A 14a, A 11a, A 11b+c, A 12, A 13d, A 23, A 25a, A 6, A 15b, A 24a, A 2+3, A 31, A 30b, A 4a, A 25b, A 21, A 13a-c, A 15e, A 18e and from Cekke and Körkün stelae (Hawkins 1980-83: 258-259; Hawkins 2000: 80-140).

was merely a local goddess of Karkamiš, in the 1st millennium B.C her cult spread to other Syro-Hittite states too, and she became the main goddess of the region⁶⁰ (Hawkins 1980-83: 257-261; Roller 1999: 45). The Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions from Karkamiš also frequently refer to Karhuhas, especially in protective manner in curse sections. His name almost unexceptionally occurs together with Tarhunzas and Kubaba⁶¹.

Apart from these three most worshipped deities, the written documents provide us with further divine names such as Atrisuhas (A 11a, A 4d), the Grain-God (A 11a), the Wine-God (A 11a), God Sarkus (A11 b+c), the Sun-God (A6, A 15b, A4a, A 5a, A 17a, B33, Cekke), the Moon-God (A 4a, Cekke, B33), the Good God (Cekke), Ea (Cekke), and Parakaras (Cekke) (Hawkins 2000: 100-196).

During the Iron Age it was popular to name the Storm-Gods in connection with the state or city (Hutter 2003: 220-224). The preserved Hieroglyphic Luwian texts at Karkamiš point out that the Storm-God is mostly referred to as the “Karkamišean Tarhunzas” (Hawkins 2000: 95: A 11a, 109: A 2, 110: A 3, 115: A 13d). However, this referring is used only in monuments related to Katuwas. It seems that later it has been abandoned and was simply replaced by “Tarhunzas”. In existing inscriptions we find reference also for the “Sparkean Tarhunzas” (A 1a) and the “Halabean Tarhunzas”⁶² (A 24a 2+3, Körkün). Clearly, these two examples are from texts that mention some lands in the neighborhood.

⁶⁰ For the Hittite religious practice of Kubaba, her cult and her reappearance in Neo-Hittite and Phrygian, see, Roller 1999: 44-53.

⁶¹ In inscriptions: A 14a, A 11a, A 11b+c, A 12, A 13d, A 25a, A 4a, A 25b, Cekke.

⁶² “Halabean Tarhunzas” is the Storm God of Aleppo (Hawkins 2000: 388-392). From the 2nd millennium B.C. Aleppo was the center of the worship of the Storm God (Klengel 1965b: 87-93; Hawkins 2000: 388).

Kings usually emphasized that they are beloved by the gods, particularly by Tarhunzas or Kubaba. Special adjectives and titles were given to the principal deities. In A 11*a* and A 11*b+c* we see that Katuwas' referring as "...my lord (celestial) Tarhunzas, Karhuhas and Kubaba loved me..." (Hawkins 1981: 150; Hawkins 2000: 95, 103). In A 23 Katuwas also calls the main goddess Kubaba as "...my sovereign Kubaba, Queen of Karkamiš..." (Hawkins 1981: 152; Hawkins 2000: 119). The latter title for Kubaba is also found on A 18*e*, of which the author's name is not preserved (Hawkins 2000: 194).

Hieroglyphic inscriptions also indicate that the "Karkamišean" kings correlate themselves with their deities in various matters. Some rulers such as the authors of A 1*a* (Suhis II?), A 11*a* (Katuwas), A 2+3 (Katuwas), A 15*b* (Yariris), the inscription on a stone bowl (Yariris), A 21*b+a* together with A 20*b* (Pisiris?) and perhaps A 26*f* (unidentified successor of Kamanis) emphasize the favor of the gods in their accession to the throne and in military expeditions. From A 12 (Fig. 59) we learn that Katuwas asked the gods especially the Storm-God for skill, protection and profit (Hawkins 2000: 114). It seems that in return the rulers of Karkamiš, in order to offer their thanks, honored the deities with new temples, statues, orthostats or other buildings.

After accession or a military achievement or obtaining other favors such as skills, protection and profit as well as medical protection, the rulers built temples, gates, erected new orthostats or dedicated statues to their major deities⁶³.

⁶³ In A 15*b*, Yariris thanks the gods who passed abroad his fame in skill in writing and foreign languages (Hawkins 2000: 131). Also obtaining protection and profit was mentioned in A 12 (Hawkins 2000: 114) and medical protection in A 23 (Hawkins 2000: 119).

Among the earliest surviving examples which mention some constructions or erections of new orthostats are two inscribed lion fragments, A 14*a* and A 14*b*. The former refers to the erection of new orthostats, and is probably dated to the reign of Suhis (Hawkins 1972: 99-100; Hawkins 2000: 85-86). The second inscribed lion fragment, A 14*b*, this time from the reign of Astuwatamanzas (Hawkins 1972: 98-99; Hawkins 2000: 85-86) announces building of some gates or erecting of new orthostats to an already existing gate-structure.

From the large wall orthostat A 1*a*, we learn that most probably Suhis II erected new orthostats on the Long Wall of Sculpture showing the deities who provided him with the “paternal succession”, authority and exalted position (Hawkins 1972: 92-94; Hawkins 2000: 87-88). The same inscribed monument also speaks of a setting up of the rulers’ statue and offerings presented to it. Here the author stresses the fact that if people dedicate offerings for the statue and honor it the gods will bless them (Hawkins 2000: 89).

Based on the existing inscribed monuments from Karkamiš, the majority of such dedications belong to Katuwas. Several inscribed blocks (A 11*a*, A 2+3, A 11*b+c*) serving a function as door-jambs were found to belong to this particular ruler.

The portal orthostat A 11*a* is a well-preserved example which clearly indicates us the relationship between the kings and the gods (Hawkins 2000: 95-96). Here the ruler Katuwas, declares that because of his justice the gods gave him the paternal power, make him raise in strength and pass the ancestral lands to him. So, in return Katuwas constructed temple(s) for the “Karkamišean Tarhunzas” and provided it with offerings. Moreover, he mentions the adornment of some gates inherited from

his ancestors with new orthostats as well as the erection of a statue of the God Atrisuhas (Hawkins 2000: 95-96).

Another pair of inscribed door-jambs (A 2+3) also has a very similar content. It declares also that Katuwas built temples for “Karkamišean Tarhunzas” and even donated artisans to this temple, since the Storm-God gave him the “paternal succession” and “exalted” him over Karkamiš (Hawkins 2000: 109).

The inscription on the door-jambs A 11*b+c* (=A 9+10) contains the best preserved texts of Karkamiš. Here Katuwas refers to the construction of some upper floors and a divine procession (Hawkins 2000: 103) after a successful military conquest. Similarly, the inscribed block A 13*d*, whose author is also Katuwas, mentions further dedications to the gods, after a military achievement (Hawkins 1981: 154; Hawkins 2000: 115-116).

Orthostat A 23 (Fig. 60) and the fragments A 26*a*1+2 have been suggested to have been parts of one single inscribed block (Hawkins 1972: 101-102; Hawkins 1981: 151-154; Hawkins 2000: 116-118). In this door-jamb we find another dedicatory building inscription. This time Katuwas mentions construction of some buildings (?) or perhaps a temple for Kubaba, because the goddess protected the king himself and his country and “always gave him his enemies” (Hawkins 2000: 119). From A 31, reconstructed together with fragments A 30*b*1-3, we learn that besides Katuwas Kamanis also built a temple for Kubaba (Hawkins 1981: 156; Hawkins 2000: 141-42).

Apart from the “Karkamišean” kings, some officials also seem to have made dedications for their deities. For instance, the text A 30*b*, which is inscribed on a

basalt stele base declares the dedication by an official of a full granary for Kubaba (Hawkins 2000: 177).

Another inscription indicates us a further important relationship between the kings and the gods. This is the building inscription (A 6) of the regent Yariris. Here Yariris introduces Kamanis, the heir of the throne, and his brothers to the public. Lines 7 and 8 of the inscription might have been interpreted as the introduction the royal children to the pantheon of Karkamiš, in particular Tarhunzas, the Sun-God and Kubaba. In this way presumably he wants the children to learn their gods, and to make the gods bless and accept them. Furthermore, Yariris intends Kamanis to accept that Yariris will raise Kamanis and his brothers in the best way by the help of Kubaba (Hawkins 2000: 125). So, by showing the main deities to the royal children the ruler also introduces the major deities to the general audience.

Besides dedicating new orthostats, statues, buildings/temples for the deities, the inscriptions on the monumental stone blocks also mention other offerings presented to deities. In texts concerning military achievements, usually the rulers speak of bringing a *trophy* and giving a *nine/ninth (share)* (A 1a, A 13d) to the major deities (Hawkins 2000: 88, 115). This must have been a ritual in ceremonies organized after military triumphs.

Moreover, the textual records of Karkamiš show us that in a traditional manner the temples, statues or images both of deities and kings received offerings from the royal family and the public. The most commonly mentioned offerings are sheep, oxen, calf, bread (“annual bread” in A 11b, A 13d) and libations (Hawkins 2000: 106, 116). From the protective curses of A 11a it is possible to detect that the

cursed people might not have had the right to give offerings and make libations or at least the deities have not accepted their offerings (Hawkins 2000: 96).

5.3.2 Religious Scenes and Divine Representation on Orthostats

(Fig. 14: B 38- 40; Fig. 18; Fig. 33: B19- 22a; Fig. 45: B 33)

Religious scenes are among the most common representations in the sculptural program of the city. Like the military scenes, the Long Wall of Sculpture and the King's Gate, in particular the Processional Entry, are the places where the sacred depictions are to be found.

As mentioned above, the reliefs of the Long Wall of Sculpture seem to form a unitary composition, a procession of gods, followed by processions of chariotry and foot soldiers. Most probably the whole of these scenes were described in the accompanying inscription A1a, attributed to Suhis II (Hawkins 1976-80: 436-37; Hawkins 2000: 87-89).

The subject matter of the composition can be interpreted in a number of ways:

1. "the gods and the queen receiving the victorious army" (Mallowan, 1972: 82);
2. "the gods leading the triumphant army up a great staircase and into the temple" (Mallowan 1972: 69);
3. "the return of the gods to their home after a victory" (Güterbock, 1954: 108).

Depending on the inscription A 1a+b and the comparison to the reliefs on the east side of the outer citadel gate at Zincirli (Orthmann 1971: 95, 106), Hawkins (1972: Fig. 4a) restored the procession depicted on this Long Wall (Fig. 18). According to him the text on A1a "is describing the actual reliefs decorating the Long Wall" (Hawkins 1972: 95). So, relying on the textual evidence he (Hawkins 1972: 95) states:

...“this mighty Tarhundas” is the Storm God who heads the procession (B 38*a, b*). “These gods” are those who follow him; a goddess with an ear of corn (Kubaba?); a god with a spear and shield (Karhuhas?; B 39*b*); another goddess (B 39*a*); and the Naked Goddess (B 40). The rear of the procession is brought up by the seated Queen Watis. ...”

Hawkins takes into account Woolley’s restoration (1952: 171) and also considers the representations on the Lion Gate of Malatya. According to this placement he (Hawkins 1972: 106-107) restored the following divine sequence: the Storm-God, Tarhunzas, Kubaba, and Karhuhas followed by another goddess. Lastly on the procession the winged Naked Goddess and the seated Queen Watis, B 40, were represented (Fig. 18). The entire divine procession seems to be approximately 7 meters long (Hawkins 1972: 107).

Another orthostat clearly about a religious representation is the isolated monumental slab B 33 (Fig. 45). This monumental sculptured block which stood on the east side of the Great Staircase, represents the Sun and the Moon-Gods – attested from the inscribed names - on the back of a lion. It was compared (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 241; Güterbock 1954: 109) with the “Naked Goddess”, and was assumed to be a work of Suhis II, and most probably it was left in its place by “all later builders” (Güterbock 1954: 108).

As we mentioned before, the dating of the divine procession orthostats on the Long Wall is problematic. Either Katuwas (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 241-42;

Güterbock 1954: 109; Mallowan 1972: 69) or Suhis II (Hawkins 1972: 94, 96; Hawkins 2000: 87-89) was the patron.

The second façade where the religious scenes were depicted is the Processional Entry. On the southern section of the façade, eight sculpted stone blocks (B 19b- B 23a) were found *in situ*. The orthostats B 19a and B 24 were also included to this series of orthostats.

The relief B 19a depicts a female figure, probably the goddess Kubaba (Hawkins 1980c: 127-128; Özyar 1991: 73-74), seated on a high-backed chair placed on a lion. The goddess is followed by a procession of female attendants, perhaps priestesses, carrying offerings (?)⁶⁴, as well as youthful attendants, carrying sacrificial animals on their shoulders (B 22-24).

At the corner of the goddess relief (B 19a), the stepped door-way of the Staircase Recess was flanked by the musician scenes (B 17b and B 18b). The relief scenes show figures playing various musical instruments⁶⁵. If these orthostats flanking the door-way are the part of the procession mentioned above, they all together might have represented a religious ritual (Özyar 1991: 75).

⁶⁴ The leading goddess is holding a mirror in one hand and a pomegranate (Özyar 1991: 72) or a distaff (Mallowan 1972: 76) in the other. Each priestess on B 19b carries a different object: an animal figure, a bowl-like object and an ear or a bundle of wheat. All the other participants in the procession carry either an ear or bundle of wheat in one hand and maybe a piece of cloth (linen?) in their other hand, or a mirror and a piece of cloth (Özyar 1991: 72).

⁶⁵ A similar representation consisting of a goddess and attendants as well as musicians and dancers is coming from the eastern tower of Alaca Höyük, dated to the Hittite Kingdom Period (Mellink 1970: 24-25; Darga 1992: 130-153, Pls. 138-156). However, there is a slight difference; while in the Hittite example the procession is headed towards the seated goddess, here in Karkamiš the goddess herself seems to be leading a procession of priestesses (Özyar 1991: 73). In the 1st millennium B.C. reliefs with similar themes were also found in the North Gate of Karatepe (Çambel – Özyar 2003: Pls. 50-51).

Kubaba is facing towards the entrance. Özyar, agreeing with Orthmann (Orthmann 1971: 358), postulates that the depiction of the goddess is “meant to be that of a cult figure, a statue that in reality would have been carried by humans during such a procession” (Özyar 1991: 73).

On the grounds of the inscriptions A 11*b+c* (=A 9+10) Katuwas is the most commonly accepted figure responsible for the erection of this religious procession (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 204; Güterbock 1954: 107, 108; Hawkins 2000: 102). Indeed, the pair of door-jambs A 11*b+c*, found reused in the threshold of the King’s Gate, are dating to the reign of Katuwas. It has been suggested that these portal orthostats flanked the door of the Staircase Recess, as suggested by Woolley (1952: 193, 202- 203; Hawkins 2000: 102; Özyar 1991: 54). Therefore, one comes up with the conclusion that the infantry slabs and the entire religious procession at the King’s Gate are works of Katuwas.

It seems that there was a long coherent composition consisting of the goddess leading the offering bearers from one side, and soldiers coming from the opposite side, and the scenes relating to the king himself in the center. In fact, this reconstruction is based on Woolley’s suggestions about the existence of Katuwas’ “lost version of the Royal Buttress” (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 243; Güterbock 1954: 108). He has pointed out the possibility that the portrait slab A 13*d* might have formed part of Katuwas’ Royal Buttress. If so, he interpreted the whole scene as the king himself advancing at the head of his troops into the temple which he has restored - mentioned in A 11*b+c* - “for the institution of the sacrifice” (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 243).

On the other hand, Hawkins has had a slightly different interpretation for the entire sculptural program. According to him (Hawkins 1980c: 127), the inscribed block A 11*b* is related to the processional scenes at the King's Gate proper (Özyar 1991: 74). The inscription seems to contain a passage that mentions a procession of Karhuhas and a procession of Kubaba. So, it was suggested that while from one side Kubaba leads the procession of priestesses and gazelle bearers, from the other side the procession of warriors comes, which is led by a lost depiction of Karhuhas, the counterpart of Kubaba (Hawkins 1980c: 127-128; Özyar 1991: 74).

Indeed taking into account the appearance of Karhuhas together with Kubaba and other deities on the Long Wall of Sculpture, which depicts a procession leading to the Great Staircase, as well as the representation of three main gods (Storm God, Kubaba in the middle and Karhuhas, the god of the war) in the "outermost corner" of the outer gate at Zincirli (Mazzoni 1997: 320), we may postulate Karhuhas' presence in the program of Processional Entry. However, his position as leading the troops remains hypothetical, although it is natural to link Karhuhas, the god of war, with a military scene.

5.3.3 Statues and Stelae⁶⁶

(Fig. 36: B 25 = B 54, B 26*a*; **Fig. 39:** B 54*a*, B 67; **Fig. 42:** B 27*a*; **Fig. 43:** B 47, B 53*a,b*; B 32; **Fig. 46:** B 62*a*, B 64*a,b*)

In the whole Near Eastern sphere it was a very common practice to produce statues of gods and to place them in shrines and temples (Frankfort 1970: 45-59). The

⁶⁶ Although statues and stelae seem different in nature, they will be treated in the same section for the convenience of discussion.

Hittite sources tell us that cult statues were often made of precious metals and stones (Otten 1951: 47-71; Goetze 1957: 53-55; Otten 1958: 110-111; Güterbock 1967: 73-81; Kümmel 1967: 15-16; del Monte 1975: 342, nn. 54-56; Haas-Wäfler 1976: 65-99; Haas-Wäfler 1977: 87-122; van den Hout 1994: 45, 48-51; Gonnet 1995: 193; van den Hout 1995: 199-200; Bonatz 2000b: 198, nn. 22, 23; Hawkins 1980: 213, nn. 6, 7, 8, 9). A similar practice seems to continue into the 1st millennium Hittite/Luwian religious sphere, including the state of Karkamiš.

Erecting stelae that picture single or two deities⁶⁷ is another long lasting tradition continuing into the Syro-Hittite city-states. The single figures shown on stelae are either the Storm God⁶⁸ or Kubaba⁶⁹.

Stone monuments, particularly stelae, representing the goddess Kubaba and/or mentioning dedications to the goddess were also found in other Syro-Hittite territories, apart from Karkamiš (Roller 1999: 46, n. 46-47). Malatya 13 and Meharde stelae seem to bear the figure of the goddess on their obverses. While Malatya 13 stele shows a seated goddess on a chair placed on a stag (?) or a bull, on the Meharde

⁶⁷ Darende four-sided stele depicts on obverse the goddess Hebat, and on side D the God Šarruma (Hawkins 2000: Pls. 145-146). Malatya 13 stele the seated goddess Kubaba on a chair placed on a stag or a bull confronts the Stag-God Karhuhas who stands on a lion (Hawkins 2000: Pl. 164).

⁶⁸ A large number of monuments mostly stelae depict on their frontal side the figure of the Storm God: in Que: Tell Ahmar 2 stele (Hawkins 2000: 227-228, Pls. 91-92); Borowski 3 (Hawkins 2000: 230-231, Pls. 93), Tell Ahmar 1 (Hawkins 2000: 239-241, Pls. 99-100); in Maraş: Maraş 5 stele (Hawkins 2000: 269-270, Pls. 118-119), Kürtül stele (Hawkins 2000: 271-272, Pls. 122-123), in Kummuh: Adiyaman 2 stele (Hawkins 2000: 351-352, Pls. 177-178); in Bit-Agusi: Babylon 1 stele (Hawkins 2000: 391-392, Pls. 209-210); in Tabal: Aksaray stele (Hawkins 2000: 475-477, Pl. 264), Ivriz 2 stele (Hawkins 2000: 526-527, Pl. 300), Keşlik Yayla 1 stele (Hawkins 2000: 531, Pl. 305), Gaziantep stele (Hawkins 2000: 558-559, Pl. 317).

⁶⁹ Malatya 13 stele (Hawkins 2000: 328, Pls. 164) depicts a seated goddess on a chair placed on a stag(?) or bull. Meharde stele (Orthmann 1971: Pl. 38g; Hawkins 2000: 415-417, Pls. 225-226) on its obverse depicts a female figure with long dress, who is standing on a couchant lion. The inscription of the stele says that it is a dedication to the goddess "Queen of the Land" by a king. Birecik stele and Ancoz basalt basin are other monuments identified to depict the goddess Kubaba (Bittel 1980-83: 262; Hawkins 2000: 345-346).

stele there is a female figure with a long dress, standing on a crouching lion. The text of the latter speaks of a dedication of a stele to the goddess “Queen of the Land” by the “Wadastinian king”. Also the upper part of a stele from Domuztepe (Çambel – Özyar 2003: 228) shows Kubaba, holding a mirror(?) who stands under a winged disk. Moreover, two pairs of inscribed blocks from Beypınarı (1+2) mention the goddess Kubaba of the throne and table by a queen of Kummuh (Hawkins 2000: 334-335, Pl. 165). Another monument (Ancoz 1 basalt basin) refers to a dedication to Kubaba and offerings to other gods (Hawkins 2000: 345-346, Pls. 171-172).

The prevalence of Kubaba’s cult in the Syro-Hittite world during the 1st millennium B.C. is also attested by a number of seals found in the region (Hawkins 2000: 572-591). They were named by Hawkins as “Kubaba seals” since they were inscribed with the name of the goddess in the Hieroglyphic Luwian (Hawkins 2000: 573). None of these seals, which are mostly stamp seals, is provenanced except for that from Nineveh (Hawkins 2000: 573).

However, the majority of such cult stelae, inscribed with Hieroglyphic Luwian depict on their obverse the typical figure of Storm God. The standard representation of the god is a bearded figure facing right who wears a horned helmet, and a short, short-sleeved belted tunic, and boots with upturned toes. He carries a sword at his waist and holds a “trident thunderbolt” in his left hand in front, and an axe in his right hand raised behind (Hawkins 2000: 227, 230, 239, 271, 391)⁷⁰.

A few sites such as Karatepe (Çambel 1999: Pls. 32-33, 35-41; Çambel – Özyar 2003: 218-220) and Gerçin (Orthmann 1971: 7d) provide us with free-standing statues

⁷⁰ On the Adiyaman 1 stele the Storm God is standing on a bull (Hawkins 2000: 344-345, Pls. 169-170).

of the Storm-God. Both statues bear an inscription on their skirts, from which we learn that they are representing the Storm God.

In addition, a complete statue (Maraş 3 statue (Hawkins 2000: 267-268; Pls. 116-117)) or fragmentary ones (Kirçoğlu statue (Hawkins 2000: 267-268; Pls. 116-117) and Maraş 13 statue with the head missing (Hawkins 2000: 276-277, Pls. 128)) of which only lower parts are preserved have skirts completely or partially inscribed. Kirçoğlu and Maraş statues are not monumental in size. Although the text on Maraş 3 statue mentions a dedication of a statue for Tarhunzas it has been postulated that the Maraş 3 figure is a statue of a worshipper, and its text actually refers to the stele with depiction of the Storm God (Maraş 5 stele (Hawkins 2000: 269-270; Pls. 118-119; Orthmann 1971: Pl. 44d), and that the statuette Maraş 3 would then have been made to stand in prayer before the Maraş 5 stele (Hawkins 2000: 268).

Consequently, we do not have any firm evidence to suggest that every monumental statue with an inscription on its body (mostly on its skirt) represents the Storm God or that every small statuette represents a worshipper.

In Karkamiš, in terms of divine representations, one expects to find an agreement between the local textual sources and its finds of statues and stelae. In other words, since the Storm God Tarhunzas, and the goddess Kubaba were so frequently mentioned in local texts, several statues or stelae depicting these deities must have been set up in Karkamiš. Although stelae depicting Storm God were found in reasonable quantity in other Syro-Hittite areas, and despite numerous textual evidence referring to favors and dedications of Storm God we do not have any monument found at Karkamiš, which represents certainly the Storm God.

Also only one monument of Karkamiš is identified as representing the goddess Kubaba. B 62a (Fig. 46) appears to be a stele which depicts a female figure in an elaborate costume whose head now is missing (Bittel 1980-83: 261-262). Judging from the text inscribed on its reverse (A 31/32) it shows the goddess Kubaba and is dated to the reign of Kamanis. This basalt figure was found high up on the northwestern slope of the citadel mound (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 245). Its provenance might suggest that it is coming from the Kubaba Temple (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 245), with which Kamanis is concerned. The reverse inscription records the building of Kubaba's temple, the dedication of a statue and the consecration of a precinct by Kamanis (Hawkins 1981: 149; Hawkins 2000: 141-142; contra, Mallowan 1972: 79, n.55).

Additionally, another basalt sculpture found in fragments, B 64a+b, illustrates a goddess in high relief (Fig. 46). However its style differs gradually from anything else found at Karkamiš (Özgen 1986: 24; Özyar 1991: 101). So, Mallowan (1972: 80) has assumed that it might have represented a dedication by the Assyrian king Sargon himself "to celebrate his conquest", therefore being "not earlier than the later half of the 8th century B.C."⁷¹

Other fragments (B 63) belonging to a colossal figure of a god – identified so from its horned headdress- were found at the top of the Great Staircase (Fig. 46) (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 175, 244). Because of its scale alone Woolley (1952: 244) assigned it to Yariris. However, if it is the case, we have no preserved textual evidence referring to Yariris' erection of a statue for a deity. In fact, only A 15b,

⁷¹ Muscarella (1967: 82-84) depending on the fibula on the dress of the figure, also dates it to the late 8th century B.C.

mentions building of a temple of the “Harmanean God” and the erection of his own image (Hawkins 2000: 131).

The large number of monumental double bull- (B 34, B 47), or lion- bases (B 53, B 26a, B 32) found in diverse locations in Karkamiš have supported the assumption that monumental figures either of deities or deified rulers rested on top of them (Fig. 43)⁷². Indeed, a number of fragments, especially of heads (B 54a, B 27a and B 67a,b) belonging to some monumental free-standing statues have been discovered at the site (Fig. 39). These finished or unfinished (B 67b) heads leads us to suggest that most probably they must have been parts of some free-standing figures either representing kings or gods, which were placed in strategic locations.

Consequently, judging both from written documents or sculptural works, the rulers of Karkamiš seem to have extensively favored erecting reliefs or free-standing images of their major deities and/or of themselves, which were displayed in both the interiors and exteriors of principal monumental buildings.

However, in the Syro-Hittite world, a distinction between statues representing royal figures and deities is not always clear unless we have a textual reference. Both groups seem to be placed on double bull- or lion-bases (p. 61-62). Also we must keep in mind that “in the Syro-Hittite world royal images were portrayed as gods” (Ussishkin 1970: 127, n. 20). Presumably, the statues of royal figures might have also been posthumous erections, representing deified rulers (Bonatz 2000b: 204-205). Bull or lion shaped bases must have had a special meaning. They can be related with the earlier religious concept where the deities are standing on their attributed animals (Bonatz

⁷² Very similar bull-shaped bases were found in the neighboring region (Kulakoğlu 1999: Pls. 3-7).

2000b: 205). In fact placing divine figures on bases with double lions was already known in the Hittite Empire⁷³.

Consequently, the religious representations also show that first-millennium Karkamiš's religious iconography differs in some points from that of Bronze Age Near East and Anatolia. Firstly, instead of thousands of gods of the Bronze Age sphere, now in Karkamiš the depiction of deities is restricted only to the main ones, especially to the mother-goddess Kubaba, and the Storm-God Tarhunzas. Kubaba as the center of the cult already worshipped locally in second millennium Karkamiš now finds its place in the iconography of her art (Hawkins 1980-83; Hawkins 1981; Roller 1999: 44-45). So, one observes that the representation of Kubaba on art is new (Güterbock 1954: 110; Laroche 1960b: 115-119; Roller 1999: 45, nn. 18-19). The attire (throne, lion, mirror, pomegranate) belonging to Kubaba and emphasizing her femininity, beauty and fertility aspects are also fully represented (Akurgal 1949: 107-109; Laroche 1960b: 123; Naumann 1983: 27-36; Roller 1999: 48-48, nn. 40, 47).

The second principal deity in first millennium Karkamiš iconography is the Storm-God, who was the chief deity already in the Hittite and in Syrian iconography in the 2nd millennium B.C. Now he is the consort of Kubaba (Roller 1999: 52-53) who replaced second-millennium consort of goddess Hebat (Gurney 1990: 111-114). This replacement emphasizes the spread and importance of the cult of Kubaba. But the Storm God's position seems to have been preserved, pointing out a continuation from or a link with the past.

⁷³ For instance, the stele found in Fasillar is made out of a single block, but the figure of the Weather God appears to stand on a base where the Mountain God(?) is flanked by two lion *protomes* (Bittel 1976: 14, 234, Pl. 264).

5.4. Hunting Scenes

(Fig. 38: B 61*a*; Fig. 40: B 60*a+b*)

There is not a single reference about hunting activities on the texts inscribed on the stone monuments of Karkamiš, unlike the Neo-Assyrian inscribed reliefs (Parrot 1961: Pls. 62-75; Strommenger 1964: Pls. 202-203, 247-261).

On the other hand, a few carved slabs might have been part of hunting representations. Two orthostat reliefs, B 60*a+b* (Fig. 40), found in the western part of the King's Gate complex, show chariots resembling those of the military depictions of the Long Wall of Sculpture. However, here they must have represented hunting scenes, since the figure under the horse is not a naked person, rather an animal, probably a dog.

Looking at the composition and style, Woolley (1952: 241) believes that these two reliefs of men hunting from chariots are indistinguishable from the chariot slabs of the Long Wall of Sculpture and that they may have been carved by the same artists. So he dates both sculptures to Katuwas' reign (Woolley 1952: 241).

Close parallels for the scenes on B 60*a+b* are two reliefs from the Malatya Lion Gate (Orthmann 1971: Pls. 42*a, b*). However, major differences are the inclusion of the hunted animal and the Hieroglyphic inscription on top of the orthostat blocks. While the first relief from Malatya depicts a lion hunt (Orthmann 1971: Pl. 42*a*; Hawkins 2000: Pl. 155), the other one depicts a stag hunt (Orthmann 1971: Pl. 42*b*; Hawkins 2000: Pl. 156). The texts on the orthostats inform us that the hunts were carried out by the kings of Malatya (Hawkins 2000: 318-21). A certain Halparuntiyas is involved in the lion hunt, a certain Maritis in a stag hunt (Hawkins 2000: 318-321).

Other examples of lion hunt on chariots come from Sakçagözü (Orthmann 1971: Pls. 52c, d). But here the scenes seem to be extended to include more human figures attacking lions with their spears. Technically the single scenes are not carved on a single orthostat block, rather on more than one, apparently three slabs constituting a single scene. They were not found *in situ*, so we do not know whether they originally stood on a gate or not.

As we have seen in military scenes, the relief B 61a also from the area west of King's Gate, has been assumed to represent four charioteers. However, it is impossible to know whether they belonged to a hunting or a battle scene.

In addition, a number of fragmentary reliefs that were not found *in situ* may also be related more or less to hunting scenes. Along the reliefs of the Inner Court we have B 58b, showing a single stag, and B 59b depicting an archer who aims his arrow towards a stag. Also another slab, B 61b (Fig. 48), found in the Staircase Area, shows a single goat or a gazelle. Stylistically and iconographically these reliefs are much closer to the depictions of the Hittite Empire period. In fact most of them are earlier in date and were reused in later sculptural programs (Özyar 1991: 62).

Similar scenes of archer (Orthmann 1971: Pl. 57f), stags (Orthmann 1971: 56c, 57g, c), stag and lion (Orthmann 1971: 56d) were found decorating particularly the outer citadel gate of Zincirli (Orthmann 1971: 539-40). Reliefs with hunting scenes at Karatepe-Arslantaş were also part of a decoration on the city's gates (Çambel -Özyar 2003: Pls. 18-19, 22-23, 44-45, 54-55, 210-211).

Judging from the epigraphic sources and from what is preserved archaeologically, we may assume that hunting representations were not favored in sculptural programs of Karkamiš as much as those of royal, military and divine

representations. The limited number of sculptural examples indicates that such scenes were sculpted only rarely.

The available inscriptions on orthostats do not give any reference to the rulers' hunting activities. So, the inscriptions seem to be not commemorating any royal hunting activity. It is possible that the rulers simply might not have wished to express their hunting activities on their monumental inscriptions; rather they recorded them on perishable material. Indeed, if one agrees with Woolley (1952: 241) that reliefs B 60*a* and B 60 *b* are dated to Katuwas' time, who left numerous inscribed orthostats, we will see none of the texts mention any hunting activities.

In general, hunting scenes of the Syro-Hittites were compared to those at the Alaca Höyük (Güterbock 1956: 54-56; Mellink 1970: 15-27; Mellink 1974: 203-205; Orthmann 1975: 427; Mazzoni 1997: 313-315; Özyar 2003: 112;). Indeed the best two examples of hunting scenes from the Hittite Empire Period are those depicted on the outer façade of the Sphinx Gate at Alaca Höyük (Mellink 1970: Fig. 2; Darga 1992: Fig. 132, Drw. 151) and on the exterior of the "Kınık-Kastamonu bowl" (Emre – Çınaroğlu 1993: 684-701, Figs. 22-27, Pls. 133-144)⁷⁴. The hunted animals in Alaca Höyük orthostats are boars, stags and lions; on the Kınık bowl we see deers, ibexes, lions, bulls and a boar. Two types of hunters, a kneeling hunter with a bow on the point

⁷⁴ Other Hittite representations of hunting were found on fragments two relief vases: the Selimli Vase (Muscarella 1947: Nr. 123; Boehmer 1983: 57, n. 120, Fig. 48a-d; Darga 1992: 148, Fig. 45) and another fragment from Boğazköy (Darga 1992: 148). A hunting scene also appears on a cylinder seal impression belonging to king Ini-Tešub of Karkamiš, where the hunter has a cap with a horn, and who stands on a bull and holds a spear (Emre – Çınaroğlu 1993: 690, n. 95).

of shooting the arrow, and a standing hunter with a spear⁷⁵ appear both in Alaca Höyük reliefs and on the Kınık bowl.

Does the hunter in the Hittite art represent a king or a deity? Depending on the costume and the “horn-shaped protuberance” on the cap worn by the hunters on the Alaca Höyük reliefs and on the Kınık bowl, the hunter figures were interpreted as “deities” (Güterbock 1989: 118; Emre – Çınaroğlu 1993: 687)⁷⁶. In contrary, relying on the Anitta texts which refers to “royal hunting” and the “life of wild animals”, Darga argues that the hunters are “supernatural human-figures” who fight against the wild life and manage to overcome it, and that they are symbol of the “king” (Darga 1992: 152).

Although it is not certainly clear whom the hunters represent, the hunting scenes were generally associated with various ritual activities (Mellink 1970: 15-27; Güterbock 1956: 54-56; Orthmann 1975: 427; Mazzoni 1997: 313-315; Özyar 2003: 112; Çambel – Özyar 2003: 134)⁷⁷. Mazzoni (1997: 314) believes that “while deer hunting is probably related to or protected by a tutelary god, the lion hunt is a traditional subject related to kingship”. Hunting apparently is a heroic activity and it seems to have a “sacred role in the local context” (Mazzoni 1997: 315, n. 9). Furthermore, relying on von Sacken (1988: 31) Mazzoni suggests that “hunting was regulated by rituals and protected by gods, like Inar/KAL”. She (Mazzoni 1997: 315) also takes into account the

⁷⁵ For references about “hunting with spear” in Anatolian representative art see, Emre – Çınaroğlu 1993: 690.

⁷⁶ For complete bibliography, where the hunters were accepted as “deities” see, Emre – Çınaroğlu 1993: 687, nn. 53-57.

⁷⁷ The connection between hunting and religious rituals is suggested by the following evidence: 1. the placement of hunting scenes of Alaca Höyük on top of the orthostats with religious rituals, and next to the scene of libation (Güterbock 1956: 23; Mellink 1970: 23); 2. spear is accepted to have had a significant place in the religious ceremonies of the Hittite world (Emre – Çınaroğlu 1993: 690).

possibility of connection between the hunting scenes and the myth of Kessi the hunter (Xella 1978: 219-221).

In addition, Özyar also interprets a few hunting scenes placed on gate-ways as mythological (Çambel – Özyar 2003: 134; Pls. 54-55: on the upper register an archer is aiming his arrow towards a stag; 194-197: animals). Iconographically she believes that figures who are about to attack an animal (lion or bear) represent gods (Çambel – Özyar 2003: 131-32). On the other hand, taking into account the hunting scenes on the Lion Gate of Malatya, we should keep in mind that royal figures might have also been represented as shooting an animal. In fact, the inscription on Malatya 1 orthostat says: “These *shootings* (are) of Halpasulupis, grandson of Tara (?), the Hero, the lord of the city of Malizi... (Hawkins 2000: 319).

In my opinion, this is a very controversial matter, and the archaeological finds are not sufficient enough to make certain statements. We need more clear textual evidence which will go with archaeological material.

5.5. “Mytho-Heroic” Representations

(Fig. 19: B 35c; Fig. 22; Fig. 23; Fig. 25: B10; Fig. 26: B13- 14; Fig. 27: B15b-16; Fig. 47: B 52b, c, d, d, e, f)

Representations of mythological figures with protective functions were common in the art of Karkamiš as throughout all ancient Near Eastern art. A large number of reliefs placed on various walls of the “Lower Palace Area” certainly had protective purposes. Such representations have been found particularly on the Herald’s Wall and the Inner Court area of the King’s Gate. Another group comes from the area near the Great Staircase.

In general, the orthostats on the Herald's Wall and the Inner Court thematically and stylistically are close to each other, and therefore are assumed to be contemporary (Woolley - Barnett 1952: 204; Güterbock 1954: 106-108; Özyar 1991: 52, 103). Here the orthostat reliefs do not form any unified thematic composition. The slabs bear mythological figures with their "self-contained subjects and stories" which have a long history in the Near Eastern art (Özyar 1991: 42-52). Along the figures with "mytho-heroic" characters the hybrid creatures with a human and a lion's head (B 14a, B 56a(?)), bull-men holding spears (B 14b), a hero mastering animals (B 10a), crossed fighting animals (B 13a), as well as bull-men (B 52b,c,d,e,f) or animals (B 13b) flanking a sacred tree are very common.

Iconographically and stylistically the best parallels for the scenes in the Herald's Wall and the Inner Court come from Zincirli, particularly from the Citadel Outer Gate (Orthmann 1971: 55a, c; 58a; 59a, b; 60a)⁷⁸. Reliefs with similar subject matter appear also on the North Gate of Karatepe-Arslantaş (Çambel – Özyar 2003: 132-133, Pls. 20-21, 26-27, 28-29, 80-81)⁷⁹.

Originally, the majority of these representations and figures go back to the iconography of 3rd and 2nd millennia Ancient Near Eastern art. During the 1st millennium B.C. they seem more or less to diverge from their original meaning and representations. Nevertheless, they show a continuation of a well-rooted tradition. With

⁷⁸ Orthmann 1971: Pls. 55a: single winged genius; 55c: fantastic creatures; 58a: a winged lion and a hero; 59a: heraldic goats; 59b: winged, animal headed genius; 60a: a fantastic creature mastering(?) an animal.

⁷⁹ Pls. 20-21: a god mastering two lions in heraldic manner (Çambel - Özyar 2003: 59); 26-27: a winged genius beneath a winged sun-disk (Çambel - Özyar 2003: 63-64); 28-29: a god with a goat on his shoulder (Çambel - Özyar 2003: 64-67); 80-81: a heraldic scene of two goats flanking a sacred tree (Çambel - Özyar 2003: 82).

their figures of fantastic creatures and of particular myths, both associated with power and fear, these depictions particularly served an apotropaic function.

Since the majority of monumental hieroglyphic inscriptions at Karkamiš like those of other Syro-Hittite states are building or dedicatory inscriptions, we do not find any reference to the mythological figures represented mostly on the Herald's Wall and in the inner court of the King's Gate. These mythological scenes seem to be a continuation of an age-old Near Eastern tradition of representations.

In addition, the reliefs attending on the sides of the portal lions of the Great Staircase may also be included in this group of figures. Obviously the most important staircase of the inner town area was the so-called Great Staircase, of which at least the outer door was protected by great lions. Relief orthostats lined the frontal and side walls of the outer gate of the gate tower. Woolley (1952: 162, Pl. 30) has restored one slab standing on both short walls facing the staircase, and three on the side walls lining the last steps of the staircase. According to Hawkins' reconstruction (1972: 108, Fig. 4b), based on the collated excavation drawings, winged bird-headed genii (B 35c, A 21b) and goddesses holding "cone and flask and cloth for unction" followed individually a figure of a ruler (?). The blocks which represent the goddesses do not seem to have inscriptions at the back, unlike the other reliefs in the row.

Here the age-old winged genii stylistically and functionally are very different from the earlier forms (B 10, Herald's Wall). Now, as in the Neo-Assyrian sphere, their function is to bless and protect the ruler who stands in front of these protective figures (Özyar 1991: 101). According to Hawkins' reconstruction, the ruler followed by protective genii appears on both sides of the gateway. The figures of protective goddesses contribute further to the religious-political idea of the program. Since the

reliefs are very fragmentary, and therefore inscriptions incomplete, I shall not make further statements about the nature and function of these orthostats.

According to Woolley's interpretation (1952: 162) this group of rulers and "offrants" were placed so that they confront the long procession depicted on the Long Wall of Sculpture, which seems to be connected to the general decoration of the Great Staircase.

Portal lions and sphinxes as protective figures on gates will be examined separately in the following chapter.

Inscriptions on Karkamiš's monuments do not refer to any "mytho-heroic" figure, whose purpose was principally to protect against bad forces and evil spirits. On the other hand, the monumental inscriptions of Karkamiš can be also considered as apotropaic, in a very different sense. The so-called "curses" imply messages against those who shall deface, overturn, destroy the reliefs and statues of the gods or kings, or erase inscriptions (Hawkins 2000: 96, 104, 125). From these inscriptions it is clear that these curses are not just for ordinary people but also for kings (both local and foreign) and country-lords who caused damage to the reliefs (Hawkins 2000: 109). In this way by placing such curse statements on inscribed blocks, the rulers intended to protect their images both in relief and in the round, mostly dedicated to their deities.

5.6 Protective Curses

In Karkamiš, protective curses placed at the end of the inscribed texts⁸⁰, indicate how important these reliefs and statues were for the kings. It seems that almost all texts have ended with such curses. However, some monuments break off before the lines of protective curses.

A few examples taken from the translations (Hawkins 2000) of better preserved texts allow us a better understanding. For instance the building inscription (referring to the building of a temple and some upper floors, and erecting orthostats) on the door-jamb A 11*a* ends with the following curse (Hawkins 2000: 96):

“...If in the future they shall pass down to (one) who shall..., and shall *overturn* these orthostats from (their) place(s), or shall *overturn* this god from (his) place(s), or shall erase my name, against him may Tarhunzas, Karhuhas and Kubaba litigate! From him may they not take up bread and libation!”

In another building inscription (referring to some constructions of upper floors and divine procession) placed also on a door-jamb (A 11*c*), Katuwas states:

“...against him (who causes any damages) may celestial Tarhunzas, Karhuhas and Kubaba, and the Storm-God of Mount Arputa and the gods of the river-country of the river Sakura litigate! From him may

⁸⁰ Monumental inscriptions from Karkamiš with preserved protective curses are rich in number : A 1*a*; A 2; A 3; A 4*a*; A 4*d*; A 5*a*; A 6; A 11*a*; A 11*c*; A 31; A 14*a*; A 14*b*; A 16*a*; A 16*b*; A 17*b*; A 18*e*; A 18*h*; A25*b*; A 27*e* (Hawkins 2000: 85-190).

they *sever* virility, ((or) from her may they *sever* femininity), to him may they not allot(?) (male) seed, ((or) to her they may not allot(?) female seed)!...” (Hawkins 2000: 104).

An interesting curse is coming from the wall orthostat of Yariris (A 6), whose texts mentions a dedication of a building to Kamanis. According to Hawkins’ translation (2000: 125) it says:

“...If this seat shall pass down to any king, who shall..., whether he shall take away on the one hand a stone from the stones, or whether he shall take away a stele for a stele, or who shall erase my name, or who shall take away on the one side (a child) from the children, or on the other side (a eunuch) from the eunuchs, (for) him may Nikarawas’ dogs eat up his head!”

In curses, generally the major deities’ (Tarhuhas, Kubaba and Karhuhas) protection of the monuments and inscriptions was invoked by means of a curse (Hawkins 1981: 149). Most of inscriptions from Karkamiš state that against those who shall deface, overturn, or erase inscriptions of the gods or kings, the gods, especially Tarhunzas, Karhuhas and Kubaba will “come fatally and will litigate”.

Such protective curses are not limited only to the inscriptions of Karkamiš, but they appear in all other Syro-Hittite monuments⁸¹ inscribed with Hieroglyphic

⁸¹ In the territory of Karkamiš: Cekke stele (Hawkins 2000: 146, Pls. 42-43), Körkün stele (Hawkins 2000: 173, Pls.58-59) and Tilsevet tomb stone (Hawkins 2000: 179, Pl. 62). In Cilicia: Tell Ahmar 2 stele (Hawkins 2000: 227-228, Pls. 91-92), Borowski 3 stele (Hawkins 2000: 230-31, Pl. 93), Tell Ahmar 5

Luwian. As in Karkamiš, they are not only placed on inscriptions of orthostat blocks or door-jamb, but also on other monuments such as lions, cult and tomb stelae, rock inscriptions and other stone objects (n. 41). Like the texts of Karkamiš, the protective curses were placed towards the end of the text, before the scribal signature⁸² (if present).

In general, these curses were placed against erasure of the inscription itself, destruction and spoliation of erected monuments, various constructions and donations (mentioned in the texts). They were also for the protection of funerary monuments (Kululu 2 and 3 funerary stelae (Hawkins 2000: 487-91)), dedicated granaries (Tell Ahmar 5 stele (Hawkins 2000: 231-32)) or the vine (Körkün stele, (Hawkins 2000: 172-173)).

Like the inscriptions at Karkamiš, the protective curses in hieroglyphic texts from other Syro-Hittite areas also refer to their local or other deities (Hawkins 2000:

stele (Hawkins 2000: 231-32, Pls. 95-96), Aleppo 2 Stele (Hawkins 2000: 235-36, Pls. 97-98). In Karatepe-Arslantaş protective curses appear both in Phoenician and Hieroglyphic inscriptions on orthostat blocks (Çambel 1999: 55; Hawkins 2000: 57-58). In Maraş: Maraş 8 stele (Hawkins 2000: 252-53, Pls. 106-107), Iskenderun stele (Hawkins 2000: 259, Pls. 110-111), Maraş 14 statue (Hawkins 2000: 265-66, Pls. 114-115), Maraş 3 statue (Hawkins 2000: 267-68, Pls. 116-117). In Malatya: Karahöyük (Elbistan) stele (Hawkins 2000: 288-89, Pls. 133-134), Gürün rock inscription (Hawkins 2000: 295-96, Pls. 135-138), Kötiükale rock inscription (Hawkins 2000: 299-300, Pls. 139-141), Izgin stele (Hawkins 2000: 314-16, Pls. 153-154), Şirzi rock inscription (Hawkins 2000: 322-23, Pls. 157-159). In Commagene: Boybeyınarı 1+2 inscribed blocks (Hawkins 2000: 334-35, Pl. 165), Adıyaman 1 stele (Hawkins 2000: 344-45, Pls. 169-170), Ancoz 7 stone block (Hawkins 2000: 356-57, Pls. 185-186); In Hamath: Hama 4 door-jamb (Hawkins 2000: 403-405, Pl. 213), Sheizar stele (Hawkins 2000: 416-17, Pls. 227-28). In Tabal: Kululu 1 stele (Hawkins 2000: 442-44, Pls. 244-45), Topada rock inscription (Hawkins 2000: 451-54, Pls. 250-253), Sultanhan stele (Hawkins 2000: 463-72, Pls. 258-261), Karaburun rock inscription (Hawkins 2000: 480-482, Pls. 266-267), Kululu 5 stele (Hawkins 2000: 485-487, Pls. 270-271), Kululu 2 funerary stele (Hawkins 2000: 487-89, Pl. 272), Kululu 3 funerary stele (Hawkins 2000: 490-91, Pl. 273), Bulgarmaden Rock inscription (Hawkins 2000: 521-22, Pls. 297-299) and Beirut stone bowl (Hawkins 2000: 558-59, Pl. 317).

⁸² Scribal signatures appear mostly on the inscriptions found in the territories of Commagene (Boybeyınarı 1 stone block), Hamath (Meharde stele - Hawkins 2000: 415-17, Pls. 225-26; and Sheizar stele) and Tabal (Topada, Karaburun and Ivriş 1 (Hawkins 2000: 516-18, Pls. 292-295) rock inscriptions).

227-522). The goddess Kubaba, who was originally the local deity of Karkamiš, is also attested in these curses together with other gods (Hawkins 1981: 149-174)⁸³.

From the inscription A 2 from Karkamiš (Hawkins 2000: 109) it is clear that these curses are not just for ordinary people but also for (foreign?) kings and country-lords who caused damage to the reliefs.

To sum up, by placing such curse statements on the inscribed block, the rulers of Syro-Hittite states intended to protect their images either in relief or in round, mostly dedicated to their deities.

⁸³ Bulgarmaden, Çiftlik stele (Hawkins 2000: 448-51, Pls. 248-249), Kululu 2 and Kululu 10 (Hawkins 1981: 172) stelae, Sultanhan stele (Hawkins 2000: 463-65, Pls. 258-261), Kayseri stele (Hawkins 2000: 472-73, Pls. 262-263), Karaburun rock inscription.

CHAPTER VI

IMPORTANCE OF GATES FOR THE CITY OF KARKAMIŠ

Since the excavations in the Syro-Hittite sites show us that most of the monumental sculptural works come from gate-structures of citadels or palaces and occasionally temples, I made a separate section for the sculptures and inscriptions related to gate-structures of Karkamiš. My aim is to demonstrate how these gates, together with their reliefs and inscriptions served propaganda.

6.1 Gate-Structures

Gateways had a particular significance and history in Hittite and North Syrian architecture⁸⁴ (Mellink 1974; Darga 1992: 113-128; Mazzoni 1997: 307-338; Aro 2003: 307-311). In other words, the architectural gate structures are hallmarks of the Hittite⁸⁵

⁸⁴ In Mesopotamia, small lions made out of terracotta (terracotta lion (63cm. high) from the temple at Tell Harmal, Frankfort 1970: Pl. 126) or bronze are known to have guarded entrances of temples, in the Isin-Larsa Period (end of 3rd - beginning of 2nd millennia B.C.) (Frankfort 1970: 114, n. 28). A large jaw fragment of a stone lion (Özgüç 1954: Pl. 1,2) found in Kültepe Ib in a reused context is considered to be the earliest piece of evidence in Central Anatolia for a monumental lion presumably standing on a gate (Özyar 2003: 107). The 2nd millennium B.C. basalt lions from Alalah (modern Tell Açına (ca. 120 cm. high, Frankfort 1970: Pls.319-320; Orthmann 1985: Pl, 408a)) “flanked the entrance of a building which may have been a palace or a temple, presumably the latter” (Frankfort 1970: 272).

⁸⁵ Portal lions dating to the Hittite Empire appear in Hattuša, and Alaca Höyük (Mellink 1974:202-205; Darga 1992: 113-118, Pls. 113- 119). In Hattuša the main gates on the fortification wall of the city are flanked by monumental figures (the Lion Gate, the King’s Gate and the Sphinx Gate, Bittel 1974: 18-19, Pl. 32-33, 36). On the other hand, depending on their location, position and the arrangements at Yerkapi, Canby (1975: 244-246) suggests that the sphinxes at the Sphinx Gate of Hattuša did not guard a

and Syro-Hittite⁸⁶ as well as the Neo-Assyrian⁸⁷ architecture and art. Patrons of Karkamiš like those in the other Syro-Hittite states attached a great importance to the decoration of the gates either leading to a principal building, citadel or the city itself. These gate structures were adorned with specific, even standardized architectural and decorative elements, namely the architectural sculptures. Portal lions, inscribed door-jambs as well as relief orthostats placed on the gateways were the most commonly used decorative elements in the gates of Karkamiš.

6.1.1 Portal Lions and Sphinxes

(Fig. 20: A 14a; Fig. 21: A 14b; Fig. 22; Fig. 23; Fig. 24; Fig. 25: B 27b; Fig. 49: B 62b, B 69b, B 70a, b; B 70d)

The 2nd millennium B.C. Near Eastern tradition of guarding the city, or citadel gates by the help of sculptural figures was maintained in the Iron Age. As in Hittite imperial architecture, monumental portal lions or sphinxes⁸⁸ were the most prominent

city gate, but rather were a part of a great procession and a holy entrance leading to the sacred area with its four temples which lies just below the Sphinx Gate.

⁸⁶ Portal lions belonging to the Syro-Hittite world come from: Ain Dara (Orthmann 1971: Pls. 1a, 2); Hama (Ingholt 1940: Pls. XXXVI:3, XXXVII:1-3; Orthmann 1971: Pl. 7e; Riis and Buhl 1990: 39-42; 50-54; Figs. 11-12, 40-41); Tell Ahmar (Robaert 1990: 126-135, Figs. 59-62; Bunnens 1990: 132-133); Sheikh Saad in South Syria (Orthmann 1975: 481-82, Pl. 409), Harran (Roebert 1989: 154); Havuzköy (Akurgal 1949: Pl. XXXIIIb); Malatya (Orthmann 1971: Pls. 39a,b,c; Darga 1992: Pl. 230); Maraş (Orthmann 1971: Pls. 44a,b; Darga 1992: Pls. 298, 318); Sakçagöz (Orthmann 1971: Pls. 49b, 50d), Zincirli (Orthmann 1971: Pls. 61d,e; 62a,b; 64e, 66a, 67a; Darga 1992: Pls. 288-289); Domuztepe (Alkim 1952: Figs 40-41; Çambel – Özyar 2003: Pls. 224, 225); Karatepe (Çambel – Özyar 2003: Pls. 12-14, 38-43, 98-100, 121-123, 130-132, 139-141, 151-153, 180-182, 212-215); and Göllüdağ in the Tabal region (Akurgal 1949: Pl. XXXV; Tezcan 1968: 218, Fig. 15; Pl. VIIIb; Bittel 1976: Fig. 323; Akurgal 1995: Fig. 123).

⁸⁷ In the Neo-Assyrian sphere colossal portal creatures, mostly the so-called *lamassu* (Parrot 1961: Pls. 29-30, 32, 34-35; Strommenger 1964: Pls. 198-199) as well as portal lions (Parrot 1961: Pls. 31-32; Strommenger 1964: Pls. 200-201) were the characteristic guardians of principal gates.

⁸⁸ During the Hittite Empire period portal sphinxes appear at Yerkapı in Boğazköy and in Alaca Höyük (Darga 1992: 119-123, Pls. 122-126, 132-136). Although we do not have any monumental portal sphinxes from Karkamiš, they appear in other Syro-Hittite sites, such as in Ain Dara (Orthmann 1971: Pls.

figures that served as door-jambs in the gateways of the Syro-Hittite cities⁸⁹ (Orthmann 1971: 327-331, 339-348). Most probably they were also placed at the gates of the palaces⁹⁰ and other important administrative buildings.

All the discovered portal figures of Karkamiš functioning as door-jambs are lions⁹¹. At least three gates, the South Gate, the Water Gate (Ussishkin 1967a: 88-89, Mazzoni 1997: 317), and the outer gate-buttress of the Great Staircase were furnished with such lion figures. It is a custom to put these animal figures as a pair, flanking each side of the gate. So, "...these lions were symmetrically arranged to balance the symmetry of the entrance proper..." (Mellink 1974: 202).

Technically and stylistically, they are *protomes*, carved in the round, which grow out of the fronts of the outer gate-jambs and their profile view is rendered in relief on the side of the same block facing the passage. The body of lions was often shown with the hind legs in striding position in the Syro-Hittite manner.

Like the sculpture in the gateways of Hattuša, although stylistically and technically they are different, the portal sculpture at Karkamiš is also architectural

1a,b,c,d,e), Karatepe (Orthmann 1971: Pls. 15g, 17i; Çambel 1999, Pls. 87-88; Çambel – Özyar 2003: Pls. 58-61, 68-69, 102-103, 32-35), Zincirli (Orthmann 1971: Pl. 67b) and Tell Halaf (Mellink 1974: 20).

⁸⁹ In time, they have changed stylistically, varying from site to site, as a result of influences coming from outside (Orthmann 1971: 327-331). According to Canby (1975: 225-248) the iconography of sphinxes in the minor arts of Old Assyrian Colony Period and those in the Hittite gates were not taken from Syria, rather from Egyptian prototypes.

⁹⁰ In Karkamiš, we have no building certainly identified as a palace, but some of the monumental entrances that are furnished with portal figures must have been palaces. At Zincirli the entrance of the palace Hilani III was decorated with such portal lions (Darga 1992: Pls. 288-289). The front of the palace of Kapara at Tell Halaf (ancient Guzana) was also decorated with portal figures (Orthmann 1971: Pls. 12d (sphinx), 13c,d (lions)) and other orthostats (Orthmann 1971: Pls. 12a,c,e).

⁹¹ On the other hand, the "corner block" B 28a/b from the Water Gate seem to serve a similar function.

Although we do not have any monumental portal sphinxes from Karkamiš, they appear in other Syro-Hittite sites, such as in Ain Dara (Orthmann 1971: Pls. 1a,b,c,d,e), Karatepe (Orthmann 1971: Pls. 15g, 17i; Çambel – Özyar 2003: 32-35, 58-61; 68-69, 102-103) and Zincirli (Orthmann 1971: Pl. 67b).

(Mellink 1974: 203). In other words, the blocks carved with reliefs at the same time carry the weight of the architectural structure (Özyar 2003: 109).

In the Syro-Hittite world, it was not an uncommon practice to place inscriptions on the bodies of portal figures, in particular those of lions. Such inscribed figures come from Karkamiš, Maraş⁹², Malatya⁹³, Arslantaş (ancient Hadatu)⁹⁴, Arslantaş (Elbistan)⁹⁵, Tell Ahmar⁹⁶ and Karatepe⁹⁷. In Karatepe, apart from lion figures two portal-sphinxes⁹⁸ were also inscribed.

Out of three or four fragmentary portal lions at Karkamiš, two bear inscription (A 14a and A 14b) on their body that is shown in profile in the side as relief. The text on these portal lions belonging to either Suhis or Astuwatamanzas has a similar content to the door-jambs that belong to Katuwas. It is possible that these portal lions were

⁹² Hawkins 2000: 261-63, Pls. 112-113; Orthmann 1971: Pl. 44a. It is a commemorative inscription (posthumous?) of Halparuntiyas III, king of Gurgum.

⁹³ Hawkins 2000: 320-21, Pl. 155; Orthmann 1971: Pl. 39b. Only the name of the king Halpasulupis was inscribed on the section just above the body of the lion.

⁹⁴ Albenda 1988: 17-21; Hawkins 2000: 246-47, Pls. 103-105. The lion comes from the Eastern Gate of Arslantaş (Hadatu) and bears an inscription written in Aramaic, Assyrian cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luwian. It is a building inscription for the city Hatata by a ruler (presumably in the 8th century B.C.).

⁹⁵ Hawkins 2000: 329; Özgüç 1947: Abb. 16-19. However, the location and even the existence of an inscription is not clear (Hawkins 2000: 329).

⁹⁶ Robaert 1990: 127-129, Pl. 59-60. A cuneiform inscription was placed on various parts of the body of the West lion. It was assigned to the Assyrian governor Shamshi-ilu, whose name had been intentionally erased. However, the inscription does not state that the two lions (east and west) were carved at the time of Shamshi-ilu. He may have added the inscription on the already present lions (Robaert 1990: 129).

⁹⁷ A couple of inscribed portal lions come from both North and South Gates of Karatepe (Çambel – Özyar 2003: Pls. 12-14 (Hieroglyphic Luwian on its body and base); 38-43 (Phoenician inscription on the body), 98-100 (Hieroglyphic Luwian on its base); 121-123 (Hieroglyphic Luwian on its base); 139-141 (Hieroglyphic Luwian on its body and base); 151-153 (Phoenician inscription on its body); 212-215 (Hieroglyphic Luwian on its body)).

⁹⁸ Çambel – Özyar 2003: Pls. 32-35 (Hieroglyphic Luwian on its body); 68-69 (Hieroglyphic Luwian on its base).

placed on major gates – the Water Gate (Ussishkin 1967a: 88-89, Mazzoni 1997: 317) and outer gate of the Great Staircase- leading to the inner city or the citadel.

These portal animals play a particular role in the protection of the city and principal buildings such as palaces (Çambel – Özyar 2003: 178). On the other hand, they also carry an important symbolic meaning. As Ussishkin (1970: 127) states: “the gate-lions were not merely decorated orthostats meant to strengthen the superstructure of the gates in which they were incorporated, but, as guardians of the gate were considered to possess godly, demonical, or punitive powers.”

In addition, Mellink (1974: 203) explains the architectural and symbolic function of these portal figures as following: “...The structures to which the sculptures belong make no connection in strength, but the front and surface of the blocks which stand at the crucial boundary line between inside and outside, safety and danger, what belongs to the city gods and what is profane, are magically reinforced by sculpture...”

Symbolically, the portal lions were the guardians of the gates. Obviously the lion was considered as the symbol of power and strength, as it often has been throughout history. As Mellink states (1974: 202) they “roar at the potential enemies approaching from outside of the city; ... [and the sphinxes] ...they must be benevolent guardians who confer some kind of strength and blessing upon the city and its entrance.”

Furthermore, some technical and stylistic characteristics may have also been connected with the symbolic content. Since the power of the lion and its scary character is mostly expressed by its large head, face and roaring mouth, the sculptors might have preferred to carve the lion-head in the round, while depicting the rest of the body in relief.

In addition, three fragmentary sculptures (fig. 49) found in the staircase area suggest that more portal animals, either lions or sphinxes, have been employed in the Great Staircase area to guard the main entrance to the citadel. These fragments show a frontal view of feet or paw of the animals. While two of them belong to lion's paws, the other shows a bull's feet. The latter fragment leads us to think that either it belonged to a bull-base or to a portal figure of a mixed creature, like an Assyrian *lamassu*.

6.1.2 Inscribed Door-Jambs

(**Fig. 54:** A 11a; **Fig. 55:** A 11b; **Fig. 56:** A 11 c; **Fig. 57:** A 2 **Fig. 58:** A 3; **Fig. 60:** A 23)

The excavated area at Karkamiš indicates that the door-jambs of important sacred or secular buildings were merely inscribed blocks rather than portal lion-*protomes*. At least four gates were flanked by such inscribed door-jambs. These door-jambs furnished: 1. the door-way of the "Staircase Recess" (A 11b + c); 2. the outer door of the "King's Gate" (A 11a); 3. the inner door of the "Great Staircase" (A 23); 4. the door leading to the shrine of the Temple of the Storm God (A 2 + 3).

Interestingly, all these inscribed door-jambs belong to the king Katuwas. Often the corresponding jamb blocks were supplementary in nature and complete each other. In general, all of Katuwas' door-jambs contain building inscriptions. Here, after giving his name, title and genealogy, the ruler announces various constructions of new building and structures as well as dedication of some temples, gate-structures, and new orthostats to his major deities who helped him in his accession to the throne and in military expeditions and conquests of other cities.

The content of inscribed texts on fragmentary portal lions (A 14a and A 14b) belonging to Suhis or Astuwatamanzas, resembled that on the door-jambs that belong to Katuwas. They also announce some building activities, such as the building of gates (Hawkins 2000: 85-86). Thus, one can suggest that earlier the rulers' building inscriptions were placed on the body of the gate lions, whereas later such inscriptions covered the entire blocks serving as door-jambs. Nevertheless the door-jambs, either in the form of lions or simple inscribed blocks, were favored places for the rulers to announce their military and civic achievements as well as their building activities.

Door-jambs inscribed with hieroglyphic inscriptions were rarely found in other Syro-Hittite states. For instance, one was found from Hama (Hawkins 2000: Pl. 213). Like those of Karkamiš, the door-jamb from Hama bears a building inscription of a king, (Urhilina, the king of Hamath). It records the construction and donation of the temple of the goddess Ba'alat by the ruler (Hawkins 2000: 403-405).

6.1.3 Reliefs on Gate-Chambers

(Fig. 9: B 28-29; Fig. 10: B 30a; Fig. 11: B 30b; Fig. 12: B 31; Fig. 31: B 18a; Fig. 50: B 55a)

In the monumental gates of Syro-Hittite cities, the sculpted orthostats are concentrated in the inner passage of the gates. So, the gates seem to be considered as a ceremonial passage (Mazzoni 1997: 310-318). Similarly, in Karkamiš, the gateways were not only adorned with guarding lion *protomes* or inscribed door-jambs, but also

with sculpted orthostats. Like other Syro-Hittite centers⁹⁹, the passages or staircase recesses of gateways at Karkamiš were often furnished with orthostat slabs.

However, the stone blocks in the gate-chambers do not always bear relief. As is the case in the Water Gate (Woolley 1921: 104; Özyar 1991: 19; Özyar 1998: 634) they are ornamented or left plain in accordance with their placement, and therefore, their visibility. If they are in a place easily noticeable by people who enter the gate, the orthostats bear figural scenes. But, the blocks behind the doors are left undecorated.

Such portal relief orthostats are known from the Water Gate, the Great Staircase, the Staircase Recess and the gate-chamber of the King's Gate. Unfortunately, our material coming from these architectural units is very patchy and cannot allow complete reconstructions. As it has been mentioned, most of the orthostats were not found *in situ*. Usually the decorative programs underwent several reconstructions and changes within the period.

Evidently, depictions of single figures of a crouching lion (B 55a) or a standing winged lion and sphinx (B 18a, Staircase Recess) as well as bull-men (B 31a, Water Gate) were the most favored subjects represented on the walls of the gate-chambers. Orthostats bearing a lion relief have been found from all the gate-chambers, except for the Staircase Recess. In addition, a slab with a scene of a bull confronting a lion furnished the outer gate jamb of the Water Gate. Thus, these figures symbolizing power and strength contribute to the protection of major gateways.

Apart from such depictions that have a strong effect in terms of guarding, other pictorial scenes also seem to be employed in the gateways, at least once upon a time.

⁹⁹ The most characteristic of them are the Lion Gate of Malatya (Orthmann 1971: 519-521, Plan 7, Pls. 39a-e, 40a-e, 41a-c), outer citadel gate at Zincirli (Orthmann 1971: 538-543, Plan 9, Pls. 57-61a), North and South Gates of Karatepe (Orthmann 1971: 488-497; Çambel – Özyar 2003: Pls. 8-9, 126-127).

Examples of such representations are coming from the Water Gate and the Staircase Recess. A banquet (B 30*b*) and a sacrificial libation scene (B 30*a*) have been found at the Water Gate, and two reliefs depicting musicians at the Staircase Recess. Apparently all these representations seem to have been connected with some kind of ritual ceremonies (Özyar 1991: 28). Therefore, this assigns a ritual and religious meaning to the gateways as well.

Indeed, recent studies (Bonatz 2000*a*; Bonatz 2000*b*) have interpreted the libation and banquet scenes as representing a theme of funerary ancestral cult. At least the Water Gate might have served “as a place for the worship of the dynastic ancestors who led the ritual to the gods and acted as founders and protectors of the city” as Bonatz (2000*b*: 204) states. Apparently, depiction of libation scenes, a theme continued from the Hittite Empire period (Bonatz 2000*b*, Figs. 5, 6) was favored in the early Iron Age Syro-Hittite cultures, especially in Malatya (Bonatz 2000*b*: 204).

Like the Lion Gate of Malatya (Delaporte 1940: Pl. 33; Orthmann 1971: Pl. 42*c*), the Water Gate of Karkamiš also bears a fragmentary block carved with a banquet scene. Since the subject of the funerary banquet was a widespread tradition among the Syro-Hittites, it may be assumed that these reliefs depict royal ancestral figures taking part in a “funerary repast” (Bonatz 2000*a*: 60; Bonatz 2000*b*: 204).

So, reliefs depicting both libation and banquet scenes were chosen deliberately to decorate one of the principal gate structures of Karkamiš, since such reliefs “thematically are connected with [their] the celebrative and protective function” (Bonatz 2000*b*: 204).

In the Syro-Hittite sphere, in terms of themes, particular repertoires and presumably intentional layout of the reliefs seem to have been chosen for

decorating the gateways (Mazzoni 1997: 310-329). In early times, for instance in the Lion Gate of Malatya, there were portal lions, scenes of deer and lion hunting, and scenes of libation to the various gods (Orthmann 1971: 519-521, Pls. 39a-e, 40a-e, 41a-c).

Later, for instance in the South Gate of Zincirli, we find portal-lions, reliefs of animals, sphinxes, griffins, animal-headed demons, the deer and lion hunt as well as horsemen related with military activities (Orthmann 1971: 537-538, Pls. 55a-c, 56a-d). On the citadel outer gate of Zincirli (slightly later than the South Gate) a richer repertoire is visible of alternating tutelary figures, winged-men, lion-men, winged lions, ram bearers, gods, banquet scene, court procession, musicians, deer hunting by the kneeling archer, chariot scenes with an enemy under the horse (Orthmann 1971: 538-543, Pls. 57-61a).

The Eastern and Western gates of Karatepe, which seems to be also late in date (Orthmann 1971: 106-108; Çambel – Özyar 2003: 141-144), have “a long sculptural program with ca. 50 reliefs per gate” (Özyar 2003: 108). Their repertoires consist of portal lions, sphinxes, various deities, mythological figures, offering bearers, mythological hunting scenes, musicians, military scenes, chariot scenes, as well as historical scenes (Orthmann 1971: 488-497, Pls. 15-19; Çambel – Özyar 2003: 131-135, Pls. 10- 215).

As we mentioned in the hunting representations, placing hunting scenes on gates has a religious or ritual meaning (Mazzoni 1997: 313-315). Mazzoni (1997: 315) explains the importance of hunting scenes on the gates as following:

“The gateway is a sacred area where rites are performed for the gods who protect the city... Hunting is a heroic and ritual activity of dominion and violation of the natural world. The gateway represents the magic border between wild nature and the city and passing through it is, like hunting, a transgression to be propitiated by ritual offerings.”

The representation of rituals in the form of libation and banquet scenes on the gates must have had also a particular meaning. Mazzoni (1997: 315) suggests the relationship between the gates and the divine and royal figures as follows:

“The entrance to the city comes under the care of the gods and is visually celebrated by means of rituals performed by the king and his family and attendants for the care of the city. The king celebrating the rituals acts as a tutelary god, as the founder of the dynasty and the city.”

The city gates with their monumental decoration are usually connected to dynastic propaganda (Mazzoni 1997: 318-329). According to Mazzoni (1997: 318):

“The city gates of Malatya, Karkemish and Zincirli with their continuous friezes celebrating rituals and ceremonies are the documents of the first building activities of the Syro-Hittite dynasties; they are associated with the first proclamations of foundations and are a consistent part of the celebrative programmes of reconstruction and refoundation of the country. The king leading the rituals to the gods at the entrance of the city

ensured the protection of the city and finally acted himself as a founder and guardian of the gate and the city.”

When we compare the decoration of gates at Karkamiš with those at Zincirli and Karatepe, we see that the reliefs at gateways of Karkamiš are fewer in number and in thematic variety¹⁰⁰. On the other hand, if we consider Karkamiš's gates as complexes including long façades related with gates themselves¹⁰¹, the repertoire is similar to other sites (Mazzoni 1997: 322-327).

Like the reliefs at the outer citadel gate of Zincirli¹⁰², at least the parades on the Long Wall of Sculpture and the eastern wall of the King's Gate proper, should have been organized according to some ideological order (Mazzoni 1997: 320-21). In both sites and at those three gates it seems that divine sphere is divided from the human world (Mazzoni 1997: 321-324). Mazzoni, interprets the program on the Long Wall of Sculpture as follows:

“In the course of the procession the two spheres, the world of the gods and the triumphant humans, are separated, the former going up towards the acropolis, the latter following in the city; in the middle, the king and

¹⁰⁰ For the subject matters depicted on the North and South Gate of Karatepe, see Orthmann 1971: 488-497, Pls. 15-19; Çambel - Özyar 2003.

For the subject matters of reliefs on the South Gate of the city, the Outer Citadel Gate, the Gate-House Q, see Orthmann 1971: 533-543, Pls. 55a-62b.

¹⁰¹ The Long Wall of sculpture can be related with the Great Staircase and the Processional Entry, and the Royal Buttress can be related with the Staircase Recess (Mazzoni 1997: 322-327). In addition, Mazzoni (1997: 324-25) believes that the King's Gate was a gate allowing entrance from the outer part of the inner city to its centre, and that the Inner Court formed its outer façade, and that the two chariot hunting scenes (B 60a- B 60b) should be attributed to this gate.

¹⁰² However, the original arrangement of the reliefs on the outer citadel gate of Zincirli is not certainly established (Mazzoni 1997: 320, n. 320).

queen acted as a link between the two worlds. The gate was in this case a ceremonial passage linking the inner to the upper town and the palace unit to the temples; in this position the visual reminder of the role of the dynasty before the gods appealed to protection and propaganda.”

CHAPTER VII

THE SEARCH FOR IDENTITY

The history of Karkamiš allows us to assign a special role and meaning to some forms of art, and elements of the texts of the city. The permanent components of the local texts, that is the royal titles, as well as some reliefs with certain themes and free-standing statues that were interpreted recently as “funerary monuments” (Bonatz 2000b) seem to be closely connected with the developments in the history of the state of Karkamiš. Available evidence indicate that they might easily have served particular propagandist aims to declare deliberate ideologies, beliefs and attitudes of the state.

Thus, in this chapter I put together the royal titles and the monuments identified as funerary to show that they served a goal to link the “Karkamišean” dynasties to their ancestors and the glorious Hittite Empire.

When and why did the rulers of the ancient world need to make propaganda? As G. S. Jowett and V. O’Donnell (1999: 48) state, the increasing need for propaganda appears “with the increasing growth of civilization and the rise of nation-states”.

Indeed such a situation emerges in the 1st millennium in the region of Southeast Anatolia and North Syria. After the Dark Age, towards the end of the

10th century B.C, the first step of re-urbanization in the Syro-Hittite area had been realized. Consequently, a number of new kingdoms and city-states emerged in the region. They were reorganized, socially and ethnically complicated societies that took part in the political, economical and cultural developments.

These newly founded kingdoms and states pointed and directed their interests into newly articulated ideologies and power of self-determination. So, their rulers sought for effective ways of communication to affirm their ideologies and socio-political identities. In Karkamiš, this period lasted from the 10th to the last quarter of the 8th century B.C., before the city submitted to the Assyrians.

The ideology of the states is closely related with the attempt to create a new form of belonging and identity. Royal titles and erection of funerary monuments seem to be the principal media for Karkamiš's rulers for the political and ideological expression of local identities and objectives.

7.1 Royal Titles

One form of the ideology seems to be clearly expressed through the titles and genealogies of rulers, which were essential parts of the texts, inscribed particularly on principal stone monuments. In the history of Near East, the royal title already was one of the most important elements of ideology and propaganda¹⁰³. Especially during the Hittite Kingdom Period, it had a special significance (Klengel, 1965: 83-86, n. 138, 139, 154; Hawkins 2000: 73, n. 13). In almost all royal inscriptions including the seals, the rulers of Hattuša put their title along with their name, and usually with

¹⁰³ For instance, in the ancient Egyptian art pharaohs' titularies were among the major symbols of kingship (Leprohon 1995: 275).

their genealogies. The most popular title of the Hittite Empire's rulers was "the Great King, Hero".

In a period immediately after the collapse of the Hittite Empire, sometimes referred to as "Post-Hittite" or "Post-Empire", we still find the use of the same title in a few Syro-Hittite states, hitherto controlled by the Empire itself (Hawkins 1988: 106-108; Hawkins 1995c: 73-85). It was evident among the rulers of Karkamiš and Tabal. In fact, both regions had direct relationships with the royal dynasty in Hattuša. During the Empire period, in Tarhuntassa the ruler Kurunta and in Karkamiš Ini-Tešub were the most powerful rulers in their vassal states. They were recorded in the Hittite imperial documents and apparently were descendents from the royal house of Hattuša (Hawkins 1988: 104-107, nn. 27-28, 29-31).

In the state of Tabal, the claimants for the title "Great King, the Hero" are Hartapus and his father Mursilis¹⁰⁴, as well as Wasusarmas and his father Tuwatis¹⁰⁵. According to Hawkins (2000: 429) Mursilis' name "seems to link the dynasty to the Hittite Empire and more specifically to the dynasty of Kurunta of Tarhuntassa". While the dating of inscriptions related to Hartapus and his father is very controversial (Bittel 1986: 103-111; Hawkins 1988: 99-108, Hawkins 1992: 259-275; Hawkins 2000: 429, 443, n. 60), Wasusarmas' group is dated to around 740-730 B.C.¹⁰⁶. Paleographically

¹⁰⁴ Inscriptions which refer to Hartapus and his father as "Great King, Hero" are Kizildağ 1-5, Karadağ 1 and the Burunkaya rock inscriptions (Alp 1974: 17-27; Bittel 1986: 103-11; Hawkins 1988: 106-107; Hawkins 1992: 259-270; Hawkins 2000: 433-442, Pls. 236-243).

¹⁰⁵ Wasusarmas and his father are entitled "Great king, Hero" in Topada (Hawkins 2000: 451-461, Pls. 250-253) and Suvasa (Hawkins 2000: 462-463, Pls. 254-257) rock inscriptions.

¹⁰⁶ Wasusarmas was identified as Wasusarme, king of Tabal, deposed by Tiglath-Pilaser III between 732 and 729 B.C. (Hawkins 2000: 429, 452, nn. 61-66).

both groups are close to each other, but it is assumed that Hartapus' group was earlier than that of Wasusarmas (Hawkins 2000: 429).

The other royal inscriptions from Tabal date to the second half of the 8th century B.C. (Hawkins 2000: 429-523). Among the later kings of Tabal, Warpalawas¹⁰⁷ is the most famous one who left a number of inscriptions¹⁰⁸. However, none of them bear the title "Great King", rather that one of "Hero" occasionally together with "the King, the Ruler".

In addition, an indirect reference for a "Great King" is coming from the Karahöyük (Elbistan) stele (Hawkins 2000: 288-295, Pls. 133-134). Its text informs that it was set up by a local named ruler and commemorates the visit of "the Great King" to that country (Hawkins 1988: 105, nn. 35-36; Hawkins 2000: 429, 289-290, n. 75). This "Great King" could be that of Karkamiš or Tabal (Hawkins 1988: 105-106). Hawkins (2000: 429, n.60) recently prefers to attribute it to the latter.

In Karkamiš, the title "Great King" was firstly born by Kuzi-Tešub, who was the last known ruler of the city just before and presumably after the collapse of the Hittite Empire. Kuzi-Tešub appears to be the fifth and the last generation descending directly from Šuppiluliuma I (Hawkins 1988: 99-102). Although in his own seal¹⁰⁹ he entitles himself as "King of the land of Karkamiš, son of Talmi-Tešub, king of the land of Karkamiš..." (Hawkins 1988: 99-100; Hawkins 2000: 575), in genealogies of

¹⁰⁷ Warpalawas might have been Urballa referred by Tiglath-Pilaser III and Sargon II, so is dated to the time ca. 738-709 B.C. (Hawkins 2000: 427-429).

¹⁰⁸ Ivriz rock inscription (Hawkins 2000: 517; Pl. 292-295), Bor stele (Hawkins 2000: 518-520, Pls. 296) and Bulgarmaden rock inscription (Hawkins 2000: 521-523, Pls. 297-299).

¹⁰⁹ The impressions of his own seal were found on a bullae from Lidar Höyük (Hawkins 1988: 99-100, n. 1; Hawkins 2000: 574-475, Pl. 328). Another fragment impression of Kuzi-Tešub's seal may come from Emar (Hawkins 1988: 104, n. 32; Hawkins 1995c: 73, nn. 5,6), which may indicate the territory under the control of Kuzi-Tešub at that times (Hawkins 1988: 104, 108n. 32; Hawkins 1995c: 73).

two kings of Malatya¹¹⁰ he is referred to as “Great King, Hero of Karkamiš” (Hawkins 1975: 150-152; Hawkins 1980c: 125-126; Hawkins 1988: 99-100, 104-105).

The discovery of Kuzi-Tešub’s own seal and the appearance of his name in the Malatya genealogies have led Hawkins (1988: 104) to suggest that “as king of Karkamiš he not only survived the collapse of the Hittite empire, but was able to expand his power at least as far as Malatya.” On the other hand, there is no firm evidence whether Kuzi-Tešub himself held Malatya (Hawkins 1988: 102; Hawkins 1995c: 75). The rulers of Malatya “appear to be rulers in their own rights” (Hawkins 1995c: 75). The dominion of Karkamiš over Malatya might have not lasted for a long time (Hawkins 1995c: 76). Hawkins (1995c: 84) assumes that “the Country lords [of Malatya] were originally under the authority of a Great King of Karkamiš but broke free as the power of Karkamiš declined”.

In a period after Kuzi-Tešub, there exist at least three kings¹¹¹ of Karkamiš as claimants to the title of “Great King”. They are *x-pa-zitis*, Ura-Tarhunzas¹¹² and *Tudhaliyas(?)*¹¹³ (Hawkins 1988: 104-105, nn. 33, 34; Hawkins 1995c: 76-83; Hawkins 2000: 76-77). Hawkins (1995c: 82) suggests that “Great King Tudhaliya

¹¹⁰ He appears as “Great King, (Hero (of Karkamiš))” only in the genealogies of the Malatya inscriptions: Gürtin and Kötükale rock inscriptions (Hawkins 2000: 295-301), Ispekçür stele (Hawkins 2000: 301-304). Here Kuzi-Tešub is found as the grandfather of the rulers of Malatya, who were generally entitled as “Country Lord of the city Malizi (Malatya)” (Hawkins 1988: 101-103; Hawkins 1993: 40-41; Hawkins 1995c: 74-76; Hawkins 2000: 286-307). Depending on the inscriptions, at least four rulers of Malatya can be directly descendent from Kuzi-Tešub (Hawkins 1993: 40-41; Hawkins 1995c: 73-76;

¹¹¹ If we exclude that one referred in the Karahöyük (Elbistan) stele (p.111).

¹¹² The inscription A 4a on a stele quotes the author as “Ura-Tarhunzas, Great King, Hero, King of the land of Karkamiš, son of *x-pa-zitis*, Great King, Hero” (Hawkins 1995c: 77; Hawkins 2000: 80, Pls. 1)

¹¹³ The author of the inscription, A 16c, on a broken stele from Karkamiš is entitled “Great King, Hero” (Hawkins 1995c: 76, 82; Hawkins 2000: 82-83, Pl. 2). *Tudhaliyas* is the suggested reading for the author’s name (Hawkins 1995c: 77; Hawkins 2000: 76, 82).

must have been in some way connected with the two Great Kings [*x-pa-zitis* and Ura-Tarhunzas], father and son, of the latter”. Although we do not possess any concrete evidence, Hawkins (1995c: 83) believes that “the Great Kings of Karkamiš may well have been descended from Kuzi-Tešub.”

It is evident that in Karkamiš the dynasty of these “Great Kings” was contemporary with another dynasty, “the House of Suhis”¹¹⁴. Both dynasties are dated approximately to the period 1000-900 B.C. (Hawkins 1995c: 83). The basic difference between these two ruling-classes is their royal titles. While, the dynasty of *x-pa-zitis* entitled themselves as “Great King, the Hero”, the rulers of Suhis dynasty, who run father to son, bore the title “the Ruler”¹¹⁵ mostly followed by “the Country-Lord of the city of Karkamiš”¹¹⁶ (Hawkins 1988: 105; Hawkins 1995c: 78; Hawkins 2000: 73).

The existence of two ruling dynasties in Karkamiš seems to end during the time of Katuwas. For, the texts on A 11a and A 11b+c may refer to a kind of dynastic struggle between Katuwas and “the grandsons of Ura-Tarhunzas” (A 11b+c) and a

¹¹⁴ The evidence depends on the inscription of Ura-Tarhunzas’ stele (A4b), two inscriptions of Katuwas (A 11a, A 11b+c) and the Kelekli stele attributed to Suhis II (Hawkins 1995c: 80-83; Hawkins 2000: 92-108). A4b refers that this stele was erected by son of Suhis the ruler (Hawkins 1995c: 77-78; Hawkins 2000: 76, 80). This Suhis is identified as Suhis II, father of Astuwatamanzas (Woolley-Barnett 1952: 260; Hawkins 1995c: 80, n. 55). A 11a and A 11b+c might have mentioned some kind of struggle between Katuwas and Ura-Tarhunzas’ grandsons (Hawkins 1995c: 80-82; Hawkins 2000: 94-108). The Kelekli stele, on the other hand, speaks of a marriage link between Suhis II’s daughter and King Tudhaliyas (Hawkins 1995c: 82; Hawkins 2000: 92-93).

¹¹⁵ The original form is *tarwani*, translated as “judge” or “ruler” (Hawkins 1995c: 78, n. 38).

¹¹⁶ In other Syro-Hittite centers this title was used by the rulers of Maraş (Maraş 4: Halparuntiyas II; Maraş 1: Halparuntiyas II), Commagene (Boybepınarı 1+2: Suppiluliuma; Malpınar: Hattušili), Tell Ahmar (Tell Ahmar 1, Tell Ahmar 2, Borowski 3) and Tabal, particularly Tuwana (Bor stele and Bulgarmaden: Warpalawas; Aksaray stele: Kiyakiya; Andaval stele: Saruwani; Bulgarmaden, Kululu 3 and Kululu 4: subordinate rulers).

revolt of his kinsmen¹¹⁷, at the end of which Katuwas win the city that previously had been held by Katuwas' father and grandfather¹¹⁸. Both Katuwas (A 11a) and Suhis II (A 4a) state in their inscriptions that the gods gave them their father's power (Hawkins 1995c: 82, n. 73; Hawkins 2000: 86). So, they claim to recover or re-obtain their ancestral power through the help of the gods.

The relationship between the dynasty of *x-pa-zitis* and Kuzi-Tešub, and that between the dynasty of Suhis and Kuzi-Tešub is assumed by Hawkins (1995c: 83) as follows:

“The Great Kings [descendants of *x-pa-zi-tis*] of Karkamiš may well have been descended from Kuzi-Tešub. If Katuwa's statement about the revolt of his *kinsmen* (?) is correctly identified with the incident involving the grandsons of Ura-Tarhunza, and if the word *kinsmen* is correctly interpreted from Kuzi-Tešub, as were the Country-Lords of Malatya.”

In fact, there is a gap in period between the time of Kuzi-Tešub (dated to just before and after 1200 B.C.) and that of the dynasty of *x-pa-zitiz* and its contemporaries, the House of Suhis (dating not much before 1000 B.C.) (Hawkins 1995c: 83-84). So, an unattested dynasty presumably bearing the title “Great King”

¹¹⁷ Hawkins attempts to translate “TATF's” as kinsmen, e.g. uncle(s) or cousin(s) (Hawkins 1980b: 148; Hawkins 1995c: 81, n. 69; Hawkins 2000: 95, 97).

¹¹⁸ The statement comes from the text on A 11a (Hawkins 1995c: 81; Hawkins 2000: 95).

may have existed during this intermediate period, of which Ini-Tešub¹¹⁹ should have been one of its rulers (Hawkins 1995c: 84). According to Hawkins (1995c: 84) the separation of “Great Kings” and the “Country-Lords” and their coexistence can be explained as:

“They [the rulers in the blank period, ca. 1200-1000 B.C.] may have had subordinates with the title Country-Lord as at Malatya. At a certain date, not necessarily earlier than Suhis I, a line of Country-Lords seems to have split off from that of the Great Kings, and to have assumed political power in the city without either appropriating the title Great King or removing its hereditary holders. These Country-Lords, while never at this date called “king”, certainly behaved like kings, if we may judge from their surviving building, sculpture and inscriptions. Finally the descendents of the Great Kings in the person of one Ni(?)nuwi¹²⁰] succeeded temporarily in recovering control of Karkamiš, only to be extruded by Katuwa, the most active of the line of Country-Lords.”

On the other hand, during the time of the subsequent(?) dynasty “the House of Astiruwas” (ruling from the later 8th c. to the later 7th c. B.C. we cannot find a consistency in the use of titles (Hawkins 1995c: 79-80, 84; Hawkins 2000: 78-79).

¹¹⁹ Ca. 1100 B.C. Tiglath-Pilaser I encountered Ini-Tešub, “king of the land of Hatti” (Hawkins 2000: 73-75, n. 14).

¹²⁰ In the inscription A 11b+c, it is said: “this city of my father and grandfather was Ninuwis (?);s,…” (Hawkins 1995c: 80, n. 58; Hawkins 2000: 103).

Yet, we find again the use of “the Ruler”¹²¹, sometimes coupled with “The Country-Lord of Karkamiš and....[another important city]”¹²². In some cases there exist entitlements as “the Hero”¹²³, and indirect referring as “the King”¹²⁴ and “Lord”¹²⁵. However, none of these rulers use the title “Great King” (Hawkins 2000: 73).

Basing on the surviving inscriptions, in this dynasty the titular “Hero” is used firstly for Astiruwas¹²⁶, and later by Pisiris(?)¹²⁷ (Hawkins 2000: 160,166). This title was used both by the Hittite Empires and later by Kuzi-Tešub and three rulers of *z-pa-zitis* dynasty. According to Hawkins (1995c: 79) it “represents the revival of archaic claims visible in the inscriptions of Kamani and later”. The title “Country Lord of the city of Karkamiš and the land of *Malizi* (Malatya)” is claimed by Kamanis (Cekke stele) and by Pisiris(?) (A 21) (Hawkins 2000: 145, 160).

In conclusion, after the fall of the Hittite Empire, the rulers of the states found in Tabal¹²⁸ and Karkamiš appear to start to use the characteristic royal titular, “Great King”. During the Empire period, none of the kings, even the most powerful ones of these areas (Kurunta of Tarhuntassa, and Ini-Tešub of Karkamiš), are known to use

¹²¹ Yariris: A 6, A 15*b*; Kamanis: A31, Cekke : 145 (Hawkins 2000: 124,130,142,145).

¹²² Kamanis: Cekke, Kamanis(?) : A27*e*; Kamanis(?) : A 17*b*; Pisiris(?) : A 21 (Hawkins 2000: 145, 160,166,176).

¹²³ Kamanis(?): A 27*e*, Pisiris(?): A21 (Hawkins 2000: 160,166).

¹²⁴ Kamanis: A4*a*; Astiruwas: Kōrkūn stele (Hawkins 2000: 152,172).

¹²⁵ In the inscriptions A6 and A 15*b* Astiruwas is referred by his regent Yariris as “Lord”(Hawkins 2000: 124,131).

¹²⁶ The preserved part of the titular in the inscription A 27*e* says: “...Country Lord, the Hero Astiruwa’s son” (Hawkins 1995c: 79, n. 50; Hawkins 2000: 166).

¹²⁷ The name of the author is not preserved, but is suggested to be “Pisiris” (Hawkins 1995c: 80, n. 51; Hawkins 2000: 159-160).

¹²⁸ Geographically in the territory of Tarhuntassa, an important estate of the Hittite Empire.

that titular, which was restricted to the king in Hattuša (Hawkins 1988: 104, nn. 27-28; Hawkins 1995c: 73).

Indeed, this period is the time between the immediate collapse of the Hittite Empire and urbanization of new city-states and kingdoms in Southeast Anatolia and North Syria. It seems possible that major dynasties hitherto leading particular Hittite vassal states in Tarhuntassa and in Karkamiš had hopes to reestablish the power and to be the new “Great King”. Therefore, after the disappearance of the Hittite Empire, it seems reasonable to imagine that all these local rulers wanted to declare their dynasty as the descendent of the Great Hittite Empire¹²⁹ (Hawkins 1988: 106-108; Hawkins 2000: 73).

In Karkamiš as in Tabal, the use of the title “Great King, Hero”, together with other subsidiary titles¹³⁰ seems to continue into the 1st millennium B.C. In Karkamiš, when the dynasty of “the Country Lords” won the struggle against that of “the Great Kings”, the use of the title of “Great Kings” is not visible as it is the case in the titular of the 8th century king of Tabal, Warpalawas. On the other hand, like Warpalawas, the rulers of Astiruwas dynasty used the title “Hero” which also goes back to the Hittite kings in Hattuša and Kuzi-Tešub and the “Great Kings” of the 1st millennium B.C. Thus, the use of both titles, the Great King and the Hero, may well be a result of a wish to show a dynastic(?) or symbolic connection to the kings of the Hittite Empire. This same may apply for the titular “Country-Lord of the city of Karkamiš and the land of Malatya”, which was used by Kamanis and presumably

¹²⁹ Although the dating of the earlier inscriptions from Tabal with the title “Great King” are not certainly established (p. 111) (Bittel 1986: 103-111; Hawkins 1988: 99-108, Hawkins 1992: 259-275; Hawkins 2000: 429, 443, n. 60).

¹³⁰ In Karkamiš in the 10th c. B.C. they appear to be used by a separate but contemporary ruling-class.

also by Pisiris. There is no firm evidence that these rulers occupied the city or the land of Malatya. If it does not reflect a historical fact, the titulary must have carried only an ideological purpose. In other words, it could be born, to show a kind of connection to Kuzi-Tešub and/or other possible subsequent rulers, who may have controlled Malatya too, after the collapse of the Hittite Empire.

Thus, like the well rooted-tradition in the Hittite Empire and in the Syro-Hittite states, all names of Karkamiš's rulers on the inscribed monuments appear to be entitled. It seems that the royal title had an extremely significant role in the Hittite culture, both in the 2nd millennium and in the Hittite/Luwian dynasties in the 1st millennia B.C. Inscribing the title, in particular on a stone monument is a very practical solution to exalt a ruler's name and to make it unforgettable. So, the rulers, by adorning their names with such mighty titles and by quoting the genealogy of their royal family and therefore mentioning their royal ancestors intend to establish the legitimacy of their rule as well as to show their power to the public, and make them accept them as their rulers.

7.2 “Funerary Monuments”

(**Fig. 10:** B 30a; B 30b; **Fig. 36:** B 25; **Fig. 39:** B 54a, B 67; **Fig. 41:** B 48b, B 68c, **Fig. 42:** B 27a; **Fig. 46:** B 63, B 64a+b; **Fig. 52:** B 40)

Another form of expressing the ideology of the Syro-Hittite states including Karkamiš is the setting up of “funerary monuments”. Recent studies (Bonatz 2000a; Bonatz 2000b) pointing out an alternative symbolic and functional meaning of a particular group of sculpture have led us to examine them from a socio-political perspective.

“Funerary monuments” include a large group of monuments either in the form of standing or seated figures in the round, which were set up to represent the deified king by the successive rulers; uninscribed stelae carved with a particular funerary iconography¹³¹; as well as inscribed stelae whose funerary character is attested from their texts¹³². “They serve as commemorative remembrance of deceased individuals ...[or]... as marks of the places where such remembrances are carried out” (Bonatz 2000b: 189). In other words, they either (especially stelae) serve as grave markers for the actual tomb or they (especially statues) stand in special places where rituals related to ancestral cult are performed.

The practice was common in the 2nd millennium among the Amorite dynasty in Ebla and the Hittite royal family in Hattuša (Bonatz 2000b: 196, n. 14). Both textual and sculptural evidence from both sites suggest that setting up of funerary monuments and worshipping the dead and the ancestors was practiced¹³³.

¹³¹ The most common theme is scene of standing or more often seated figures holding a cup in their hand at a table with food and drink (Orthmann 1971: 366-393; Akurgal 1949: 119-125; Hawkins 1980: 215, n. 40; Bonatz 2000b: 191, n. 3). The male and female figures are represented either alone or in pairs (often a husband and wife couple), often with attributes symbolizing renewal (“the ear of corn and the grape refer to the regenerative power of bread, beer and wine... the distaff and spindle, often carried by women are symbols of constant rotation in the sense of regular regeneration” (Bonatz 2000b: 191). The figures on the stelae may be single persons, occasionally attended by servants or families, husbands with wives and parents with children. Such representations are most common in Maraš funerary stelae (Orthmann 1971: 524-527). Another theme associated with a funerary ritual is the motif showing the royal figure pouring libation of a deity or deities: Malatya (Delaporte 1940: Pls. XIXb, XXIV; Orthmann 1971: ;) Işpekçür stele (Hawkins 2000: 301-302, Pls. 142-144) and Darendestele (Orthmann 1971: ; Hawkins 304-305, Pls. 145-146).

¹³² (Karkamiš 18*h*, A 5*b*, A 5*a*, A 18*f*, A 4*c* stelae, Tilsevet stele (Hawkins 1989: 189-197; Hawkins 2000: 178-187, Pls. 62-67), Maraš 2 and 9 stelae (Hawkins 2000: 273-275, Pls. 124, 125), Kululu 1(?), 2, 3, 4, stelae, Eğrek stele (Hawkins 1989: 189-197; Hawkins 2000: 442-447, 487-493, Pls. 244-247, 272-274) (Hawkins 2000: 273-275, Pls. 124, 125). Işpekçür stele (Hawkins 2000: 301-302, Pls. 142-144) and Darendestele (Hawkins 304-305, Pls. 145-146) both bear a libation scene and inscription.

¹³³ Some reliefs are identified as representations of Hittite royal ancestor: 1. the king Tudhaliya I depicted with a horned conical cap and a shouldered spear in his right hand, from the House A near the Temple V (Neve, 1993: Fig. 100-13; Bonatz 2000b: 198, n. 27) 2. the image of Šuppiluliuma I(?) on the Südburg (Bonatz 2000b: 201, Fig. 13). Also “a pedestal with the imprint of two feet” which was found in

According to Hittite texts, statues of deceased kings and queens had been erected in various places especially in temples, and they were presented with offerings (Otten 1951: 47-71; Goetze 1957: 53-55; Otten 1958: 110-111; Güterbock 1967: 73-81; Kümmel 1967: 15-16; del Monte 1975: 342, nn. 54-56; Haas-Wäfler 1976: 65-99; Haas-Wäfler 1977: 87-122; van den Hout 1994: 45, 48-51; Gonnet 1995: 193; van den Hout 1995: 199-200; Bonatz 2000b: 198, nn. 22, 23; Hawkins 1980: 213, nn. 6, 7, 8,9). Also in the earlier Amorite dynasties (beginning of the 2nd millennium B.C.) the *kispu*-ritual was practiced by families for their dead, in which offerings of food and drink were presented (Tsukimoto 1985: 73-78; Birot 1980: 139-150; Bonatz 2000b: 191-193, nn. 4, 11, 12).

Evidently the ancestor cult already practiced in Anatolia, has a special importance during the reign of Tudhaliya IV when he conquered the Mittani Kingdom (Bonatz 2000b: 196-198). In fact especially under Tudhaliya IV and Šuppiluliuma II the ancestor cult became a strong ideological argument for the prosperity of the Hittite dynasties (van den Hout 1994: 48-52; van den Hout 2002: 88-89). Consequently, written Hittite sources and representations in reliefs demonstrate the increasing importance of the cult for the deceased kings and their ancestors towards the end of the Hittite Empire (Hawkins 1980: 213-214; Bonatz 2000b: 198, 201, n. 22).

Chamber B in Yazılıkaya is suggested to belong to “the monumental statue of Tudhaliya IV” (Bonatz 2000b: 198, n. 25) of which P. Neve (1989: 351, Fig. 3) made a reconstruction.

At least 6 statues from Emar are identified as “memorial funerary images” (Mathiae 1992: Pl. 52,4; Bonatz 2000b: 196, n. 14, Fig. 11). They are seated and hold a cup in their right hand. In addition, the statue of Idrimi, which originally was erected in Alalah Temple IV, is also suggested to be a posthumous cult statue (Sasson 1981: 309-324; Bonatz 2000b: 196-198, n. 18). Practicing ancestral cult is also evident in Alalah (Oesch 1996: 58-63; Bontaz 2000: 198, n. 20).

In the Iron Age the setting up of monuments interpreted as funerary is visible over the territories of both Hittite/Luwian and Aramaean states: Karkamiš, Melid, Gurgum, Kummuh, Que, Sam'al, Bit-Adini, Bit-Agusi and Bit-Bahiani (Bonatz 2000b: Map in Fig. 17). However, there seems to be “no evidence of any other funerary monuments in this area before that time” (Bonatz 2000b: 189).

The posthumous erection of sitting¹³⁴ as well as standing statues¹³⁵ for royal images who became ancestors was a common practice in the Hittite/Luwian states, as it was in Karkamiš. In Karkamiš none of the preserved statues bear inscriptions which identify the ruler represented. However, there are a few inscribed examples from other Syro-Hittite centers which constitute evidence for erecting statues of posthumous royal-figures¹³⁶.

A number of complete or fragmentary free-standing statues or reliefs analyzed in detail in previous sections of “Royal Images” and “Statues and Stelae” have been considered to belong to the group of “funerary monuments”. Namely they are the seated colossus of god Atrisuhas (depicting the deified Suhis(?)) (B 25 in Fig. 36), fragments of the colossal “ruler-figure” (B 54a), and two seated statues with their heads missing (B 48b and B 68c in Fig. 41). The “royal” statue(?)

¹³⁴ Seated statues holding a cup in their one hand and which date to the 1st millennium B.C. come from Tell Halaf (at least 3 male, 1 female and 1 double-image) (Moortgat 1955: Pls. 1-5 (A1); Hrouda 1962: Pl. 3; Orthmann 1971: 13a, b, e, f; Bonatz 2000b: Fig. 6;) and Taftanaz near Ebla (Bonatz 2000b: Fig. 5).

¹³⁵ Standing colossal “royal-figures” considered as funerary come from Karkamiš (Woolley-Barnett 1952: Pl. B 54a), Zincirli (Orthmann 1971: Pl. 62c-d), Maraş (Orthmann 1971: Pl. 44c; Hawkins 2000: Pls. 108-109; 114-115), Malatya (Delaporte 1940: Pls. 28-31; Orthmann 1971: 41d-e) and Tahtalı Pınar (von Luschan 1893: Abb. 16-17; Orthmann 1971: 52c).

¹³⁶ Three fragmentary Maraş inscribed statues (Maraş 4, Maraş 14, And Maraş 13) (Orthmann 1971: Pl. 44c; Hawkins 2000: Pls. 108-109; 114-115, 128), Malatya colossal (Delaporte 1940: Pls. 28-31; Orthmann 1971: 41d-e). Another statue (Tahtalı Pınar 1) is inscribed in Aramaic, and represents Panammu II of Sam'al, which is set up by his son Bar-Rakib in honor of late father (von Luschan 1911: Abb. 16-17; Orthmann 1971: 52c). Also a number of heads were found from Malatya, which originally part of funerary “ruler-figures” (Orthmann 1971: Pls. 42d-e, 42g-h).

positioned inside the gate house of the South Gate of the inner town may have also been a funerary statue (B 27*e* in Fig. 42), or at least it seems to be connected with a kind of rituals and received offerings (Ussishkin 1975: 101)¹³⁷. In addition, some reliefs may have also been related with funerary monuments. They are the posthumous relief of Watis¹³⁸ (B 40) on the Long Wall of Sculpture (Fig. 18), and reliefs with libation (B 30*a*) and banquet (B 30*b*) scenes from the Water Gate (Fig. 10, 11).

The funerary repast that is frequently depicted on funerary stelae is also closely associated with free-standing statues. In reliefs with such depictions the figure(s) in front of the table full of food and drinks is considered to represent the deceased (Bonatz 2000b: 191, 204). The scene may represent “an essential memorial act: the feeding of the dead” (Bonatz 2000b: 191). The sitting statues that hold drinking cups in their right hands may have some common things with these scenes (Bonatz 2000b: 193). Their laps may have served as a table where food and drinks could be placed (Bonatz 2000b: 193).

Standing figures may have also received offerings of food and drink during the rituals. Indeed, on the top-surface of double bull- and lion-bases from Karkamiš (B 34, B 25, and B 53*a*) some hollows and cup-marks are found (Ussishkin 1975: 95-101; Figs. 14-15, 17-19)¹³⁹. The round depressions on the bull-base, B 34, probably

¹³⁷ An “offering table” was found near the South Gate, so it is suggested to stand originally in front of the statue B 27*e* (Ussishkin 1975: 101).

¹³⁸ Uninscribed monuments of the seated queen stele from Zincirli (von Luschan 1911: 325; Akurgal 1949: 121) and an Aramaean stele from Tell Rifa’at (Seton-Williams 1961: Pl. XXXIIIb) were suggested as funerary representations and comparable examples, since they were found associated with tombs (Hawkins 1980: 215).

¹³⁹ The same case appears on the lion-base of Zincirli colossal and a number of stone monuments of the Hittite Empire (Fraktin and Sirkeli rock reliefs, in Yazılıkaya, and Boğazköy Lions Gate) (Ussishkin 1975: 85-101).

were used to contain liquid offerings or libations (Ussishkin 1975: 101). On the other hand, the depressions on two double lion-bases which supported the statues of deified rulers were too small to contain anything, but they may have had a symbolic meaning that is also suggested by their deliberate arrangement (Ussishkin 1975: 101).

Depicting libation scenes may have also had some connections with the ancestral cult. According to Bonatz (2000b: 203-205) the royal figures pouring libations in the rock relief in Fraktin¹⁴⁰, on several orthostats in the Lion Gate of Malatya¹⁴¹, and on the Darende stele¹⁴² might have been deceased kings who offer libations to the deities. On the Ipekçir stele the ancestral cult is much more obvious. For Arnuwantis II, king of Malatya pours a libation for his deified grandfather Arnuwantis I and his grandmother, wife of Arnuwantis I (Hawkins 2000: 301-302, Pls. 142-144; Bonatz 2000b: 205). Consequently, in earlier and later cases in libation scenes “the dead acted as worshipper in front of the gods or ancestors” (Bonatz 2000b: 206).

In conclusion, colossal free-standing statues either seated or standing are assumed to represent deified rulers, who received offerings of food and drink as well as libations, and were considered as important images of ancestral cult. In addition reliefs depicting figures in front of a table or as pouring libations to the

¹⁴⁰ Hattušili III together with his queen Puduhepa performs the libation in front of the Storm God (Gelb 1939: 14, 29, Pl. XXXVII; Akurgal 1962: Pls. 100-101).

¹⁴¹ PUGNUS-mili, king of Malatya, is depicted several times as pouring libation in front of the gods (Delaporte 1940: Pls. XIXb, XXIV).

¹⁴² Arnuwantis II, king of Malatya, pours a libation in the presence of the god Šarruma, who stands on a lion, and the goddess Hebat, who sits on a chair (Orthmann 1971: Pls. 6a; Hawkins 2000: 304-305, Pls. 145-146; Bonatz 2000: Fig. 15).

gods or their ancestors were usually placed in the gates; and they are considered to represent some kind of funerary rites related to the dead rulers.

Thus the entire group of funerary monuments has a crucial symbolic meaning and served a particular ideology. Bonatz (2000b: 193, 210) may be correct in his assumption that the erection of funerary monuments related to the ancestral cult was a vehicle for the statement and maintenance of identity (Bonatz 200b: 202, 207, 210). It is also possible that these funerary monuments stress the significance for the “collective memory” in the newly founded states and principalities (Bonatz 2000b: 193).

Funerary rites also seem to be closely related with the religious dynastic propaganda (Bonatz 2000: 201). The remembrance of the dead reinforces the status of a ruling class for which “death was claimed as a privilege” (van den Hout 1994: Bonatz 2000b: 201, n. 30). The funerary/ancestral cult as aid of dynastic remembrance probably mirrors a search for identity (Bonatz 200b: 207, 210).

Indeed, the first millennium state of Karkamiš had a dynastic line going back to the Hittite Empire Period kings. Therefore, the later kings may have wanted to stress it and make it unforgettable. As Bonatz (2000b: 207) stresses,

“...in their search for a new identity the surviving dynasties of Karkamiš and Malatya took care to perform the old heritage. Genealogies, confirming links to royal Hittite families, and the ancestor cult, both monumentally visualized, played important roles in this process which at that time was mainly related to the traditional component in this area, the Luwians.”

Worshipping of the dead and ancestors was practiced through freestanding cult images, which seems to be connected to the dynastic ideology. These freestanding statues are linked to an essential memorial act, the feeding of the dead (Bonatz 2000b: 191). The theme of funerary repast is “related to the care for the dead by assigning to the deceased a memorial which depicts the value and durability of the essential act in the funerary ritual” (Bonatz 2000b: 207). Providing the dead ruler with food and drinks is interpreted as an invitation for a meal (Bonatz 2000b: 193). The image of the dead is the receiver of worship. It is suggested that when these figures were worshipped the dead could have been invoked from the netherworld by the invocation of his name (Bonatz 2000b: 193). In return, the magic and mantic powers of the dead might have had a positive effect on the living (Bonatz 2000b: 193, n. 8).

Consequently, Bonatz (2000b: 193, n. 11) expressed the importance of these cult images as follows: “ The social interaction with the dead, his invocation by name, the offering of food and drink, and the citation of the genealogies of his ancestors constitute the framework for an essential form of collective memory.”

It seems that colossal statues standing on double lion- or double bull-pedestals at Karkamiš have been interpreted as objects of worship, too. Representation of deified images on animal-shaped bases is linked to the earlier religious concept where the deities are standing on their attributed animals. Now the gods are replaced by ancestors who are deified as well (Bonatz 2000b: 205). Thus the worshipped king “after his death was made a tutelary god acting as an intermediary to the gods for the wealth of the dynasty” (Bonatz 2000b: 204).

In conclusion, the ancestral cult manifested in the form of free-standing cult figures was one of the principal ways for expressing the socio-political identity in the Syro-Hittite states including Karkamiš. An essential number of free-standing statues of deified rulers, which mostly stand on double lion- or bull- bases placed on specific locations, prove the importance of such figures for the state of Karkamiš.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

This thesis attempted to deduce some socio-politic aspects of Karkamiš, mainly from the sculptural remains including carved blocks inscribed with Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions. It tries to understand how the reliefed orthostats, free-standing statues as well as gateways together with their portal figures and inscribed door-jambs, had a particular importance for the Iron Age “Karkamišean” rulers for transmitting their ideology and objectives to the public. The aim of the study was to show how sculptural works at Karkamiš were used with regard to communication, propaganda and persuasion.

In order to understand the propaganda in Karkamiš, its archaeological finds of sculpture and the available historical information have been examined. For, in the Iron Age the socio-political circumstance of the state of Karkamiš as well as its surrounding region contributes to our understanding of the meaning and messages intended to be given through monumental visual art.

This concluding chapter will not only summarize what has been done in previous chapters, but also will serve to show how the provided information can constitute evidence for a deliberate act of propaganda and communication. Firstly, conclusions about the relationship between Karkamiš’s sculpture and propaganda;

and then the relationship between Karkamiš's socio-historical conditions and propaganda will be considered.

8.1 Propaganda and Karkamiš's Monumental Art

After the collapse of the Hittite Empire, several new kingdoms and city-states emerged in the Southeast Anatolia and North Syria. A number of ethnic groups were already active in the region and presumably they might have been waiting for an opportunity to obtain political power. All these states made an effort to reinforce their heritage and their identities. So, the rulers of these states needed an effective propaganda to gain the masses, manage public opinion, and manipulate behavioral patterns.

The texts of inscribed stone monuments have indicated that the themes of reliefs had not been chosen arbitrarily, but rather had a specific significance and carried particular meanings and messages. Portal lions, reliefs as well as inscribed door-jambs of the gate-structures served a crucial function for the city of Karkamiš. Lastly, the royal titles in the local hieroglyphic texts, as well as funerary monuments of deified rulers provide evidence about how they were used by the rulers of the newly founded Iron Age state of Karkamiš to express particularly their identities.

Architecture and especially palaces were often considered as symbols of a growing empire or state, which was the dwellings of the kings, intended to impress visitors coming from all over their region. The nature and the public function of buildings are the basic determinants in the depiction of scenes, which are supposed to carry the messages of the court. In general, secular and sacred structures such as

temples, tombs, palaces, throne rooms and gate-buildings have been important vehicles for decorative scenes relating to notions of the state and the ruler in a variety of cultures and periods.

On the other hand, no clear statements about public architecture or settlement patterns can be made on the basis of Karkamiš's excavation reports. The excavated area at the inner town of Karkamiš is not sufficient to show the nature of the buildings, which must have been very important sacred, administrative or royal residences. We are not able to conclude whether only the outer walls of monumental buildings or also the internal walls of palaces, for instance, were decorated with impressive orthostat reliefs. Determining programs of decoration for some periods is very difficult and therefore remains hypothetical due to scanty remains.

Nevertheless, the general layout of public architecture and the particular sculptural programs on specific architectural features in the inner town of Karkamiš seem to have had an intentional message. Some architectural features such as gateways and long façades standing on, or flanking important stairways had specific decoration in relation to their architectural function.

The content of reliefs varied according to the location and direction of the structures. The themes had to suit the surfaces of structures' walls. Also the arrangement of scenes in terms of their subject matter must have been consciously and thoughtfully planned.

The long façades flanking major gates seem to have a particular repertoire, consisting of a divine procession and a military procession as well as royal images. This appears to be the case in the Long Wall of Sculpture that constitutes the western façade leading to the Great Staircase. Here the royal figures seem to separate the divine

procession from that of the military. In other words, the deified image of the queen Watis and the proposed image of Suhis as intermediary figures distinguish the divine sphere from the human world. A similar arrangement is also visible in the eastern long wall of the King's Gate, which also flanked a stepped gate-way, the Staircase Recess, evidently entering an important sacred or secular building. However, here the door-way itself is a partition between the divine and human realms. While the southern façade is occupied with a divine procession led by the major deity(ies), the northern façade consists of a military procession headed by royal scenes.

Portal animals either of lions or sphinxes guarded principal gates. Reliefs with further representations of lions and sphinxes seem to be placed in the passage of the Water Gate, as it is the case in some other Syro-Hittite centers. Libation and banquet scenes are among the other themes which were intentionally placed in the gateways. They might have been related with funerary rites and ancestral cult, which assigned gates a further meaning. As in the Hittite examples in Alaca Höyük, scenes representing religious festivals is also visible in the gate-ways in Karkamiš, for instance in the Staircase Recess. The decoration of the passage of the Great Staircase, which appears to be late in date was decorated with orthostat slabs, each of which depict a single figure either of a ruler, a winged genius, or a protective goddess.

The citadel of Karkamiš can be seen as an integrated architectural, pictorial and textual representation of the institution of kingship and the ideal of its state. A monumental expression of the concept of divine kingship and the symbols of power as a whole, in both architectonic and figurative form has been clearly emphasized.

The themes of reliefs were designed as vehicles of Karkamiš's propaganda. The texts inscribed on some orthostats were also integrated with the visual imagery, complementing and supplementing the message of the accompanying carvings.

A common practice at Karkamiš was to place the image of the king himself on the orthostat reliefs. Usually such images were placed after a building program. Although the surviving examples are limited in number, on the grounds of inscriptions there must have been more royal representations.

The most informative of the surviving reliefs is that on the Royal Buttress, depicting Yariris, Kamanis and other royal members. The scene certainly carried a propagandist purpose. The context of the well-preserved inscription accompanying the scene confirms the fact. The patron of the reliefs, Yariris, who was originally regent and guardian of the prince Kamanis, was making both his own propaganda and that of Kamanis. The image of the king in the Royal Buttress encouraged the city and its people to support the prince as an acceptable ruler of the state after Yariris' reign. As a result Yariris as an appointed temporary ruler of the state found a good opportunity to declare his royal authority and power as well as his international fame through the representations and inscriptions on the Royal Buttress.

Indeed, written documents confirm that the kings frequently practiced the dedication of their own images, either in the form of two-dimensional relief or presumably a three dimensional statue in strategic places, either in front of a temple or another principal monumental building. Suhis II, Katuwas (?), Yariris and Kamanis are the rulers known to have dedicated their own images for the gods.

The themes illustrated on the orthostat reliefs are closely related to the intended messages. They are easily understandable and directly testified to the power of the kings

and the state of Karkamiš. The language of the picture is reduced to the basic thematic contents. The narrative scenes are excluded and the reports of deeds are reduced to the building inscriptions. The most favored subject matters are the military representations and religious ceremonies including the deities.

The content of relief scenes were intended as a direct manipulation of the local and foreign audience. The imagery of the representations stresses the military power and god-like image of the ruler. Also the depicted themes forced different groups of people to have an opinion related to ideology, religion and cult of the state.

Moreover, through the military representations the rulers wanted to display their power and strength in the battle field and against the foreign forces. Additionally they must have wished to show their opponents what they would do in the future against those who would have opposed and disrespected them. Thus, the message of the reliefs and related inscriptions was designed for Karkamiš's potential enemies. It can be a warning message against cities of doubtful loyalties that might well be under threat to join Karkamiš's control. Such scenes are also the basic message of Karkamišean dominance and power.

The representations of military scenes at Karkamiš are very schematic in appearance. Unlike the contemporary Assyrian examples, they do not narrate a particular event or battle. Without inscribed texts they do not tell us much. The infantry or soldiers on chariots are there to remind the public of a military success and their organized and impressive army. On the representations we find neither local landscape, nor local people, which is very typical in Neo-Assyrian sculpture. The armed infantry and the chariot scenes with their horses and wounded naked enemy below the horse are a very standardized representation.

Nevertheless, orthostat reliefs showing victorious subjects are not just a result of a tradition that goes back to the 3rd millennium B.C. in the Near East. Rather, at least for a certain period, such as during the reign of Suhis II and particularly that of Katuwas, they might have reflected facts the actual events and facts. On the basis of written documents we can conclude that the military parades were depicted to commemorate particular military achievements or simply to show the military power of the state and especially of its rulers.

So the rulers must have been proud to announce their military achievements both textually and visually to the public. These military victories have been among the basic concern of a state, kingdom or an empire. In this way the state is enlarging by adding new lands, people and resources to its territory. All these mean power and opportunities for the state.

The captives represented on the Long Wall of Sculpture projects carefully particular messages to foreign audiences and forces. The message is of warning and seems intended as a pointed reminder to potentially disloyal subjects that opponents of Karkamiš would be captured and demeaned. The imagery of such scenes also encourages the people who are already under Karkamiš's control to continue their loyal support of the king. The intended aim was to prevent the people of the subjects of organizing revolts and upheavals.

As in most of the ancient civilizations, religion was one of the basic powers for the governments of the Syro-Hittite states, too. Most of the remaining inscribed stone blocks indicate us that the "Karkamišean" kings owed a lot to the divine powers. In the majority of almost complete texts we find gratitude presented to the gods, since the rulers ascended the throne with the support of their deities. The rulers

in Karkamiš usually maintained or renewed temples, acted in pious reverence for old traditional forms of his ancestors and for their cultic customs. Apparently, after accession or a military achievement or obtaining other favors such as skills, protection and profit, as well as medical protection, the rulers built temples, gates, erected new orthostat reliefs, or dedicated rulers' statues to the major "Karkamišean" deities.

The religious scenes illustrated on orthostats, as well as free-standing statues and stelae of major deities were not only intended to show rulers' respect to the deities, but they also transmit some significant messages to the public. It is clear that the population of Syro-Hittite states, including that of Karkamiš, consisted of a number of ethnic groups, whose beliefs and religion showed variations. The ruling class by displaying its religious beliefs, ceremonies and deities, aimed to make the public accept this religion and pantheon and execute these rituals.

Announcing their acknowledgements to the deities in front of the public also shows us how much the kings respected the divine power and help. Attaining power through divine help, emphasized in the hieroglyphic texts, is evidence for a kind of theocratic administration. Furthermore, listing the names of gods and goddesses who helped the ruler in various matters, in a sense makes the public respect and worship these deities. Apparently, the rulers strongly believed in the divine power and wanted the public to do so.

Hunting scenes represented with only a few examples do not find their counterparts in texts. They may have related with some kind of rituals. They do not seem to commemorate a particular event. There is no preserved example of an inscribed hunting scene that shows a ruler simply participating in a hunting activity. The inscribed

stone blocks that were mostly building inscriptions were not used to record hunting activities. Nevertheless, hunting representations were always regarded as symbols of power. They also symbolize the fact that humans, especially the kings, were able to overcome the wild life.

Apart from decorative programs with coherent subject matters, a large number of orthostats found in the Karkamiš depict figures with “mytho-heroic” characters. In fact, the depiction of such figures in art is an age-old tradition in the Near Eastern cultures.

Generally, the cultic and mythological scenes contain a considerable degree of symbolic representation. Such representations necessitate prior knowledge of the story or custom behind what is represented. In the absence of certain texts it is hard for us to detect their meaning and role. On the other hand, they should have had particular meaning for the people for whom they were depicted.

In Karkamiš “mytho-heroic” scenes have been chosen consciously just to decorate specific walls in the inner town area. Those on the Herald’s Wall and in the Inner Court are different both in style, iconography and composition from the much later ones on the Great Staircase.

The sculptures on the Great Staircase, work of a son of Sasturas – Pisiris(?) – have an Assyrian style. The image of the ruler reflects the concept of the kingship in both its aspects, half mythical and supernatural, and half real and historical. It is a religious-political idea represented by a few pictorial elements: images of the king, either human or mythical attendants as well as protective goddesses. They simply constitute a symbol for the mythical and heroic aspect of kingship itself.

Most of the reliefs that are accompanied by hieroglyphic texts, from the Great Staircase were fragmentary. Also the earlier reliefs with cultic and mythological scenes were not found *in situ*. Nevertheless, it is obvious that such representations prove that rulers manipulated effectively and knowingly people's fears and beliefs, since such "mytho-heroic" figures are closely related with the beliefs and fears of ancient people.

Gateways had a particular importance for the Syro-Hittite states, as there was earlier in the Hittite Empire and contemporary Neo-Assyrian Empire. In Karkamiš, too, the entrances and exits were guarded by portal figures mostly made up of monumental lions, whose bodies are carved partly in relief on one of the stone blocks on the reveals of the gateways and partly as sculpture in the round projecting from the wall. Also reliefs containing magical figures guarded the entrances and exits. All these figures served as protectors against evil spirits and guardians for the good spirits. In addition, placing reliefs that depict libation and banquet (funerary repast?) scenes provide the gate with further protection. Since they are assumed to be related with funerary rites and ancestral cult, the deified rulers serve as tutelary gods, also contributing to the protection of the gates.

Recent studies on the hieroglyphic inscriptions found in Karkamiš allow us to understand better the message given through the sculptural work of Karkamiš. Most of the surviving texts were inscribed on stelae, free-standing statues or orthostats, where they sometimes accompany the figural depiction.

The ratio of surviving inscriptions to sculptural evidence is approximately 1/5. The texts directly related with representations are placed the figural reliefs, for instance on the Royal Buttress and the Great Staircase. They (at least those on the Royal Buttress) mostly identify the figures represented and give short information about the

figures. Since the inscribed reliefs from the Great Staircase are very fragmentary, the content of the inscriptions are not clear. Most probably they identify the figures and explain or refer to the representations in general. The second group of texts are placed on orthostat friezes as it is reconstructed on the Long Wall of Sculpture (A 1a of Suhis II), and as it is assumed on the King's Gate (A 13d of Katuwas and A 6 of Yariris). Generally, these texts refer to some political and military achievements, constructions, donations and offerings presented to the honor of gods and goddesses, rather than explaining directly the scenes represented on the adjoining orthostats.

Door-jambs are other units where we have writing exclusively. Evidently, they were vital parts of the gates of principal administrative and religious monuments. These blocks simply served as "billboards" where the kings of Karkamiš announced their military achievements and their construction activities and dedications presented to their major deities. Announcing what a ruler has constructed for his population and deities; what he has achieved militarily; and what he has dedicated for his gods counts a dynastic propaganda. He announces both his own and his dynasty's achievements.

On the other hand, on the sculptural programs of the Herald's Wall and the Inner Court where the "mytho-heroic" and hunting representations predominated, inscriptions are missing. Since such scenes are related presumably with well-rooted mythological stories and rituals, their meaning was old and clear to the public, and therefore they did not required a written support.

Thus, the combination of inscription and sculpture to convey a message seems to be an effective way of communication and propaganda. The texts, which required reading, clearly were accessible to a smaller group which could have consisted of a more politically powerful audience including scribes, officials, foreign dignitaries and

members of wealthy families in the city and its controlled lands. The intended audience for the texts probably also include the successive “Karkamišean” kings, their nobles, their gods and future rulers. The people of the city may have been part of the intended audience as well. What Porter (2000: 175) suggests for the inscribed stelae of Esarhaddon in Til Barsib and Sam'al could have been also true for Karkamiš's inscribed monuments: “If the texts were also publicly read aloud during dedication ceremonies for the [monuments]..., the message of the text would have eventually [or directly] reached all the citizens of the city”.

Recent studies allowed us to see that the rulers of the newly founded state of 1st millennium Karkamiš were heavily concerned about proclaiming their identities. Royal titles unexceptionally employed on monumental inscriptions as well as some sculptural works both in form of relief and free-standing statues were the most obvious signs for the search of identity. Clearly, the rulers of the Syro-Hittite states, including Karkamiš showed an attempt to link themselves to a prosperous and honorable past, so in some extent to the traditions and history of the Hittite Empire. Simply, they attempted to retain a strong sense of independent political identity.

On permanent public display, the massive monuments were in themselves a looming and unavoidable reminder of “Karkamišean” power. Both visually and verbally the sculptural monuments addressed the different political and cultural circumstances of the audiences, encouraging them on the one hand to remain confident and loyal citizens of Karkamiš, or encouraging them on the other hand to resist future enticements to revolt.

As vehicles of “Karkamišean” propaganda the purpose of public monuments was in part to influence the political attitudes and behavior of people

resident in the capital and the state in general as well that of the potential enemies. The public monuments and texts in Karkamiš are carefully tuned for particular audience. In other words, the military scenes were mostly addressed to foreign audience; while the religious scenes were addressed to the local populace which originally consisted of various ethnic groups whose religious beliefs and practiced must have varied in some extent.

The military and religious scenes together with “mytho-heroic” representations show that the ruler was able to discern the basic beliefs, needs or fears of the audience. “Mytho-heroic” representations consist of figures which are originated in particular myths. They basically consist of animal-headed demons, winged genii, bull-headed creatures, human figures mastering animal, etc. These figures all seem to have their own story in the Near Eastern myths. In general they might have been considered as frightening powerful figures. So they usually had protective role against evil spirits and represent the beliefs of the populace in general. Consequently, the rulers were aware of the beliefs and fears of people and that is why they preferred to include such scenes in their sculptural programs.

As a conclusion, together with its extensive program of sculpted orthostats, free-standing statues, stelea, some of which bear texts about significant historical issues, Karkamiš is an excellent representative of Syro-Hittite states. Gate-structures of citadels palaces and/or temple of the sites such as Malatya, Zincirli, Sakçagözü, Tell Halaf and Karatepe were decorated with orthostats and statues similar to those at Karkamiš. The preferred repertoire of relief scenes was not entirely the same in these sites. Usually they show iconographic and stylistic variations, which require a careful research and study. On the other hand, religious,

“mytho-heroic”, hunting and military scenes as well as statues and stelae depicting the goddess Kubaba and the Storm-God were also the most favored subject matters, although their ratio changes from site to site, in connection to their ethnic, cultural and historical nature.

The inscriptions from other Syro-Hittite sites were also placed on stone monuments as at Karkamiš. The inscribed door-jambs, however, were hardly found in other sites. Although the language (Luwian, Aramaean, Phoenician) and the script (hieroglyphic, Phoenician and Aramaean alphabetic script, and very rarely cuneiform) of inscriptions also varied from region to region because of the ethno-cultural structure of the sites. Yet their content and function was not much different than those of Karkamiš. These texts too, provide the public with the genealogical and dynastic reference, historical information including political and military achievements, building activities as well as various donations for deities.

Thus, in general terms, the city of Karkamiš with its monumental sculpture and inscriptions adorning its essential gate-ways and buildings seem to be the center of and the best example of the Syro-Hittite cities.

Bringing together the available socio-political information as well as the archaeological remains of sculptural art of Karkamiš in the Iron Age illustrates better the need for propaganda.

8.2. Propaganda in Karkamiš in the Light of History

At the beginning of the 12th century B.C. the region of North Syria is characterized by instability and recovery. Karkamiš might have escaped the widespread destruction in the region at the end of the Late Bronze Age. Furthermore, the last ruler,

Kuzi-Tešub, of Karkamiš, just before the collapse of the Hittite Empire maintained his rule in Karkamiš and even to control the land of Malatya. Despite of the stability and continuation from the Hittite Empire period as well as lack of traces of destruction, the city itself must have been also affected by the general situation of the area. From Karkamiš so far we do not have any inscribed or uninscribed monument dating certainly to the period between 1100 and 1000 B.C., if the earliest sculptural programs of Water Gate are not to be dated to this period.

The emergence of new urbanization in the 11th-10th century in North Syria is better documented in Karkamiš, where a substantial re-urbanization took place. The sculptural program on the Water Gate at least reflects the earlier tradition of decorating public structures, particularly town gates. The fragmentary reliefs with figures of lions and/or sphinxes as well as the libation to the Storm God mirrors the importance given to the orientation towards the river and to the gates as dynastic propaganda.

During the 10th century B.C. the process of re-urbanization in Syria seem to reach its zenith. As city-states increased their power, greater mutual competition and dynastic change appeared in some Syro-Hittite states. Between the Hittite/Luwian and Aramaean dominated states there was a rivalry and open conflict. The Assyrian expansion was another threat that had an important impact on these Syro-Hittite states, and forced them to ally with each other.

In Karkamiš the competition with the emerging Aramaean powers and the Assyrian expansion westwards might be a good reason for making propaganda. The reigns of Suhis II and Katuwas are characterized by an active practice of new foundations and decorative sculptural programs. The replanning of the city included the decoration of the gates and façades of main buildings. The inner town and citadel were

enriched by reliefs that conveyed both visual propaganda and protection by the gods. The result was an uninterrupted group of reliefs with ritual and military scenes running from the King's Gate through the Herald' Wall to the upper citadel by the Long Wall of Sculpture and the Great Staircase.

Judging from the local monumental inscriptions, particularly the reign of Katuwas was in fact a moment of greater territorial expansion. A number of new lands were added to the state and some revolts within the city of Karkamiš itself or other dependent estates were suppressed. So, as it was in the case of monumental art of Neo-Assyrians, the visual propaganda in Karkamiš must have been closely connected with the territorial expansion.

Intensive production of orthostat reliefs also illustrates the economic and financial potential of the state. The extensive building and sculptural programs during the reigns of Suhis II and Katuwas are evidence for further economic and financial power. Also, it is not impossible that Karkamiš's workshops of sculpture dominated the region at that time, since stylistically similar reliefs and statues come from contemporary neighboring states, especially from Zincirli.

The artistic developments during the Suhis-Katuwas dynasty remained largely connected to the political success and power of the dynast. This power was evident in the artistic renewal both in monumental and minor arts. Karkamiš seem to be one of the few centralized workshops in the region both in terms of stone sculpture, metal-working and ivory carving.

During the 9th – 8th centuries B.C. the increasing internal competition, the emergence of new Phoenician and Aramaean economic and political powers, and finally the Assyrian expansion greatly affected the political and economical picture in

Syria, including Karkamiš. The Syrian states were forced to organize many coalitions and alliances against the Assyrian expansion. Also, interconnections among the many new and old dynasties of different social and ethnic origins were recognized in the Syro-Hittite states.

The internal instability of the end of the 9th and the beginning of the 8th century resulted in a limited re-shaping of political borders. The major role of instability probably was the increasing role of the Aramaean component and its interplay with the Assyrians. The conquest of the left bank of the Euphrates by the Assyrians, and the transformation of Til Barsib into an Assyrian centre created a serious threat for Karkamiš, as it was for the other still independent Syro-Hittite states.

Competition among the Syrian dynasts apparently increased in the course of the 8th century. This encouraged Assyrian involvement in local political affairs and facilitated Assyrian ultimate conquests of the region.

The archaeological records mirror the political patterning of the area. The political crisis of the Aramaean and Hittite/Luwian kingdoms and states caused a decline of the artistic media, including monumental sculpture which was more strictly connected with local powers. Sculpture and monumental reliefs witness fragmentation of the artistic domination of previous centers such as Karkamiš.

Nevertheless, during this final phase of the Syro-Hittite states, new foundations and urban replanning were still promoted by many kings and rulers of the region. The local epigraphic sources are paralleled by the archaeological records, which document an intensification of urban replanning in the Syro-Hittite cities. In Karkamiš the foundation of the town of Kamana by Kamanis for the Kanapuwaeans (CEKKE, A 4a) takes place during this period. As in many other major centers in the neighborhood

relevant remodelling of palaces or other monumental buildings was also organized in Karkamiš. The recorded activities of remodelling and/or redecoration of Yariris, Kamanis and probably Pisiris date to this period. Thus, dynastic propaganda through proclamations of foundation and visual decoration was resumed and intensified.

Often and particularly in the Ancient Near East the development of art runs parallel to the rise and fall of a kingdom and its standing in power politics. Such a situation is also evident in the state of Karkamiš. None of the so far discovered archaeological finds from the city belong certainly to the reigns of Sangara and probably Pisiris, unless some orthostats on the Great Staircase do belong to the reign of Pisiris. For the names of these two kings appeared as tribute-payers in the Assyrian records. So during the reign of Sangara at least, Karkamiš politically and therefore economically appears to be weak. On the other hand, the most remaining sculptures and inscriptions are dating to Suhis II, Katuwas, Yariris and Kamanis, of whom we have no reference in the Assyrian records as tribute-payers. Instead, Suhis II, Katuwas and Kamanis recorded their constructions and military achievements, which constitute evidence for some kind of political extension.

In conclusion, during the 1st millennium B.C. the Hittite-Luwians and the Aramaeans were the most dominant ethnic powers in the region. While at the beginning, most of these kingdoms were ruled by dynasties with a Hittite-Luwian origin, then the Aramaean power controlled the area and gained the control of some city-states. This change is evident both in epigraphic sources and in the iconography and style of art. The situation makes one imagine that there was a competition between particular ethnic groups to gain the power of the region. If it is so, the ruling class must have required an efficient propaganda to promote its ethnic identity and dynasty.

Presumably the ideology of the “Karkamišean” kings was linked to a progress towards the unification of the state, by integration of the various political entities of the region, which had their previously diverse traditions, racial, linguistic and religious features.

Possibly new ethnic groups, either from the conquered cities or as immigrants intermingled with the population of Karkamiš. If so, the kings of this period have demanded more a need of visual and literary propaganda in order to show the power of themselves, and make the new people submit to their rule.

The general audience of Karagamis’s orthostats and sculpture consisted of the citizens of the state as well as the foreign visitors, merchants and ambassadors. The people entering the city or a complex encountered the relieved orthostats and statues of deities or kings displayed on specific structures or places. As we saw above, the location and the content of these reliefs and images carry specific meaning and messages. These messages are factors in order to determine the formation of beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors. In general, the audience is expected to accept the message of the ruler expressed, and to reevaluate its beliefs and attitudes in favor of the ruler and his administration.

The reliefs attached to the gateways or outer walls of principal buildings, as well as erection of stelae and statues of deified rulers and deities show that they had to be seen by both local and foreign people. In general they illustrate the power and victory of Karkamiš. The scenes aimed to be understood as natural order. The entire target population has to accept the image of the “Karkamišean” power, i.e. the kings, their beliefs, attitudes, their gods, their magnates and subjects in the state at large. The basic

aim behind propaganda was to maintain a perfectly organized economical, political and social estate, and therefore to ensure a non-problematic bureaucracy.

A dynastic propaganda is also considered. In general the basic aim of the kings of Karkamiš was to glorify their power, reigns as well as their dynasties. It seems that more than one dynasty ruled at the city-state of Karkamiš. Dynastic change was documented by the accession of the Suhis-Katuwas dynasty (A 11*b+c*), which probably replaced the Talmi-Tešub lineage. The extensive refoundation and rebuilding activities during the “House of Suhis” must have been also to proclaim the power of their dynasty. Several rebuilding and redecorating programs also show that each king was anxious to prove his own superiority. The king’s names, titles and achievements were written repeatedly in noticeable monumental inscriptions. Sometimes they also stress that he had done what his predecessors had failed to do. Each ruler wanted himself to be seen as a powerful, successful and effective manager. So they enjoyed showing their achievements obtained in various fields.

On the other hand, in order to suggest that a new use of architectural relief orthostats for power and propaganda develop in the 1st millennium B.C., we must know how much and where such reliefs were used in the 2nd millennium B.C. and what their repertoire was. Although archaeological evidence suggests their use at least from the mid-2nd millennium B.C. (Woolley 1921: 107; Özyar 1991: 30, 102; Özyar 1998: 635) the contemporary levels were hardly excavated. On the other hand, since Karkamiš had a vital position in the Hittite domination of Syria, and sometimes the kings of Karkamiš seem to have acted on their own authorities during the period of Hittite viceroyalty (c. 1350-1200 B.C.), use of sculpture somehow as a medium for power and propaganda seems very probable (Hawkins 1972-75: 429-432). However,

unless we have sufficient archaeological evidence going with written sources, we cannot comment on the possible similarity and difference in the development of their use.

Nevertheless, Karkamiš's monumental sculptural decoration with its purposeful composition of scenes reflects in some extent socio- political, economical and religious aspects of the state. They give us an idea how the rulers of Karkamiš viewed themselves and their relationship with the outside world, and how they wished the outside world to view them.

However, the available archaeological, historical and epigraphic information is still too patchy for a balanced overall picture. It is hard to reach a certain, complete socio-political interpretation concerning the art and architecture of Karkamiš. The inner town and the citadel have not been completely excavated. Therefore the nature of the buildings, their plans and complete interior and exterior decoration are not fully known, preventing us of forming a complete picture. In addition, about the effects of the visual monumental depictions on the viewer of that time we can have only a faint idea, since in our modern world we see and perceive things differently.

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TABLES

Table 1: The dynasty of Great Kings (of *x-pa-zitis*) and Country Lords (of Suhis).

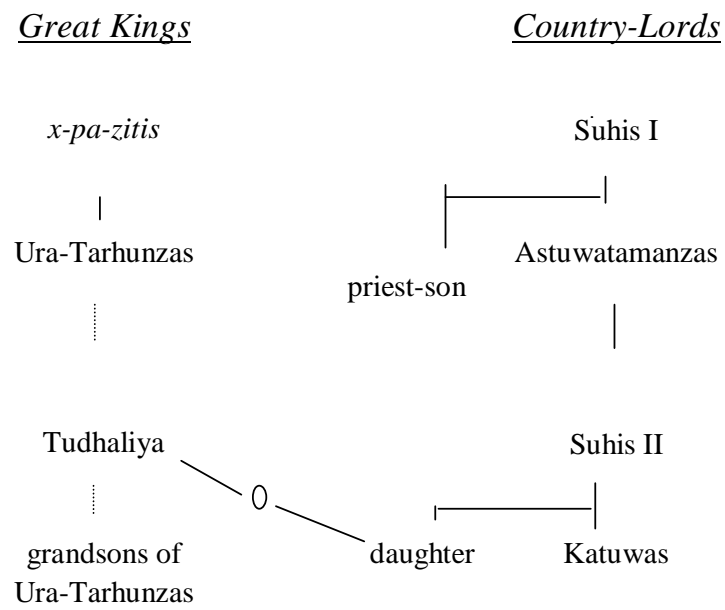


Table 2 : King List of Karkamiš in the 1st millennium B.C.

Date:	Ruler:	Corroborative Sources*:
i c. 1100	<i>Ini-Tešub</i>	(Tiglath-Pilaser I)
ii	<i>X-pa-zitis</i>	A 4b
iii c. 970	<i>Ura-Tarhunzas</i> (son)	A 4b , A 11 b
.....		
iv	<i>Suhis</i> I	A 4b, 14b
v	<i>Astuwatamanzas</i> (son)	A 14b ; A 11a
vi	<i>Suhis</i> II (son)	A 14a, A 1a , A 1b, A 11a =A 8, A 11b, A 12, A 2+3, KELEKLI
vii c. 900	<i>Katuwas</i> (son)	A 2+3, A 11a + A 4d, A 11b+c (=A9+10), A 12, A 13d, A 23 (+A 26a? and A 20a), A25a?, A 16b?
...		
viii 870-848	<i>Sangara</i>	Assurnsirpal II, Shalmaneser III
...		
ix	<i>Astiruwas</i>	A 27e, KÖRKÜN.
x	<i>Yariris</i> (a regent)	A 6-7, A 15b , A 24a., KARKAMIŠ stone bowl.
xi	<i>Kamanis</i> (Astiruwas' son)	A 31= A 32 (+ A 30b) A 4a, A 6, A 7a, A 15b, A17b, A 25b, A 27e, CEKKE, TÜNP 1.
xii	<i>Sasturas</i> (<i>Kamanis</i> ' vizier)	CEKKE, A 20b.
...		
xiii 738-717	<i>Pisiris</i>	Tiglath-Pilaser III, Sargon; A 13a-c? , A 22c, A 21b+a (= A 22b+a) and A 20b.

* Bold type indicates that the individual is author of the inscription.

FIGURES

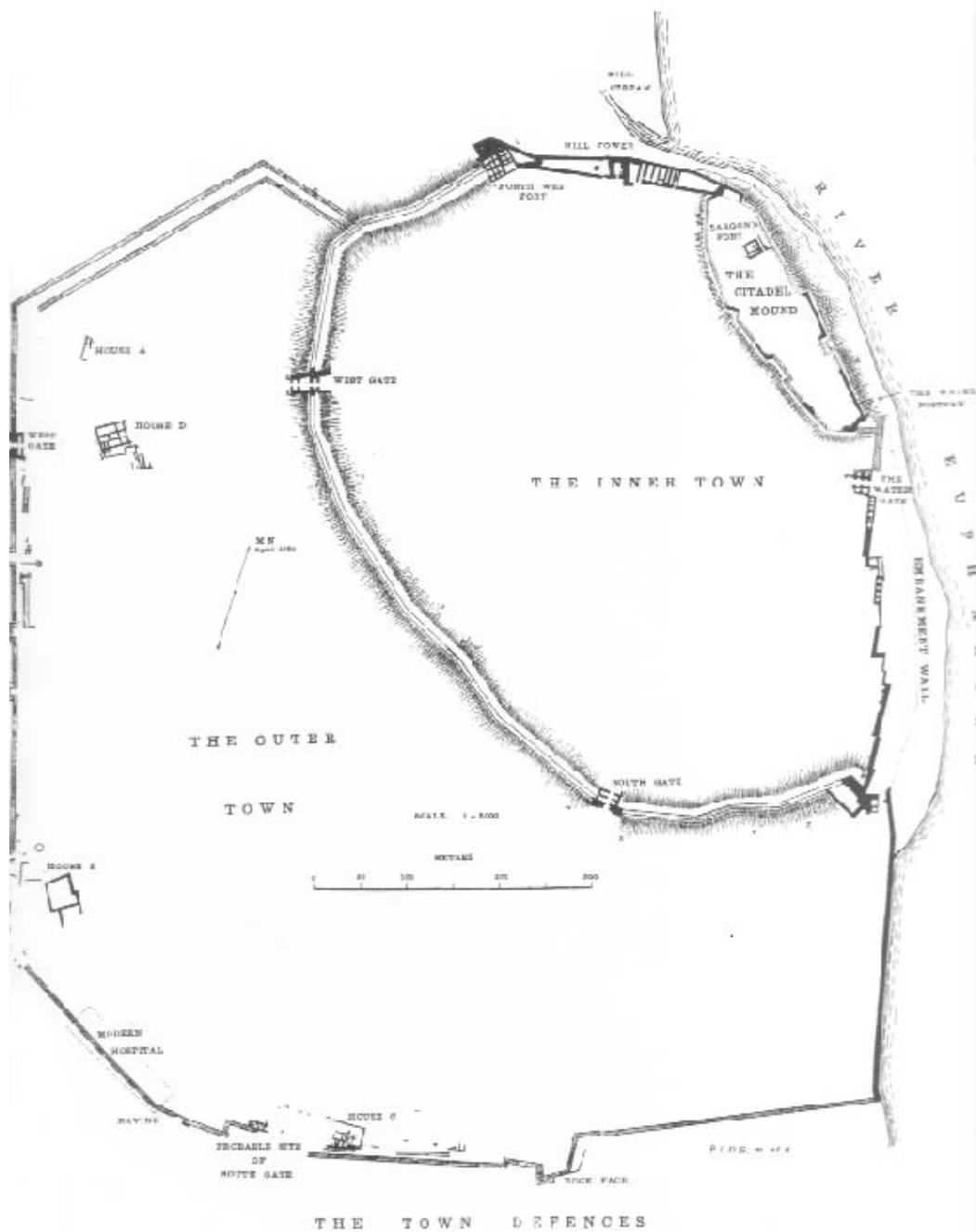


Fig. 2. Plan of Karkamiš.

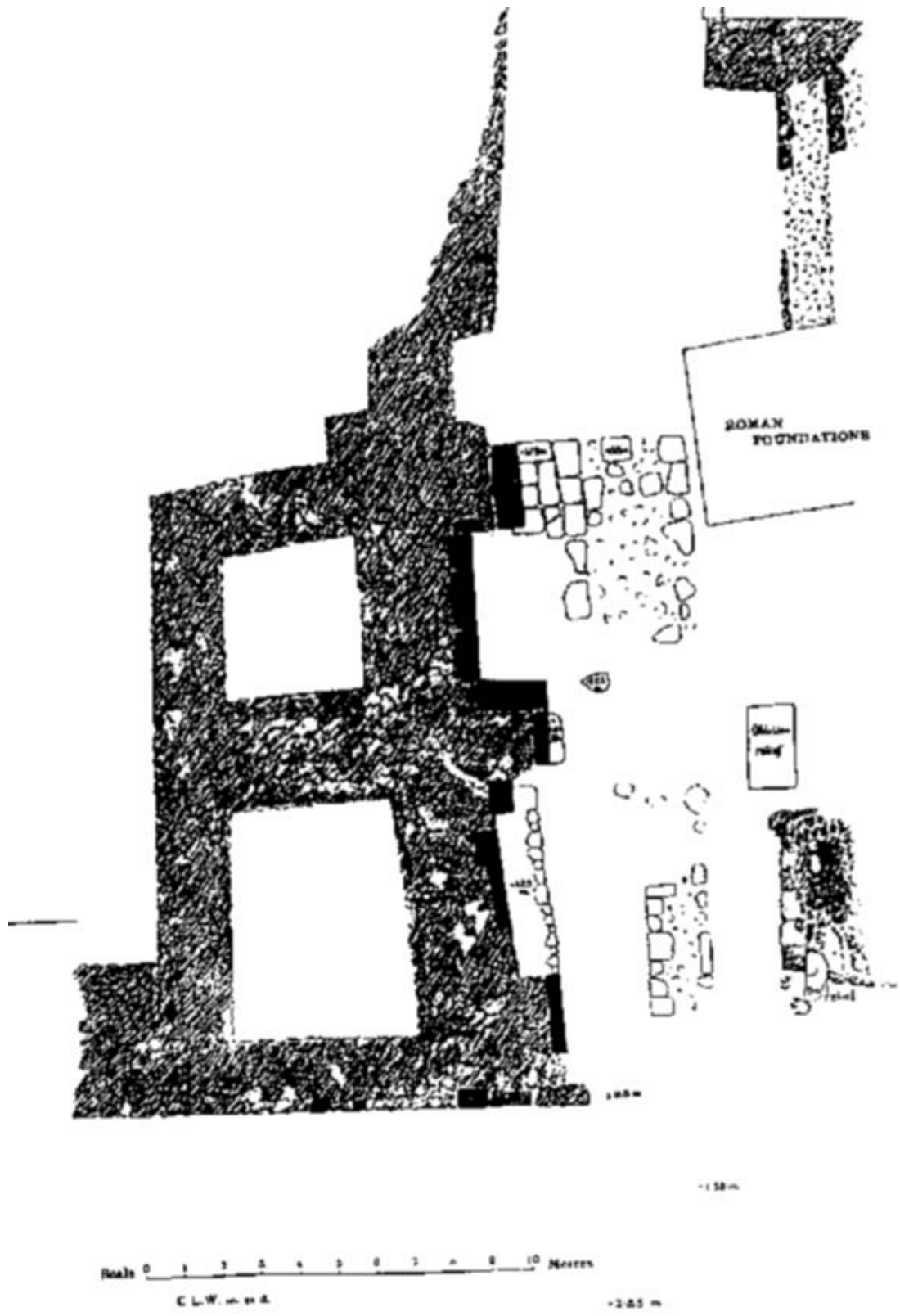


Fig. 3. Plan of the Water Gate.

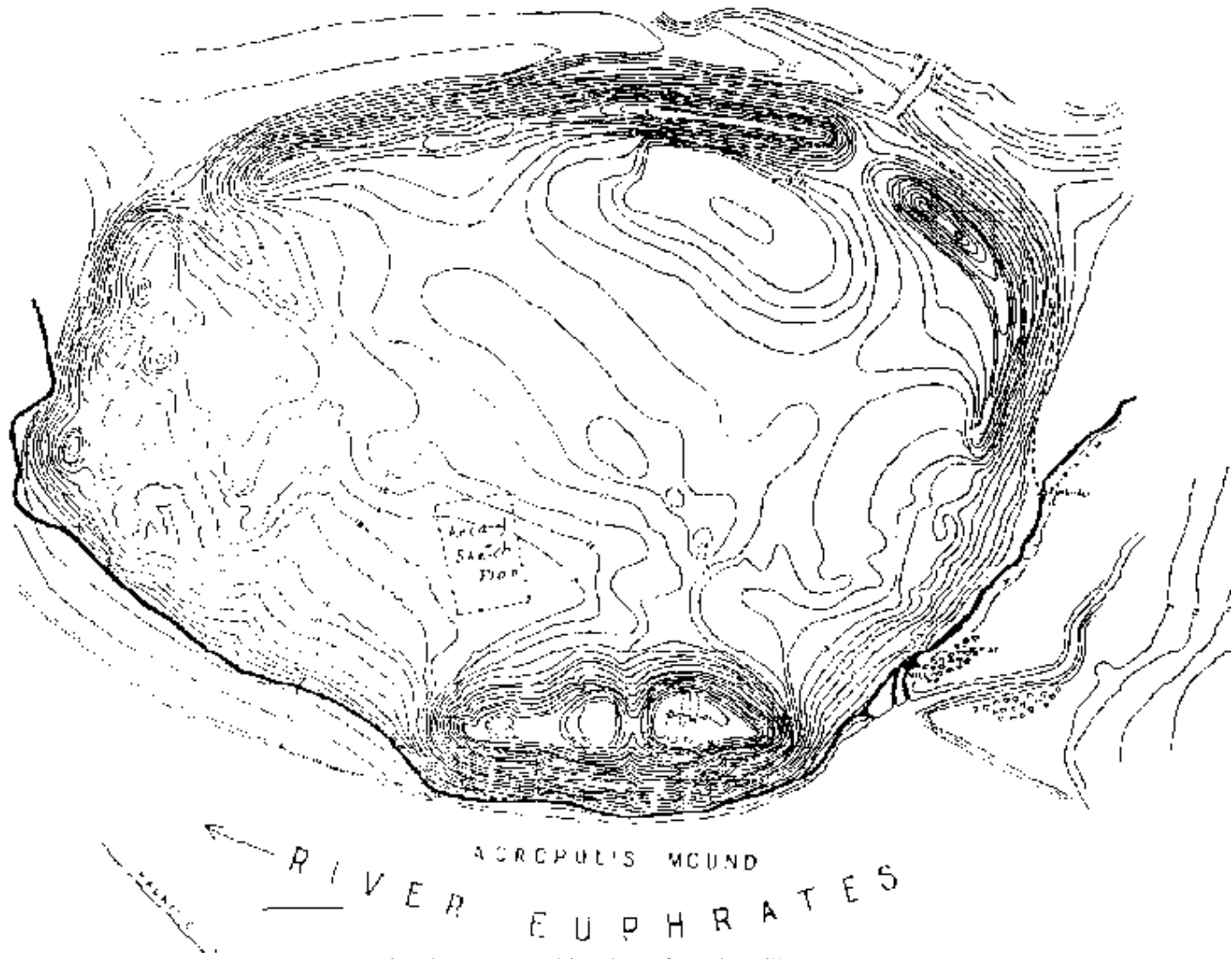


Fig. 4. Topographic plan of Karkamiš.

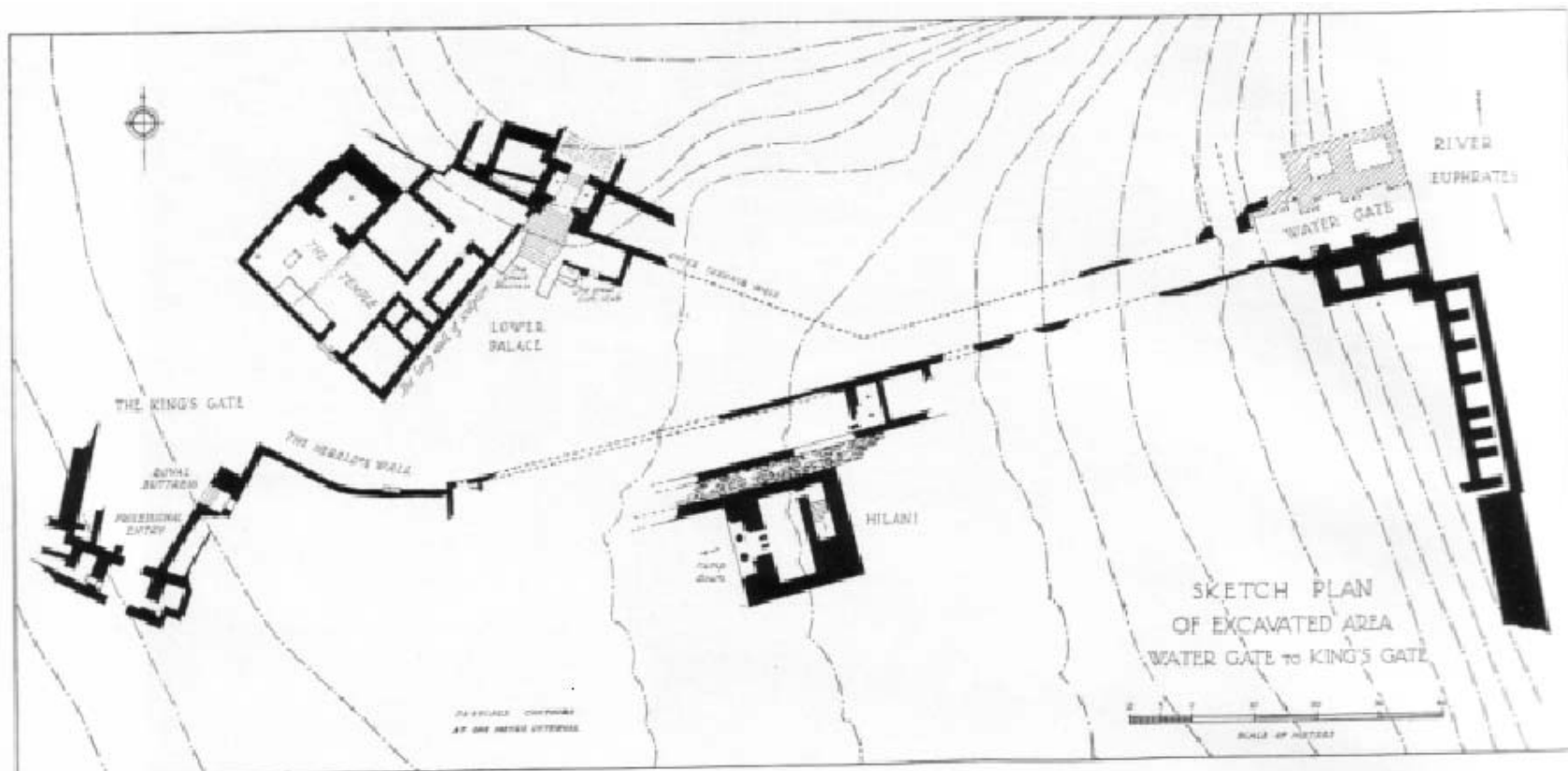


Fig. 5. Sketch Plan of Excavated Area in Karkamiš, from Water Gate to King's Gate and Great Staircase.

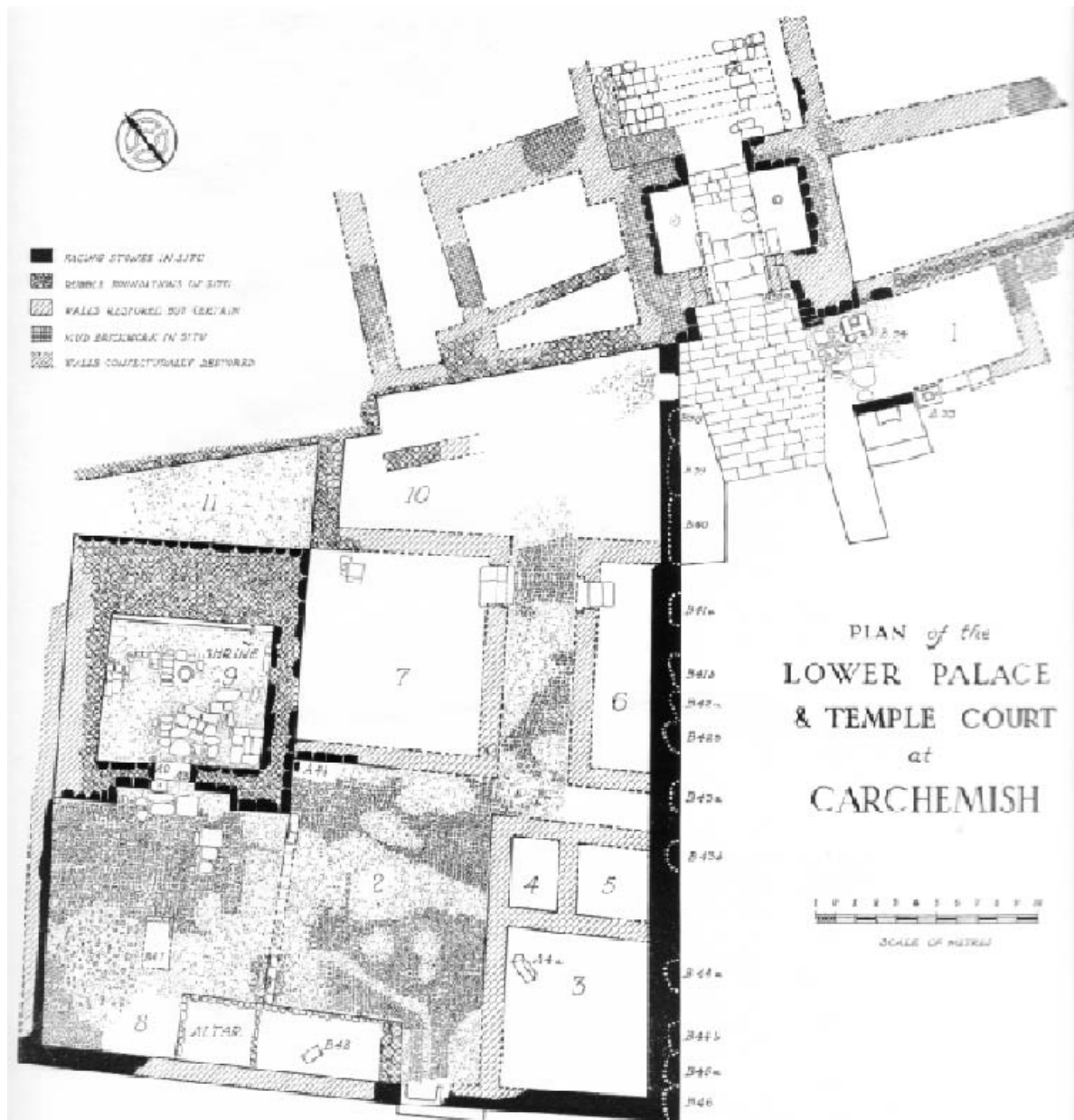


Fig. 6. Plan of the "Lower Palace Area" including the Long Wall of Sculpture, the Great Staircase and the Temple of the Storm God.

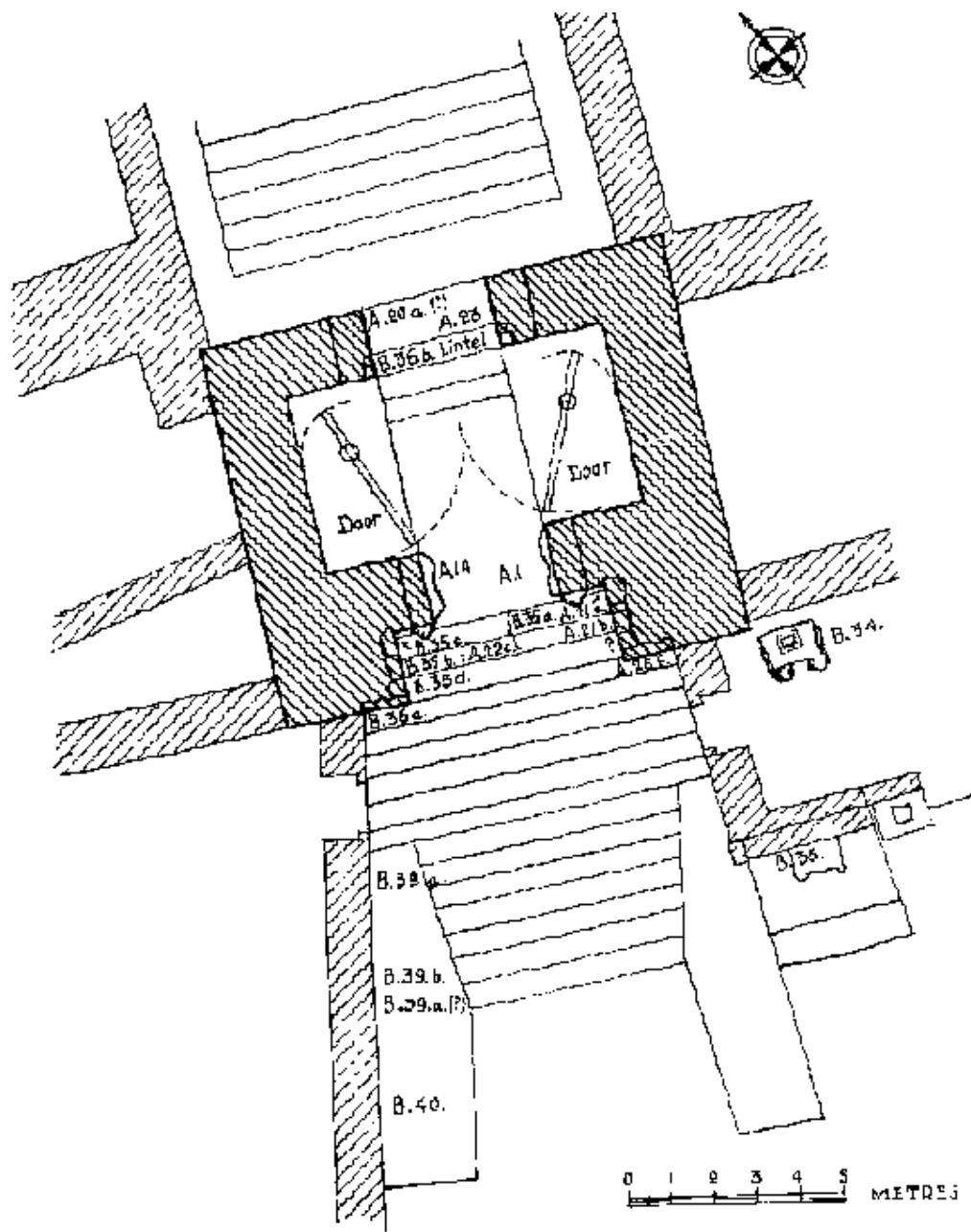


Fig. 7. The Reconstruction of the Great Staircase Area¹⁴³.

¹⁴³ A 14a and A 14b are misplaced by Woolley. They must be shifted.

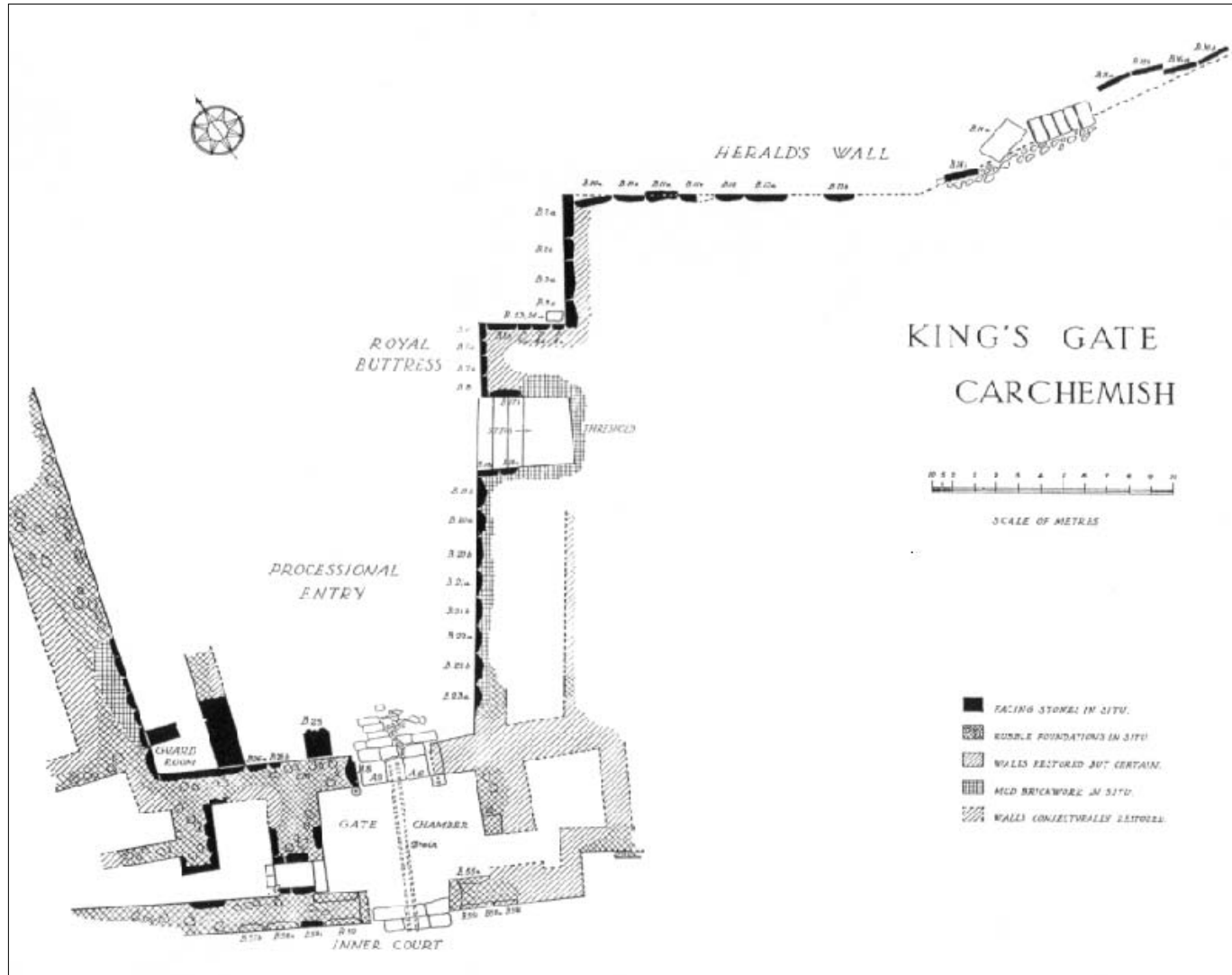
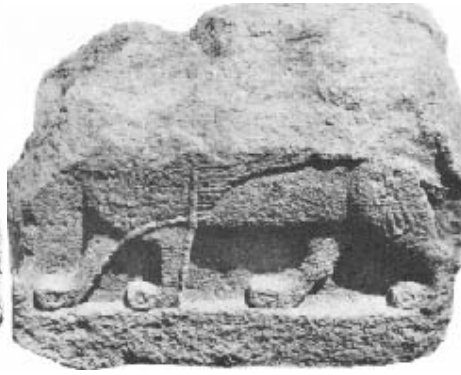


Fig. 8. Plan of the King's Gate including Royal Buttress, Processional Entry, Gate-Chamber and Herald's Wall; and the arrangement of orthostat reliefs on them.



B 28a



B 28b



B 29a



B 29b

Fig. 9. Orthostat reliefs from the Water Gate (B 28 - B 29).



B 30a

Fig. 10. Libation scene from the Water Gate.



B 30b

Fig. 11. Banquet scene from the Water Gate.



B 31a



B 31b

Fig.12. Orthostat Reliefs from the Water Gate (B 31a+ b).

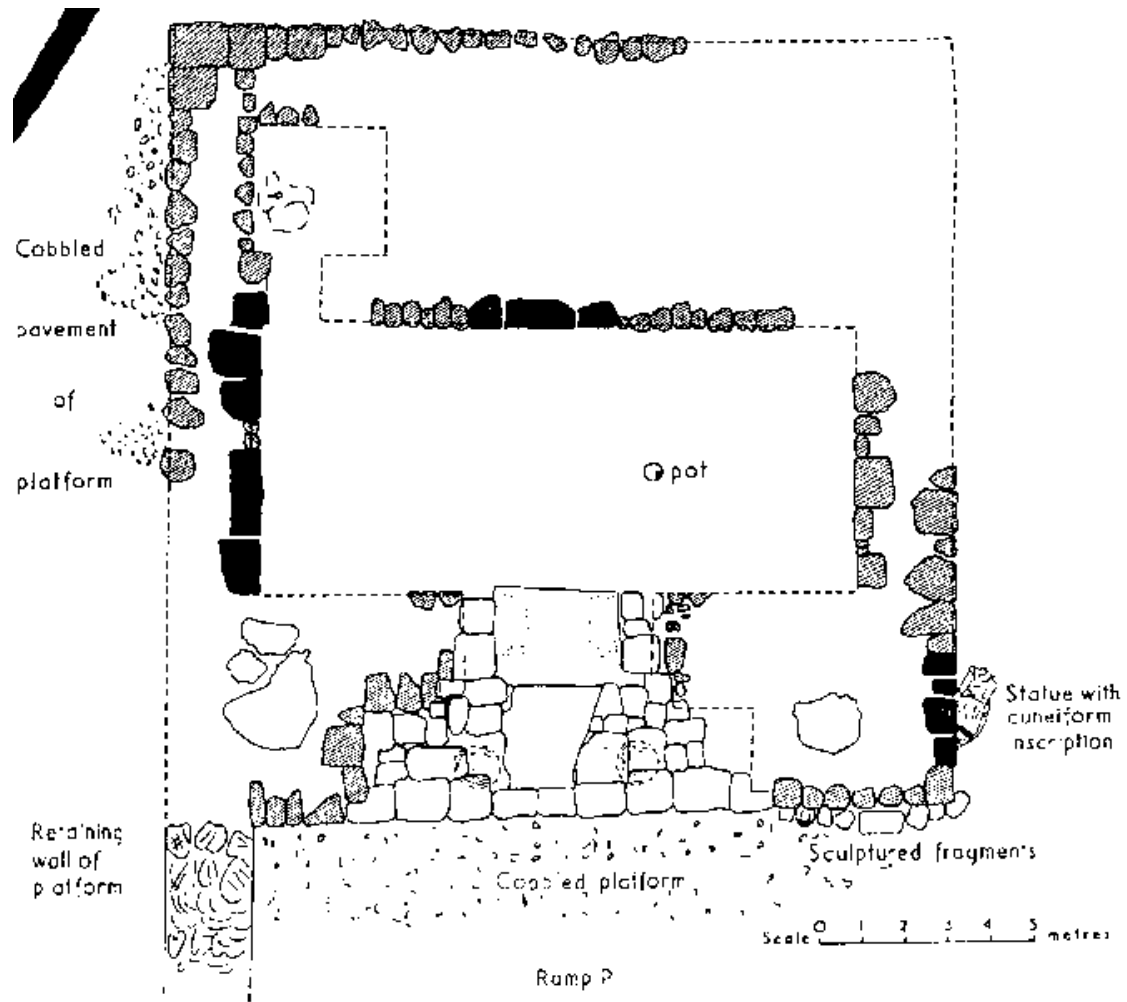


Fig. 13. Plan of The Hilani.



B 38a



B 38b



B 40



B 39a



B 39b

Fig. 14. Fragmentary reliefs from the divine procession of the Long Wall of Sculpture.



B 41a



B 41b



B 42a



B 42b



B 43a

Fig. 15. Chariot reliefs from the Long Wall of Sculpture.

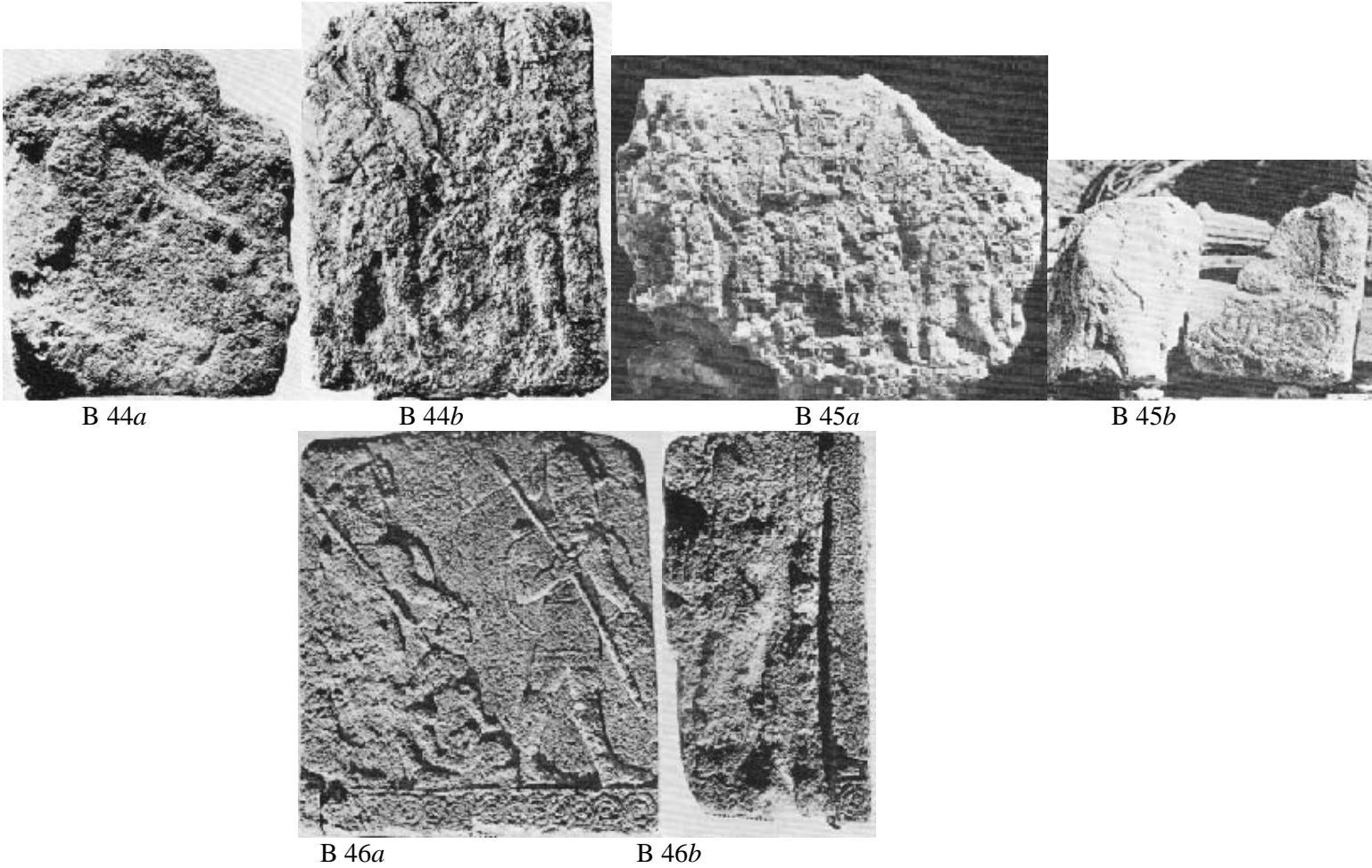


Fig. 16. Reliefs depicting foot-soldiers from the Long Wall of Sculpture.

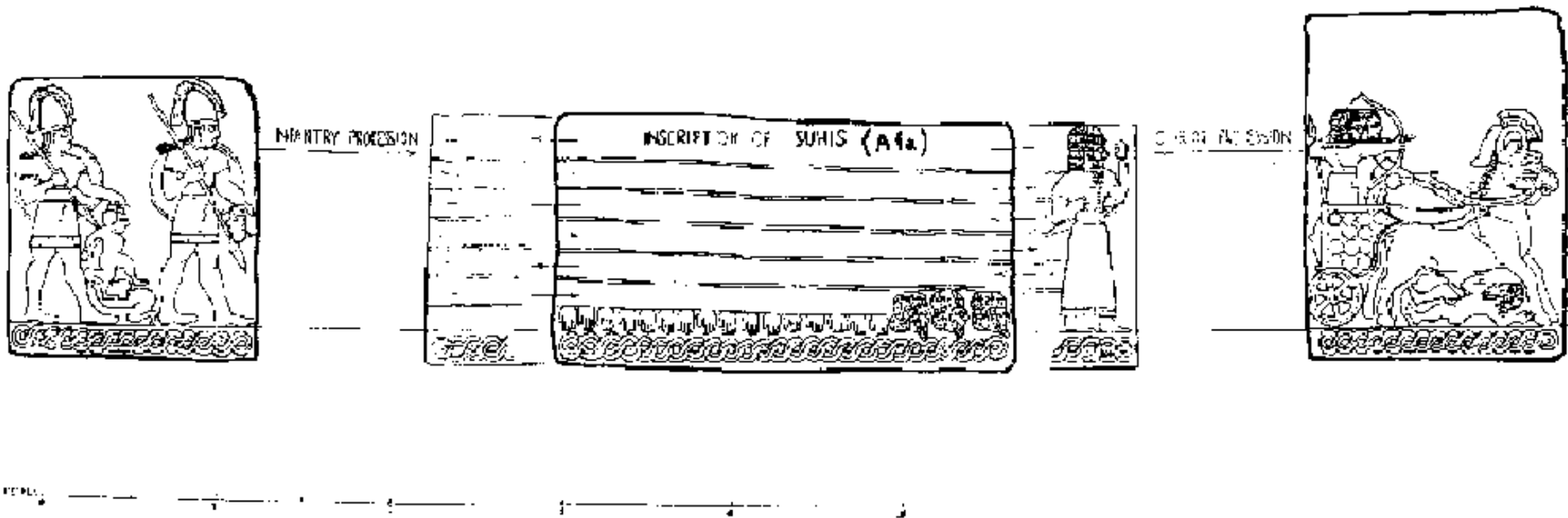
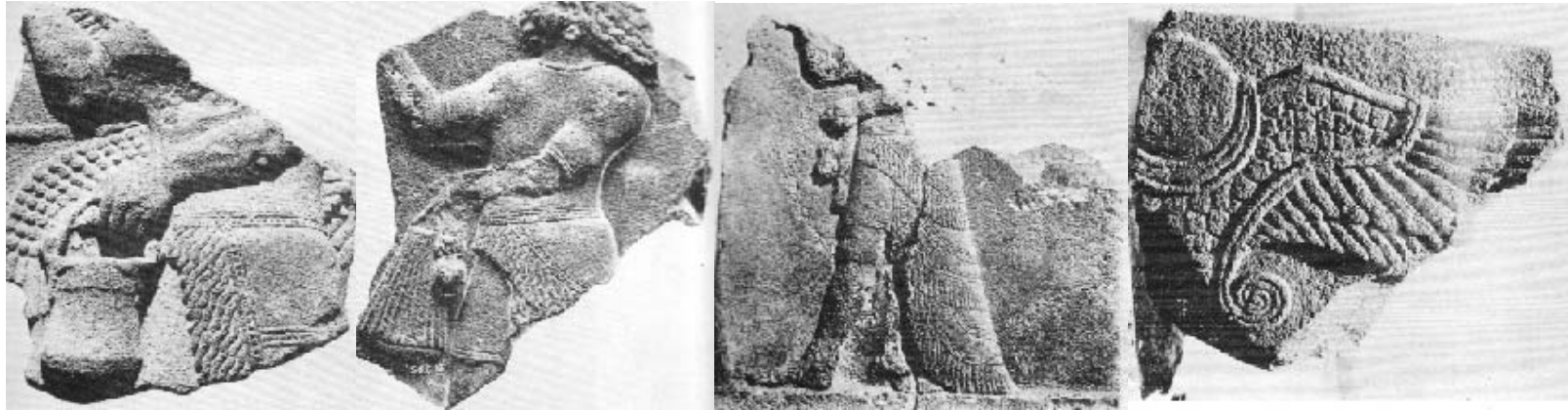


Fig. 17. Reconstruction of the military representations on the Long Wall of Sculpture.



Fig. 18. Reconstruction of the divine representation on the Long Wall of Sculpture.

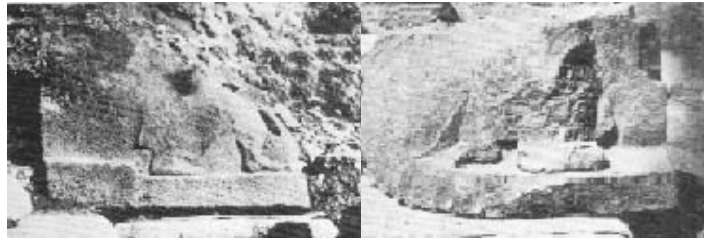


B 35c

B 35d

B 36a

B 36c



B 35a

B 35b



A 26f

Fig. 19. Fragmentary orthostats from the Great Staircase.



a



b



c

B 31c

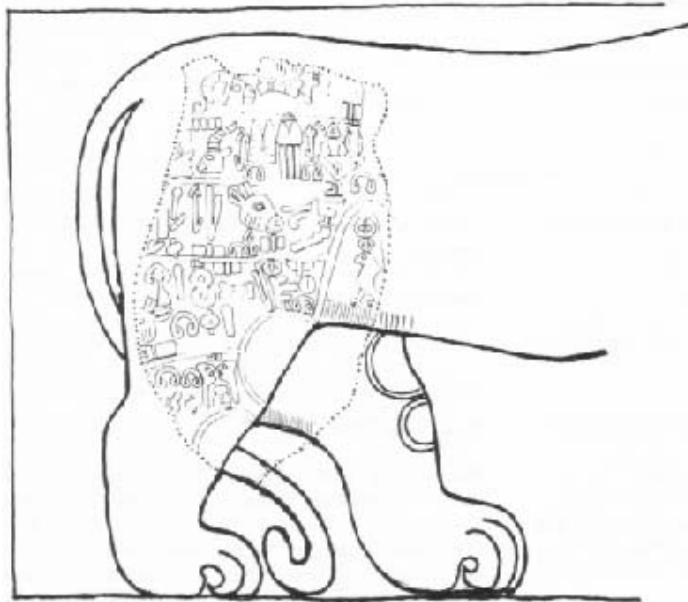


d

Fig. 20. Fragments of Lion A 14a (of Suhis) and its reconstruction.



a



b

Fig. 21. Fragments of inscribed lion A 14b (of Astuwatamanzas) and its reconstruction.

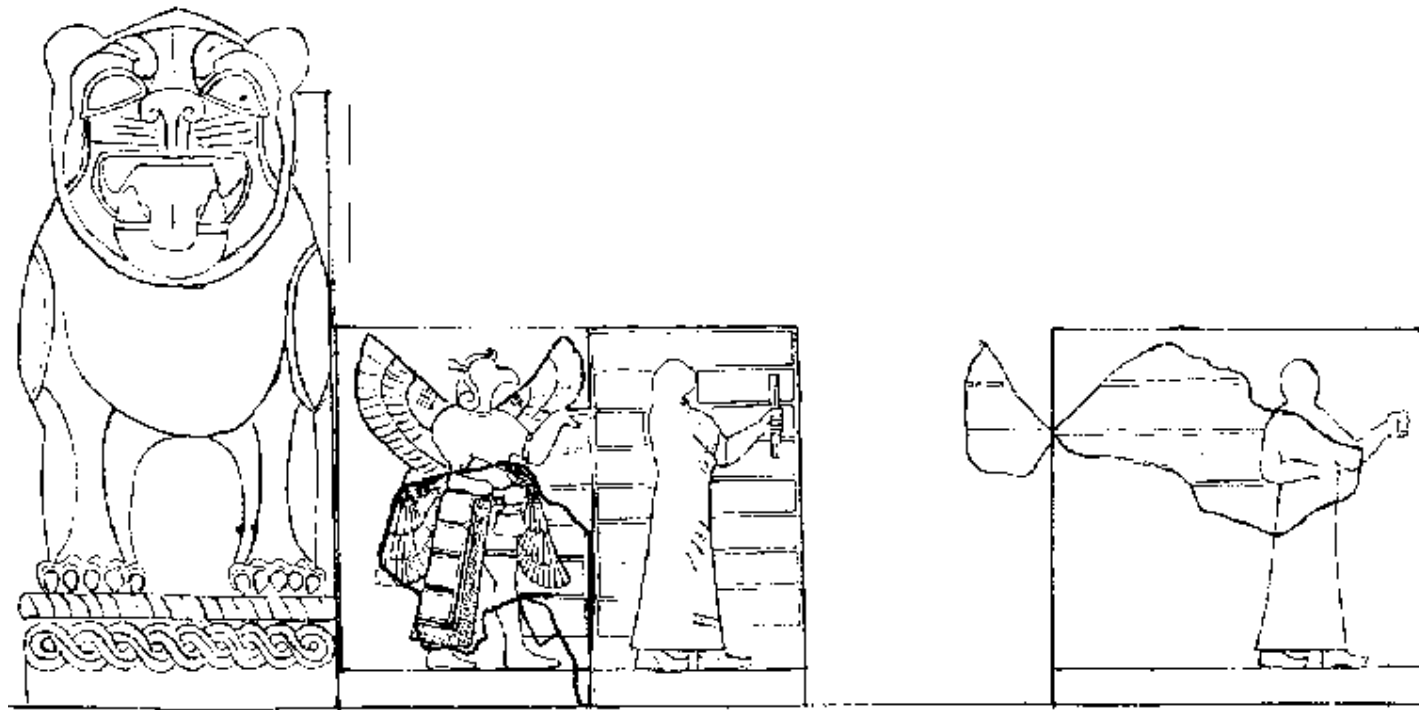


Fig. 22. Reconstruction of the right side of the Outer Gate of the Great Staircase gate tower.

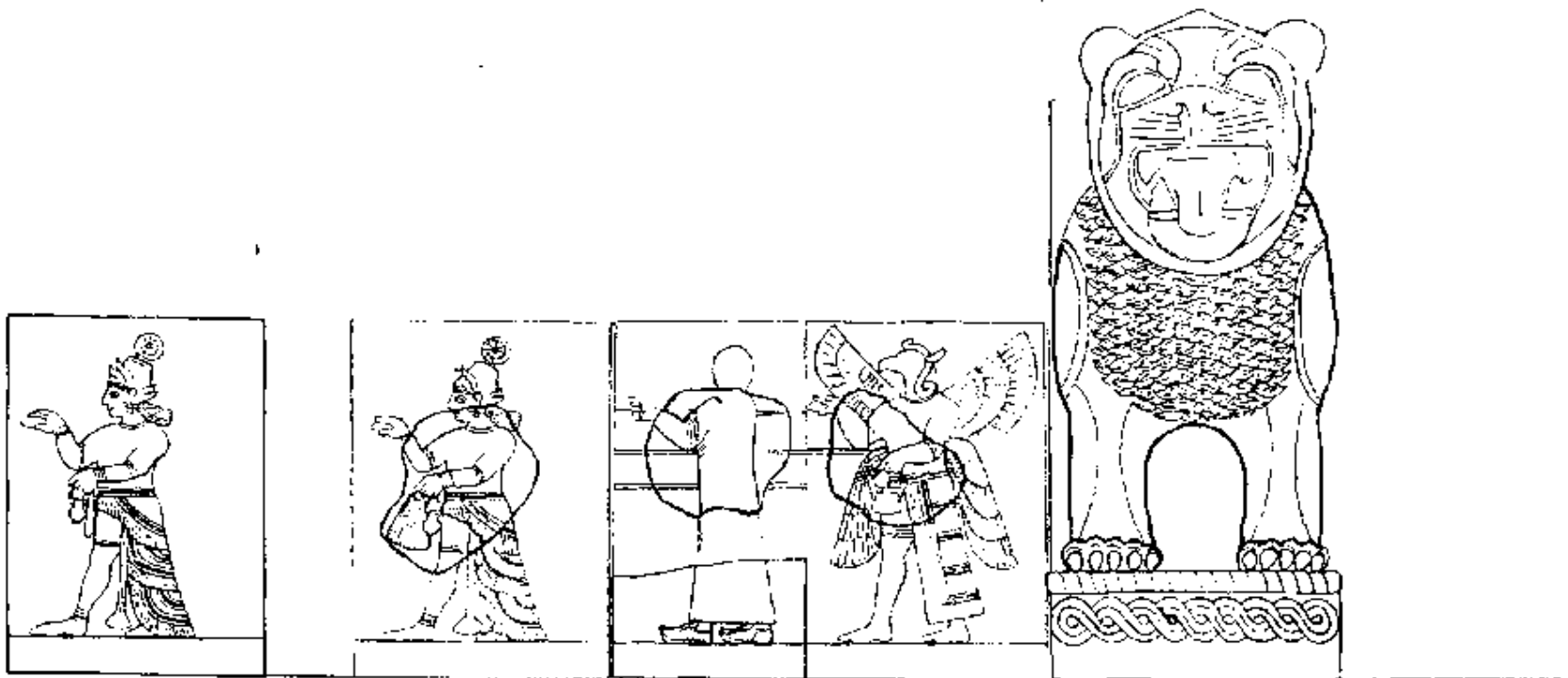


Fig. 23. Reconstruction of the left side of the Outer Gate of the Great Staircase gate tower.

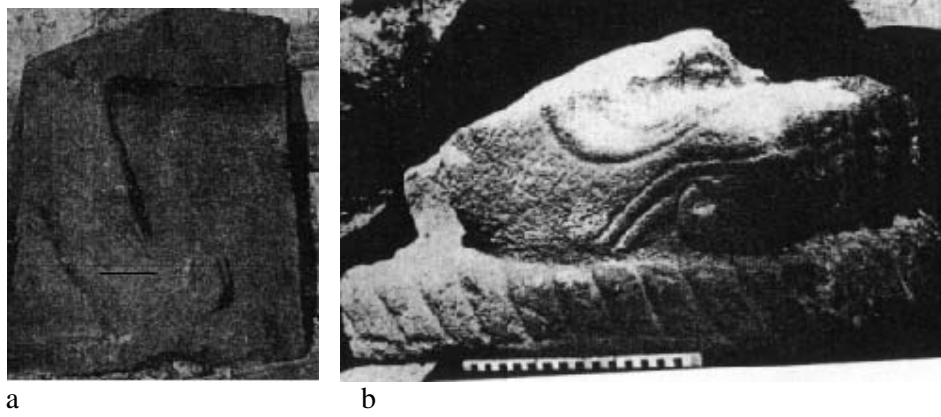


Fig. 24. Fragments of a lion, assumed by Ussishkin to be the counterpart of Lion A 14a



B 27b

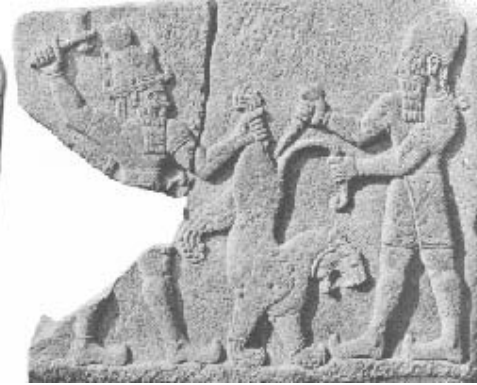
Fig. 25. Portal Lion from the South Gate.



B 10a



B 10b



B 11a



B 11b



B 12

Fig. 26. Orthostats from the Heralds' Wall. (B10- B12).



B 13a



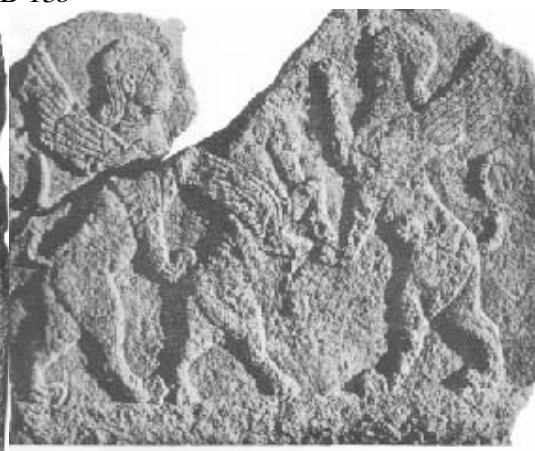
B 13b



B 14a



B 14b



B 15a

Fig. 27. Orthostats from the Heralds' Wall. (B13- B15a).



B 15b



B 16a



B 16b = B 50

Fig. 28. Orthostats from the Heralds' Wall. (B15b- B16).



B 2a



B 2b



B 3a



B 3b

Fig. 29. Foot-soldiers from the eastern wall of the King's Gate.

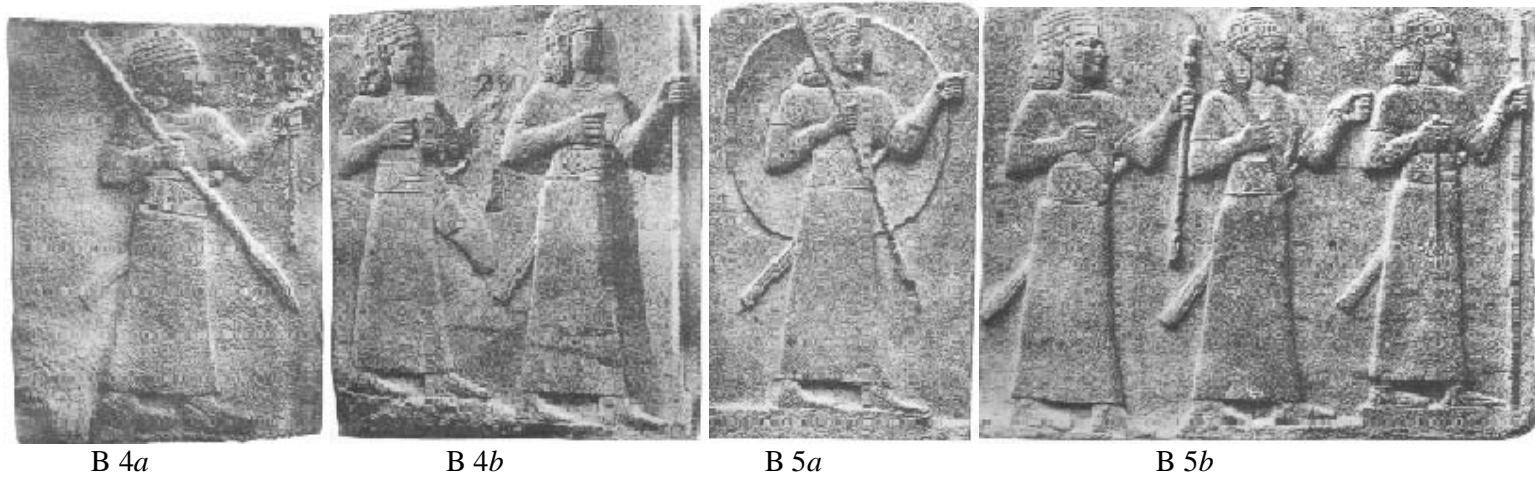
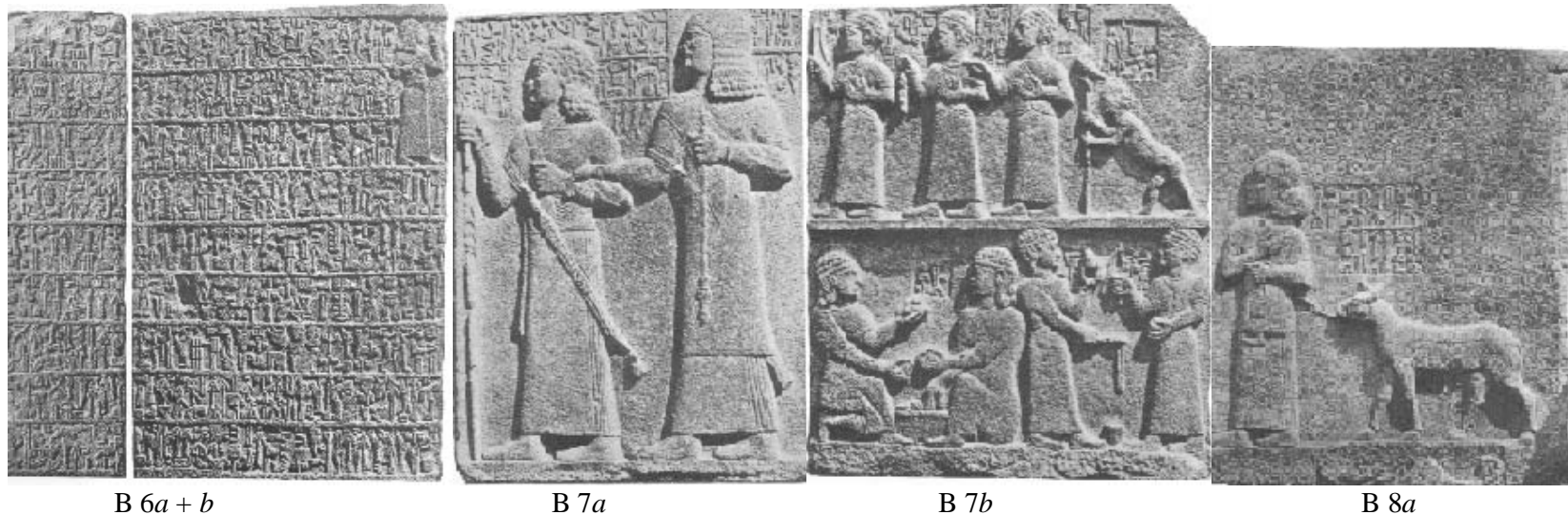


Fig. 30. Army-officers from the north wall of the Royal Buttress.



B 6a + b

B 7a

B 7b

B 8a

Fig. 31. North façade of the Royal Buttress depicting the ruler Yariris and prince Kamanis and the royal family.



B 17b



B 18a



B 178b

Fig. 32. Orthostats from the Staircase Recess.

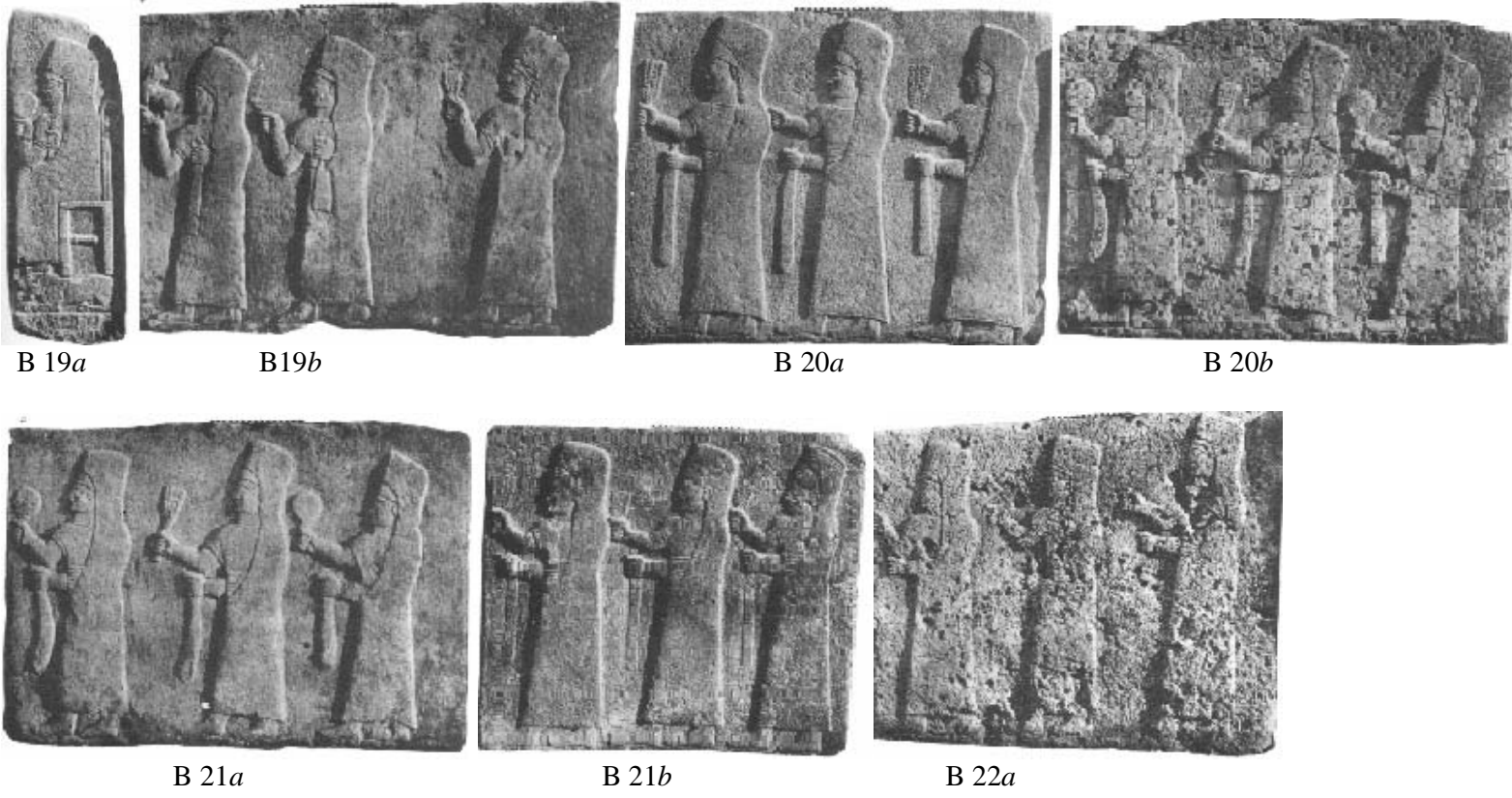
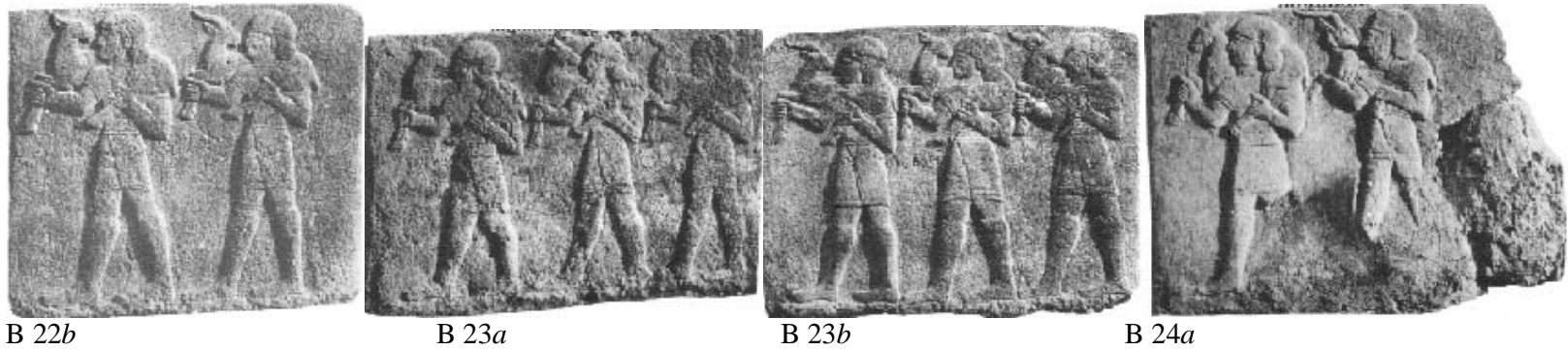


Fig. 33. The Goddess Kubaba, and female offering-bearers from the Processional Entry.



B 22b

B 23a

B 23b

B 24a

Fig. 34. The gazelle-bearers from the Processional Entry.



B 55b



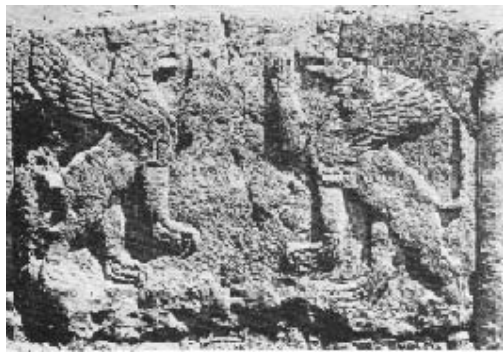
B 56a



B 56b



B 57b



B 58a

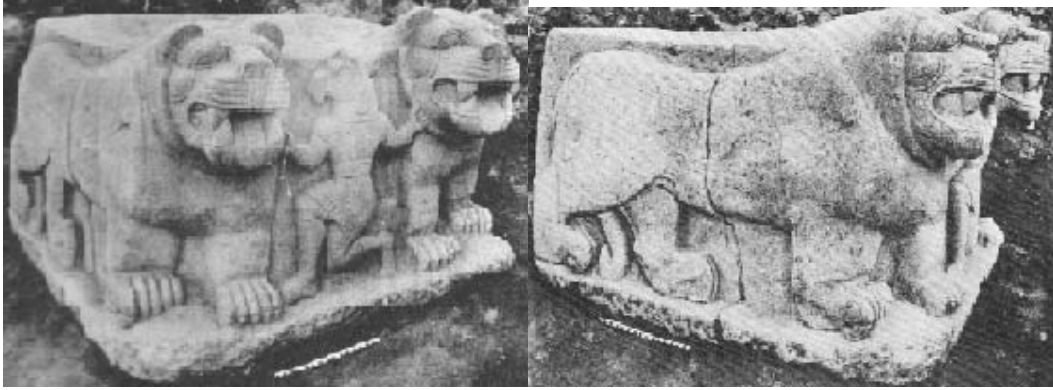


B 58b

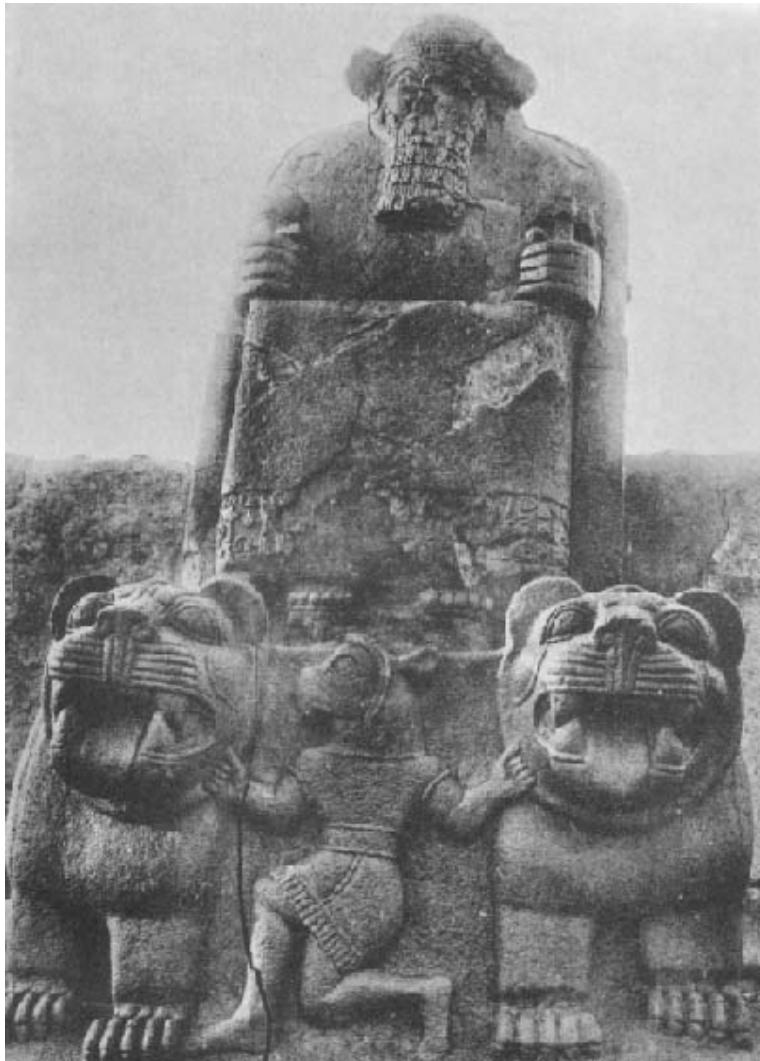


B 59

Fig. 35. Reliefs from the Inner Court, King's Gate.



B 54= B 25, B 26a



B 25

Fig. 36. The statue of the god Atrisuhas (deified king Suhis?).



B 26b



B 26c

Fig. 37. Orthostats from western short outer wall of the gate-chamber of the King's Gate.



B 61a



Fig. 38. Fragmentary relief showing heads of four charioteers.



B 54a



B 67a



B 67d



B 67b

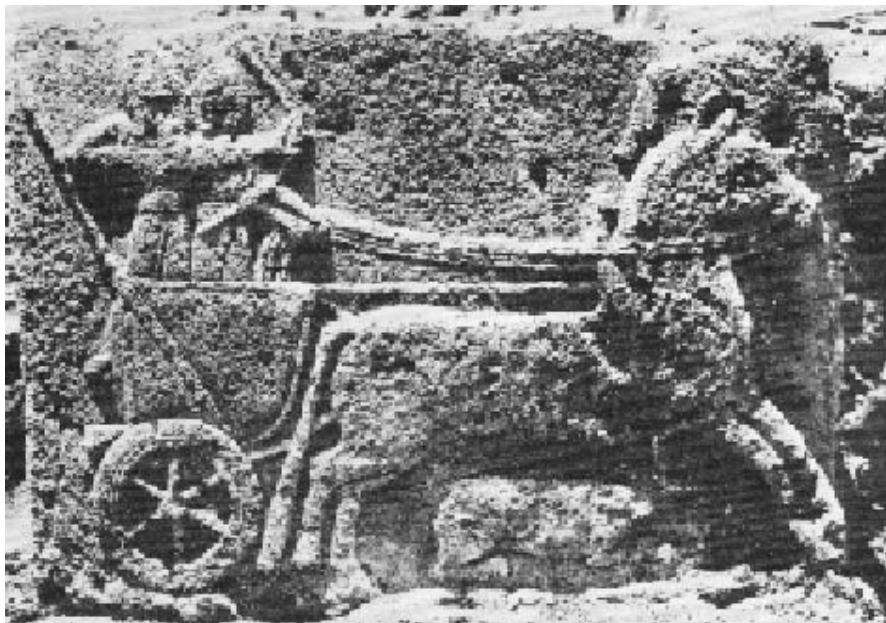


B 67e

Fig. 39. Heads of statues of rulers or deities.



B 60a



B 60b

Fig. 40. Reliefs with charioted hunting scenes, from King's Gate area.



B 48b



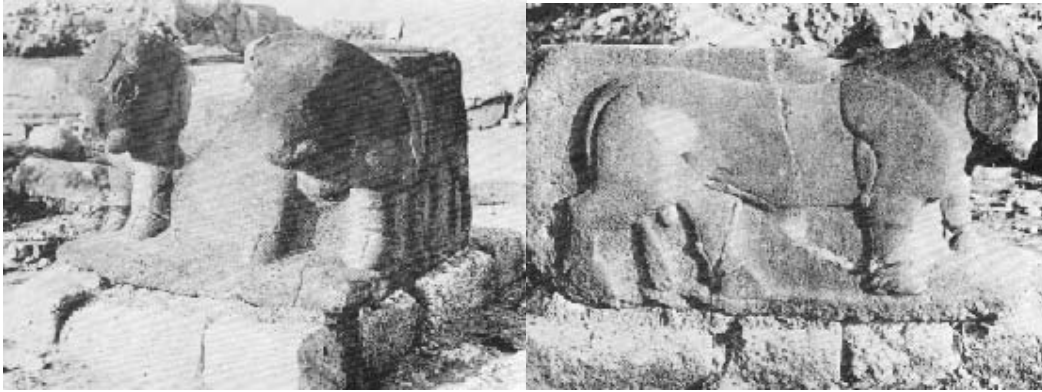
B 68c

Fig.41. Headless statues of seated figures (deified royal members?).

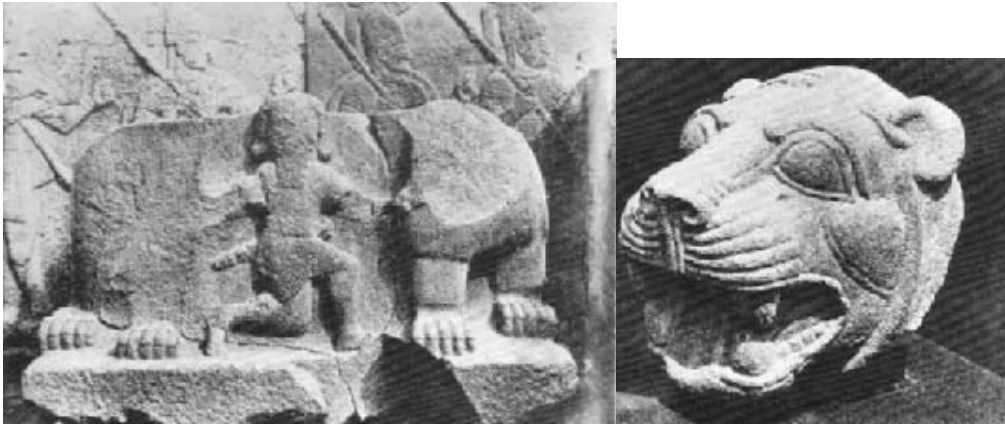


B 27e

Fig. 42. Fragment of a standing colossus, B 27a, from the South Gate.



B 47



B 53a+b



B 32

Fig. 43. Double lion- or bull-bases for statues.



a



b



B 68b

Fig. 44. Reliefs depicting prisoners, refugees and/or tribute-bearers.

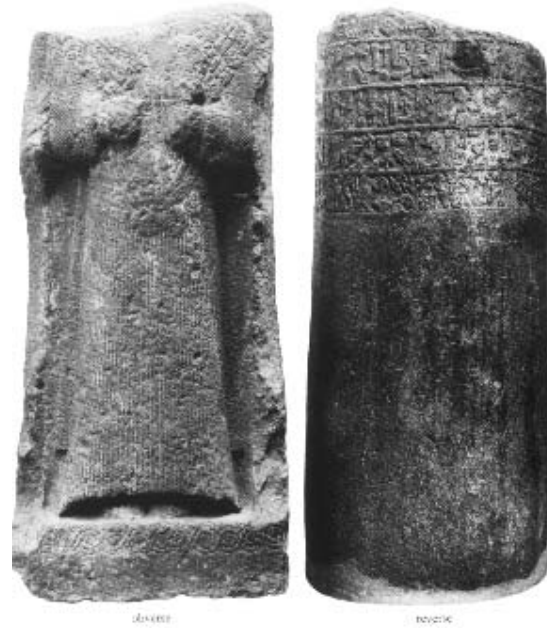


B 33

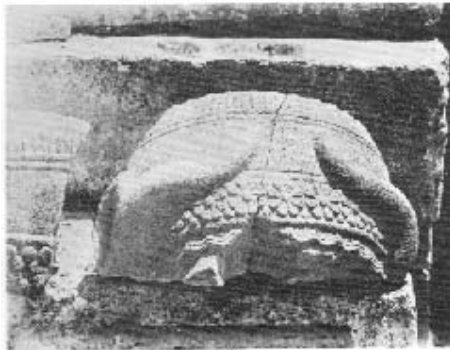


B 33

Fig. 45. Picture and the drawing of the relief depicting the Sun God and the Moon God.



B 62a



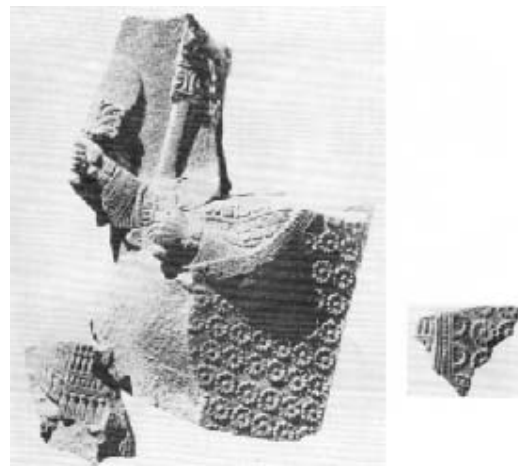
B 63a



B 63b



B 64a



B 64b+c

Fig. 46. Fragments of stelae and statues depicting gods and goddesses.



B 49a



B 52b



B 52f



B 52e



B 52c



B 52d

Fig. 47. Fragments of reliefs showing bull-men flanking the Sacred Tree.



B 61b

Fig. 48. Relief showing a gazelle, from the Great Staircase Area.



B 62b



B 69b



B 70a

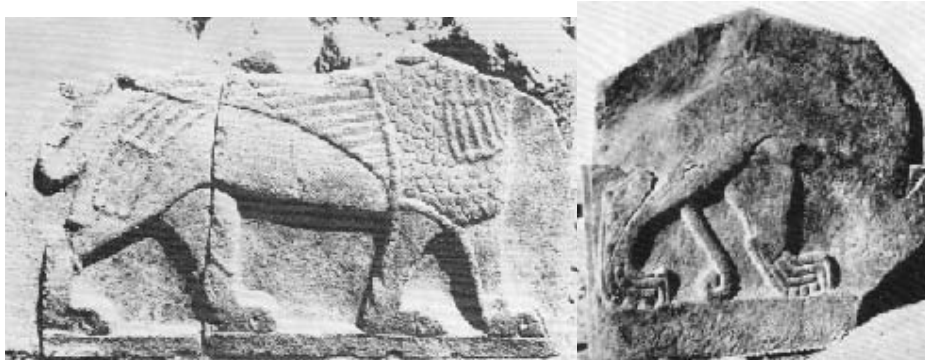


B 70b



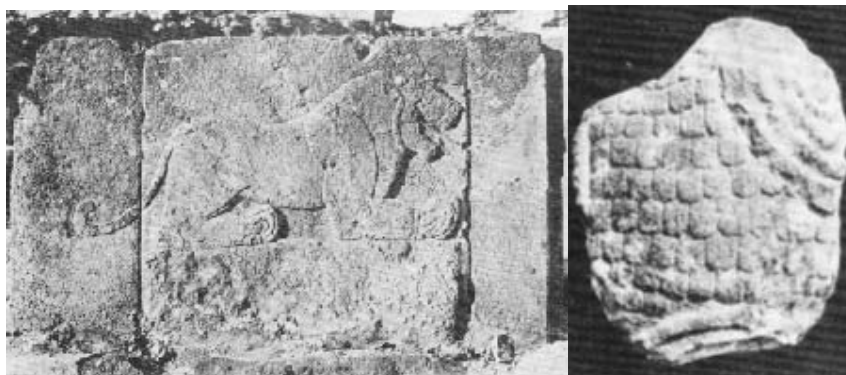
B 70d

Fig. 49. Fragments of portal-lions.



B 48a

B 70c



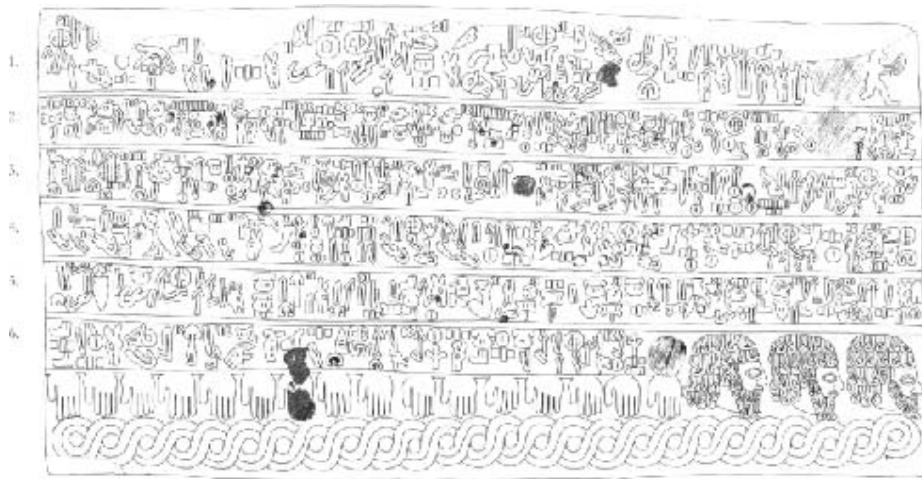
B 55a

B 68e



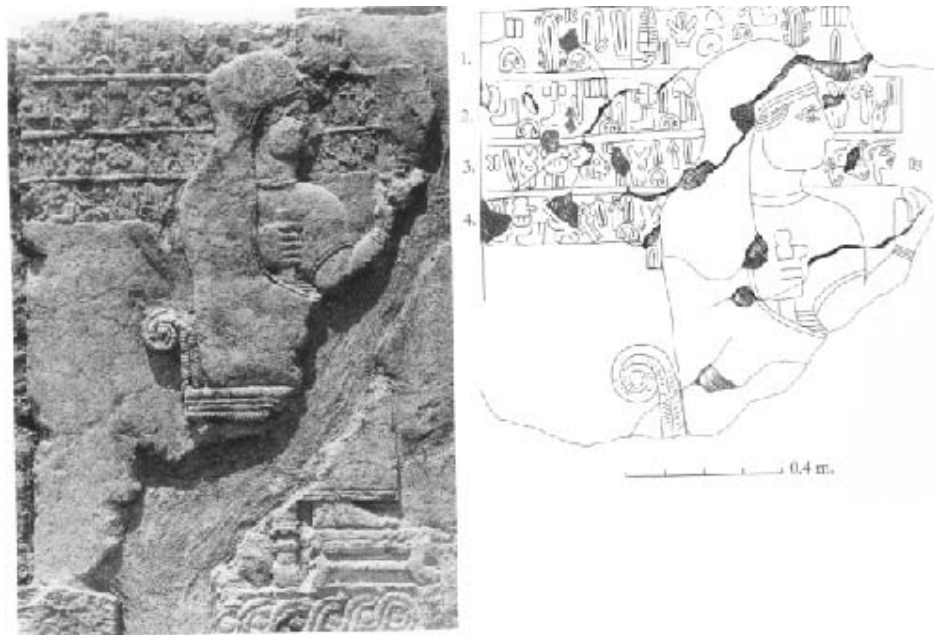
B 69a

Fig. 50. Complete and fragmentary reliefs depicting lion and/or sphinx.



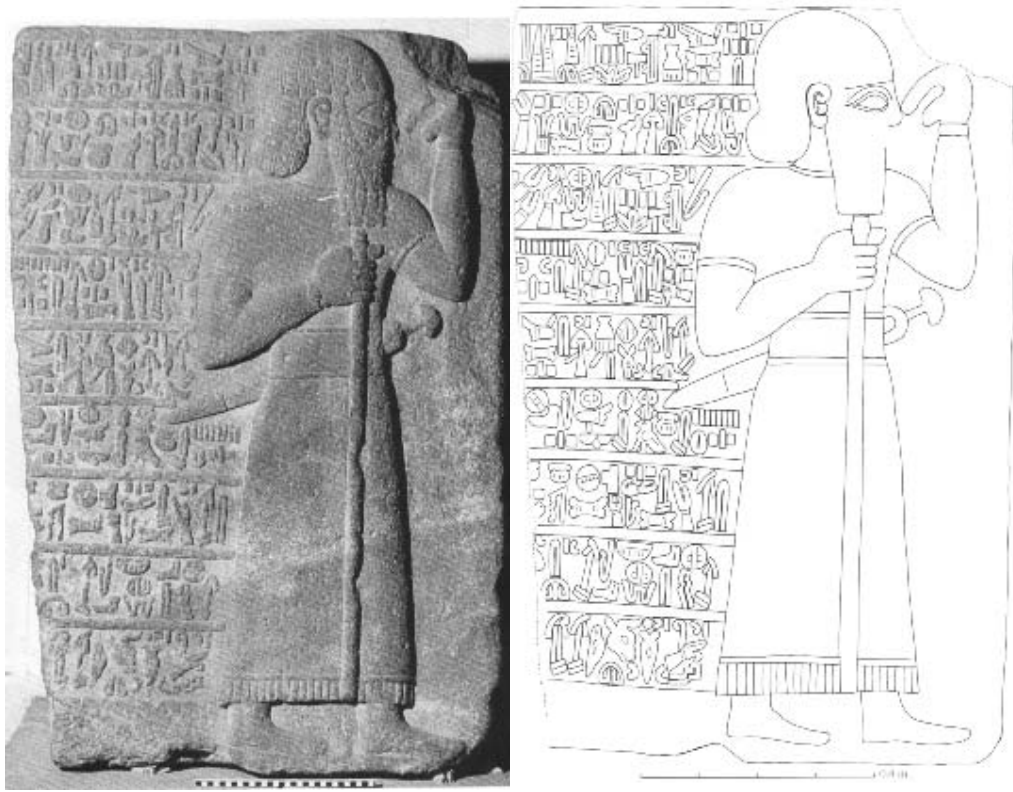
A 1a

Fig. 51. Drawing of the inscription A 1b.



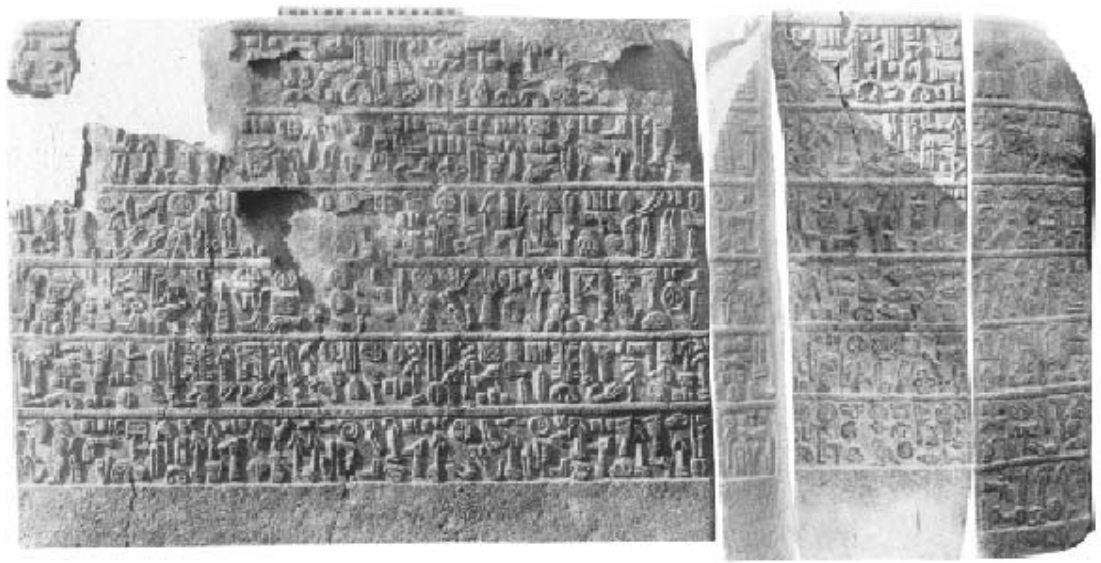
A 1b (= B 40)

Fig. 52. Photograph and drawing of the inscription A 1b.

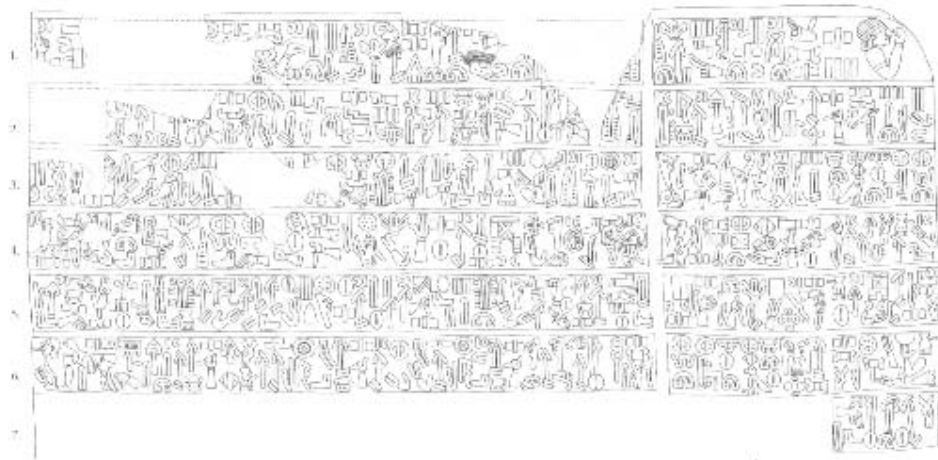


A 13d

Fig. 53. Photograph and drawing of the inscription A 13d.

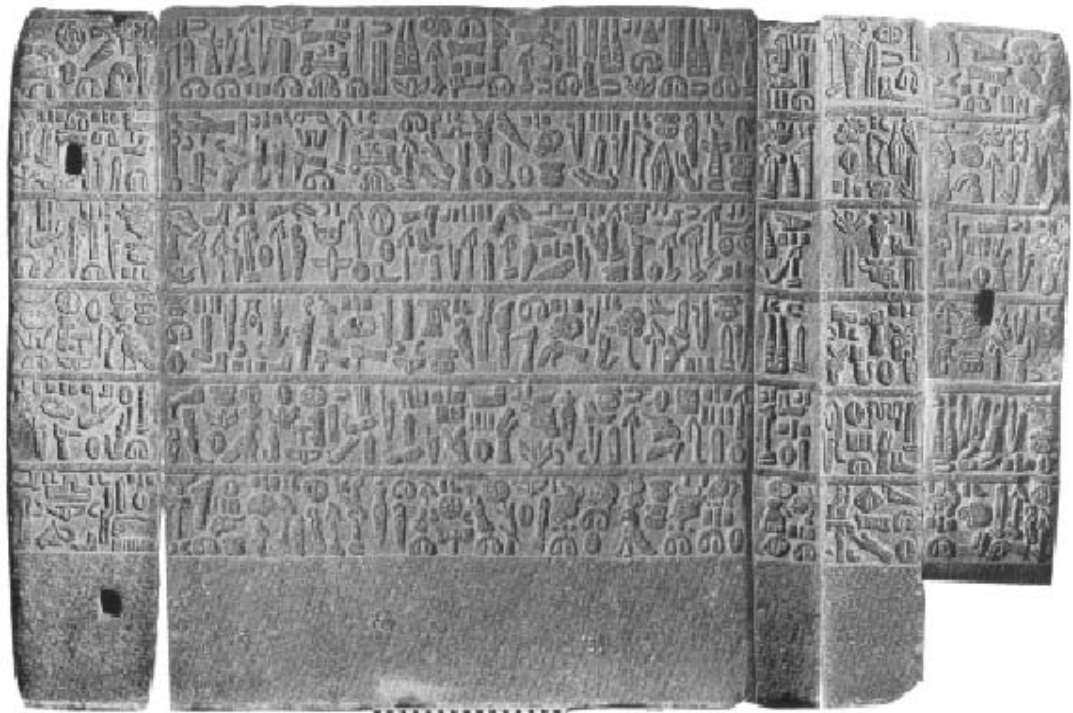


A 11a

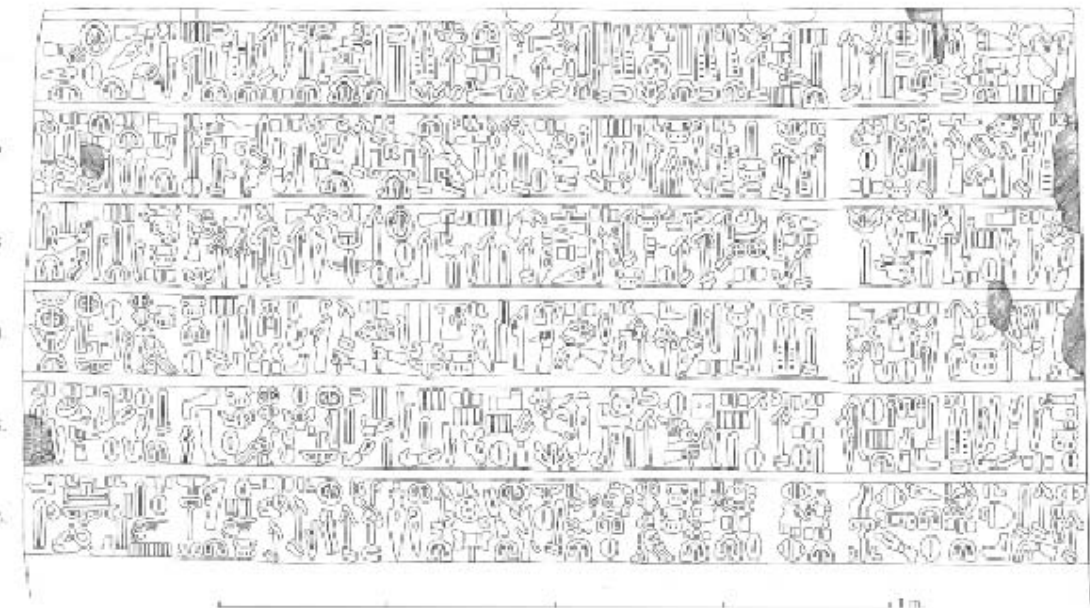


B 11a

Fig. 54. Photograph and drawing of the inscription A 11a.



A 11b

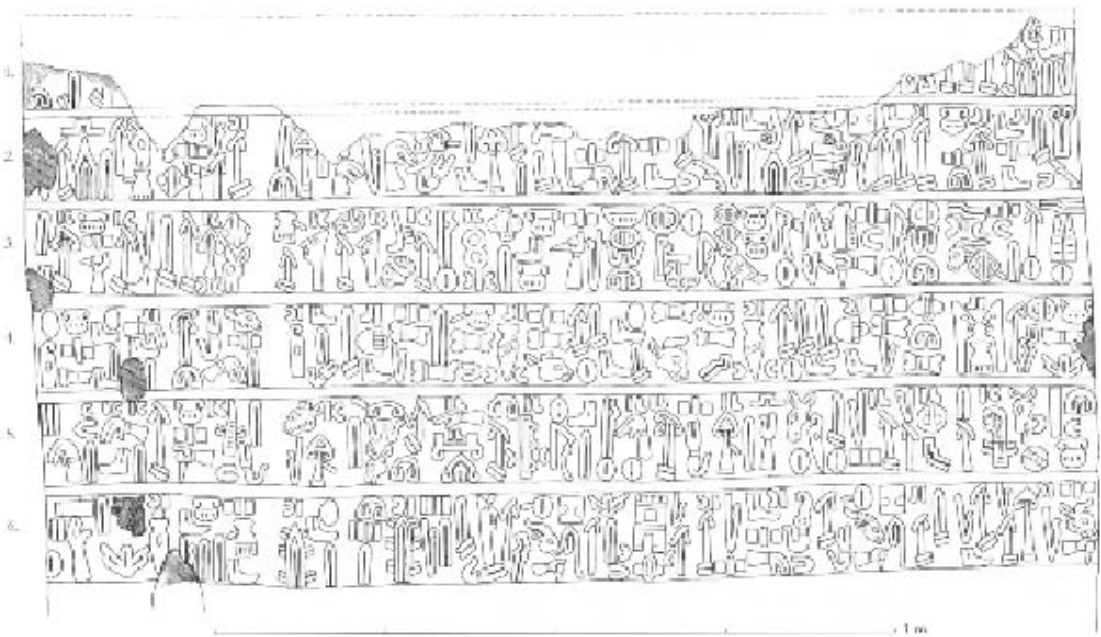


A 11b

Fig. 55. Photographs and drawing of the inscription A 11b.

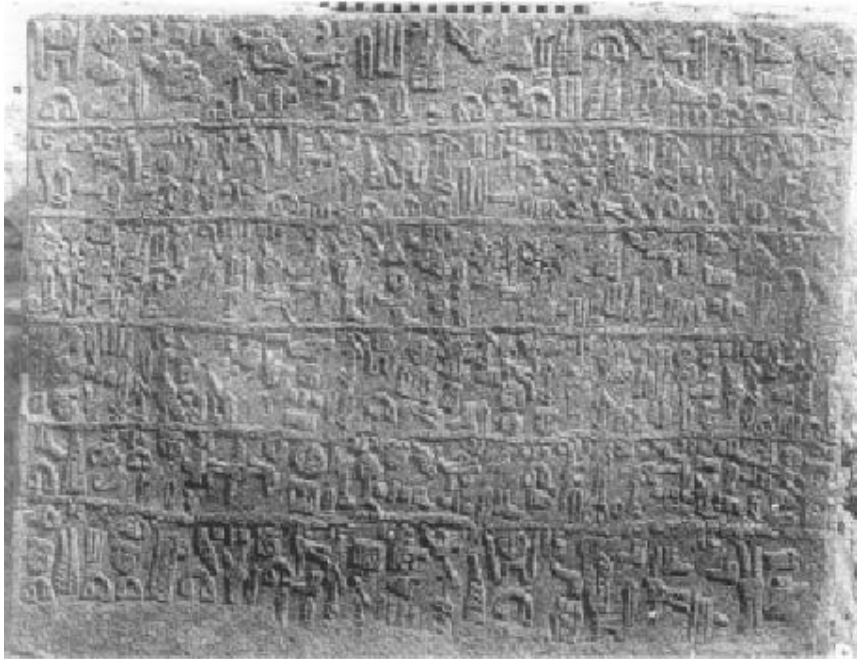


A 11c

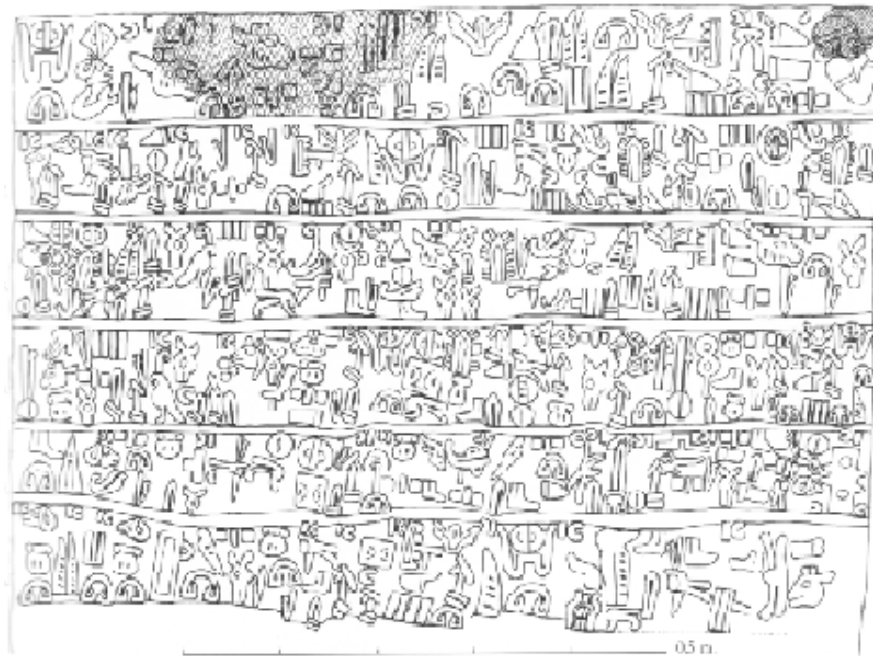


A 11c

Fig. 56. Photograph and drawing of the inscription A 11c.



A 2

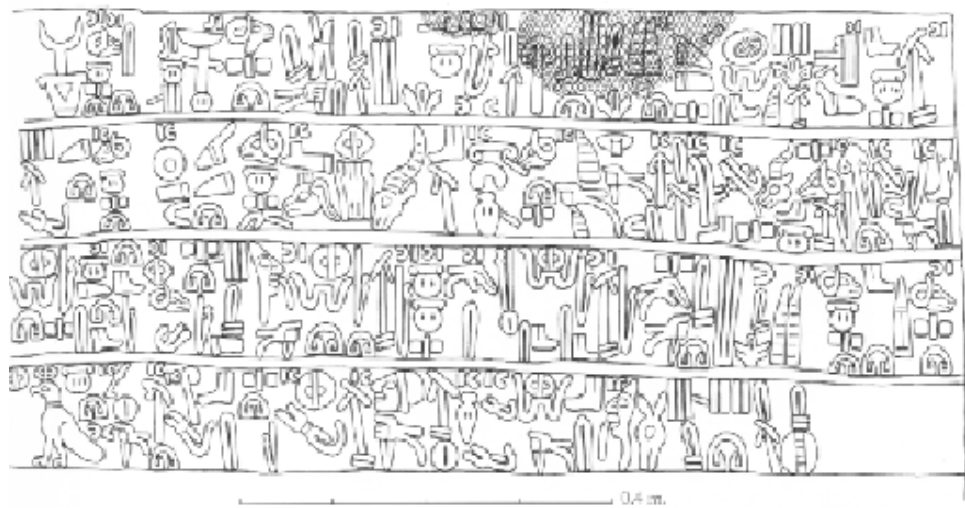


A 2

Fig. 57. Photograph and drawing of the inscription A 2.



A 3

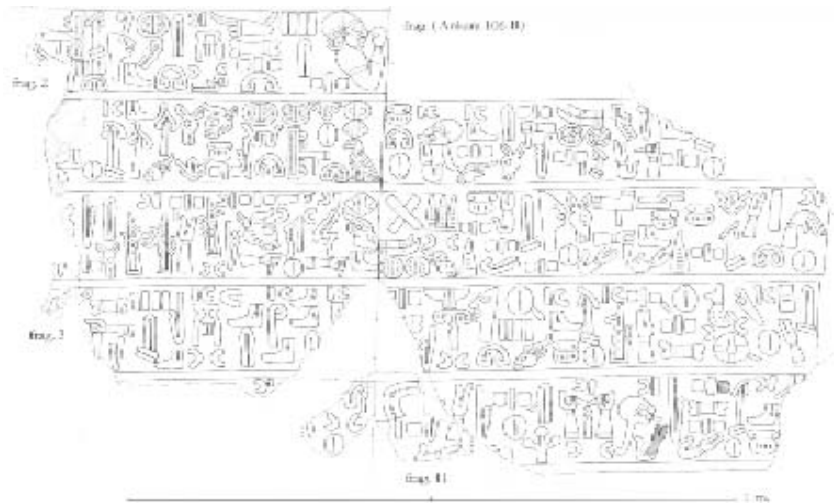


A 3

Fig. 58. Photograph and drawing of the inscription A 3.



A 12

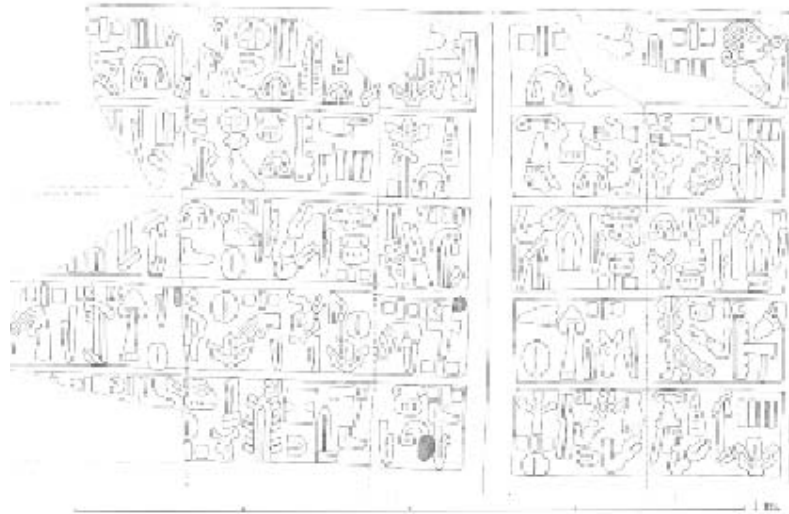


A 12

Fig. 59. Photograph and drawing of the inscription A 12.



A 23



A 23

Fig. 60. Photograph and drawing of the inscription A 23.