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MERSİN ÜNİVERSİTESİ
KILIKIA ARKEOLOJİSİNİ ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
BİLİMSEL SÜRELİ YAYINI 'OLBA'

Amaç

Olba süreli yayını; Küçükasya, Akdeniz bölgesi ve Ortadoğu'ya ilişkin orijinal sonuçlar içeren Arkeolojik çalışmalarda sadece belli bir alan veya bölge ile sınırlı kalmaksızın 'Eski Çağ Bilimleri'ni birbirinden ayırmadan ve bir bütün olarak benimseyerek bilim dünyasına değerli çalışmaları sunmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Kapsam

Olba süreli yayını Mayıs ayında olmak üzere yılda bir kez basılır. Yayınlanması istenilen makalelerin en geç her yıl Kasım ayı sonunda gönderilmiş olması gerekmektedir.

1998 yılından bu yana basılan Olba; Küçükasya, Akdeniz bölgesi ve Ortadoğu'ya ilişkin orijinal sonuçlar içeren Prehistorya, Protohistorya, Klasik Arkeoloji, Klasik Filoloji (ile Eskiçağ Dilleri ve Kültürleri), Eskiçağ Tarihi, Nümizmatik ve Erken Hıristiyanlık Arkeolojisi alanlarında yazılmış makaleleri kapsamaktadır.

Yayın İlkeleri

1. a- Makaleler, Word ortamında yazılmış olmalıdır.

   b- Metin 10 punto; özet, dipnot, katalog ve bibliografya 9 punto olmak üzere, Times New Roman (PC ve Macintosh) harf karakteri kullanılmalıdır.

   c-Dipnotlar her sayfanın altına verilmeli ve makalenin başından sonuna kadar sayısal süreklilik izlemelidir.

   d-Metin içinde bulunan ara başlıklarda, küçük harf kullanılmalı ve koyu (bold) yazılmalıdır. Bunun dışındaki seçenekler (tümünün büyük harf yazılması, alt çizgi ya da italik) kullanılmamalıdır.

2. Noktalama (tireler) işaretlerinde dikkat edilecek hususlar:

   a) Metin içinde her cümlenin ortasındaki virgülden ve sonundaki noktadan sonra bir tab boşluk bırakılmalıdır.

   b) Cümle içinde veya cümle sonunda yer alan dipnot numaralarının herbirisi noktalama (nokta veya virgül) işaretlerinden önce yer almalıdır.

c) Metin içinde yer alan "fig." ibareleri, parantez içinde verilmeli; fig. ibaresinin noktasından sonra bir tab boşluk bırakılmalı (fig. 3); ikiden fazla ardışık figür belirtiliyorsa iki rakam arasına boşluksuz kısa tire konulmalı (fig. 2-4). Ardışık değilse, sayılar arasına nokta ve bir tab boşluk bırakılmalıdır (fig. 2. 5).

d)Ayrıca bibliyografya ve kısaltmalar kısmında bir yazar, iki soyadı taşıyorsa soyadları arasında boşluk bırakmaksızın kısa tire kullanılmalıdır (Dentzer-Feydy); bir makale birden fazla yazarlı ise her yazardan sonra bir boşluk, ardından uzun tire ve yine boşluktan sonra diğer yazarın soyadı gelmelidir (Hagel – Tomaschitz).

3. "Bibliyografya ve Kısaltmalar" bölümü makalenin sonunda yer almalı, dipnotlarda kullanılan kısaltmalar, burada açıklanmalıdır. Dipnotlarda kullanılan kaynaklar kısaltma olarak verilmeli, kısaltmalarda yazar soyadı, yayın tarihi, sayfa (ve varsa levha ya da resim) sıralamasına sadık kalınmalıdır. Sadece bir kez kullanılan yayınlar için bile aynı kurala uyulmalıdır.

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Bibliyografya (Makaleler için):

Corsten 1995   Corsten, Th., "Inschriften aus dem Museum von Denizli", Ege Üniversitesi Arkeoloji Dergisi III, 215-224, lev. LIV-LVII.

Dipnot (kitaplar ve makaleler için)

    Richter 1977, 162, res. 217.

Diğer Kısaltmalar

age.	adı geçen eser
ay.	aynı yazar
vd.	ve devamı
yak.	yaklaşık
v.d.	ve diğerleri
y.dn.	yukarı dipnot
dn.	dipnot
a.dn.	aşağı dipnot
bk.	Bakınız

4. Tüm resim, çizim ve haritalar için sadece "fig." kısaltması kullanılmalı ve figürlerin numaralandırılmasında süreklilik olmalıdır. (Levha, Resim, Çizim, Şekil, Harita ya da bir başka ifade veya kısaltma kesinlikle kullanılmamalıdır).

5. Bir başka kaynaktan alıntı yapılan figürlerin sorumluluğu yazara aittir, bu sebeple kaynak belirtilmelidir.

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11. Figürlerde çözünürlük en az 300 dpi; format ise tif veya jpeg olmalıdır.

MERSIN UNIVERSITY
'RESEARCH CENTER OF CILICIAN ARCHAEOLOGY'
JOURNAL 'OLBA'

Scope

Olba is printed once a year in May. Deadline for sending papers is the end of November each year.

The Journal 'Olba', being published since 1998 by the 'Research Center of Cilician Archeology' of the Mersin University (Turkey), includes original studies done on prehistory, protohistory, classical archaeology, classical philology (and ancient languages and cultures), ancient history, numismatics and early christian archeology of Asia Minor, the Mediterranean region and the Near East.

Publishing Principles

1. a. Articles should be written in Word programs.

    b. The text should be written in 10 puntos ; the abstract, footnotes, catalogue and bibliography in 9 puntos 'Times New Roman' (for PC and for Macintosh).

    c. Footnotes should take place at the bottom of the page in continous numbering.

    d. Titles within the article should be written in small letters and be marked as bold. Other choises (big letters, underline or italic) should not be used.

2. Punctuation (hyphen) Marks:

    a) One space should be given after the comma in the sentence and after the dot at the end of the sentence.

    b) The footnote numbering within the sentence in the text, should take place before the comma in the sentence or before the dot at the end of the sentence.

    c) The indication fig.:

    *It should be set in brackets and one space should be given after the dot (fig. 3);

    *If many figures in sequence are to be indicated, a short hyphen without space between the beginning and last numbers should be placed (fig. 2-4); if these are not in sequence, a dot and space should be given between the numbers (fig. 2. 5).

d) In the bibliography and abbreviations, if the author has two family names, a short hyphen without leaving space should be used (Dentzer-Feydy); if the article is written by two or more authors, after each author a space, a long hyphen and again a space should be left before the family name of the next author (Hagel – Tomaschitz).

3. The 'Bibliography' and 'Abbreviations' should take part at the end of the article. The 'Abbrevations' used in the footnotes should be explained in the 'Bibliography' part. The bibliography used in the footnotes should take place as abbreviations and the following order within the abbreviations should be kept: Name of writer, year of publishment, page (and if used, number of the illustration). This rule should be applied even if a publishment is used only once.

Bibliography (for books):

Richter 1977   Richter, G., Greek Art, NewYork.

Bibliography (for articles):

Corsten 1995 Corsten, Th., "Inschriften aus dem Museum von Denizli", Ege Üniversitesi Arkeoloji Dergisi III, 215-224, pl. LIV-LVII.

Footnotes (for books and articles):

Richter 1977, 162, fig. 217.

Miscellaneous Abbreviations:

op. cit.	in the work already cited
idem	an auther that has just been mentioned
ff	following pages
et al.	and others
n.	footnote
see	see
infra	see below
supra	see above

4. For all photographies, drawings and maps only the abbreviation 'fig.' should be used in continous numbering (remarks such as Plate, Picture, Drawing, Map or any other word or abbreviaton should not be used).

5. Photographs, drawings or maps taken from other publications are in the responsibility of the writers; so the sources have to be mentioned.

6. A list of figures should take part at the end of the article.

7. The text should be within the remarked formats not more than 20 pages, the drawing and photograps 10 in number.

8. Papers may be written in Turkish, English or German. Papers written in Turkish must include an abstract of 500 words in Turkish and English or German. It will be appreciated if papers written in English or German would include a summary of 500 words in Turkish and in English or German. The title of the article should be sent in two languages.

9. Six keywords should be remarked, following the abstract in Turkish and English or German.

10. Figures should be at least 300 dpi; tif or jpeg format are required.

11. The article, figures and their layout as well as special fonts should be sent by e-mail (We Transfer).

THE 'ḪILANI': A LATE BRONZE AGE AMUQ-CILICIAN OR SYRO-CILICIAN ARCHITECTURAL TRADITION?

Éric JEAN *

ÖZ

'Ḫilani': Bir Geç Tunç Çağ'ı Amuq-Kilikia veya Syro-Kilikia Mimari Geleneği?

Ḫilani MÖ 1. binyılın başlarında Kuzey Suriye'de geliştirilen bir mimari yapıya değinmesine rağmen; İslahiye Ovası'ndaki Orta Tunç Çağı'na ait Tilmen Höyük E Yapısı ve Amik'teki Geç Tunç I'e ait Alalakh IV (MÖ 15. yüzyıl) sarayı genellikle *ḫilani*nin ilk örnekleri veya prototipleri olarak verilmiştir. Daha yakın zamanlarda, bir başka Geç Tunç I *ḫilani*si, Doğu Ovalık Kilikia'daki bir liman olan Kinet Höyük'te kazılmıştır. Kinet Höyük *ḫilani*si, MÖ 16. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında inşa edilmiştir. MÖ II. binyılın başından itibaren, İslahiye Ovası ve Amik ile Ovalık Kilikia arasındaki yakın ilişkiler, özellikle Orta Tunç Çağı yerel boyalı seramiklerle temsil edilmiştir. "Syro-Kilikia" olarak adlandırılan söz konusu çanak çömleklerin belirlenmesi, Ovalık Kilikia'nın doğu kültürel yöneliminin altını çizerken, "Amik-Kilikia" adlandırması Amik ve Ovalık Kilikia'nın özelliklerini vurgulamaktadır. Bu şartlar altında soru, *ḫilani*ye bir Amik-Kilikia, Syro-Kilikia mimarisi veya başka mimari geleneği olarak atıfta bulunmanın uygun olup olmadığıdır. Bilimsel literatürde *ḫilani* teriminin farklı kullanımları ve mimari bir form olarak niteleyen özellikleri gözden geçirdikten sonra, Kinet Höyük *ḫilani*si arkeolojik bağlamında sunulmaktadır. Daha sonra, önemli bir idari bina (varsayımsal olarak Kizzuwatna eyaletini temsil eden bir siyasi otoritenin yeri) olarak, Kinet 15C Dönemi'nin *ḫilani*sinin bir Kuzey Suriye'nin kültürel etkisinden geldiği ileri sürülmektedir. Öte yandan, Kinet 15C Dönemi'nde Hitit benzeri seramiklerin ani ortaya çıkması, Kizzuwatna'nın ekonomisinin belirli bir düzeyde Hitit kontrolü altında olduğunu öne sürüyor. Ekonomik ve stratejik nedenler, Kizzuwatna'da böyle bir Hitit deniz karakolunun kurulmasını teşvik ederken, diplomatik beceriler bu devralımın başarısını açıklayacaktır. Kinet 15C Dönemi'nin *ḫilani*si bu diplomasinin mimari ifadesini temsil edecek ve Hitit kralının politik olarak güçlü olduğu bir dönemi hatırlatacaktır. MÖ 16. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında, bu nitelikleri bünyesinde barındıran en muhtemel kraliyet adayı Telipinu (Orta Kronolojiye göre) veya I. Murşili (Kısa Kronolojiye göre) olacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ḫilani, Kinet Höyük, Kizzuwatna, Hitit, Mittani, Geç Tunç Çağı.

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ABSTRACT

Though the term "*ḫilani*" refers to an architectural form occurring in northern Syria during the early centuries of the 1st millennium BCE, the Middle Bronze II Building E of Tilmen Höyük in the Islahiye Valley and the Late Bronze I palace of Alalakh IV (15th century BCE) in the Amuq are often given as the earliest examples or prototypes of *ḫilani* architecture. More recently, another Late Bronze I *ḫilani* has been excavated at Kinet Höyük, a seaport in eastern Plain Cilicia. The *ḫilani* of Kinet Höyük was built in the second half of the 16th century BCE. From the very beginning of the 2nd millennium BCE onwards, close contact between the Islahiye Valley, the Amuq and Plain Cilicia have been notably reflected in locally made painted pottery from the Middle Bronze Age. While the designation of such pottery as "Syro-Cilician" underscores the eastern cultural orientation of Plain Cilicia, the term "Amuq-Cilician" enhances the characteristics of the Amuq and Plain Cilicia. This raises the question of whether the *ḫilani* should be considered an Amuq-Cilician, Syro-Cilician or yet another architectural tradition. After reviewing the different uses of the term "*ḫilani*" in the scholarly literature, as well as the features that characterize it as an architectural form, the *ḫilani* of Kinet Höyük is presented in its archaeological context. As an important administrative building (hypothetically the seat of a political authority representing the state of Kizzuwatna), it is then suggested that the *ḫilani* of Kinet Period 15C originates from a north Syrian cultural influence. Conversely, the sudden appearance of Hittite-related pottery in Kinet Period 15C suggests that the economy of Kizzuwatna was under a certain degree of Hittite control. Economic and strategic interests would have therein motivated the establishment of such a Hittite maritime outpost in Kizzuwatna, while the Hittite diplomatic skills would explain the success of this takeover. Thus, the *ḫilani* of Kinet Period 15C would have served as an architectural expression of this diplomacy and recall a period in which the Hittite king was politically strong. In the second half of the 16th century BCE, the most likely royal candidate who embodied the requisite qualities would be Telipinu (according to the Middle Chronology) or Murshili I (according to the Low Chronology).

Keywords: Ḫilani, Kinet Höyük, Kizzuwatna, Hittite, Mittani, Late Bronze Age.

Introduction[1]

"The definition and archaeological identification of the structure to which the Neo-Assyrian sources refer as a *bīt ḫilāni* has been one of the most discussed topics in the history of Near Eastern architecture" (Itamar Singer)[2].

In light of the prolific bibliography surrounding this subject[3], this paper aims to inform the scholarly community of the generally unknown existence of an early example of *ḫilani* in eastern Cilicia[4] and to place it in its historical context.

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1 This article is the revised version of a paper presented on June 11 2015 at a symposium dedicated to the 15th Anniversary of Alalakh Excavations at the New Hatay Archaeology Museum, June 10-12, 2015 (see Yener – Ingman 2020). To K. Aslıhan Yener the organizer of the symposium and head of the Tell Atchana (Alalakh) excavations, I express my deepest thanks for this very stimulating event.

2 Singer 1975, 69.

3 Many references about the concept of *ḫilani* will be found in Kertai 2017, Lehmann – Killebrew 2010, 24 n. 15, Pucci 2008, Reade 2008, Novák 2004 and Winter 1982. In Turkish, see Dönmez 2006; Sevin 1999, passim. See also the interesting study of the recall of the *ḫilani* tradition in southeastern Turkey (Adıyaman) rural architecture by Erarslan 2014.

4 About the choice of the anachronistic use of the word "Cilicia" see Jean 2019-2020 , 10.

Though the *ḫilani* refers to an architectural form developed in northern Syria during the beginning of the 1st millennium BCE; the 15th-century palace of Niqmepa of Alalakh, in the Amuq, is often given as one of its earliest examples or prototypes[5]. More recently, a Late Bronze Age (LBA) *ḫilani* has been excavated at Kinet Höyük in eastern Plain Cilicia, and it can be traced to an even earlier date in the 16th century BCE. From the very beginning of the 2nd millennium BCE onwards, close contacts between the Amuq and Plain Cilicia have been notably represented by locally made painted pottery from the Middle Bronze Age (MBA). While the designation of such pottery as Syro-Cilician[6] underscores the eastern cultural orientation of Plain Cilicia, the denomination of Amuq-Cilician enhances the characteristics of the two valleys. Under these conditions, is it also appropriate to refer to the *ḫilani* as an Amuq-Cilician, Syro-Cilician or yet another architectural model or tradition?

After reviewing the different uses of the term *ḫilani* in the scholarly literature and discussing the features that characterize it as an architectural form, the *ḫilani* of Kinet Höyük will be presented in its archaeological context. Then, a historical contextuali-sation of the building will be tested.

The Concept of *Ḫilani* from the Iron Age to the Bronze Age

At least three Neo-Assyrian kings report having erected *bit ḫilani* in palaces of their respective capitals: Tiglath-pileser III (745–727 BCE) in Nimrud (Kalkhu), Sargon II (721–705 BCE) in Khorsabad (Dur-Sharrukin), and Sennacherib (704–681 BCE) in Nineveh[7]. The most mentioned inscription in the scientific literature is from Sargon II[8], but one should also note an inscription of Sennacherib in Nineveh: "vi 57–60 [For] my lordly [pleasure, I had] a por[tico, a replica of a Hittite palace] [É.GAL KUR. *ḫat-ti*], which [is called] *bīt-ḫilā[ni]* in [the language of the land Amurru, constructed inside them]"[9].

Based on these texts, the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary gives an architectural definition of the *bit ḫilani* as, "[an] elaborate portico with columns, placed in front of the gates of a palace"[10], a definition, however, called into question, as Assyria's external porticoes are "unlikely to be associated with the *bēt ḫilāni*"[11], and "the term *bēt ḫilāni* is unlikely to have referred to columns as such"[12]. Despite the uncertainty of what the *bit ḫilani* refers to among the Neo-Assyrians, this architectural element is apparently linked to doorways, and built in the Syro-Anatolian way[13]. Indeed, the

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5 Novák 2004, 344–345; Frankfort 1952, 129–131.
6 Kozal – Novák 2017, 305; Jamieson 2005; Bagh 2003; Merrillees – Tubb 1979.
7 Tenu 2019, 406; Kertai 2017, 85; Novák 2014, 267; Osborne 2012. Sargon II also reports having erected a *bit ḫilani* in Carchemish (Marchesi 2019).
8 Fuchs 1994, 305.
9 Grayson – Novotny 2012, 101–102.
10 Oppenheim et al. 1956, 185.
11 Kertai 2017, 97. Irene J. Winter already underlined the uncertainty about the correlation between the *bit ḫilani* and specific architectural elements of Assyrian palaces (Winter 1982, 358).
12 Kertai 2017, 86. See also Reade 2008, 32. This does not dismiss the idea that columns could have been part of the *bit ḫilani* (Kertai 2017, 86).
13 Kertai 2017, 87. According to David Kertai, these are not external but internal doorways within the Assyrian palatial complexes.

texts trace the geographical and linguistic origins of the *bit ḫilani* within the land of Hatti and the language of Amurru (a label that represents what modern scholars term the Neo-Hittite and Aramean kingdoms from northern Syria and southeastern Turkey), respectively. It may be worthy to underscore that the term *bit ḫilani* first appears at the time of the Neo-Assyrian conquest of these principalities[14]. The Amanus and its cedars mentioned in the texts were part of the landscape of several of them, especially Pattin and Sam'al[15].

 Though poorly preserved, the archaeological identification of *bit ḫilani* entrances at Khorsabad and Nineveh refer to the same kings and period[16]. In addition to their building, Neo-Assyrian kings may well have portrayed the *bit ḫilani* in the iconographic repertoire of their palaces. Indeed, buildings with columned porticoes are represented on bas-reliefs at Khorsabad and Nineveh[17]. On several of them, a two-columned pavilion is depicted[18], which suggests to some scholars that Assyrian kings conceived of the *bit ḫilani* as both an entrance to a palace and an independent building[19]. As no mention of the *ḫilani* has been found in Neo-Hittite and Aramean written sources to date, the possibility that the Neo-Assyrians conceptualized the term, "*bit ḫilani*," differently from their western neighbours must be questioned. Indeed, "The Assyrian seem to have been inspired by Syro-Anatolian architecture's ornamentation of exterior entrances to embellish the interior of Assyria's monumental rooms"[20]. However, in both geo-cultural spaces (Neo-Hittite/Aramean and Neo-Assyrian), the *ḫilani* was the manifestation of political power[21]. Columns appearing in Neo-Assyrian

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14 So, Arpad and Unqi were integrated to the Neo-Assyrian empire by Tiglath-pileser III (745–727 BCE), respectively in 740 BCE and 738 BCE; and, after most of the kingdoms situated south from the Taurus became Assyrian provinces during the reign of Shalmanezer V (726–721) (Novák 2019, 112), including Sam'al, Sargon II (721–705 BCE) took Carchemish, Gurgum (Maraş) and Melid (Malatya) in 717 BCE, 711 BCE and 708 BCE, respectively.

15 About the kingdom of Palastin/Walastin or Pattin (Unqi in Assyrian) and its capital Kunulua, today Tell Ta'yinat, see Harrison 2019. About the first excavations at Zincirli (Sam'al), see Wartke 2019.

16 Tenu 2019, 406; Kertai 2017, 89; Osborne 2012, 32; Novák 2004, 352–353, fig. 18–19; Akkermans – Schwartz 2003, 384. Columned porticos were also found in Palace F at Khorsabad (Dūr-Sharrukīn) (Kertai 2017, 89; Osborne 2012, 32; Novák 2004, 354, fig. 20; Akkermans – Schwartz 2003, 384), Palace North (Room S) of Ashurbanipal (669/668–631/626 BCE) at Nineveh (Tenu 2019, 406; Kertai 2017, 89; Novák 2004, 354–355; Osborne 2012, 32), and several palaces situated in the western periphery of the Neo-Assyrian heartland, at Tell Sheikh Hassan, Tell Sheikh Hammad (Dur-Katlimmu) and Tell Fekheriye (Sikani) (Novák 2004, 348–350, fig. 12–13).

17 Tenu 2019, 406–407; Novák 2004, 350–352, fig. 14–17.

18 Tenu 2019, 406, fig. 5 (Khorsabad); Novák 2004, 350–351, fig. 14 (Khorsabad), fig. 15–16 (Nineveh).

19 "The bas-reliefs of the North Palace's room H, built in Nineveh by Ashurbanipal (...), certainly show the Southwest Palace built by his grandfather Sennacherib, with the columned portico and the garden he had planted next to it on the model of the Amanus. One also sees a small pavilion with two columns. The decor of this room shows that the two types of columned buildings coexisted in Assyria" (Tenu 2019, 407, n. 65; translated from French by the author).

20 Kertai 2017, 101. Marina Pucci underlines as well the difference between the original and the Assyrian concepts of the columned entrance: "in [the Syro-Hittite] centres the portico gave an impression of accessibility, of an area in between the interior of the building and the external area, whereas in the Assyrian locations it was an exotic element inside a more articulated structure" (Pucci 2008, 176).

21 "The lack of *bēt ḫilāni* references outside royal contexts suggests that it represented a royal prerogative" (Kertai 2017, 101). James Osborne speaks in terms of "expression of political authority" (2012, 31). In his work, Osborne takes into account the rare Neo-Assyrian archaeological and written sources, the Neo-Assyrian iconography, and the Luwian, Aramaic and Phoenician inscriptions from the Neo-Hittite and Aramean space, as well as the buildings defined as *ḫilani*, concentrating his "space syntax analysis"

iconography may symbolize Neo-Hittite/Aramean palaces[22]. Similarly, inscriptions from Neo-Hittite and Aramean principalities, as well as analysis of Buildings I/VI of Tell Ta'yinat and Buildings J/K of Zincirli suggest that the *ḫilani* was a palace or part of a palace[23]. This indicates that the Neo-Assyrian kings borrowed the *ḫilani* for what James Osborne terms, "[its] power meaning"[24]. Furthermore, the crucial role played by courtyards in Neo-Assyrian palaces, and in Mesopotamian architecture more generally, indicates that Neo-Assyrian kings were not interested in the concept of the Neo-Hittite/Aramean building in itself (which lacked a courtyard) but rather in its columned entrance[25]. In other words, the Neo-Assyrian concept of the *bit ḫilani* was intrinsically linked to the columned entrance as an important element of visuality[26]. Further reinforcing the visual aspect, the columned entrance opened from the inside to a landscape that was organized in gardens made from native plants of the Amanus Range and Amuq region[27]. As visual symbols of power, such exotic elements incorporated into the Neo-Assyrian palace (whose concept was Mesopotamian) may represent the appropriation of conquered territories, notably the kingdoms of Sam'al and Pattin/Unqi because of their proximity to Amanus.

The 9th and 8th centuries BCE offer ample evidence for modern scholars investigating the origins of the *bit ḫilani* — attributed by Neo-Assyrian sources to the people of Hatti. This evidence suggests that the *ḫilani* was originally an independent building with a columned portico entrance opening to a broad vestibule that gave access to a broad room — interpreted as a reception room where the throne was located[28]. Despite the fact the architectural definition of the *ḫilani* varies among scholars, all north Syrian specimens share two characteristic features: a columned portico (usually preceded by a staircase) and two broad rooms behind it[29].

Mirko Novák has shown that the oldest examples of columned portico entrances gave access to an inner courtyard[30]. These examples date from the end of the Early Bronze Age (EBA) to the LBA and are all situated in north Syria: the Palace G of Tell Mardikh (Ebla)[31], the palace of Qatna[32], the Level VII palace at Tell Atchana

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on Tell Ta'yinat buildings I/VI and Zincirli buildings J/K (Osborne 2012).

22 Osborne 2012, 39. The author shows the key role of columns and furniture, especially the throne, in the Neo-Assyrian borrowings (Osborne 2012, 31–41).

23 Osborne 2012, 41–60.

24 Osborne 2012, 30.

25 Novák 2014, 265–267; 2004, 367.

26 Novák 2004, 355. Highlighting the lack of openness to the outside of Assyrian palatial complexes, Kertai does not think that the Assyrians were looking for visibility from the outside (Kertai 2017, 94).

27 See footnote 19.

28 Frankfort 1956, 167; 1952, 120.

29 In addition, archaeologists have sometimes pointed out the importance of other features: orthostates with reliefs on many façades (Sharon – Zarzecki-Peleg 2006, 145), the presence of secondary rooms on one or several sides of the main one (Margueron 1979, 156), a stairwell on one side of the entrance (Sharon – Zarzecki-Peleg 2006, 145), etc. Nevertheless, the two main repetitive elements remain the pillared entrance to a vestibule (usually preceded by a flight of stairs) and the broad room behind (Novák 2004, 336–337). See the main references in Pucci 2008, 176.

30 Novák 2004, 338–344.

31 Novák 2004, fig. 3.

32 Novák 2004, fig. 4.

(Alalakh)[33], and the palace of Ras Shamra (Ugarit)[34]. Columned portico entrances giving access to a roofed room have been pinpointed in LB II in Syria at Meskene (Emar)[35], in northern Canaan at Hazor[36], and in LB I in Anatolia at 16th-century's Building C of Kuşaklı (Sarissa)[37]. Referring to Büyükkale's Building E at Boğazköy (Ḫattusha), Jean-Claude Margueron defended the idea of an Anatolian prototype of the *ḫilani*[38]. Though long debated[39], a Hittite etymology for the word *ḫilani* would reinforce the idea of a Hittite origin of the architectural structure. Indeed, the possible etymologies are the Hittite *ḫilammar* and the Hieroglyphic Luwian **ḫilana*[40]. Related to the Hittite *ḫila-* ["courtyard"][41], the *ḫilammar* would mean "portico," "gatehouse," or "gate structure"[42]. Though the Assyrian term *bit ḫilani* may well have derived from the Luwian **ḫilana*, which means "gate" and whose logogram is PORTA[43], the use of these terms may have been different[44]. On the other hand, the relation between *ḫilani* and *ḫilammar* remains unclear, and, even if the word *ḫilani* were derived from the Hittite *ḫilammar*, it would not prove a Hittite origin of the architectural structure; the Hittites may well have borrowed the concept from their southern neighbours. Indeed, the combination of the two main features (columned portico and two broad rooms) indicates that the *ḫilani* comes from the local development of MB and LB north Syrian palace architecture[45].

Tilmen Höyük Level IIc is usually considered to have furnished the earliest prototype of a *ḫilani*, which Refik Duru dates between the second half of the 18th and the first half of the 17th centuries BCE according to the Middle Chronology[46]. Though

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33 Alalakh's Level VII palace's attribution to Yarim-Lim may be incorrect, and perhaps should instead be associated with his grandson Ammitaqum. See Novák 2004, 340, n. 17 with references, fig. 5.
34 Novák 2004, fig. 6; Akkermans – Schwartz 2003, 338, fig. 10.8.
35 Novák 2004, 342; Akkermans – Schwartz 2003, 345; Margueron 1995; 1979.
36 Sharing many similarities with Niqmepa's palace in Alalakh IV, the Black Building at Hazor is also considered as a LBA *ḫilani* by Ruhama Bonfil and Anabel Zarzecki-Peleg (2007, especially 32–33).
37 Müller-Karpe 1999/2000. Kuşaklı's Building C is interpreted as a temple.
38 Margueron 1995, 129–130; 1979; cf. Adamthwaite 2001, 201; Faist 2002, 139; Akkermans – Schwartz 2003, 345; Genz 2007, 503; Novák 2004, 342; Naumann 1991, 466. As Hermann Genz (2007, 503) observed, Margueron's thesis was based on the idea that Emar was a new city founded by the Hittites, but the new excavations at Meskene have demonstrated that it was not the case, as EBA, MBA and LB I levels were exhumed (Akkermans – Schwartz 2003, 344; Finkbeiner 2001, 41–110; 1999–2000). Furthermore, the presence of a portico in Building E at Büyükkale is entirely speculative, as the building is preserved at foundation level only.
39 Mouton – Rutherford 2010; Naumann 1979; Singer 1975; Güterbock 1972–75.
40 Mouton – Rutherford 2010; Singer 1975.
41 Singer 1975, 76.
42 Mouton – Rutherford 2010, 277; Singer 1975, 71. In several texts, the *ḫilammar* is associated with rituals and festivals, for example when the king performs libations at the *ḫilammar* during the AN.TAH. SUM festival (Gilibert 2011, 118), or when he initiates the KI.LAM festival at the *ḫilammar* of the palace (Mouton – Rutherford 2010, 277). Mouton and Rutherford (2010, 277) remind, "The equivalence between *hilammar* and KI.LAM has long been suggested and seems almost certain".
43 Aro 2003, 303; Singer 1975.
44 Kertai 2017, 88.
45 Novák 2004, 342–346; Lehmann – Killebrew 2010, 27; Akkermans – Schwartz 2003, 369.
46 In the opinion of Duru, the first phase (Phase IIc) of the Palace Complex in Tilmen was destroyed at the same time as the Palace of Yarim Lim (or Ammitaqum? See footnote 33) of Alalakh (Tell Atchana Level VII), a destruction attributed to Hattushili I and dated to the middle of the 17th century BCE according to the Middle Chronology (Duru 2013, 37, 48–49 [Turkish], 95, 104–105 [English]; 2003, 32–34 [Turkish], 74–76 [English]), which means approximately the first quarter of the 16th century BCE according

no column bases in the entrance are visible on its plan[47], Building E in the palace complex of the citadel consists of a vestibule and a main broad room, with secondary rooms on one side and a stairwell near the entrance — a general configuration which looks very much like that of Iron Age (IA) north Syrian palaces[48]. Nicolò Marchetti believes Building E from Tilmen Höyük Level IIc to be a temple *in antis* rather than a palace[49]. Niqmepa's Palace at Tell Atchana (Alalakh Level IV), dated to LB I (second half of the 15th century BCE), provides clearer evidence of a *ḫilani*[50]. Its columned entrance, staircase and rooms — including a major room — present a layout even more sophisticated than those of the Iron Age[51].

The earliest prototypes of *ḫilani* emerged in the plains east of the Amanus Range, where Tilmen Höyük and Tell Atchana are located[52]. Its range should, henceforth, be extended west of the Amanus to the Erzin Plain, as evidenced by the Bronze Age *ḫilani* excavated at Kinet Höyük.

A *Ḫilani* at Kinet Höyük[53]

Before providing detail on Kinet's *ḫilani* and its archaeological context, the geographical situation of the site and the research undertaken on it will be introduced.

Geographic and Topographic Situation

Located at the northwest edge of Turkey's Hatay province, Kinet Höyük lies 30 km north of the city of Iskenderun and in proximity to the northeast coast of the Gulf of Iskenderun. Belonging to the district of Dörtyol, the site is topographically situated on the narrow coastal strip of the Erzin Valley, in the eastern part of Plain Cilicia. As the crow flies, the site is 65 km away from Tell Atchana, in eastern Hatay province; 100 km from Tell Mardikh, in Syria; and approximately 600 km from the Hittite capital

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to the Low Chronology. The construction techniques of Palace A and Building E of Phase IIc indicate the contemporaneity of these buildings with Alalakh VII. An earlier stage of Building E would have preceded the construction of this complex (Marchetti 2006, 277; 2004, 194 and n. 7); that would mean Building E was an isolated construction at the time of its first stage.

47 The lack of evidence for columns might be explained by their wood composition and the fact that they did not necessarily stand on a stone base. Furthermore, the fact that only the foundation walls were preserved must be kept in mind. I thank Mirko Novák for drawing my attention to this hypothesis and to this fact.

48 Novák 2004, 342–344, fig. 7–8; Duru 2003, 63, 75, fig. 10 and Plan.

49 Marchetti 2006, 277; 2004, 194.

50 Novák 2004, 344–346, fig. 9. For the dating of Level IV of Alalakh see Akar 2018; Yener – Akar 2011.

51 Novák insists that all the characteristics of the Iron Age north Syrian buildings are already visible in Niqmepa's Palace (Novák 2004, 344). Woolley thought the vestibule opened to a courtyard (Room 4): "In its ground-plan Niqmepa's building is really an enlarged version of the higher-class private house of the period, consisting essentially of a series of rooms ranged round a central court (4)" (Woolley 1953, 91 and fig. 15), and "generally speaking this was an open courtyard acting as a light-well for the rooms surrounding it" (Woolley 1955, 118). But already Frankfort showed Room 4 was the throne room and not a courtyard, while Room 2 (the vestibule) did open to the plaza to its south (Frankfort 1952, 129–131, fig. 7).

52 Novák 2004, 344.

53 I would like to express my gratitude to Marie-Henriette Gates for agreeing that I deal with a subject she highlighted through the excavation she ran at Kinet Höyük, and for all the information she shared with me. I remain solely responsible for any error or misinterpretation.

Hattusha, in central Anatolia. The Erzin Valley is separated from the Islahiye and Amuq Valleys by the Amanus Mountains (Nur Dağları) and indirectly connected to these valleys by the Bahçe-Nurdağı Pass (740 m) to the north, and by the Belen Pass (945 m) to the south **(fig. 1)**.

 Kinet Höyük bears an oval footprint, covering an area of 3.3 hectares (ha) and extends 200 m from east to west at its base and 120 m from north to south **(fig. 2)**[54]. Though modest in size, it rises 26 m above the plain and presents as one of the most imposing höyüks of eastern Cilicia. Aerial photos depict well the sharp contrast between this high, steep hill and the flatness of the surrounding landscape **(fig. 3)**[55]. Several soundings indicated that the summit of the höyük at the end of the EBA measured 11 m above the modern-day plain, and yet, its base was approximately 3 m lower than it is today; thus, its height would have been around 14 m above the plain at the beginning of the 2nd millennium BCE[56]. Alluvium and erosion soil kept the höyük from resting directly on the shoreline, which was 200–300 m away in the reporting period but 700 m distant today. The depth of the seabed allowed a sea anchorage, and in addition, Kinet Höyük benefited from two harbours: a natural bay to the north and the Deliçay estuary to the south[57]. Its location—facing the sea and buttressed behind by the Amanus Range (which begins less than 6 km to the east)—suggests that maritime commerce and marine resources, as well as the logging of the Amanus for construction wood and fuel, were key factors for the foundation and the successive settlements of Kinet.

Research at Kinet Höyük

 Appearing on maps by the mid-19th century, the site was visited by Machteld Mellink in 1948[58] and surveyed by Veronica Seton-Williams in 1951[59], though no excavations were conducted at either time. After a 1991 Bilkent University archaeological survey undertaken between the cities of Ceyhan, Yumurtalık, and Dörtyol[60], Kinet Höyük was chosen for systematic excavations, which were carried out from 1992 to 2012[61]. Finds from the 2nd millennium BCE belong to three successive phases: Phase V to the beginning of Phase III, which represent the MBA, LBA, and IA, respectively. Phase V was excavated over an area of ca. 400 m2 on the eastern edge of the höyük[62], and in limited soundings on the west slope. The LB Phase IV was exposed over an

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54 Gates in press.
55 Gates 2003, figs. 12, 15.
56 Gates 2003, 289.
57 Gates in press. Geological coring and archaeological soundings revealed that a lower "town" was settled around a natural bay at the north of the höyük during the 2nd millennium BCE (Gates 2006, 293), and that the Deliçay River, which originates from the Amanus and presently flows 2.5 km south of the höyük, used to flow along its southern flank before running to the sea (Gates 2003, 289; 2000, 79).
58 M.-H. Gates, pers. com.
59 Seton-Williams, 1954.
60 Gates – Özgen 1993.
61 Project director, Marie-Henriette Gates began excavations in 1992, under the auspices of the Museum of Antakya (Hatay) and subsequently under the auspices of Bilkent University from 1993 to 2012. Fieldword was carried out through the 2008 campaign, followed by four study seasons. Final reports are in progress.
62 Operations (OP) K-K2-K3-K10-K11-K12.

area of ca. 320 m² primarily on the west slope. It was divided into sub-phases: IV.2 and IV.1 and Periods 15 (= IV.2), 14, 13.1 and 13.2 (= IV.1).

The Middle Bronze Age (Phase V, Period 16)

MBA material culture reveals that Kinet Höyük was culturally eastern-orientated. The building on the eastern terrace was defined as a Syrian-type fortified palace, which bears many similarities with the monumental and defensive appearance of palaces and other buildings from the northern and southern Levant[63]. The outlying internal circulation system, with a suite of adjoining rooms and doors organized on each side of a corridor, draws more specific parallels with the Palace Q of Tell Mardikh[64] and the southern part of Tell Atchana's Palace Level VII. Even more striking elements of comparison were reflected in the architectural design of buildings (generally palaces), which structurally combine their exterior walls with the fortified city walls, as attested at Tell Atchana (Alalakh Level VII), in particular[65]. According to the latest studies, the model of such monumental and defensive architecture originated in the northern Levant and then subsequently extended to the southern Levant; this would have influenced Anatolia at Kültepe Level Ib as well[66]. The northern part of the eastern building at Kinet Höyük was dedicated to domestic and industrial activities, as well as to food storage — the two last functions being spatially well-differentiated. The urban character of the site was reinforced by the fact that food was stored in the form of finished products (ready for consumption or meal preparation), which suggests that food-processing activities took place in the hinterland, outside Kinet. This MB II eastern building likely represented an administrative complex, perhaps a palace[67].

After local plain pottery, the second major pottery type of this monumental building consists of the local painted Amuq-Cilician pottery, of which around forty complete vases were found[68]. The Amuq-Cilician repertoire offers parallels with other sites of Plain Cilicia and northern Syria, principally with the Amuq[69]. In the second half of the 16th century BCE, however, the pottery assemblage shifted with the sudden appearance of a north-central Anatolian-related pottery[70].

The Late Bronze I (Phase IV, Period 15)

Although the beginning of LB I at Kinet was defined by a quick rebuilding of the city, a new ceramic assemblage appeared suddenly in Period 15 that indicated a clear shift in the cultural orientation of the site. Indeed, the locally made LB pottery from Kinet Höyük was mainly a north-central Anatolian-inspired pottery. As Marie-Henriette Gates explains:

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63 Gates 2013, 226, figs. 5–6; Akar 2006, with references.
64 See Matthiae 2019.
65 Akar 2018, 38.
66 Akar 2006, with references.
67 Akar 2006, 1–2, 73.
68 See in particular Akar 2006, pl. 2,2, fig. 2,22; Gates 2000, 85–87, 96, fig. 6.
69 See Kozal – Novák 2017, 305.
70 Gates in press.

"Vessel shapes […] found in the Hittite repertoire: plates with flat or slightly curved profiles, larger bowls and craters; and coarse cooking platters with thickened rims; miniature saucers; domed lids and delicate potstands; pilgrim flasks, spindle-shaped pitchers, small one-handled bottles with pointed bases, and large bottles with tall cylindrical necks and a single handle"[71].

The first potmarks at Kinet also appeared during that period[72]. However, the author observes that some characteristic Hittite shapes do not occur at Kinet: "handles are infrequent, and never V-shaped; carinated forms are entirely absent, as are beaked spouts"[73]. As clarified by Gates, "these types derive from the MB central Anatolian repertoire, which may explain their absence at Kinet, where the industry was introduced *ab novo* in LB I"[74]. Then, the main changes occurring between Period 15 and Period 14 repertoires are comparable to those from Hittite sites in north-central Anatolia and characterized by the virtual disappearance of red burnished surfaces and a decrease in the number of forms. These changes mark the passage from LB I to LB II.

Architecturally speaking, Period 15 was characterized by the remains of a massive building excavated in the western slope of the höyük[75]. The southwestern part of this building was excavated in OP J/L in 1999, and three architectural phases (Phases C to A) were then revealed **(fig. 4)**. Phases B and A were Phase C's successive architectural changes and redesigns. When the excavation was resumed in 2007 in OP E/H, the northeastern part of the building was excavated. The connection between the two excavation areas shows that the last phase of occupation of the building covered a total surface of more than 230 m², at more than 21 m in length and 7–10 m wide **(Fig. 5)**. To understand the history of the building, the three phases of its southwestern section will be first examined.

The Southwestern Section

Phase 15C (fig. 4 top)

Oriented northeast-southwest, the building consists of foundations of river stones preserved with a likely original height of about 50 cm and a width of 1.00–1.20 m with gravel fill. The summit of the top course was coated with thick, yellow clay, forming narrow transverse ribbed strips, measuring 20–30 cm wide by 10–15 cm deep and doubled with flat pebbles. Although no trace or organic material impressions were found inside, excavators postulate that these transverse grooves used to support small wooden headers or beams, indicating a timber framework. Although no trace of brick was found in 15C, the third version of the building revealed a brick superstructure placed directly on the row of beams. With four southern rooms (Rooms 159, 162, 135 and 166), the building was flanked to the northwest of a long room (corresponding to

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71 Gates 2006, 306, fig. 9.
72 Gates 2001b, 154 fig. 6.
73 Gates 2006, 306.
74 Gates 2006, 306, n. 21.
75 Gates 2006, fig. 3; 2001a, 206–207.

Areas 152–l65), interpreted as a corridor at the time of exposure in 1999. A widening of the southwestern part of the room or corridor's northwestern wall (147) suggests to the excavators the presence of an entrance between that corner and the junction of the northwestern walls of Rooms 166 and 162. The acute angle formed by the visible walls of the aforementioned rooms fits with the hypothetical entrance to the room or corridor[76]. The latter was partially separated into two spaces (152 and 165), containing a small projection of the northwest wall[77] of Room 159. The presence of fireplaces on floors, in relation to the base of the three upper courses of walls, indicates that those courses were visible and thus represented a footing[78]. A small sounding conducted in 1993 in OP C showed that Phase 15C lies most likely on the destruction level of MB II Period 16.

Phase 15B (fig. 4 centre)

In the 15B refitting, several walls were heightened, with two or three courses added before being covered by a new timber-frame. New partition walls were added; the room or corridor was completely divided into two rooms (152 and 151); and Room 162 extended northeastward, becoming Room 140.

Phase 15A (fig. 4 bottom)

With the final refitting, Room 166 was eliminated, but the general plan remained the same and saw the walls impressively still reaching some 2 m in thickness. This phase is the only one that contained a thin base of the mudbrick superstructure, which had been erected on the remaining stones and timber-frame of Period 15B. The latter, located below the level of the built and coated floors, show that they belonged to foundation walls with stones buried under the timber-frame at a depth of up to 1.50 m. This signifies that there was no more "footing" in Phase 15A. While no access was detected between the rooms of the two first phases, door embrasures were observed in Phase 15A. Their jambs were entirely made of mudbrick and rested directly on the foundations. Fragments of white plaster, at times in several layers, were found on both sides of the mudbrick superstructure, as well as traces of plaster on the compact floors of beaten earth. In almost every room, the presence of small depressions or cavities showing traces of burning suggested to the archaeologists the location of temporary fireplaces.

The Northeastern Section (fig. 5)

In the northeastern continuity of Wall 147, a double row of stones (668) was flanked on each side by a large posthole, delimited by stones and measuring 40–50 cm in diameter and 65 cm in depth. The difference in elevation between the rows and

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76 The bonded walls between Rooms 162 and 166 show the latest one was contemporary of the other rooms of the building's 15C and 15B phases (Gates 2006, 297).

77 Or a buttress or pillar against this wall?

78 For the difference between non-visible foundations and visible footing (French: "fondations" and "sou-bassements"), see Aurenche 1977, 88, fig. 236; 160–161, fig. 442.

the absence of any mudbrick superstructure upon them indicate a flight of three steps leading to a threshold that opened onto Room 670, which was enclosed by Walls 633, 677 and 681. However, the southwestern posthole was found covered by four courses of mudbrick that constituted the corner of Wall 633 and Walls 147–682[79]. This suggests that during the last occupation phase (15A), the post or column no longer existed, and the building façade had been modified[80]. Therefore, if the steps were still in use during Phase 15A it can be concluded that the columned portico predated that particular phase and, together with the flight of steps, belonged to the original architectural project from Phase 15C. Though the excavation did not reach the stone foundations of the walls around Room 670, it appears that no new wall was erected during Phase 15A; only new mudbrick superstructures were laid over the stone foundations of Phase 15B[81]. In addition, the mudbrick Wall 633 could be traced in section to the upper stones of Wall 147. Since Room or Corridor 152–165 from Phase 15C **(fig. 4 top)** was partitioned into two rooms (152 and 151) in Phase 15B **(fig. 4 centre)**, in all likelihood, Partition Wall 633 was also erected during that phase[82]. As a result, two hypotheses may be advanced for the reconstruction of the northeastern part of the building during Phase 15C: the first hypothesis proposes a long room or corridor, 152–165–670 **(fig. 6)**, while the second hypothesis suggests Partition Wall 633 between the room or corridor 152–165 and Room 670 **(fig. 7)**. The position of Wall 633 in alignment with the southwestern posthole breaks the monumental character of the portico and argues in favour of the first hypothesis **(fig. 6. 8)**.

Regarding the northeastern part of the building, Gates was able to trace the southeastern continuity of Wall 681 into the section, which confirms the existence of Room 676 behind Wall 677[83]. It is impossible to say whether Spaces 676 and 159 formed one single room or two separate rooms in Phase 15C, in the alignment of Rooms 166 and 162, since the answer lies below meters of unexcavated earth. Furthermore, it is not clear whether the mudbrick mass in the northeast corner of the façade indicates its collapse or a northwest extension of Wall 681. Moreover, since Wall 677 continues towards the northeast, one must consider that the building also extended northeast beyond Wall 681.

Regardless of the exact reconstruction of the excavated areas of this monumental building, its general layout echoes the architectural model of the *ḫilani*[84], at least for Phase 15C[85]. Indeed, it consists of a columned portico entrance leading to a first broad

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79 Wall 682 represents the mudbrick superstructure from Phase 15A erected above the stones or timber-frame of Wall 147 of the preceding phases.
80 Gates 2009, 358, n. 19.
81 In fact, Phase 15A was recognized during excavation by floors flush with the upper courses of the 15B stone wall foundations and by a few courses of mudbrick, preserved here and elsewhere only for this last phase of the building (Gates, pers. com.). On the other hand, some stone foundations from the preceding phases were not reused during Phase 15A, as was the case with the partition wall between Rooms 140 and 159 of Phase 15B **(fig. 4)**.
82 Gates, pers. com
83 Gates, pers. com.
84 Gates 2009, 358.
85 The general lack of symmetry in the layout could be partly due to topographic constraints. Moreover, the sliding of the mudbrick courses after the abandonment of the building made it difficult to determine

room (152–165–670 or 670)[86], possibly a vestibule, and presumably opening to a second broad room (676 or 159–676)[87]. The possible presence of a southwestern entrance to the Vestibule 152–165–670 should not disprove this designation, as Kinet's building should be understood as an early prototype of *ḫilani*, to which a public purpose can already be attributed.

A Probable Centre of Power

The exact function of the building is not definitively known; however, a series of features strongly suggest that it was a public building — perhaps the seat of a local authority. Such features include the monumentality of the building as well as its elevated location, from where it dominates the rest of the site, access to the sea, and the natural bay to the north and surrounding low city; in other words, it dominates economic life. Furthermore, a comparison may be done with the preceding MB II period, during which economic and industrial activities (among them metallurgy) were integrated into the architectural layout of the monumental and fortified administrative building (a possible palace) erected on the eastern terrace. Indeed, a sizeable concentration of small metal artefacts were found in the southwestern rooms of Phase 15C, comprising the following: wires, pins, needles, a bronze spearhead, fragments of metal and metal sheets (made of an alloy of copper, silver and lead) in association with two fragments of crucible containing cuprous residues, a round ingot of copper, a terracotta mould for moulding metal wires or rods, and hand tools (pestles and polishers). Resembling rectangular compartments, the rooms were compared to those of the west and south wings of the "Hittite Temple" of Tarsus-Gözlükule, as well as Levels III-II of the fortress of Tell Atchana[88]. Gates concludes that there was a metal workshop in the southwestern part of Kinet's building. The comparison between the MB II and LB I buildings in terms of a possible continuity of craft traditions gains importance, considering that very little time elapsed between the two periods[89]. The fact that the authority in power shifted the location of its buildings from east to west could be explained by one or several flooding events. Indeed, a thick sterile deposit, consisting of silt and gravel carried by sea or river water, sealed the MB II building, the eastern terrace area being resettled, after a long gap, during the Hellenistic and Medieval periods only.

Additional evidence suggests the wealth of the site and, consequently, reinforce the idea of the LB I monumental building being a centre of power. Above the southwestern part of Period 15 building, in OP J/L, for example, a large quantity of pottery was found in a Period 14 street or square, and a small part of it (likely coming from a lower level) demonstrated connections with Cyprus and the Aegean. Fragments of LB

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the precise alignment of the walls from the surface (Gates, pers. com.).

86 Our first reconstruction with a long Vestibule 152–165–670, looking like a corridor **(fig. 6. 8)** is reminiscent of the ḫilani of Tell Halaf in the Iron Age **(fig. 9)**.

87 The fact that no door was visible in Wall 677 may be explained by changes to the layout of the rooms from one phase to another, and that only the mudbrick superstructure of Wall 677 from Phase 15A was exhumed.

88 Gates 2006, 298 and n. 8.

89 Gates et al. 2014, 162.

I Cypriot and Minoan pottery, as well as a Mycenaean terracotta figurine[90] thus presumably came from Period 15. More compelling is the significant presence of Murex shells during the entirety of LB Phase IV (Periods 15 to 13.2) and Early Iron Age (EIA) Phase III.2 (Periods 11 and 10); this presence evokes the likelihood of a purple-dye industry, especially as such activity appears to be demonstrated for the Middle and Late Iron Age Phase III.1 (Periods 9 to 6)[91]. In the 2nd millennium BCE, the colour purple, perhaps, had not yet become the quintessential royal colour it would become in the Roman era; however, it was certainly reserved for elites and became a major source of prosperity for Ugarit and other Levantine cities[92]. Purple dye was also of great importance for Hittite kings; treaties between Suppiluliuma I of Hatti and Niqmaddu of Ugarit (CTH 46), and between Murshili II of Hatti and Niqmepa of Ugarit (CTH 66)[93] indicate that part of the annual tribute paid by Ugarit to the Hittite crown consisted of blue and red-purple wool[94]. According to Itamar Singer, the *SARIPUTU* men from Manapa-Tarhunta's letter (CTH 191) were itinerant dyers of purple in the Hittite king's service, and the purple dye industry and marketing of purple fabric or clothing was the subject of an intense competition between the Hittites and Ahhiyawans[95]. For the LB I period, the Middle Hittite *taknaz da-* ritual of Tunnawiya gives an origin of purple wool in the Hittite kingdom: "They brought white wool (SIG BABBAR) from Hurma; they brought [red wool(?) from…]; they brought blu[e(-purple) wool] ([SIG ZA.]GIN) from Ura"[96]. This section of the text reveals that blue-purple wool came from Ura. This may indicate there was a purple-dye industry or marketing operation on the Cilician coast, for which Kinet could have played an important role[97]. Finally, the almost systematic presence of a fortification in earlier and later periods[98], often associated with industrial (especially metallurgical) activities, leads to the hypothesis that the site could also have been fortified during Period 15. Its dominant position, furthermore, certainly lent it a fortress appearance.

When piecing together its layout, from the columned portico entrance to the expression of power it appears to have represented, Kinet's Period 15 monumental building, in its first phase of construction at least, earns the attribution of *ḫilani*. It now remains to situate this building's Phase C within its historical context.

A Cross-Examination of Historical and Archaeological Contexts

Two *ḫilani* were respectively constructed during the second half of the 16th

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90 Gates 2009, 357 and fig. 9c, 10, n. 18.
91 Gates, pers. com.
92 Singer 2008, 24. The manufacture of purple reached a production of industrial type in several 2nd millennium BCE Levantine sites (like Minet el Beida, Ugarit's habour) and in the Aegean (Crete, in particular) (Singer 2008, 26–28).
93 del Monte 1986.
94 Singer 2008, 29.
95 Singer 2008, 32.
96 *KUB* 9.34 I 3'–7' (with duplicata); Singer 2008, 30, note 95 with references.
97 For an explanation of purple-dye manufacturing processes, see Aygün 2016, 15–20 (Turkish), 81–87 (English); Singer 2008, 25; for an interpretation of the archaeological evidence for the presence of purple-dye industry, see Aygün 2016, 21–29 (Turkish), 89–97 (English); Alberti 2008.
98 EBA Phase VI, MBA Phase V, IA Phase III.1, Hellenistic Phase II and Middle Age Phase I.

century BCE and the 15th century BCE at Kinet Höyük (Period 15C) and Tell Atchana (Alalakh IV), respectively[99], with a possible older specimen at Tilmen Höyük Level IIc[100]. Architectural and ceramic features specific to a north Syrian cultural horizon characterize Kinet Period 16 and Tell Atchana Level VII, as well as Tilmen Level IIc. On each side of the Amanus Range, the ceramic repertoires of Kinet and Atchana are best represented by painted Amuq-Cilician pottery[101]. Such pottery may be understood in the frame of Syrian and Levantine painted wares — especially Khabur ware from northern Syria. These painted wares "reflect a common aesthetic style created by interaction and the trade network"[102]. Concerning architecture, only in Kinet Period 16 has the typical MB II north Levantine fortified monumental building been excavated in Cilicia[103].

The MBA was the period of the Yamkhad kingdom, with its capital at Aleppo and "whose rulers were related by birth to those of Alalakh"[104]. Alalakh was the seat of the kings of Mukish, who were vassals of the kings of Yamkhad[105]. Due to its connections with northern Syria, Kinet may have served as a maritime outlet for the kingdom of Yamkhad or the kingdom of Mukish[106]. This would explain why Levantine pottery is only present at Kinet in MB Cilicia — Kinet Period 16 showing relatively greater opulence compared to other contemporary Cilician cities. The end of the MBA is historically associated with the end of the kingdom of Yamkhad and the Hammurabi Dynasty of Babylonia. Several decades after the destruction of Alalakh by Hattushili

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99 At Kinet Höyük, radiocarbon dates place Period 16 somewhere between the 17th century BCE and the middle of the 16th century BCE (Gates in press, Chart 1; Gates et al. 2014, 160–162 and fig. 6) and Period 15 between the mid-16th century BCE and the end of the 15th century BCE (see Gates in Cilician Chronology Group 2017, 177, 179, 181). Phase C of Period 15 dates approximately to the second half of the 16th century BCE, while Phase B and Phase A date to the 15th century BCE. Following the Middle Chronology, Murat Akar dates the end of Level VII at Tell Atchana to mid-17th century BCE and Level IV to the 15th century BCE (Akar 2018, 38, n. 1, and 39–43). For a Cilician comparative stratigraphy, see Cilician Chronology Group. For synchronism between Alalakh and Kizzuwatna, see Kozal – Novák 2017.

100 See supra footnote 46 for the dating of Tilmen Phase IIc. The fact that Marchetti interprets Building E in this phase as a temple must be considered (Marchetti 2006, 277; 2004, 194).

101 Also known as Syro-Cilician, Amuq-Cilician pottery occurs in the whole Plain Cilicia, while it is apparently absent from Rough Cilicia (Jean 2010, 415).

102 Yener – Akar 2014, 97 (translated from Turkish by the author). See also Akkermans – Schwartz 2003, 322–23.

103 On the fortifications in the kingdom of Yamkhad, see Akkermans – Schwartz 2003, 303–304.

104 As there is not much archaeological evidence coming from the Yamkhad capital city, Aleppo, "the primary source of data for Yamkhad apart Ebla comes from the westerly reaches of the kingdom at Tell Atchana, ancient Alalakh, a mound of some 20 ha" (Akkermans – Schwartz 2003, 304).

105 On the history of Alalakh in Level VII, see Zeeb 2001.

106 From the 15th century BCE onwards Sabuniye was the maritime outlet of Alalakh (Pamir 2013), but no MB harbour has been identified so far at the Orontes River mouth. In addition to the Orontes Valley, a more remote and difficult route, which crossed the Amanus Range by the Belen Pass (Pamir 2013, 179), linked Alalakh to the Mediterranean coast and may have passed through the imposing Dağılbaz Höyük west of the Amanus, where MB II and LB pottery was found (Killebrew et al. 2009; Lehmann et al. 2008). Was there a port in the Iskenderun region that was used as maritime outlet by Alalakh in the MBA? Or did the kings of MB Mukish use Kinet Höyük further north? The location of a MB port for Alalakh at the mouth of the Orontes seems more logical — an assumption that needs to be verified. Alternatively, due to its proximity with the Bahçe-Nurdağı Pass that leads to the Islahiye Valley, Kinet may have serve as a port for the kingdom of Yamkhad.

I, Murshili I destroyed Aleppo, and the kingdom of Yamkhad collapsed[107]. In his momentum, Murshili I destroyed afterwards another Amorite dynasty and its capital Babylon[108]. The destruction of Babylon provides a t*erminus ante quem* for these events: 1595 BCE according to the Middle Chronology or 1531 BCE according to the Low Chronology. The Kinet Period 16 destruction level is dated to the mid-16th century BCE[109]. While the MBA ends in destruction across the entire north Syrian region, the only evidence of destruction at the end of the MB II in Plain Cilicia comes from Kinet and was caused by an earthquake[110]. Therefore, it is not possible to establish a link between the end of Kinet Period 16 and the fall of the kingdom of Yamkhad; this does not preclude the theory that Kinet belonged to, or was closely connected with the kingdoms of Yamkhad and Mukish.

In the LB I, northern Syria was subjugated by the Mittani kingdom, while during LB II (14th century BCE onwards) it experienced a political takeover by the Hittites[111]. When looking at MB II and LB I ceramic production, a notable difference appears to occur between Tell Atchana and Kinet Höyük. Between MB II and LB I, the local plain ware of Tell Atchana shows strong continuity and very few changes[112], whereas the local plain ware at Kinet experiences a radical change — a change interpreted as the Hittite control over the economy of the city[113]. However, the idea of a break in continuity at Tell Atchana versus change at Kinet should be reassessed insofar as a few similar shapes (especially large plates) appear at around the same period at both sites, as well as at many other contemporary sites in Anatolia, Syria and Palestine[114]. According to Mara Horowitz, the appearance of these new forms may be the expression of international consumption practices or special diets[115]. Indeed, with the LB I, a material culture of power and prestige developed alongside new empires; such a culture includes "not only luxury items but the standardized plain ware that was used in palaces and elite households for everyday tasks"[116]. Horowitz suggests, "an association of plain wheelmade wares with large-scale political entities more generally

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107 Kozal – Novák 2017, 297. According to Ekin Kozal and Mirko Novák, 40 years at least separated the destruction of Alalakh and Aleppo (Kozal – Novák 2017, 297, n. 1 and 303). Ünal refutes as a fait accompli the destruction of Alalakh by Hattushili I, arguing that the identification of Ahalha/Alhalha with Alalakh is not certain (Ünal 2017, 215–216).

108 Akkermans – Schwartz 2003, 326; Yener – Akar 2011, 264–265.

109 Gates et al. 2014, 160–162 and fig. 6.

110 Gates in press; Gates in Cilician Chronology Group 2017, 179; Akar 2006, 22–26. At Tarsus-Gözlükule, in Dorothy Slane's Level A. IV destruction layers seem to have been very localized and not widespread (Slane 1987, 51).

111 Akar 2018; Yener – Akar 2014, 95, 100. Though the capital of the kingdom of Mittani was Washukanni (most probably today's Tell Fekheriyeh), the most important Mittanian written sources came from Alalakh IV's palace (Yener – Akar 2014, 101). On written sources about Mittani, see Akar 2018, and more generally on Mittani, Cancik-Kirschbaum et al. 2014. On coastal Syria in the LBA, see Yon 2013.

112 Horowitz 2015. Most of the forms referring to a north-central Anatolian background appear in the LB II at Tell Atchana, essentially in Alalakh II and I around the end of the 14th century BCE (Horowitz 2015, 170, 175; Yener – Akar 2011, 267–271).

113 Gates 2006, 308.

114 Horowitz 2015. While these large V-shaped flat plates or platters are interpreted as a Mittanian "innovation" at Tell Brak, they represent "an Egyptian influence" in Palestine (Horowitz 2015, 175 and references).

115 Horowitz 2015, 175.

116 Horowitz 2015, 174.

rather than with the Hittite polity in particular" — the significant local variations in the production reflecting perhaps the inhabitants' perception of what was considered as "imperial"[117]. However, the presence or absence of specific ceramics may well help to differentiate Hittite from Mittanian influence. For instance, the stepped-rim plates typical of north-central Anatolia are present at Cilician sites but not at Tell Atchana[118]. Furthermore, Nuzi ware occurs east of the Amanus Mountains but never to the west[119]. Thus, while the appearance of standardized plain ware ceramics at Atchana is connected to a Syrian cultural horizon (meaning a Mittanian "imperial" influence), the presence of such ceramics at Kinet is linked to Hittite "imperial" cultural influence. The construction of a north Syrian rooted *ḫilani* at a Hittite-influenced Kinet may thus appear paradoxical. The question arises whether it is the sign of a soft takeover by the Hittites (who would have respected an old Syrian architectural tradition) or a regional architectural style deliberately used by the Hittites as a local sign of power for easier control of the region. This question raises an additional one: what did the Hittites gain in taking control of Kinet? These questions emphasize the complex relations between local or regional and imperial powers, which would be best approached with a Kizzuwatnean perspective.

Historically speaking, during the LB I, the kingdom of Kizzuwatna (which more or less corresponded to classical Plain Cilicia) appeared at the time the kingdom of Mittani expanded into northern Syria[120]. As usually underscored in scholarly literature, Kizzuwatna served both as a buffer for the Hittites against the western ambitions of the Mittani and as an access to Syria[121], while Ahmet Ünal defines this southern kingdom as a "contested periphery" between Hatti and Mittani[122]. Kizzuwatna may also have represented access to additional natural resources (lumber and mines in the mountains, perhaps a storage centre for metals, probably olive and olive oil, and maybe purple wool), as well as an opening to the Mediterranean, and to the Cypriot copper mines[123]. Though most scholars agree that the Hittites travelled through Cilicia on their way to Syria and took over the Cilician plain as early as the reigns of Hattushili I and Murshili I[124], Ünal denies such an early Hittite involvement in the Adana region[125]. The appearance of Hittite-related pottery at all Cilician sites argues for the beginning of LB I between the mid-16th and early-15th centuries BCE; likewise, this places the

117 Horowitz 2015, 174–175.
118 Horowitz 2015, 171. Although north-central Anatolian or Hittite-like plain ware ceramic productions develop across Cilicia in the LB I, their repertoires appear different from one site to another and validate the idea of micro-regional developments rather than homogeneous control of the production by the Hittites (Jean forthcoming; 2019–2020; 2010, 407–414).
119 Kozal – Novák 2017, 307; Novák – Rutishauser 2017, 141. Nuzi ware appeared around the end of the 16th century BCE, deriving probably by the forms and decor from the Khabur ware; at Tell Atchana, apart three sherds found in Level V, it occurred mainly in Level IV (Kozal – Novák 2017, 307).
120 On the written and archaeological sources concerning the kingdoms of Kizzuwatna and Mittani, see Kozal – Novák 2017; on the archaeology of Kizzuwatna: Novák – Rutishauser 2017.
121 See recently, Bryce 2019, 57.
122 Ünal borrowed the expression "contested periphery" from Schachermeyr (Ünal 2017, 210 and n. 5 for the reference).
123 For the hypothesis that Kizzuwatna was specialized in the supply of metals, see Trémouille 2001, 67. For the importance of the copper mines from Cyprus, see Gates in press; Müller-Karpe 2006, 492–493.
124 Kozal – Novák 2017, 297; Freu 2007, 75; Beckman 1996, 16.
125 Ünal 2017.

start of the Hittite involvement in the Cilician affairs earlier in eastern than western Cilicia[126]. If one accepts the Hittite subjugation of the Çukurova as soon as the early-Old Kingdom and uses the Middle Chronology, one has to assume it did not leave any material traces[127]. On the other hand, the use of the Low Chronology makes possible the correspondence between the theoretical Hittite involvement and the beginning of the Hittite material impact on Cilicia. The Low Chronology places the reigns of Hattushili I and Murshili I approximately between 1570 and 1530 BCE[128]; correspondingly, the date of the fall of Babylon, according to Joachim Mebert, occurs even later, in 1522 instead of 1531 BCE[129]. In other words, the Low Chronology postulates that the LB I would begin either during the powerful reign of Murshili I or between the reigns of Murshili I and Telipinu — a period of weakening of the Hittite power[130] and a period that sees the birth of the kingdom of Kizzuwatna[131]. Conversely, by using the Middle Chronology[132], the LB I at Kinet and other eastern Cilician sites would begin around the reign of Telipinu — a period of strengthening of the Hittite state — and later in western Cilician sites, during a period of weakening concurrent with the reigns of 15th century BCE Hittite kings[133]. Following the Middle Chronology, the first of the five known treaties between Hittite and Kizzuwatnean kings — the treaty between Telipinu of Hatti and Isputahsu of Kizzuwatna (CTH 21) — would take place approximately at the time when the Hittite material impact began in Kinet Period 15C[134]. In this treaty, both Telipinu and Isputahsu hold the title of "Great King", which indicates parity and the independent status of Kizzuwatna[135]. An interpretation of Hittite material impact as the political domination of Kizzuwatna would contradict

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126 See Cilician Chronology Group 2017, as well as for the following comments. While the first Hittite material impact is dated to approximately the beginning of the 15th century BCE at Yumuktepe (Garstang's Levels VIII-VII, and Level IX of the southern trench), Soli Höyük (Level VI.2), and Kilise Tepe (Level III), it is dated to the second half of the 16th century BCE at Kinet Höyük (Period 15C), and perhaps also at Sirkeli Höyük; but there are no radiocarbon dates yet for the Middle Cilician (MCI) 1-2 periods at Sirkeli (MCI 1 and MCI 2 refer to the end of MB II and LB I, respectively). As for the dates of ca. 1650 and 1600 BCE assigned to the beginning of LB I at Tatarlı Höyük (Level IV) and Tarsus-Gözlükule (Slane's Levels A VII-VIII), they are not based on radiocarbon dating (Cilician Chronology Group 2017, 176, 162). Some MB pottery found at Tatarlı (Level V), like bull rhyta and bird-shaped vases, suggest early connections between the site and north-central Anatolia; nevertheless, Hittite-like plain pottery does not become common before LB I Level IVb. As for Tarsus, Slane's Levels A VII-VIII were so badly preserved that it is difficult to date them precisely.
127 The subjugation would then refer to the 17th century BCE and beginning of 16th century BCE, in the MB II.
128 See different dates based on the Low Chronology in Dinçol 2006, fig. 3–4.
129 Mebert 2010.
130 See Dinçol 2006, fig. 3, 4.
131 Bryce 2019, 57.
132 A further option to be considered is the Middle (Low) Chronology, which dates the fall of Babylon to 1587 BCE (Manning et al. 2016, fig. 8).
133 See Dinçol 2006, fig. 1–2, 4.
134 As the possibility of assigning an historical event to an archaeological layer is very rare, it remains impossible to associate with certainty the name of a Hittite or Kizzuwatnaean king with Kinet Period 15C, which does not preclude making assumptions.
135 From all the localities named in the Decree of Telipinu (CTH 19) and belonging to Hatti, Kizzuwatna is never mentioned, which may be the sign Kizzuwatna was considered an ally not a vassal (Freu 2007, 145–146). As for the material impact, king Isputahsu's seal impression found in the sealed pit 36.69 at Tarsus-Gözlükule was not only written in Luwian hieroglyphs but, as a bulla, belonged to the Anatolian cultural sphere (Kozal – Novák 2017, 299).

the supposed independence of the southern kingdom. For that reason, the role of diplomacy and economic exchange (with its cultural counterparts), instead of direct political domination, could explain the situation. Trevor Bryce summarizes Telipinu's use of diplomacy instead of military force as follows:

"The relationship which Telipinu initiated with the southern state was a carefully calculated one. The kingdom of Kizzuwatna had very likely been created under Hurrian influence (…). It may already have had a strong Hurrian alignment when Telipinu ascended the Hittite throne, and Hittite aggression against it would very likely have brought forces of the Hurrian kingdom of Mittani directly into the conflict. To avoid this, Telipinu persuaded the Kizzuwatnan king to form an alliance with him, and at least remain benevolently neutral in any forthcoming conflict between Hatti and Mittani"[136].

Alternatively, a hypothetical Hittite origin of the name Isputahsu (if verified) could suggest that Isputahsu was Hittite (or from a Hittite ascendance) or that he chose this name to connect himself and his descendants to the Hittite kings[137]. However, the evidence of mutual influence between Hatti and Kizzuwatna should not be overlooked. With Kizzuwatna exerting considerable influence on Hatti, especially in religious matters[138], the Hittite influence could possibly be linked to the organization of trade, establishing an economic partnership between the two kingdoms and putting Kizzuwatna in the Hittite economic sphere. In that context, Kizzuwatna would have used Hittite-related pottery, but such pottery would have been locally produced, showcasing a variety of production types inside Kizzuwatna[139]. The fact that the earliest or one of the earliest Hittite-related pottery repertoires in Cilicia comes from Kinet Period 15C (where it appeared suddenly) suggests rapid Hittite involvement in the economic affairs of the city[140]. Most of the strategic and economic reasons for Hittite involvement in Kizzuwatna would explain the Hittite interest in Kinet as well. As an eastern Kizzuwatnaean harbour, Kinet served as a seaside outpost near the border with the Mittanian sphere of influence, as well as a key route to Syria by land (through the Amanus) and likely by sea as well (to Ugarit, the Amurru Land, etc.). It was also, and perhaps mainly, an opening to Cyprus and its copper mines[141]. The MB and LB imported pottery found in the city show that it had been a dynamic harbour for a long time

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136 Bryce 2019, 58.
137 Kozal – Novák 2017, 299.
138 On the numerous Kizzuwatnaean rituals introduced in Hatti, see Miller 2004. Ünal recalls that, "(…) most of the numerous drugs mentioned in Hittite medical texts and Kizzuwatnaean magical rituals as well as tropical Mediterranean fruits such as olives, figs, dates and pomegranates in festive and magical rituals were supplied to a great degree from Kizzuwatna" (Ünal 2017, 210). However, such influence is essentially observable from the end of the 15th century BCE onwards; furthermore, although the "Hurrian influence was particularly strong in the [Kizzuwatnaean] theological sphere", "the virtual absence of Hurrian and Syrian influence in Hittite religious compositions that predate the annexation of Kizzuwatna" should be noted (Yakubovich 2005, 424, 427).
139 At the end of the metaphorical game, the Hittites would be the winners, as their economic partnership would turn into the political domination and annexation of Kizzuwatna around the middle of the 14th century BCE at the latest.
140 Kinet Höyük probably corresponds to the city of Izziya from Hittite texts (Forlanini 2001, 553–554; 1988, 147; Gates 2013, 232–233, 234 n. 4).
141 Gates in press.

and constituted Cilicia's most open access to the exterior. Indeed, imported pottery from Cyprus occurs in MB II and LB I levels at Kinet, whereas it is absent from the other Cilician coastal sites[142]. The situation is similar for the imported pottery from the Levant, which occurs in Cilicia only at Kinet in MB II, LB I and LB II levels[143]. If the Hittites did not take control of Kinet, the city would have benefited the kingdom of Mittani, as it probably benefited the kingdoms of Yamkhad or Mukish in the MBA. The links between Kinet and the northern Levant were close in the MBA. The kingdom of Mittani emerged in northern Mesopotamia as soon as the MB II, and expanded all over northern Syria in the LB I — where it substituted itself for the hegemony of Yamkhad. During the LB I, next to the likely Hurrian influence in the emergence of the kingdom of Kizzuwatna, recognizable in linguistic terms, the *ḥilani* shows a north Syrian influence in the architecture of Kinet[144].

Conclusion

From only one specimen known in Bronze Age Cilicia, the designation of the *ḥilani* as an Amuq-Cilician tradition is questionable and may seem exaggerated. Preceded by an old columned entrance tradition[145], the long history of the *ḥilani* begins in a north Syrian cultural context, to which Kinet has long been connected in the MBA. However, it is not until the LB I that a *ḥilani* is built at Kinet Period 15C, serving as an architectural symbol of power. The *ḥilani* of Kinet was an important administrative building — hypothetically the seat of a political authority representing the state of Kizzuwatna, which was, itself, well connected to the Hurrian world. However, the economy of Kizzuwatna was under a certain degree of Hittite control, as suggested by the sudden appearance of Hittite-related pottery[146]. Economic and strategic reasons would have thereby motivated the establishment of such a Hittite maritime outpost in Kizzuwatna, while diplomatic skills would explain the success of this takeover. The *ḥilani* would thus represent the architectural expression of this diplomacy and recall a period in which the Hittite king was politically strong. In the second half of the 16th century BCE, the most likely royal candidate who embodied such qualities would be Telipinu (according to the Middle Chronology) or Murshili I (according to the Low Chronology)[147]. The attribution of such a role to Telipinu would mean that Isputahsu adopted the Hittite ceramic and glyptic traditions at the very time he signed an egalitarian peace treaty with the Hittite king. An economic partnership in which the Hittites controlled the seaport of Kinet seems possible only if the king of Kizzuwatna

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142 Kozal – Novák 2017, 306–307.
143 Concerning the MB II, Marie-Henriette Gates wrote: "Far from being isolated, the Period 16 building's collection of Levantine shipping containers (Canaanite jars), Cypriot pottery and other imported vessels documents the wide extent of commercial circuits in which MB II seaports like Kinet operated" (see footnote 89).
144 For the chronology of the emergence of Mittani and of its expansion in north Syria, see Kozal – Novák 2017, 303 and n. 7.
145 Novák 2004, 338–344.
146 Gates 2019, 111.
147 According to the Low Chronology, Hittite involvement at Kinet may have also been the act of "weaker" kings who reigned between Murshili I and Telipinu (see Dinçol 2006, fig. 3, 4), but this is less convincing.

obtained a Hittite political or otherwise counterpart, which remains unsubstantiated to date. Nonetheless, strong control over Kinet as an important harbour in the time of Murshili I may thus offer a more suitable reconstruction that requires the use of the Low Chronology.

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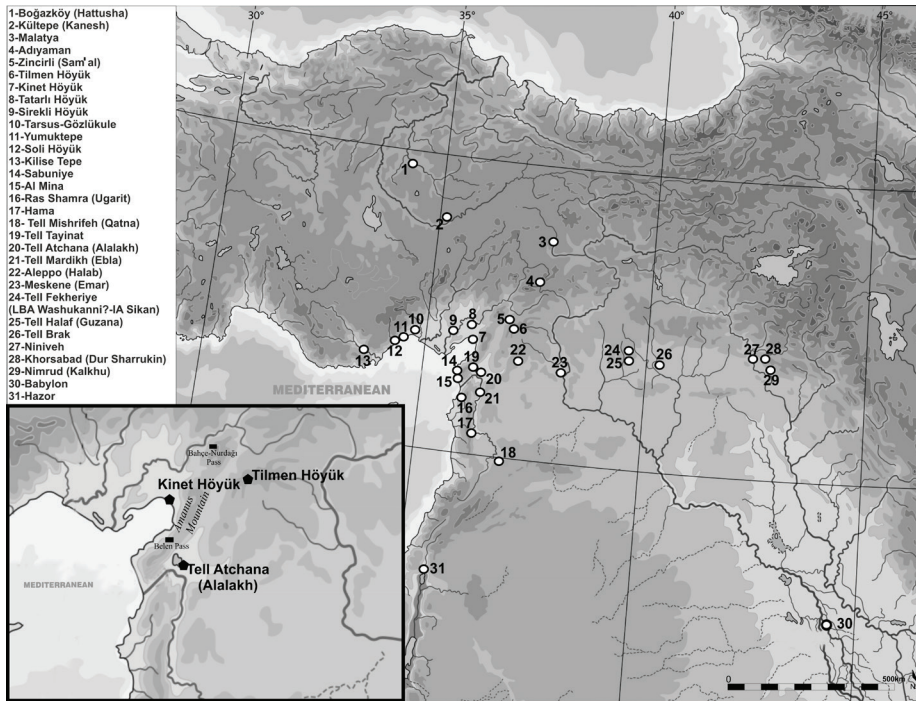   282, Münster..

Fig. 1 Map with sites mentioned in the text and selected modern cities (Drawing: Hüseyin Dülger).
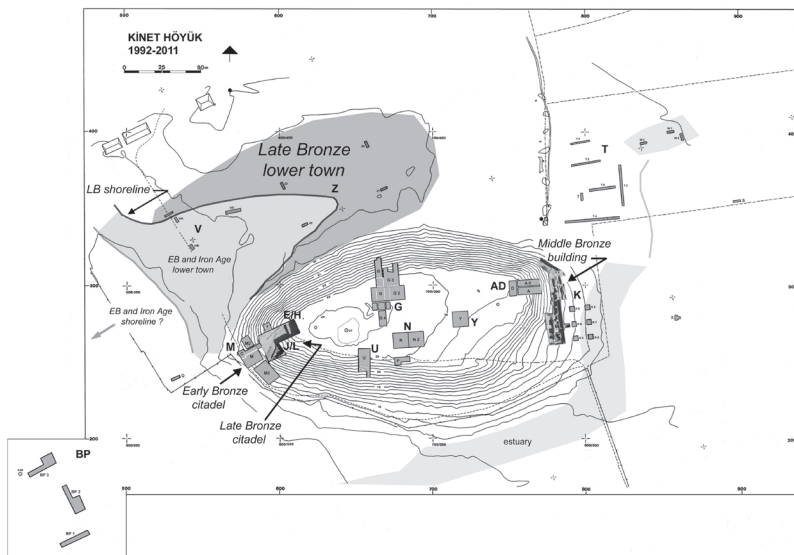

Fig. 2 Topographic plan of Kinet Höyük (Courtesy of Kinet Höyük Project Archives).
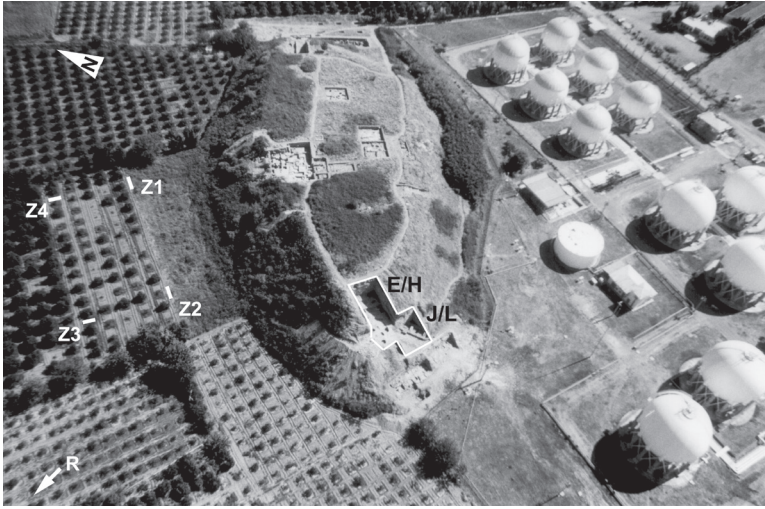
Fig. 3   Aerial view of Kinet Höyük (Courtesy of Kinet Höyük Project Archives).
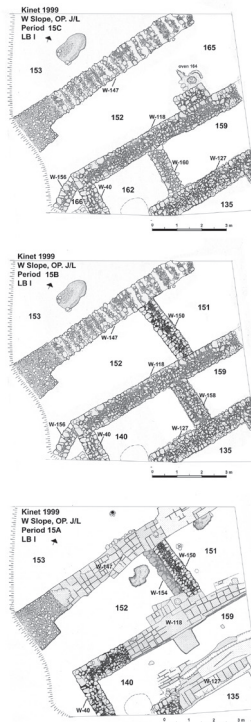

Fig. 4   Monumental building of Period 15 at Kinet Höyük: Phase C (top), Phase B (centre) and Phase A (bottom) exposed in Operation J/L in 1999 (Courtesy of Kinet Höyük Project Archives).
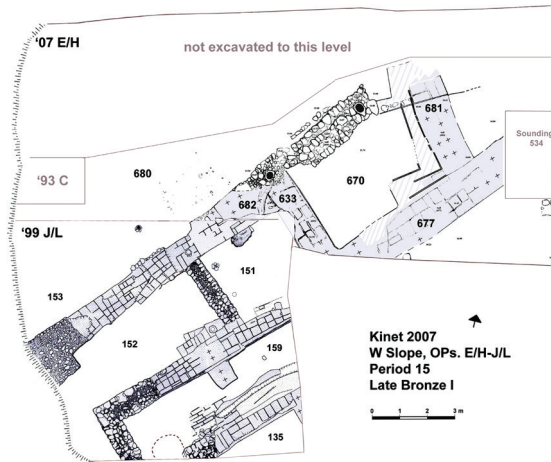
Fig. 5   Monumental building of Period 15 at Kinet Höyük exposed in Operations E/H (2007) and J/L (1999) (Courtesy of Kinet Höyük Project Archives).
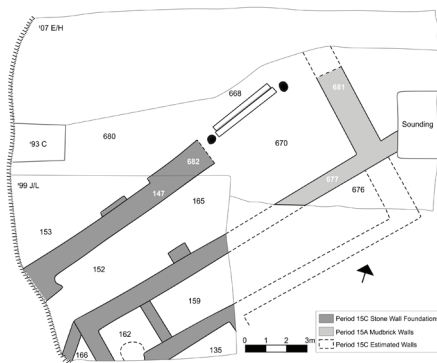
Fig. 6   First hypothetical reconstruction of the plan of the *ḫilani* from Kinet Höyük Period 15C (Drawing: Éric Jean and Hüseyin Dülger).
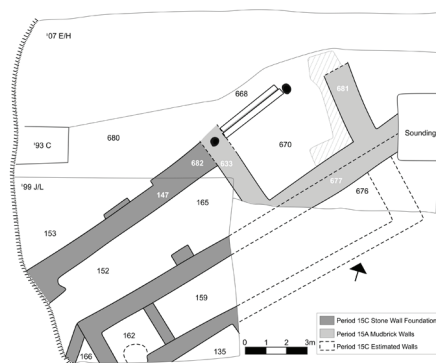
Fig. 7   Second hypothetical reconstruction of the plan of the ḫilani from Kinet Höyük Period 15C (Drawing: Éric Jean and Hüseyin Dülger).
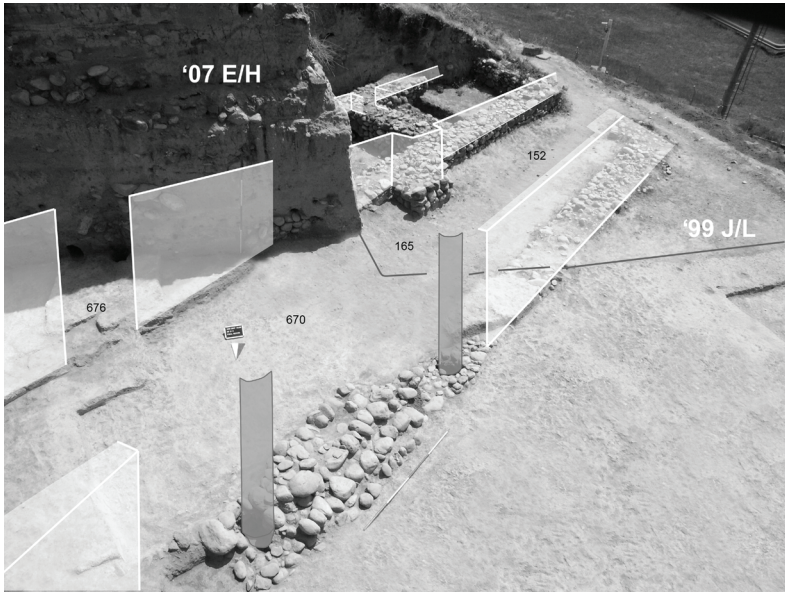
Fig. 8   First hypothetical reconstruction of the ḫilani from Kinet Höyük Period 15C (Courtesy of Kinet Höyük Project Archives with image editing by Hüseyin Dülger).
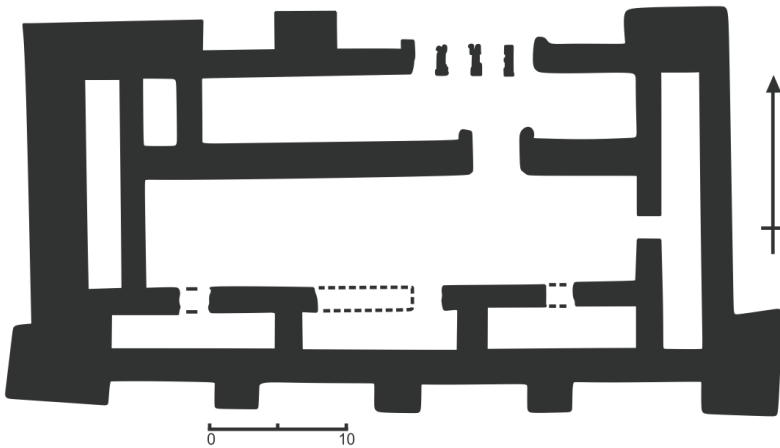

Fig. 9   The plan of the bit-ḫilani from Tell Halaf (Guzana) (After Margueron 1979, fig. 11b).