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Elites behind Walls

Citadels and the Segregation of Elites in Anatolia, the Levant and Mesopotamia

Introduction

Citadels are among the most prominent buildings in the cityscape of all settlements, in which they exist. Dependent on their structure and the nature of their occupation they are perceived either as monuments of protection, fortification and power of the elites, or as the seat of temples and gods. In any case they send ideological messages to all inhabitants and visitors of the city. It is noticeable, however, that as a phenomenon of city-planning, the citadel was always restricted to certain periods and regions and did not become an all-encompassing compulsory urban element. The following essay will give a very cursory overview of the spread of citadels in the Ancient Near East.

Definition

A citadel is defined as an elevated area within a settlement, separated from the residential sector by both its height and its fortifications. Access to this fortified district was restricted or at least controlled, thus indicating segregation, be it of political, ethnic, religious or social nature. Furthermore, the citadel had a strong symbolic value: It was a highly visible, heavily fortified stronghold controlling city and polity.

In contrast to a castle – with similar functions but not originally connected to a larger settlement and thus representing a feudal and rural community –, the citadel was a substantial element of a city and a symbol of urban society. The citadel was also distinct from an upper town, with which it is sometimes confused. An upper town was in general the result of a subsequent urban expansion. It often originated in the oldest part of a settlement, which could become an elevated urban area through the addition of outer quarters (over the course of a long occupation history). In general, no wall separated upper from lower town, this changed only if the original fortification of what became the upper town was not pulled down during or after the expansion (see Novák 2015: 49–50).¹ Unlike a citadel,

there was neither intentional segregation between the inhabitants inside and outside the upper town nor was the inside exclusively inhabited by the elites.

Ancient terminology, however, makes no obvious distinction between citadel and upper town. In almost all languages of the Ancient Near East, both were designated with the Hurrian word *kerḫu* (in OB Mari as *kirḫum*) (Ziegler 1994: 11–21), as opposed to *adaššu* “lower town” (Haas & Wegner 1995; Lion 2008: 73). In the *Deeds of Šuppiluliuma I*, the citadel of Karkamiš was called a *šarazzi gurta* (Haas & Wegner 1995: 194, FN 32). To which extent the Assyrian expression *libbi āli* could also describe a citadel is unclear. Mostly, the term is used synonymously with Assur, but in at least one case it designated the inner city, presumably the citadel, of Kalḫu (Fuchs 2008: 86) However, the widespread use of a Hurrian terminology indicates that the urban features citadel and upper town might have originated in a Hurrian-speaking environment.²

Seen from a historical perspective, four types of citadels can be distinguished (Novák 1999: 302–312):

Type 1: Citadels which housed both the royal palace(s) and the main temple(s) of the city. Thus, all administrative, representative, sacral and often also cultural functions were concentrated here.

Type 2: Citadels containing the city’s central palace and only sacral buildings of lesser importance. The main sanctuary of the city was located elsewhere.

Type 3: Citadels that housed exclusively the main sacral precinct of the city, without any palatial complexes nearby.

Type 4: Citadels that only performed fortificatory functions, on which neither the central palace nor any sacral buildings of any larger importance were located.

Of course, functional changes of citadels might have happened from time to time. An example is the acropolis of Athens, originally a royal seat of the Mycenaean

an period similar to those of Mycenae and Tiryns (presumably type 1), which in the 1st Millennium BCE became an exclusively religious centre (type 3) as the result of changed political and social structures.

Taking these definitions as our basis for further research, we can identify type 1 and 2 citadels as the outcome and visible symbol of an urban society with a strong tendency of segregating its elites.³

Citadels in the 3rd and 2nd Millennia BCE

In general, citadels were not part of the Babylonian and Egyptian urban concept. They do not appear in these regions until very late, in contrast to Anatolia, the Northern Levant, and Upper Mesopotamia. But even there, citadels are only very rarely attested before the early 1st Millennium BCE.

In Babylonia, Upper Mesopotamia and the Northern Levant, the palaces of the elites were usually located inside the cities or at the peripheries of upper towns,

neither too far from the temple precincts nor in their immediate neighbourhood. Palaces were not significantly elevated, nor strongly fortified, nonetheless their accessibility was restricted by massive outer walls and their monumentality guaranteed a high level of visibility in the cityscape.

If we do not consider the Uruk Period (ca. 3400 BCE) colony at Ğabal Aruda (Sürenhagen 2013: 66) as an early example of a citadel-like structure, the earliest known citadels date back to the 3rd Millennium BCE. The few scattered examples Troy II in Western Anatolia (Ünlüsoy 2006: 140–141; Jablonka 2014: 43), presumably Ğattuša (Boğazkale) (Schachner 2011: 49–53), Alişar Höyük in Central Anatolia (Naumann 1971: 229) and Armanum (Ğabal Bazi and the Tall Banat compound) in Upper Mesopotamia (Otto 2006) are so isolated that neither a direct connection between them can be recognized, nor the social background for their formation be determined.

2nd millennium BCE citadels in Anatolia can be found more or less at the same places as during the 3rd

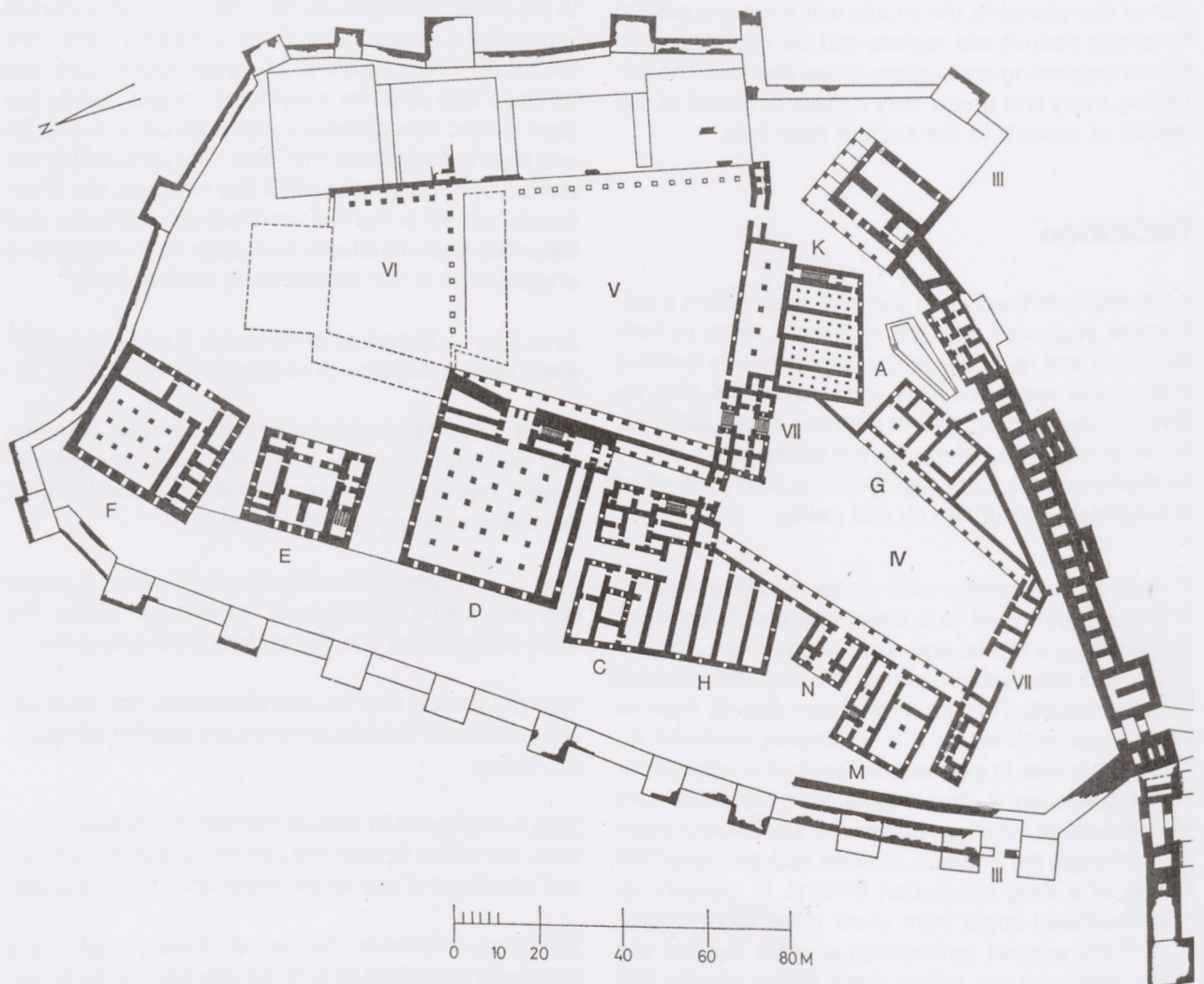


Fig. 1: Citadel of Ğattuša (from Orthmann 1975: 410, Fig. 123a).

millennium, namely at Ḫattuša (Schachner 2011: 75–76), Aliṣar (Naumann 1971: 229) and Troy VI and VIIa (Becks 2006). Since the majority of Hittite cities such as Samuḫa, Sarissa, Tapigga and Sapinuwa lacked fortified citadels and only show a subdivision into upper and lower towns, the citadel does not seem to have been a substantial element of Hittite urban planning. However, the great kings at least resided in a well-protected citadel at their capital city of Ḫattuša (Fig. 1) (Seeher 2002; Schachner 2011: 136–153). Whether this was the result of inheriting an already existing urban structure or a conscious decision for segregation cannot yet be finally answered. The citadel of Ḫattuša belonged to type 2, because the main temples of the city were located in the lower (Temple 1) and in the upper town.

However, at the same time, citadels are also attested at some Mittanian cities in Upper Mesopotamia like Waššukanni (Tall Faḫarīya), Ta'īdu (Tall Ḫamīdīya) (Novák 2013: 351), Bašīru (Tall Bazi) (Otto 2006a: 8–9) and perhaps also Karkamiš and Arrapha. Other cities

like Nuzi and Alalah lack a citadel, but at least the upper town of Nuzi was fortified, and thus strictly separated from the lower town (Novák 1999a: 125). Here, additionally a *kerḫu* is attested in the textual sources.

The city of Ta'īdu, at least temporarily the seat of the king of Mittani, covered an area of 250ha *intra muros* (Fig. 2) (Wäfler 2003; Kaelin 2013). The nearly oval city was divided into two parts by the course of the Ḫagḡag, the main tributary of the Ḫābūr. The old settlement mound, located slightly south of the city centre at the left bank of the Ḫagḡag river, was used as a 20ha large fortified citadel. The central part of the citadel was occupied by a five-step mudbrick-terrace with a monumental staircase. Only a few remains of the building which had once stood on top of the terrace, have survived. Contrary to the excavators' assumption that the building was the "Central Palace", it rather represents the remains of the main temple of the city. Presumably the main royal palace of the city, the so-called "Southwestern Palace", was situated

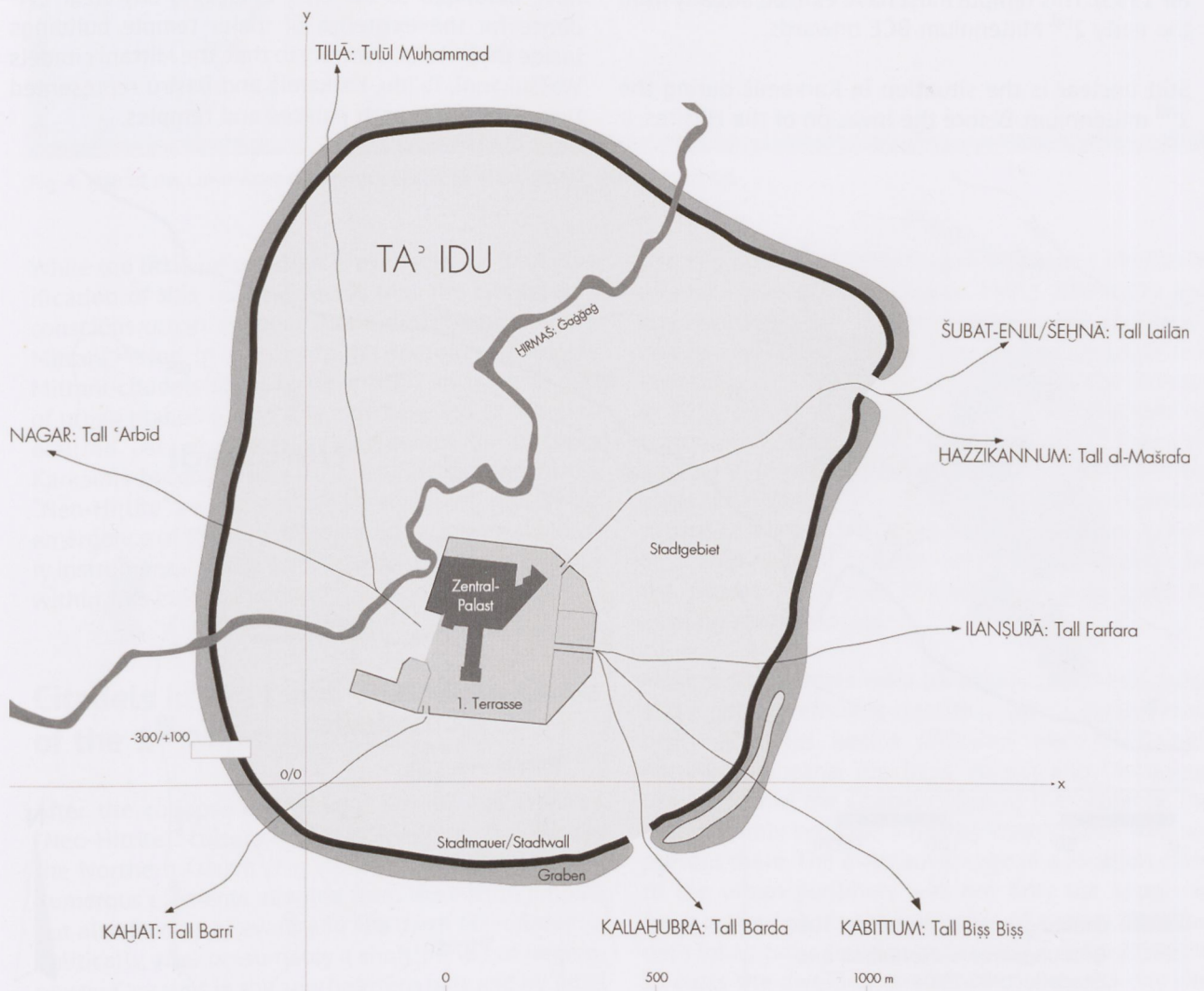


Fig. 2: The city of Ta'īdu (from Kaelin 2013: 185, Fig. 3).

immediately adjacent to the temple. Both buildings were accessible from the same plaza in the south of the citadel. If the reconstruction of the Central Building as a temple is correct, the citadel of Ta'idu belonged to our type 1.

So far, we have no information on the extent of the Mittanian settlement at Tall Faḥariya, most presumably the capital Waššukanni. It might have been of considerable size and obviously it was also dominated by an exposed citadel, located immediately beside the springs of the Ḥābūr at the eastern periphery of the settlement (Bartl & Bonatz 2013: 287, Fig. 4). Mittanian occupation levels have been reached at the western slope of the citadel mound, proving the existence of monumental architecture, presumably of administrative and representative functions, here (Bonatz 2013: 220–224). Further to the south the findspot of the much later (9th century BCE) statue of Haddayi'ti marks the suggested location of the main temple of the city, dedicated to the Storm-God as *Bēl Ḥābūr* "Lord of the Ḥābūr" (Bonatz 2013: 213, Fig. 1. On the cult of Bēl Ḥābūr see Müller-Kessler & Kessler 1995). This temple must have existed already from the early 2nd Millennium BCE onwards.

Still unclear is the situation in Karkamiš during the 2nd millennium. Before the invasion of the Hittites, it

was a Mittanian city, located at one of the most important crossings of the Middle Euphrates. The citadel, which is attested for the "Neo-Hittite" town, seems to have already existed during the Mittani period: After the conquest of the city by Šuppiluliuma I, only the lower town was plundered, while the citadel (*šarazzi gurta*) (Haas & Wegner 1995: 194, FN 32), including the temples, was spared (Güterbock 1956: 95, DŠ, Tf. Aiii, Z. 26ff). This would suggest that the citadel of Karkamiš belonged to our type 1, just like the ones in Ta'idu and Waššukanni.

It is remarkable, that with the exception of Waššukanni, Ta'idu and presumably Karkamiš only those towns possessed a citadel in the Late Bronze Age that had already one in the early Bronze Age, like Ḥattuša, Alīšar, Troy and Bašīru (EBA Armanum, Fig. 3), indicating that the urban layout was inherited from earlier periods rather than consciously constructed in the late second Millennium BCE. This would argue against deliberate and organized segregation of the elites, except in the royal cities of Mittani. For the moment, we can conclude that all of the few Anatolian citadels seem to have belonged to our type 2, lacking any clear evidence for the existence of major temple buildings inside their walls. Contrary to that, the Mittani citadels Waššukanni, Ta'idu, Karkamiš and Bašīru represented type 1, housing both palaces and temples.

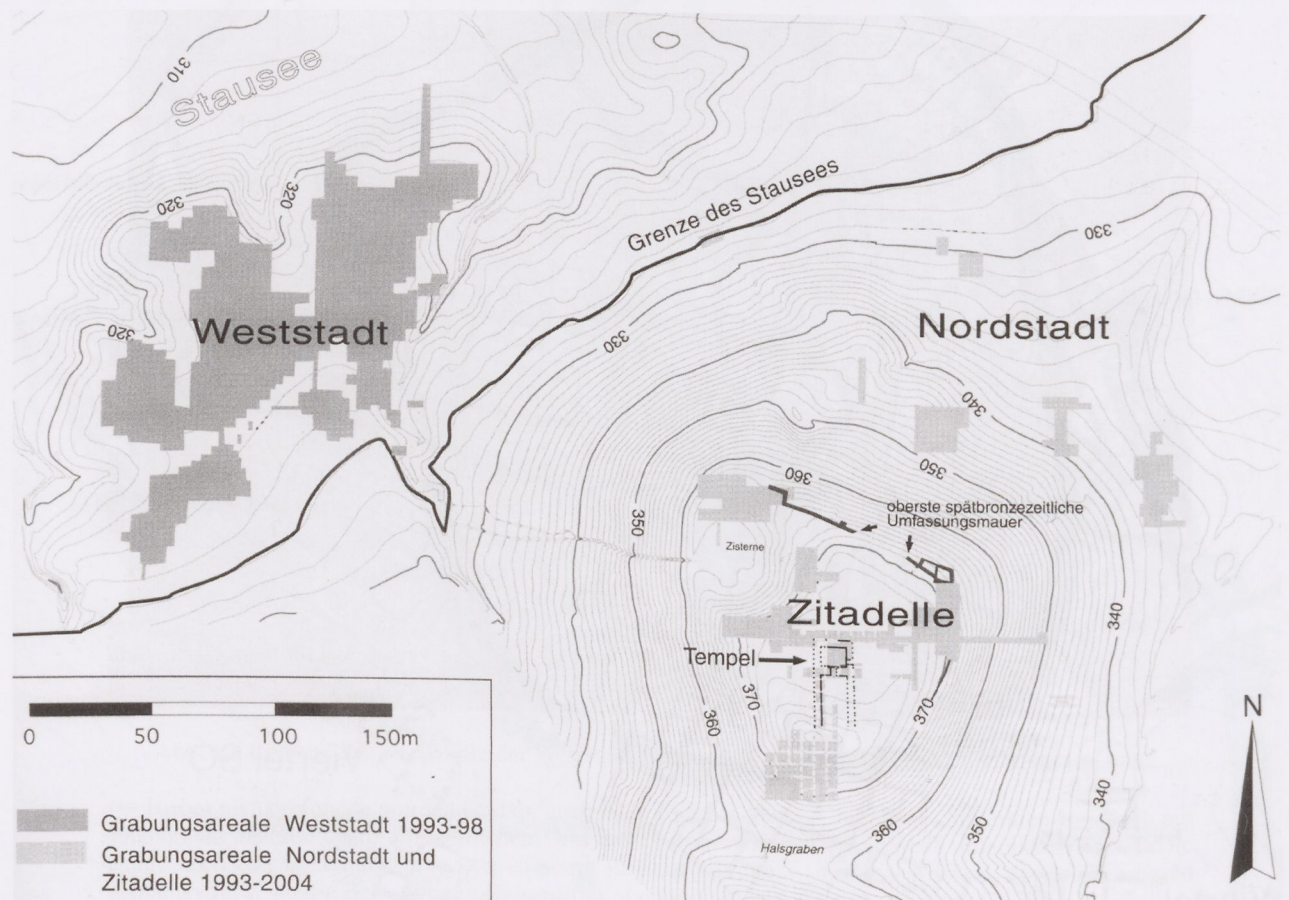


Fig. 3: Bašīru (from Otto 2006a: 9, Fig. 7).

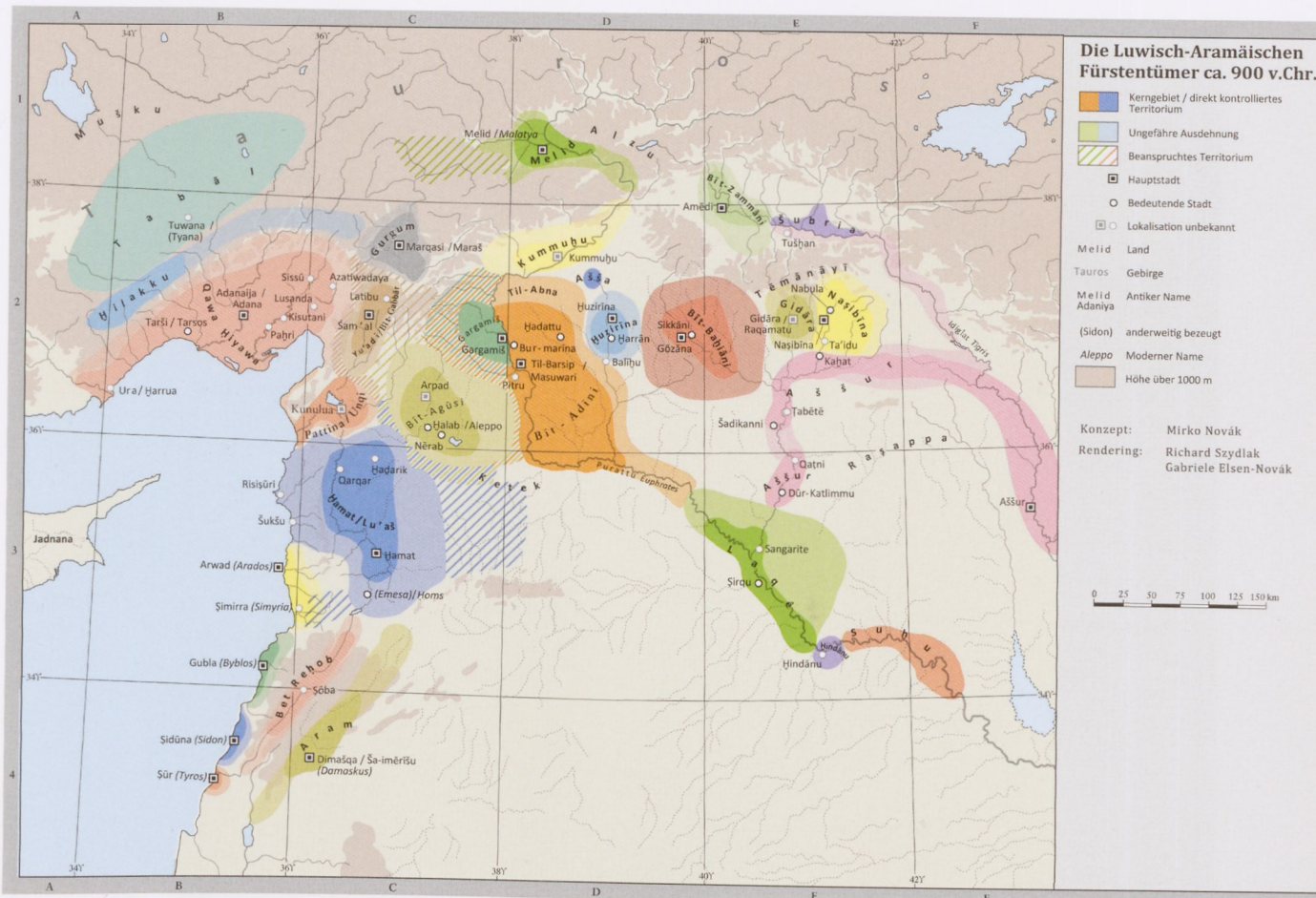


Fig. 4: Map of the Luwo-Aramaeian principalities (© Mirko Novák, Bern University).

While too little information is available for final clarification of this issue, it seems that the citadel as a conscious urban element was a development of the Mittani Period. In contrast to the Anatolian examples, Mittani citadels seem to have been an integral part of urban planning, and this may have led to the generalized use of a Hurrian expression for it. Since Karkamiš became one of the leading polities in the “Neo-Hittite” period, it played the leading role in the emergence of the Neo-Hittite culture. It was obviously instrumental in the further development of citadels within this cultural sphere.

Citadels in the Luwo-Aramaeian Cities of the 1st Millennium BCE

After the collapse of the Late Bronze Age empires, “Neo-Hittite”⁴ culture spread in Southern Anatolia and the Northern Levant (Fig. 4). It was characterized by numerous elements adapted from the Hittite Empire, but also from the Levant and Northern Mesopotamia. Politically, after presumably a short period of hegemony by Karkamiš in the southeastern part and by Tabal (as a successor to Tarḫuntašša?) in the northwestern

one, the area was highly fragmented into a multitude of small principalities (Starke 1999). Ethnically and linguistically most of these entities were characterized by a coexistence of different groups, among which especially Luwians and Aramaeans stood out (Younger 2016: 28–34). Culturally, Karkamiš was the leading entity, providing a model to others (Fig. 5).⁵ This also applied to some of the elements of the town planning, especially the citadel which had become a mandatory part of every major Luwo-Aramaeian city. In general, abandoned old mounds were used as location for the citadel, since thus the elevation was given by existing morphologies.

Most of the citadels were located in peripheral areas of the cities, preferably close to a water-course. Prominent examples beside Karkamiš were Til-Barsib/Masuwari, Gōzāna, 'Ain Dārā, Hamaṭ and Damascus. Only in Šam'al the citadel occupied the center of the city, probably because a nearby watercourse was not present there. The main advantage of a location close to the urban periphery was not only the supply of fresh water but also that, in case of danger, the citadel's inhabitants could escape quickly, without having to cross the dwelling quarters. Not only if a city was seized by foreign forces but also in the event of an

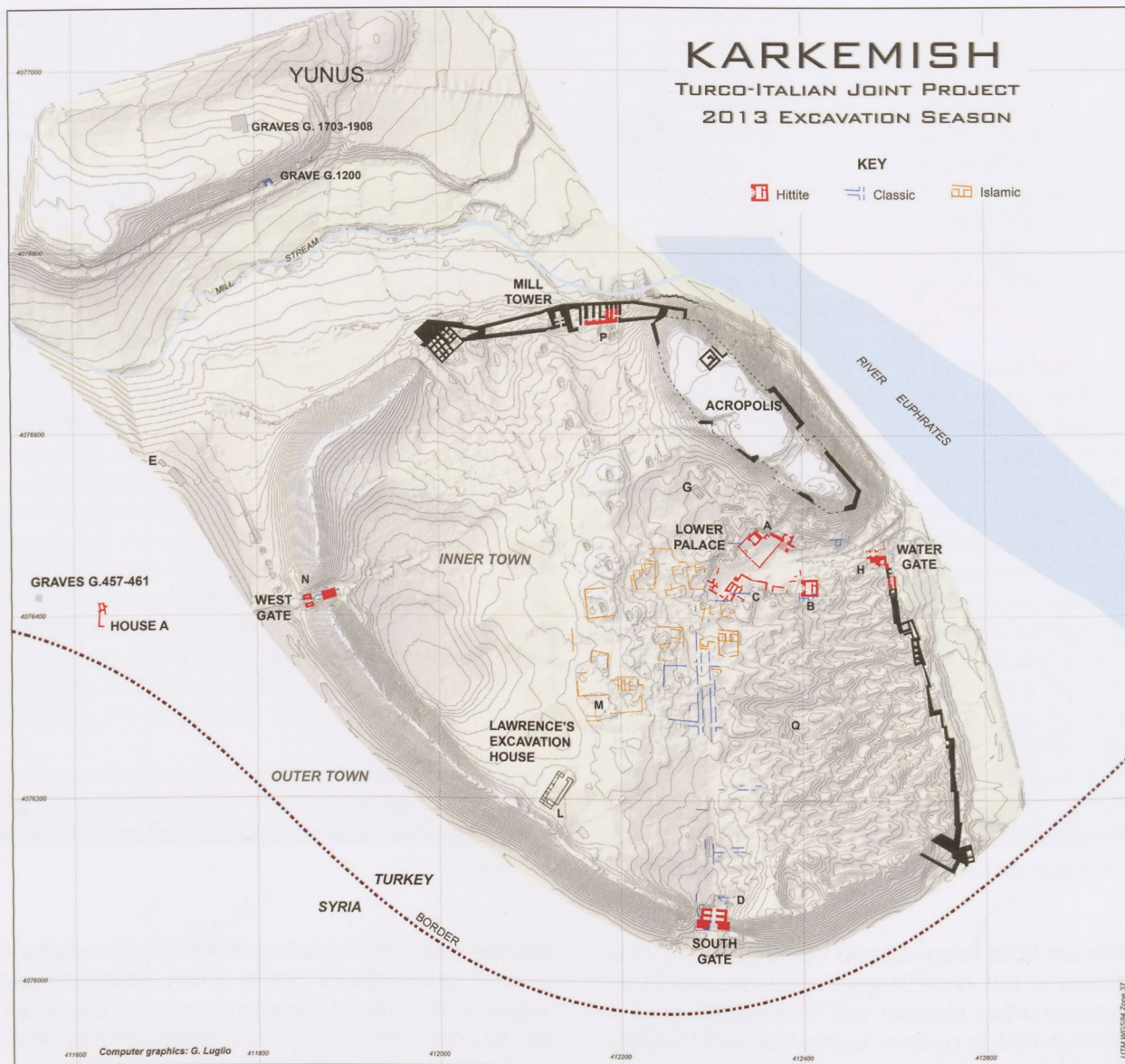


Fig. 5: “Inner Town” and citadel of Karkamiš (from Marchetti 2014: 22, Fig. 1). The areas A–C belonged to the “outer citadel”.

uprising by the local population, such an escape route might have been of great value. Assyrian records mention that such rebellions did occur from time to time, often initiated by the Assyrians themselves (Fuchs 2008a: 72, FN 81).

Most of the citadels of Luwian and Aramaean towns have only been sparsely investigated and are thus not very well known. Nevertheless, a consideration of some examples helps to reconstruct their layout and inner structure.

As far as can be judged at present, access from the lower town was only possible through one single gate. This was surely the case at Sam'al and Gözāna, and perhaps also at Karkamiš, where the gates were situated in the south of the citadel. In Gözāna, there was another gateway from the riverside, the so-called

“Quelltor”, which probably served for water supply but also as an emergency exit (Fig. 6). In all three cases, the citadels were divided into two distinct areas, separated by an internal wall and by elevation (Fig. 7). Passing through the citadel’s gate, a visitor coming from the lower town first entered an “exterior area” of the citadel, only a second gate gave access to the interior zone.

In Gözāna, a visitor to the main palace (“Western Palace” of king Kapara) approaching from the lower town would have had to pass through the outer citadel gate (“Südliches Burgtor”) first, behind which lay an ascending path leading up to the “Scorpion Gate” (see now Novák & Schmid in press). During the ascend to the “Scorpion Gate”, the visitor would only have been able to see the back side of the “Western Palace”. It is worth mentioning that at a gradient of 6.5 %, the

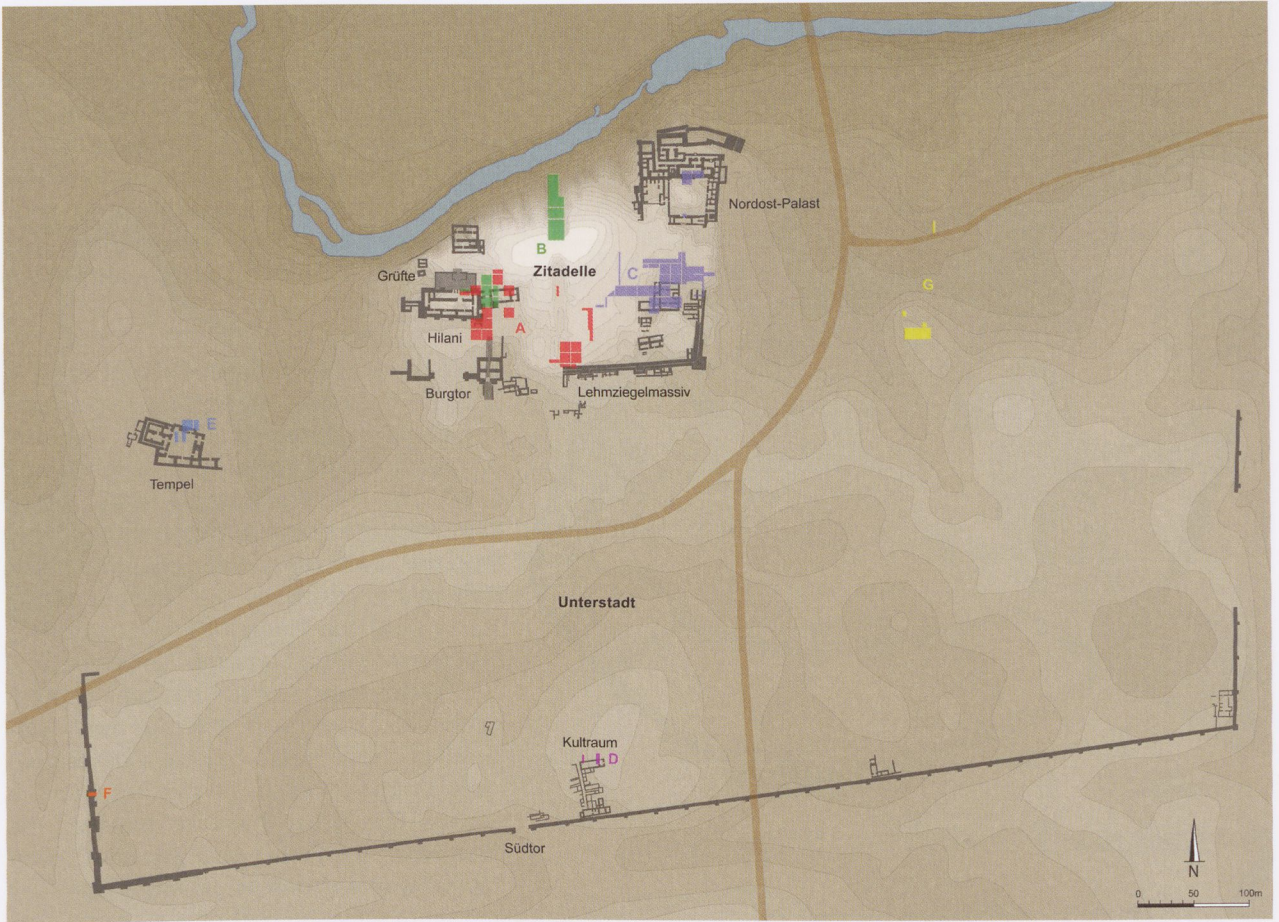


Fig. 6: Plan of Gōzāna (© Tell Halaf Project).

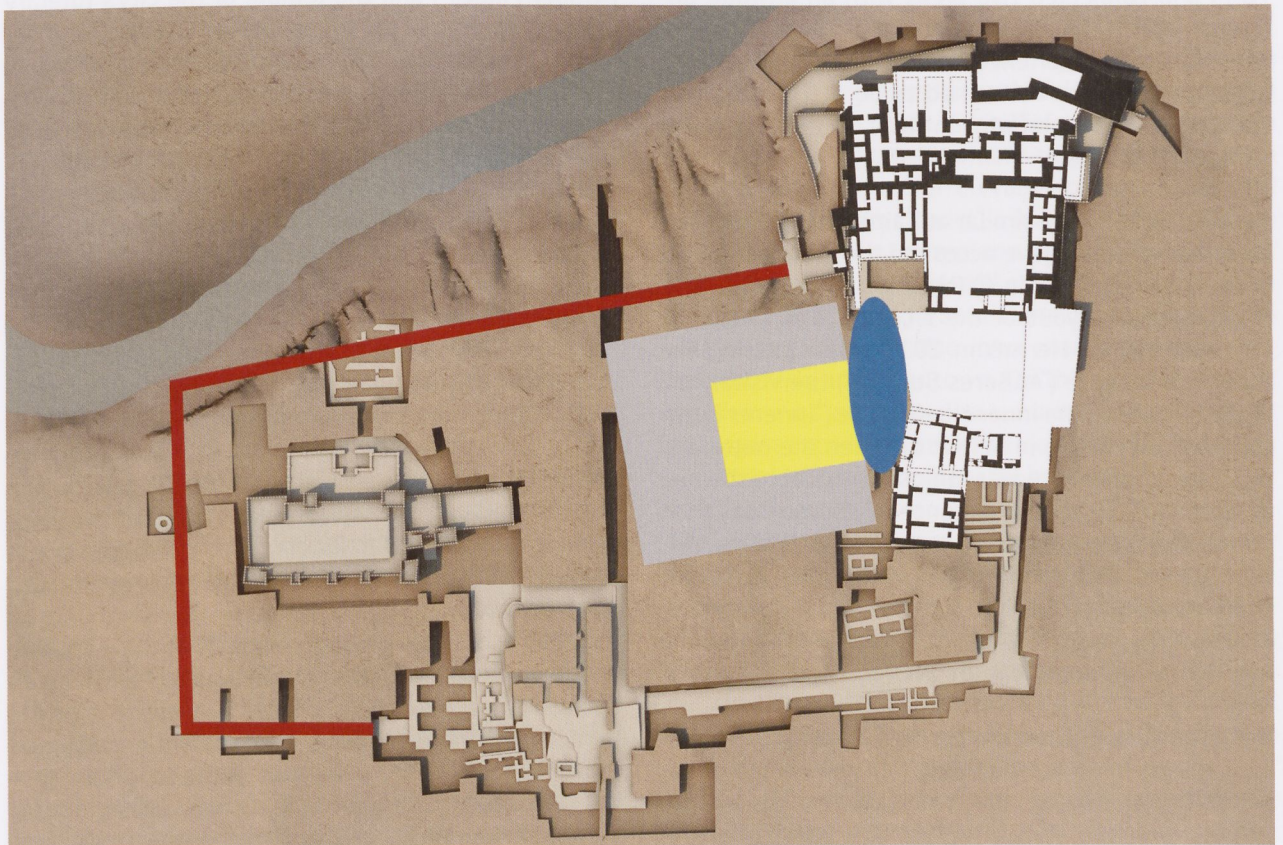


Fig. 7: Citadel of Gōzāna (© Tell Halaf Project).

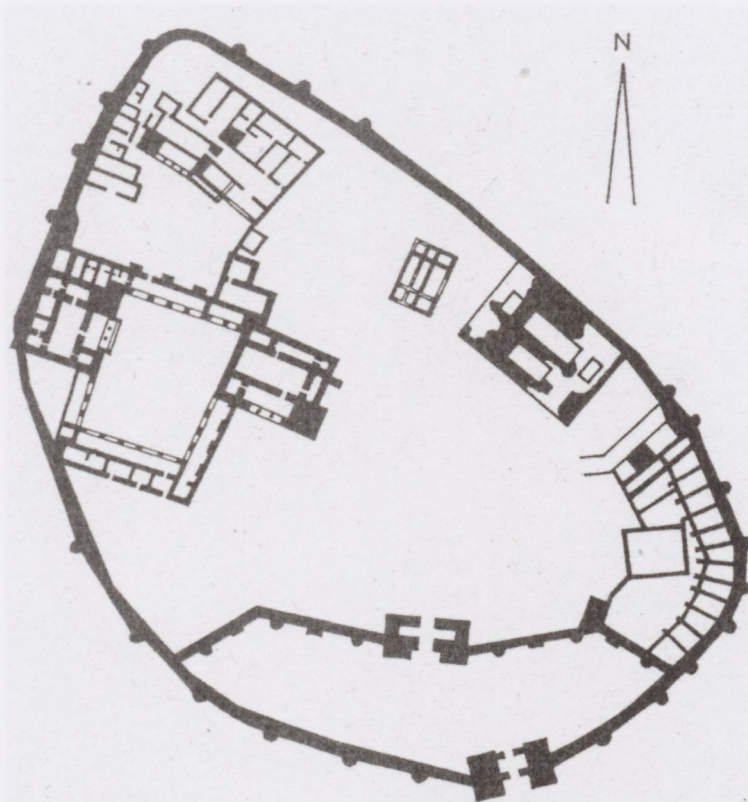


Fig. 8: Citadel of Šam'al (from Orthmann 1975: 418, Fig. 133).

steepness of this ascending path between the Citadel and Scorpion Gate which stretched over a distance of 70 m and connected two areas with an altitude difference of 4.50 m, making the upwards walk a somewhat arduous experience. After passing through the Scorpion Gate, the visitor had to do a 180° turn and climb the higher platform in front of the palace via an open staircase.

The situation is very similar at Šam'al, where also two consecutive gates gave access to the palace precinct in the inner citadel (Fig. 8) (Naumann 1971: 417–426. On the urban layout of the city see also Casana & Herrmann 2010; Herrmann 2017). After passing the outer citadel gate ("Äußeres Burgtor") the visitor had to walk uphill to the inner citadel gate ("Inneres Burgtor"). The difference in height between the outer and the inner citadel gate was almost identical to the one at Gōzāna (4.10 m in a distance of slightly less than 70 m). The outer citadel is, compared to Gōzāna, relatively small. The nature of its occupation has not yet been investigated. Inside the inner citadel a number of buildings were located, but for none of them a function as a temple can be proven.

The reason why the citadels of Šam'al and Gōzāna lack any major cultic building – if we disregard the possibility of staging religious activities around the palaces which does not replace the worship of the main deity inside a temple – it was most probably

because in both cases they were situated in other settlements: The temple of the Bēl Ḥūbūr, a Storm God, and the main deity of Gōzāna, was situated in Sikāni/Waššukanni, and the main temple of Šam'al seems to have been located in near-by Gercin. Hence it was the specific cultic topography of the two principalities which may have determined that the two citadels in the capitals belong to our type 2.

The pattern of a subdivided citadel, as it is attested at Šam'al and Gōzāna, might have originated in Karkamiš (see Fig. 5): As W. Orthmann (2006) has suggested, the "King's Gate" with the "Processional Entry" would have been the entrance to the outer citadel from the lower town, entering into a plaza. This was enclosed by the "Temple of the Storm God," the "Long Wall of Sculptures," the "Herald's Wall," and the "Lower Palace". The "Water Gate" would have provided exclusive access to fresh water for the inhabitants of the citadel and was thus comparable to the function of the "Quelltor" in Gōzāna. The "Great Staircase" between the "Temple of the Storm God" and the "Lower Palace" would thus have provided access to

the inner and more elevated part of the citadel. Presumably, this was the location of the main palaces ("Upper Palace") and the temple of the city's tutelary goddess Kubaba. As the renewed excavations by Nicolò Marchetti (2016) have shown, this part below the inner citadel was an exclusive cultic district, presumably founded during the Late Bronze Age. This confirms the hypothesis that the layout of Karkamiš was firmly established by the 2nd Millennium BCE. Two differences arise in comparison to the situation at Šam'al and Gōzāna, if the assumption of W. Orthmann is correct: Firstly, the outer part of the citadel, unlike the inner one, is not elevated compared to the lower city, but almost at the same level; and secondly, the area also includes cult buildings. We are therefore dealing with a citadel of type 1.

Another well-investigated "Neo-Hittite" citadel is the one of Kunulua (Tall Tayinat), the capital of the principality of P/Walastin (later Unqi) (Harrison 2013; Osborne 2014). The town's oval citadel was situated on the western periphery of a semi-circular lower city and was accessible through Gate VII in the east. The westernmost part of the citadel was occupied by an enclosed area which was isolated from the rest except by its only entrance, Gate V. It evidently contained only palaces, following the type of the bīt ḫilāni, similar to the palaces in Šam'al and Gōzāna. Outside this area, two temples were explored along the access route from Gate VII to Gate V, possibly located around

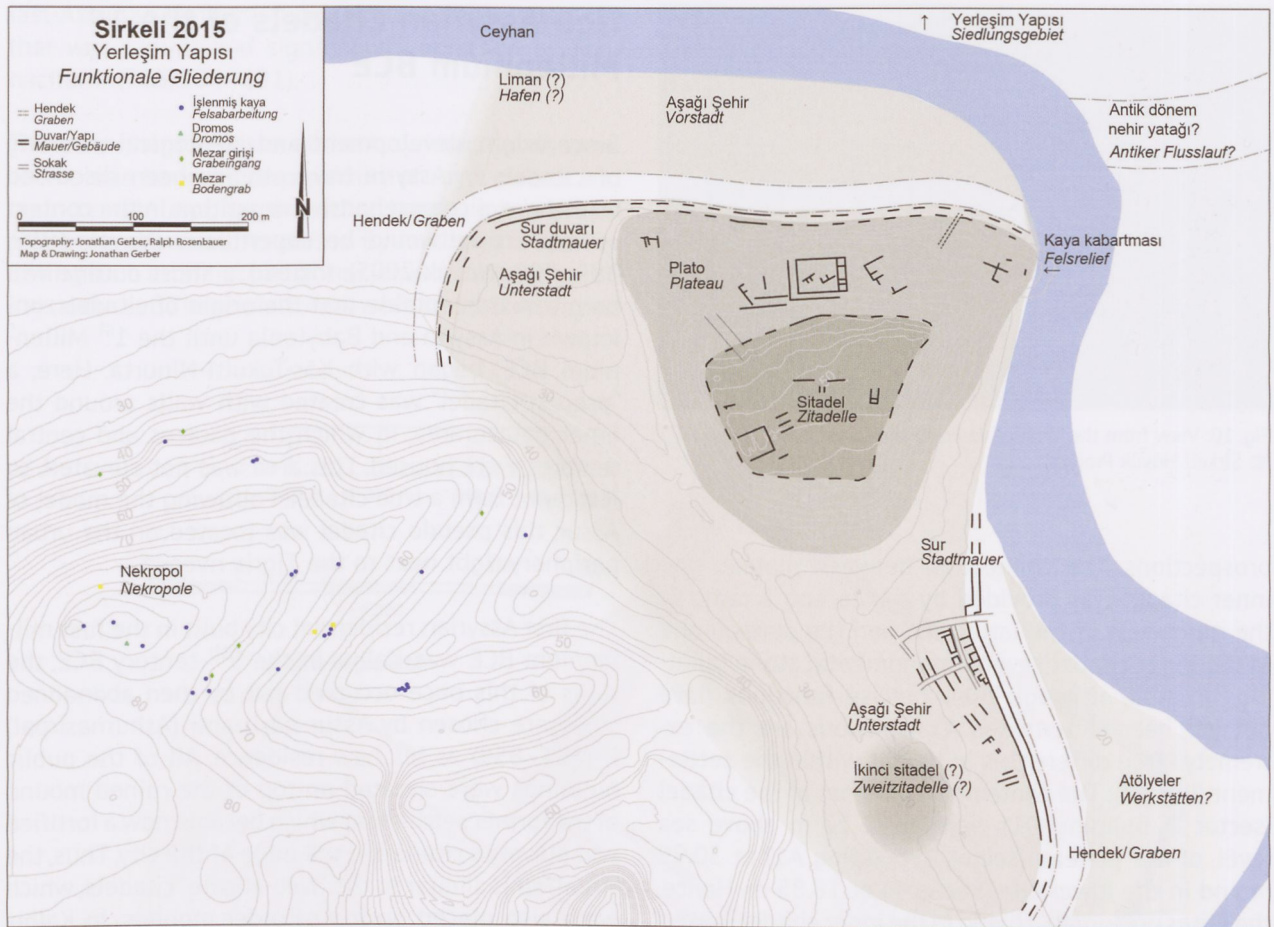


Fig. 9: Plan of Sirkeli Höyük (© Sirkeli Höyük Project).

another gateway. Again, the elevation differed significantly from one part of the city to the other: The outer citadel was about 4 m higher than the lower town, the entrance to the inner citadel another 5.50 m higher and the floor of the palace Building I another 4 m higher. As J. Osborne has stated, “the city’s three major spatial units of accessibility correspond to three distinct elevations, rising in each case as one approaches the palaces. A pedestrian would have had a profound impression of such a citadel which relied heavily on a recognizability factor. The consistency of this urban topography across Syro-Anatolian cities suggests it was a purposeful, planned phenomenon. We are thus led to the conclusion that, both horizontally and vertically, the city was consciously constructed to modify and exploit existing topography in such a way as to encourage the impression of a strong royal authority among its citizenry” (Osborne 2014: 202). A very similar situation can also be found in Plain Cilicia, the neighbouring region to the west.

In Sirkeli Höyük, presumably to be identified with ancient Kummanni/Kisuatni in the principality of Hi-yawa/Que (Plain Cilicia), the citadel, measuring 350 m x 300 m, was located on the northern periphery of the extended urban complex, not far from the south-

ern shore of the Ceyhan River (Fig. 9). The extensive lower city was enclosed by a double wall ring with a moat running in front of it. This fortification also formed the northern boundary of the citadel. South of the citadel, a smaller elevated compound formed a kind of “secondary citadel”, a feature so far unknown in Luwo-Aramaean town planning but reminiscent of Neo-Assyrian cities. It is still unclear which purpose it served. The hilltops south and southwest of the citadel mound were also intra muros and occupied, thus forming an upper town. On the opposite side of the river was an extensive suburb also experienced its largest expansion at the same time. The inhabited area totaled approximately 80 ha.

The citadel was formed already during the Bronze Age. A height difference, resulting from the long occupation history, but also partly from the natural formation of a rockcrip,⁶ divided it into a lower plateau in the north and a much higher area, the “inner citadel”, to the south. This division of the entire citadel into two distinct parts was reinforced by a fortification wall in between both parts, added during the 11th century BCE at the latest. The citadel was accessed from the northeast of the plateau – as far as can be traced from the topography and the geophysical



Fig. 10: View from the Citadel down to the lower town of Sirkeli (© Sirkeli Höyük Project).

prospections. The connection between plateau and inner citadel was provided by a gate and a ramp in the northwest of the latter. Both on the plateau and in the inner citadel several monumental stone buildings existed, although their precise functions have not yet been determined. Conspicuous are the extremely large differences in height within the settlement (Fig. 10): The contemporary floors of the citadel (sector D, building D1) were at 46.27 m above sea level, of the plateau (sector A, building A1) at 30.99 m and in the lower city (Sector F) at 18.85 m. Hence, the elites presumably living in the inner citadel looked down on 27-meter lower residential quarters of the lower town, benefitting from a fresh and cooling wind. Social segregation is easy to recognize in this cityscape...

Summing up, the existence of a fortified and elevated citadel was a characteristic element of Aramaean and Luwian urbanism. Their location at the periphery of the city and their subdivision into an outer and an inner part followed some standardized pattern as well. The regulation of access to the buildings located both in the outer and in the inner part of the citadel, and the accentuation of the entrances with the use of pictorial decoration, including ritual scenes, were expressions of the elite's power. This was emphasized by the prominent visibility of the citadel from inside and outside the city. Moreover, the citadels provided safety and security, from both external as well as internal threats and manifested the segregation of the elites from their subjects. Meanwhile, some citadels belong to our type 1, while others belong to type 2, such as those of Šam'al and Gōzāna. The situation in the latter could be explained by the fact that both were start-ups in the immediate vicinity of the still existing cult centers from older periods. The temples in Gercin and Sikkāni/Waššukanni respectively remained in use and were not replaced by new major sanctuaries in the new foundations.

Neo-Assyrian Citadels of the 1st Millennium BCE

Since origin, development and ideological meaning of citadels in Assyria have already been discussed elsewhere, a comprehensive repetition in the context of this article would be superfluous (Novák 1999: 385–388; Novák 2005). Instead, a short outline will be given. It is notable that the origin of citadels, unknown in Assyria and Babylonia until the 1st Millennium BCE, began with Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta. Here, a “pseudo-citadel” was created with walls around the inner palace area, in which the palaces and central temples were housed. This area was not elevated, so it did not form a true citadel. Following the model of Assur, this pseudo citadel was located on the urban periphery right next to the Tigris river.

The first Assyrian residential city built in the first millennium BCE was Kalḫu. In the 9th century BCE, the ruins of this once occupied but by then abandoned city were chosen by Aššur-nāšir-apli (Ashurnasirpal) II (883–859) as his new residence. All of the public buildings were situated on top of the ruined mound of the former settlement which became now a fortified and elevated citadel on the edge of the city. Thus, the situation is similar to the “Neo-Hittite” citadels, which were also placed on top of older mounds. In Kalḫu, the temple of the tutelary god Ninurta was built at the north-western corner in the immediate neighbourhood to the royal palace, which occupied most of the westernmost flank of the citadel, overlooking the Tigris valley with its gardens. Like in Assur and Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta, the temple and the palace formed a close spatial connection, much higher in elevation than the dwelling quarters and visible from the inside and outside.

During the reign of Salmāanu-ašarēd (Shalmaneser) III (859/858–824), a second citadel was added on top of a terrace towards the south-eastern corner of the city. This secondary citadel, ‘Fort Shalmaneser’, was the seat of the military palace of the city. Now, no old mound was available as place for this secondary citadel. For this reason, an artificial mudbrick terrace was erected instead to form an elevated platform. This required an enormous labour effort and material resources. As far as known, no such enterprise had ever been undertaken until then. It was copied in the later Neo-Assyrian residential cities and in a smaller degree also in Gōzāna (see below).

This newly established model for a ‘typical’ Assyrian urban layout was copied 150 years later by King Šarru-ukīn (Sargon) II (721–705 BCE) when he founded the next residential city, Dūr-Šarrukīn, on virgin ground (Fig. 11). The same was true for the

last Assyrian residential city Ninuwa, an existing city that was rebuilt and significantly enlarged by Sen-nacherib (705/704–681).

The main characteristics of the Assyrian citadels were, on the one hand, close proximity of royal palace and main temple and, on the other hand, high artificial platforms or mound enclosed by mudbrick walls imitating such artificial platforms, on which these buildings were set. These platforms were connected direct-

ly to the citadel walls or even superimposed on them. The palaces, standing on these platforms, thus appeared as if “riding”⁷ on the fortifications. In some cases, the platforms were even pushed out of the line of fortification, blasting the outer layout of the city. There were clear ideological reasons behind such a display, visually demonstrating the importance of the palace and its owner, the king. Here, a clear difference in the appearance of the citadels is given compared to the “Neo-Hittite” examples: The Neo-Assyrian citadels

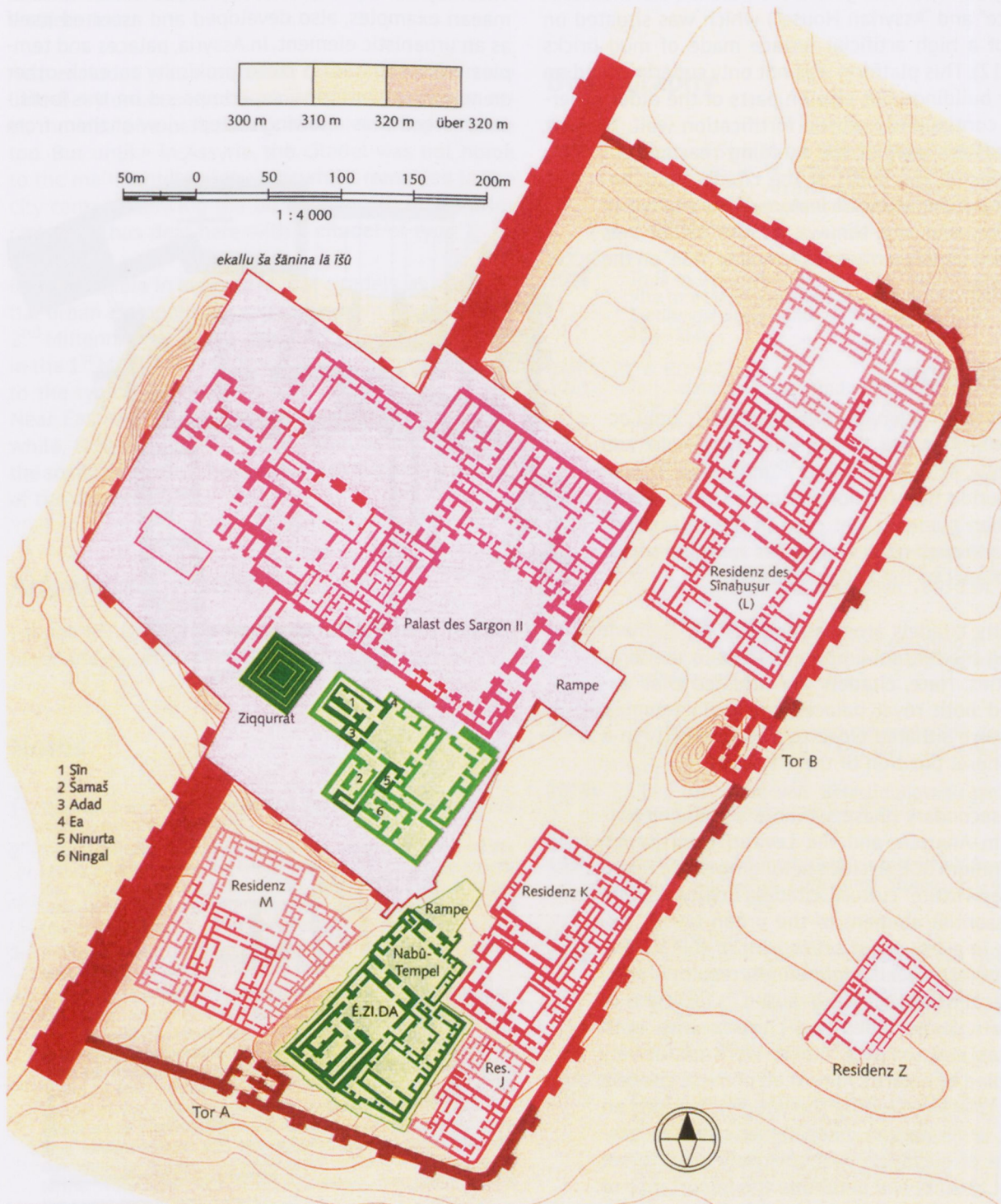


Fig. 11: Citadel of Dür-Šarrukēn (from TAVO Blatt IV 20, 4.2).

were underlining the inaccessibility of the high elevated king's and god's sphere, even though it was visible, rather than the fortification aspects that were predominant in the "Neo-Hittite" ones.

The example of Gōzāna shows that the Assyrian concept also found its way into the architecture of the former Luwo-Aramaean cities after their transformation into provincial towns (see Fig. 7) (Novák & Schmid in press): The entire eastern part of the citadel became the ground for the governor's palace ("Northeastern Palace" and "Assyrian House") which was situated on top of a high artificial terrace made of mud bricks (Fig. 12). This platform was not only superimposed on older buildings, but also on parts of the older, otherwise continuously reused fortification wall. Thereby, the eastern part of the building reached out beyond the old limits of the citadel, thus becoming a characteristic feature of the citadels of Dūr-Šarrukēn and Ninuwa. As the palace was situated on this terrace, it seemed to "ride" on the ramparts.

Conclusion

As our short overview shows, citadels only occasionally appear in Anatolia, the Levant and Anatolia in the 3rd and 2nd millennia BCE. In this period, they did not become an integral part of urban planning, not even in the Hittite Empire, although royal residences were housed in the citadel of the capital Ḫattuša.

Initially, citadels arose as a structural element during the Mittani Empire, at least in the larger cities. Here, citadels are attested that enclosed both royal palaces and main temples, and were situated close to a river, mostly in a peripheral position of the cityscape.

As a secondary phase, we note a changed pattern in Anatolia and the Levant(?), in the 1st millennium BCE. In cities belonging to the realm of "Neo-Hittite" culture, citadels finally became an essential element of the urban layout, existing in every major settlement of this period. In general, preexisting mounds, resulting from former settlements, were reused as locations of citadels. Some cities had citadels with both palaces and temples, others were exclusively occupied by palaces. Almost all of these citadels were characterized by the subdivision into an outer lower and an inner higher part. The gradation of elevation was obviously used to set visual accents and underline the importance of the highest buildings and their inhabitants. Not only the visual perception but also the physical

experience by the visitors, e.g. in the context of audiences or festivities, reinforced the corresponding message in a multisensory manner. Citadels thus underlined the claim to leadership by the ruling elites and demonstrated their military power against internal and external opponents, but also their segregation from their subjects. The main impression when perceiving a "Neo-Hittite" citadel was the protection of the elites inside the strongholds of the citadels.

The Assyrian citadel, contemporary to the Luwo-Aramaean examples, also developed and asserted itself as an urbanistic element. In Assyria, palaces and temples were situated in close proximity to each other on towering platforms, superimposed on the fortifications and thus allowing a clear view of them from

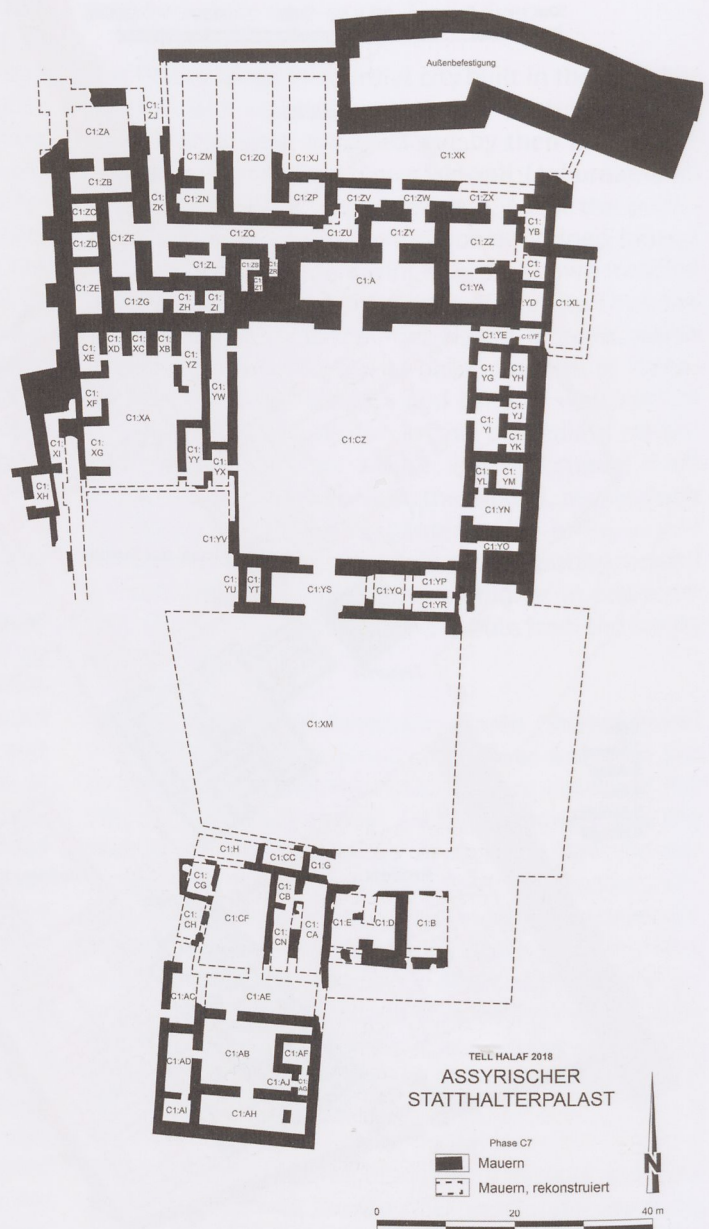


Fig. 12: Governor Palace of Gōzāna. Nach Plänn von Felix Langenegger u.a. sowie der Neugrabung 2006-2010 (© Tell Halaf Project).

the outside. Obviously, the ideological program took precedent over security needs and safeguarding. This Assyrian principle was also applied in newly established provincial towns, including former Luwo-Aramaeian cities (Gōzāna).

The citadels of Iran have been excluded from this study. But note briefly that their history, too, began only in the late 2nd millennium BCE. Examples are found in Hasanlu, Godin Tepe, Nuš-i Ġān, and other sites of the so-called “protohistoric” period of North-western Iran.

Also excluded was the special case of Babylon in the Late-Babylonian period. Following the Assyrian model, the idea of a peripheral citadel was adapted here too. But unlike in Assyria, the citadel was not home to the main temple of the city which remained in the city center following the old Babylonian urban principle. We thus deal here with a citadel of type 2.

It is noticeable in every case that citadels, as substantial urban elements, became prominent from the late 2nd Millennium BCE onwards. They gained importance in the 1st Millennium BCE, and in this period belonged to the typical cityscape in almost all regions of the Near East except Egypt, Babylonia and Elam. Meanwhile, future research should examine more closely the social background against which the phenomenon of the citadel arose.

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Notes

- 1 Examples are Tall Sweyhat and Tall Huēra in Early Bronze Age Upper Mesopotamia.
- 2 Early examples of upper towns are indeed attested in the Hābūr triangle during the late 3rd Millennium BCE (e.g. Urkeš/Tall Mōzān; see Kelly-Buccellati 2013: 163). This territory was then at least partly inhabited by Hurrian speaking groups (Archi 2013: 86).
- 3 In the following, only types 1 and 2 will be treated. Types 3 and 4 were not quite frequent in the Ancient Near East.
- 4 The term „Neo-Hittite“ reflects on the inherited elements from the Hittite imperial period, such as the iconography of kings and gods in the visual art or the titularity of the kings. This ideological tradition constructed by the “Neo-Hittite” entities effected the Assyrian designation of the Northern Levant as “Land of Hatti”. However, linguistically, no evidence for the usage of the Hittite language is given. From this point it is much more justified to speak about “Luwo-Aramaeian” entities, since Aramaic and Hieroglyphic Luwian were the predominant languages spoken and written. Factually, both terms “Neo-Hittite” and “Luwo-Aramaeian” describe one and the same region and culture.
- 5 On the history of Karkamiš in the Iron Age see most recently

Hawkins & Peker 2014, on its role in the creation of “Neo-Hittite” art see Orthmann 1971.

- 6 See on this more in detail in M. Novák, E. Kozal & D. Yaşin-Meier in press: Puruna/Pyramos. Studien zu einem fluvialen Siedlungssystem im Ebenen Kilikien I: Die Ausgrabungen auf dem Sirkeli Höyük 2006-15. *Schriften zur Vorderasiatischen Archäologie*, Wiesbaden 2018.
- 7 Corresponding situations are known e.g. from Kalḫu and Dūr-Šarrukēn. The descriptive term “riding” on the city or citadel wall was first used by Heinrich (1984: 170) in connection with “Palace F” in Dūr-Šarrukēn and has been adopted in further literature.

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