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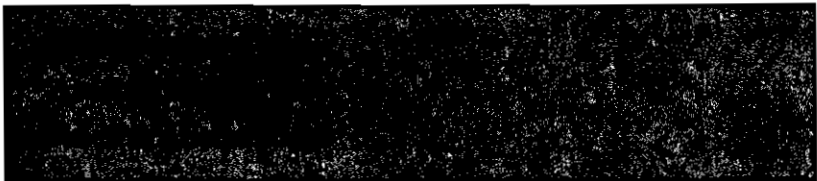
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CURRENT ISSUES
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ANCIENT NEAR EAST

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III

FROM ḪATTUŠA TO CARCHEMISH
THE LATEST ON HITTITE HISTORY

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Unlike the people of ancient Israel, whose reported triumphs and tribulations have formed a constituent element of Western ideology for the past two millennia, and the Mesopotamian Assyrians and Babylonians, glimpsed if only dimly through the works of Biblical and Classical writers, the Hittites who in the second millennium B.C.E. established an empire in ancient Anatolia and Syria that rivaled that of contemporary Egypt had almost no presence in the historical traditions of the Greeks, the Romans, or any other later civilization. Aside from a few obscure references in the Hebrew Bible[1] and a very inaccurate description of a rock monument and its patron in Herodotus' *Histories*,[2] the

[1] For a thorough review of the relationship of the Hittite empire and its texts to the Hebrew Bible, see H. A. Hoffner, "Ancient Israel's Literary Heritage Compared with Hittite Textual Data," in *The Future of Biblical Archaeology: Reassessing Methodologies and Assumptions*, ed. J. K. Hoffmeier and A. Millard (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 176 92. J. van Seters, "The Terms 'Amorite' and 'Hittite' in the Old Testament," *Vetus Testamentum* 22 (1972): 64-81, discusses the several meanings of the ethnicon "Hittite" in the Biblical texts.

[2] The rock relief at Karabel, which Herodotus identifies as the legendary Egyptian pharaoh Sesostris (ii 106), is now known to represent a thirteenth-century king of Mira; see J. D. Hawkins, "Tarkasnawa, King of Mira, 'Tarkondemos,' Boğazköy Sealings and Karabel," *Anatolian Studies* 48 (1998): 4-10. In addition, Pausanius mentions the enthroned "Niobe" at Sipylus (Akpınar), attributing its construction to "Broteas, son of Tantalus" (iii 22). In reality, the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription

Hittites had vanished from historical consciousness, awaiting their recovery beginning in the nineteenth century C.E.[3]

Commencing with Jakob Ludwig Burckhardt in 1812, European travelers in Turkey and northern Syria took notice of peculiar pictographic inscriptions on rock faces and building blocks scattered widely throughout the region, and in 1876 the Reverend Archibald Henry Sayce attributed these to the Biblical Hittites. In 1893-94, the French *savant* Ernst Chantre uncovered several fragmentary and at the time unintelligible clay tablets from ruins near the village of Boğazköy in what is today central Turkey. At the time little notice was taken of these fragments or of the site, but a decade later, German Orientalists, in league with the Kaiser's diplomats seeking a cultural and political foothold in Ottoman lands, secured from Sultan Abdülhamid a permit to explore the impressive building remains at Boğazköy.[4]

When Hugo Winckler opened excavations there in 1906—on a grand scale if methodologically primitive by today's

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accompanying the figure, which presumably gives the name of the ruler responsible for its carving, reads EXERCITUS-*mu-wa*; see H. Th. Bossert, "Das hethitische Felsrelief bei Hanyeri (Gezbeli)," *Orientalia* NS 23 (1954): 144-47. This name should now be read Kuwalanamuwa; see M. Poetto, "Ancora sulla parola per 'esercito' in Luvio," *Kadmos* 21 (1982): 101-03.

[3] The popular narrative of the beginnings of Hittitology provided by C. W. Ceram, *The Secret of the Hittites* (New York: Schocken, 1955), 1-115, is still useful, but far more comprehensive is F. Canpolat, ed., *From Boğazköy to Karatepe: Hittitology and the Discovery of the Hittite World* (Istanbul: Yapi Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 2001). For a summary of more recent work, see E. Neu, "Hethitologie heute," in *Akten des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für Hethitologie, Würzburg 4.-8. Oktober 1999*, ed. G. Wilhelm (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2001), 1-11. H. G. Güterbock, "Resurrecting the Hittites," in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, ed. J. Sasson (New York: Scribners, 1995), 2765-2777, is a charming personal account by one of the pioneers.

[4] See S. Alaura, "La prima trattativa diplomatica dei 'Musei reali di Berlino' per una concessione di scavo a Boğazköy," in *Anatolia Antica. Studi in memoria di Fiorella Imparati*, ed. S. de Martino and F. Pecchioli Daddi (Florence: LoGisma editore, 2002), 23-46; and V. Haas, "1906-1912: Hattuscha (Boğazköy): Die Hauptstadt der Hethiter," in *Zwischen Tigris und Nil: 100 Jahre Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Vorderasien und Agypten*, ed. G. Wilhelm (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1998), 92-99.

standards[5]—his workmen almost immediately began to recover thousands of cuneiform tablets and fragments that had once comprised a number of large archives. Since some of this material was written in the Akkadian language of Mesopotamia, in use during the second millennium for diplomatic correspondence and prestige purposes even by those cultures in Western Asia whose populations did not speak it,[6] Professor Winckler was soon able to confirm that he was indeed digging, as he had hoped, at the ancient Hittite capital, Ḫattuša. It was even possible for him to compose a rough sketch of the history of the Hittite state (or Ḫatti) on the basis of these Akkadian sources.[7]

For the moment, the bulk of the archives, composed as we now know in the Hittite language (called Nesite by the ancients), could not be understood. But since the tablets concerned were inscribed in a cuneiform system differing but little from that employed in Babylonia at the time, they could be transliterated. That is, the situation confronting those who would "decipher" Hittite was similar to that I would face if presented with a Vietnamese text written, as is customary, in the Latin script. While I could not begin to comprehend its contents, I could nonetheless render something (very) roughly approximating the phonological sequence therein recorded.

Despite an abortive attempt by the Danish scholar J. A. Knudtzon, the credit for solving the Hittite riddle must be given to the Czech Bedřich Hrozný, who announced his feat at a meeting of the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft in 1915.[8]

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[5] See H. Winckler, *Nach Boghazköi!* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1913), 26-32; and cf. H. Klengel, "Hugo Winkler's Tagebücher," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 43 (1993): 511-16.

[6] Assyriologists employ "Peripheral Akkadian" (PA) as a cover term for the numerous "dialects" or "idiolects" found in this material, which displays various degrees of influence from the native languages of the writers. See S. Izre'el, *Amurru Akkadian: A Linguistic Study* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), 355-68.

[7] H. Winckler, *Vorderasien im zweiten Jahrtausend auf Grund archivalischen Studien* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1913).

[8] F. Hrozný, "Die Lösung des hethitischen Problems," *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 56 (Dec. 1915): 17-50.

Since Hittite was a member of the well-studied Indo-European language family, progress in distilling its grammar from the texts and in assimilating their contents was relatively rapid.[9] By the early 1930's most of the principal historical sources had been edited in studies that are still usable today.[10] This situation stands in sharp contrast to that of early work on the languages of Mesopotamia: Discussions of Akkadian and Sumerian texts written during the first twenty years after the decipherment of cuneiform in the mid-nineteenth century are completely antiquated and of interest only to those researching the history of Assyriology.

But even after the recovery of the basics of the state language, the study of the Hittite royal archives has presented a number of significant challenges. Here I will briefly describe five of these sources of difficulty and discuss how work accomplished in the past three or four decades has contributed to their amelioration.

The destruction of the Hittite capital, like that of most ancient sites, was largely the work of incendiaries. Since the architectural style of Ḫattuša was primarily *Fachwerk* or half-timber,[11] the resultant fires were often intense and brought about the bursting of many tablets into multiple fragments. It did not help matters that many records had apparently been stored on the second stories of public buildings and came crashing down to ground level upon their collapse. Further damage was done to the tablets in the first millennium B.C.E. when Phrygian builders leveled portions of the site to establish secure footing for their own structures. Earth, debris, and tablet fragments were removed from where they

[9] On the solving of the "Hittite riddle," see G. Beckman, "The Hittite Language and its Decipherment," *Bulletin of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies* 31 (1996): 23-30.
[10] For example, J. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge des Hatti-Reiches* I-II (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1926, 1930).
[11] See R. Naumann, *Architektur Kleinasiens* (Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth, 1971), 88-104.

were unwanted and used as fill elsewhere.[12] As a consequence, excavators have recovered pieces of a single tablet from widely separated locations within the enormous grounds of Boğazköy.

This means that one of the skills cultivated by every Hittitologist must be that of the jigsaw puzzler, and the word "Join" has entered the German language. Over the course of decades the epigraphers of the Boğazköy Expedition in the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin[13] and later in Marburg and Mainz under the direction of Professor Heinrich Otten have compiled enormous *Zettelkasten* in which each fragment is transliterated and filed according to the lexemes it contains. For generations of Hittitologists this tool has served as the basis for the reconstruction of the Hittite tablets and archives. But the cybernetic revolution has not passed us by: Today many specialists have created computerized data bases of texts and/or vocabulary, and researchers at the Akademie der Wissenschaften in Mainz are currently engaged in a systematic effort to identify each piece and are making their results as well as photos of the material available to the scholarly community at large on the Hethiter-Net.[14]

But excavation at the Hittite capital continues, making the German Boğazköy Expedition one of the longest-running archaeological projects in history,[15] and it seems that for every text fragment joined, another is found, leaving the total at around 20,000.[16] The most significant finds of recent

[12] See S. Alaura, "Archive und Bibliotheken in Ḫattuša," in *Akten des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für Hethitologie, Würzburg 4.-8. Oktober 1999*, ed. G. Wilhelm (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2001), 12-26, esp. 22.

[13] See H. G. Güterbock, "Hans Ehelolf und das Berliner Boğazköy-Archiv," *Das Altertum* 33 (1987): 114-20.

[14] http://www.hethiter.net/.

[15] Preliminary reports appeat regularly in the *Archäologischer Anzeiger* of the German Archaeological Institute (DAI). The most recent is "Die Ausgrabungen in Boğaz-köy-Ḫattuša 2002," *AA* 2003, 1-24.

[16] K. Bittel, *Hattusha: The Capital of the Hittites* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 14. On the tablet collections—"archives" or "libraries"?—see H. Otten, "Ar-

years include a tablet of bronze containing the text of a treaty between the king of Ḫatti and his cousin ruling in a subsidiary kingdom,[17] a Hurrian-Hittite bilingual wisdom composition whose contents have accelerated work on the recovery of the Hurrian language,[18] and a deposit of hundreds of clay bullae bearing the impressions of the seals of kings and other high personages and mostly featuring inscriptions in the hieroglyphic script.[19]

In addition, epigraphic material has started to turn up in locations other than the Hittite capital itself. Excavations at the central Anatolian sites of Maşat Höyük (ancient Tapikka),[20] Ortaköy (Šapinuwa),[21] and Kuşaklı (Šarišša)[22] are yielding records pertinent to the functioning of provincial administrations, including those of local cults. In the south, tablets recovered at Meskene (ancient Emar)[23] and Tall Munbāqa (Ekalte)[24] on the middle course of the Euphrates allow us to glimpse something of life in Syria under Hittite rule. Finally, continuing work at Ugarit on the Syrian coast,

chive und Bibliotheken in Ḫattuša," in *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries. Papers Read at the 30 Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale Leiden, 4-8 July 1983*, ed. K. R. Veenhof (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-archaeologisch Instituut, 1986), 184-90; and most recently S. Alaura, "Archive und Bibliotheken in Ḫattuša" (n. 12 above).

[17] See H. Otten, *Die Bronzetafel aus Boğazköy: Ein Staatsvertrag Tutḫalijas IV.* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1988).

[18] See E. Neu, *Das hurritische Epos der Freilassung I. Untersuchungen zu einem hurritisch-hethitischen Textensemble aus Ḫattuša* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1996).

[19] See S. Herbordt, *Die Prinzen- und Beamtensiegel der hethitischen Großreichszeit auf Tonbullen aus dem Nişantepe-Archiv in Ḫattuša* (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2005).

[20] See S. Alp, *Hethitische Briefe aus Maşat-Höyük* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basşmevi, 1991).

[21] This material has not yet been published. For a cursory description of the finds, see A. Süel and O. Soysal, "A Practical Vocabulary from Ortaköy," in *Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner, Jr. on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed G. Beckman, R. Beal, and G. McMahon (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 349-50.

[22] See G. Wilhelm, *Keilschrifttexte aus Gebäude A. Kuşaklı-Sarissa* I/1 (Rahden, Westfalen: Verlag Marie Leidorf, 1997).

[23] For an overview of this extensive body of material, see G. Beckman, "Emar and its Archives," in *Emar: The History, Religion, and Culture of a Syrian Town in the Late Bronze Age*, ed. M. W. Chavalas (Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press, 1996), 1-12.

[24] See W. Mayer, *Tall Munbāqa-Ekalte II. Die Texte* (Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag, 2001).

an important vassal of Ḫatti, has deepened our knowledge of diplomatic discourse in the Late Bronze Age.[25] All of this new material must now be integrated into our reconstruction of Hittite history.

A second source of headaches for the Hittitologist has been the failure of the Hittite scribes to employ a dating system in their records, which made it very problematic for early researchers to assign documents to their proper period within the four-hundred-year existence of the archives of Ḫattuša.[26] At first there was no alternative to placing a text at that point within the gradually developing outline of Hittite history appropriate to the individuals mentioned and the events described therein. Thus a composition alluding to the Hittite raid on Babylon must be earlier than one treating the war against the Egyptians in Syria. But Hittite monarchs had the unfortunate tendency to choose a throne name from among a limited repertoire, and many documents, especially the innumerable rituals, mention no individuals at all. This practice also takes no account of the possibility that a tablet might be a later copy of an earlier composition, and thus have introduced elements—orthographic, grammatical, or substantial—not present in the original text.

Discovery in 1952 at Boğazköy in an early archaeological level of a fragment displaying what was immediately recognized as a distinctive Old Hittite style of handwriting made possible the determination of the paleography of Hittite documents. First, all available epigraphic items with this early ductus were painstakingly gathered, and the characteristic features of the Old Script identified.

From this corpus scholars then proceeded to extract the spelling and grammatical characteristics proper to the older stages of the language, known as Old Hittite and Middle Hittite.[27] In this way it has become possible to follow the development of Hittite through the centuries, and conversely, to judge the approximate date of both composition and inscription of a text, provided it is of sufficient size. A major consequence of this work has been the re-dating of a number of important historical compositions from the very end of Hittite history in the late twelfth century to the time just before the establishment of the Empire in the early fourteenth.[28]

From what we have already seen, it should also be obvious that the Hittite sources do not provide the information necessary for the construction of an absolute chronology. Rather, for the temporal ordering of Ḫatti's history we are dependent upon a handful of rather loose synchronisms between Hittite kings and rulers of Egypt and Mesopotamia.[29] Recent adjustments to the chronologies of Egypt and Assyria/Babylonia proposed by experts in those cultures have therefore had direct consequences for our understanding of Hittite history.[30] Egyptologists have lowered the accession date of Pharaoh Ramses II from 1290 to 1279,[31] moving his Hittite contemporaries Muwattalli II,

[27] See S. Košak, "Dating of Hittite Texts: A Test," *Anatolian Studies* 30 (1980): 31-39, with extensive bibliography; and A. Archi, "Middle Hittite—'Middle Kingdom,'" in *Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner, Jr. on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed. G. Beckman, R. Beal, and G. McMahon (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2003): 1-12.
[28] For example, see E. Neu, "Zum mittelhethitischen Alter der Tutḫaliya-Annalen (CTH 142)," in *Im Bannkreis des Alten Orients: Studien zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients und seines Ausstrahlungsraumes Karl Oberhuber zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet* (Innsbruck: Sprachwissenschaftliches Institut der Universität Innsbruck, 1986), 181-92.
[29] For a list of these synchronisms, see G. Beckman, "Hittite Chronology," 28 (n. 26 above).
[30] See G. Wilhelm, "Generation Count in Hittite Chronology," in *Mesopotamian Dark Age Revisited*, ed. H. Hunger and R. Pruzsinszky (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2004), 71-79.
[31] See the references gathered by J. Boese, "Burnaburiaš, Melišipak und die mittel-

Muršili III, and Ḫattušili III down in time accordingly. More
significantly, it has become increasingly evident that the
reigns of a number of the early rulers of the Kassite dynasty
in Babylonia overlapped with those of the last members of
the line founded by Ḫammurapi, rather than following upon
them; it may therefore be necessary to bring down dates of the
mid-second millennium and earlier by almost a century from
those of the customary Middle Chronology.[32] How the early
history of Ḫatti can be reconciled with this drastic change
remains to be worked out.[33]

The third challenge to students of the Hittites has
been simple ignorance of the meaning of much of the
vocabulary appearing in the sources, for—particularly in
the realm of religious ceremonial—a significant number of
Hittite words are not of Indo-European origin but have
been borrowed from other languages, such as the Hattic
tongue spoken by the pre-Hittite inhabitants of Ḫatti[34] and
the Hurrian[35] dominant in much of northern Mesopotamia
and eastern Anatolia.[36] Of course, even the realizations of
Indo-European roots in Hittite are not always immediately
recognizable, nor their semantics transparent. We are
fortunate that several dictionary projects underway since the
1970s have made substantial progress. The revision of Johannes
Friedrich's path-breaking *Hethitisches Wörterbuch* (1957) being
produced in Munich[37] has reached the early portion of the *ḫ-*

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babylonische Chronologie," *Ugarit-Forschungen* 14 (1982): 16.

[32] See H. Gasche, et al., *Dating the Fall of Babylon: A Reappraisal of Second-Millennium Chronology* (Ghent: University of Ghent, 1998).

[33] Cf. my essay cited in n. 26 above.

[34] O. Soysal, *Hattischer Wortschatz in hethitischer Textüberlieferung* (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

[35] I. Wegner, *Hurritisch: Eine Einführung* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrasowitz, 2000).

[36] On the various constituents of Hittite vocabulary, see E. Neu, "Zum Wortschatz des Hethitischen aus synchroner und diachroner Sicht," in *Studien zum indogermanischen Wortschatz*, ed. W. Meid (Innsbruck: Sprachwissenschaftliches Institut der Universität Innsbruck, 1987), 167-88.

[37] J. Friedrich, A. Kammenhuber, and I. Hoffmann, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*, second edition (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1975-   ). The latest fascicle (2004) ends with *ḫaššu-*.

words, Jaan Puhvel recently (2004) published the M·volume of his one man *Hittite Etymological Dictionary*,[38] while the staff of *The Chicago Hittite Dictionary*,[39] having begun with *l*, is currently putting the finishing touches on the fascicle ending in *ši-*.

A fourth problematic area has been Hittite geography.[40] Although hundreds of toponyms appear in Hittite texts,[41] until recently very few had been convincingly identified on the ground. This was not for want of effort by numerous scholars, but the nearly total absence of continuity in place names in central Anatolia from the Hittite period to Classical times made the task extremely difficult. We may hope that information from the archives of the newly-discovered provincial cities mentioned earlier will help us to develop a clearer picture of this region. In the south and west of the peninsula, however, the situation has always been much better, it being generally accepted, for example, that Hittite Millawanda is the precursor of Miletus, Apaša of Ephesus, Wiluša of (W)ilios/Ilion, Malitiya of Malatya, Tarša of Tarsus, Adaniya of Adana, etc. New epigraphic discoveries and the reinterpretation of the long-known inscription at Karabel near Izmir[42] have now allowed Hittitologists to sort out convincingly the approximate location of the various polities of the Arzawa confederation of western Asia Minor. Perhaps the most important result of this research has been the conclusion that there is simply no place on the Anatolian

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[38] *Hittite Etymological Dictionary* (Berlin: Mouton/de Gruyter, 1984-).

[39] H. G. Güterbock, H. A. Hoffner, and Th. van den Hout, eds., *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1980-   ).

[40] For an overview by the leading authority, see O. R. Gurney, "Hittite Geography: Thirty Years On," in *Hittite and Other Anatolian and Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Sedat Alp*, ed. H. Otten, E. Akurgal, H. Ertem, and A. Süel (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1992), 213-21.

[41] The toponyms have been collected by G. del Monte and J. Tischler, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte* (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 1978), and G. del Monte, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte; Supplement* (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 1992).

[42] See J. D. Hawkins, "Tarkasnawa, King of Mira" (n. 2 above).

mainland for Aḫḫiyawa (Achaeans to Classicists), which must therefore be identified exclusively with the Mycenaean kingdoms of the Aegean islands and the Greek mainland.[43]

The final impediment to writing Hittite history that I will mention here has been the challenge of deciphering the so-called "Hittite hieroglyphs," the pictographic script that first caught the attention of Westerners. I must stress that this writing system is a native Anatolian invention owing nothing to the Egyptian script whose designation was extended to it by modern scholars.[44] All that the two types of writing have in common is that their constituent signs remain recognizable images of common objects. From the late fifteenth century on the Hittites employed their hieroglyphs on seals, on monuments, and probably on wooden tablets[45] that have, of course, all disappeared. The minor successor states to the Hittite empire that flourished in northern Syria and southern Anatolia from the twelfth through the seventh centuries (often referred to as the "Neo-Hittites") also made extensive use of the hieroglyphs, primarily for monumental inscriptions.

Attempts to crack this script began well before the discovery of the Hittite cuneiform records; however, a number of early erroneous but nonetheless widely accepted readings of common signs handicapped succeeding efforts well into the second half of the twentieth century. The discovery in 1947 of a Phoenician-Hieroglyphic bilingual at Karatepe in Cilicia[46] rekindled interest in the Anatolian

[43] The literature on the "Aḫḫiyawa Question" is extensive; see H. G. Güterbock, "Troy in Hittite Texts? Wilusa, Ahhiyawa, and Hittite History," in *Troy and the Trojan War*, ed. M. Mellink (Bryn Mawr, Pa.: Bryn Mawr College, 1986), 33-44 for a judicious consideration of the problem.

[44] See J. D. Hawkins, "Writing in Anatolia: Imported and Indigenous Systems," *World Archaeology* 17 (1986): 363-76.

[45] See M. Marazzi, "Ma gli Hittiti scrivevano veramente su 'legno,'" in *Miscellanea di studi linguitici in onore di Walter Belardi*, ed. P. Cipriano, P. Di Giovine, and M. Mancini (Rome: Il Calamo, 1994), vol. I, 131-60.

[46] For the definitive edition of this group of texts, see H. Çambel, *Corpus of Hiero-*

writing system, but it was not until the 1970s that several scholars independently recognized and corrected the earlier mistakes,[47] removing this impediment to progress. And progress has indeed been swift, so that two grammars of the language of the hieroglyphic texts, which turns out to be not Hittite itself but a dialect of the closely-related Luwian, are now available.[48] Even more significantly, several years ago J. D. Hawkins produced his magnificent complete edition of the hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions from the first millennium.[49]

Furthermore, our better understanding of the hieroglyphic system and its language has enabled us to make good use of several important newly-recovered inscriptions dating to the Empire period, including those of the Südburg funerary monument at Boğazköy,[50] the sacred pool at Yalburt,[51] the Emirgazi altars,[52] and the rock face at Hatip.[53] In particular, the interpretation of these sources has allowed us to see the final century of Hittite history in a new light.

Because of limits of space, I will now touch but briefly upon some of the more significant advances in our understanding of

glyphic Luwian Inscriptions II: Karatepe-Aslantaş (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1999).

[47] For a full discussion, see J. D. Hawkins, A. Morpurgo-Davies, and G. Neumann, *Hittite Hieroglyphs and Luwian: New Evidence for the Connection* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974).

[48] R. Werner, *Kleine Einführung ins Hieroglyphen-Luwische* (Freiburg, Switzerland: Universitätsverlag, 1991); A. Payne, *Hieroglyphic Luwian* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2004).

[49] *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions I: Inscriptions of the Iron Age* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2000).

[50] J. D. Hawkins, *The Hieroglyphic Inscription of the Sacred Pool Complex at Hattusa (SÜD-BURG)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1995).

[51] M. Poetto, *L'iscrizione luvio-geroglifica di Yalburt: Nuove acquisizioni relative alla geografia dell'Anatolia sud-occidentale* (Pavia: Gianni Iuculano Editore, 1993).

[52] Th. van den Hout, "Tuthaliya IV. und die Ikonographie hethitischer Großkönige des 13. Jhs.," *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 52 (1995): 561-63; cf. E. Masson, "Les inscriptions louvites hiéroglyphiques d'Emirgazi," *Journal des Savants* 1979 (Jan.-Mars): 3-49.

[53] A. Dinçol, "Die Entdeckung des Felsmonuments in Hatip und ihre Auswirkungen über die historischen und geographischen Fragen," *Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi Arkeoloji Dergisi* 1 (1998): 27-35.

Hittite history that have occurred since the publication of the late Oliver Gurney's classic *The Hittites*[54] and the third edition of *The Cambridge Ancient History* (early 1970s), because these are the secondary sources most commonly consulted by those whose expertise lies outside the field of Hittitology.

A number of new names have been added to the roster of Hittite rulers: Ḫuzziya at the beginning of the royal line,[55] Taḫurwaili[56] and Muwattalli I[57] in the Old Kingdom, and Kurunta[58] in the thirteenth century. Little beyond their names is known about these figures at the present time. On the other hand, it has become increasingly apparent that Ḫattusili II, once placed among the immediate predecessors of Šuppiluliuma I, did not exist.[59] In a closely-related development, we may now identify Tudḫaliya II *tuḫukanti* as the father of the great Šuppiluliuma I.[60]

The origins of the Old Kingdom and the process of its consolidation remain obscure to us, but it may now be recognized that Luwian and Hurrian influence was already

[54] (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1952). There have been several revisions.

[55] See A. Dinçol, B. Dinçol, and J. D. Hawkins, "The 'Cruciform Seal' from Boğazköy-Ḫattuša," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 43 (1994): 105-6.

[56] See H. Otten, "Das Siegel des hethitischen Großkönigs Tahurwaili," *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 103 (1971): 59-68.

[57] See H. Otten, "Das hethitische Königshaus im 15. Jahrhundert v. Chr.: Zum Neufund einiger Landschenkungen in Boğazköy," *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 123/2 (1987): 28-34.

[58] See Th. van den Hout, *Der Ulmi-Tešub-Vertrag: Eine prosopographische Untersuchung* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1995), 82-96.

[59] Not all scholars have accepted his relegation to the status of "non-person"; see J. Klinger, "Synchronismen in der Epoche vot Šuppiluliuma I.—einige Anmerkungen zur Chronologie der mittelhethitischen Geschichte," in *II Congresso Internazionale di Hittitologia*, ed. O. Carruba, M. Giorgieri, and C. Mora (Pavia: Gianni Iuculano Editore, 1995), 243, with n. 28 for a summary of the question and bibliography.

[60] S. Alp, *Hethitische Briefe aus Maşat-Höyük*, 48-52 (n. 20 above), lays out the evidence that Šuppiluliuma's father was named Tudḫaliya, and O. R. Gurney, "The Hittite Title TUHKANTI-," *Anatolian Studies* 33 (1983): 99-100, shows that this was the same Tudḫaliya who bore the epithet *tuḫukanti*, "crown prince." The discrepancy between the numbers assigned to this ruler by Alp ("Tudḫaliya III") and by myself ("Tudḫaliya II") is due to differing opinions about the makeup of the Hittite royal line yet a generation or two earlier.

present to a significant degree in the early Hittite state.[61] We must therefore abandon any remnants of the view that a pristine Indo-European culture was gradually "Orientalized" in early Anatolia.[62] At least during the period covered by the available texts, Hatti was always a multicultural civilization.

It is also now obvious that there was no coherent Middle Kingdom period of Hittite history,[63] nor an abrupt transition to the Empire. Rather, a single royal family—or perhaps clan—ruled Hatti from start to finish. What had appeared to historians as caesurae were rather simply epochs for which we have only spotty documentation. This is not to deny that the Hittite state experienced significant fluctuations of fortune, having faced collapse, for example, in the decades immediately preceding the major expansion to the south engineered by Šuppiluliuma I.

The imperium established by Šuppiluliuma in Syria now stands revealed in the archives from the middle Euphrates and Ugarit as a symbiosis of Anatolian, Hurrian, and Semitic elements.[64] The Hittite conquerors constituted but a thin governing elite in the region, joined in administration by Syrian natives. This, at least, is the conclusion to be drawn from a perusal of the proper names of high provincial officials.[65]

[61] See H. C. Melcherr, "Introduction," in *The Luwians*, ed. H. C. Melchert (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 11-14; and S. de Martino, "I rapporti tra Ittiti e Hurriti durante il regno di Muršili I," *Hethitica* 11 (1992): 19-37.

[62] The idea that Hittite culture can be studied most effectively through comparison with that of other societies speaking Indo-European languages has been most influential in regard to the reconstruction of the conceptions behind succession to the Hittite throne. On this problem see G. Beckman, "The Hittite Assembly," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 102 (1982): 435-42.

[63] See A. Archi, "Middle Hittite—'Middle Kingdom,'" 1-12 (n. 27 above).

[64] C. Mora, "Artistes, artisans et scribes entre Kargamiš et Hatti au XIIIᵉ siècle," in *La circulation des biens, des personnes et des idées dans le Proche-Orient ancien*, ed. D. Charpin and F. Joannes (Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1992), 241-49, demonstrates that the seals characteristic of the period of Hittite domination of northern Syria (fourteenth and thirteenth centuries), although inscribed in Luwian hieroglyphs, were the product of local workshops.

[65] G. Beckman, "Hittite Provincial Administration in Anatolia and Syria: The View

The Hittite empire was always a fragile structure, tending to disintegration whenever the power of Ḫattuša weakened. What is most remarkable is just how long this polity resisted the centrifugal forces affecting it. In newly-accessible sources we may see how a prolonged civil war between the descendants of Ḫattušili III in Ḫattuša and the line of Muwattalli II reigning in the southern Anatolian city of Tarḫuntašša exacerbated this situation and contributed to the ultimate demise of Ḫatti.[66] Recent excavations at Boğazköy have shown that the capital was not destroyed in a single conflagration, but was gradually abandoned over the course of the early decades of the twelfth century.[67] This suggests that the fall of the Hittites was not a cataclysmic event, as often portrayed, but rather a process in which peripheral areas responded to division and debility at the center by breaking away, leading to a progressive decline in the wealth and military might available to the capital and its rulers. After a certain point, recovery would have become impossible.

Indeed, the outlines of the transition to the political constellation of the early Iron Age in Anatolia and northern Syria are beginning to emerge, and for Ḫatti we may discern fragmentation rather than destruction visited by external enemies, although the depredations of the "Peoples of the Sea"[68] were certainly a contributing factor. While the dominion of Ḫattuša vanished forever, the kings of Tarḫuntašša (Kurunta-Mursili-Hartappu)[69] maintained their position well

from Maşat and Emar," in *II Congresso Internazionale di Hittitologia*, ed. O. Carruba, M. Giorgieri, and C. Mora (Pavia: Gianni Iuculano Editore, 1995), 30.

[66] See H. A. Hoffner, "The Last Days of Khattusha," in *The Crisis Years*, ed. W. A. Ward and M. S. Joukowsky (Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt, 1992), 46-52.

[67] See J. Seeher, "Die Zerstörung der Stadt Ḫattuša," in *Akten des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für Hethitologie, Würzburg 4.-8. Oktober 1999*, ed. G. Wilhelm (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2001), 623-34.

[68] See I. Singer, "New Evidence on the End of the Hittite Empire," in *The Sea Peoples and their World: A Reassessment*, ed. E. D. Oren (Philadelphia: The University Museum, 2000), 21-33.

[69] See J. D. Hawkins, "Kuzi-Tešub and the 'Great Kings' of Karkamiš," *Anatolian Studies* 38 (1988): 99-108; and H. G. Güterbock, "Survival of the Hittite Dynasty,"

into the twelfth century, and the cadet line established by Suppiluliuma I at Carchemish as Hittite viceroys in Syria continued uninterrupted into the "Neo-Hittite" period.[70]

In closing, I would like to recommend several recent works on Hittite history that take account of many of the advances I have discussed here: H. Klengel's *Geschichte des Hethitischen Reiches*[71] is a thorough presentation of the topic with explicit reference to the textual basis for his conclusions. More accessible to the non-specialist are T. R. Bryce's *The Kingdom of the Hittites*,[72] which treats political events, and *Life and Society in the Hittite World*,[73] a social history.

in *The Crisis Years*, ed. W. A. Ward and M. S. Joukowsky (Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt, 1992), 53-55.

[70] J. D. Hawkins, "'Great Kings' and 'Country Lords' at Malatya and Karkamiš," in *Studio Historiae Ardens: Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to Philo H. J. Houwink ten Cate on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, ed. Th. van den Hout and J. de Roos (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1995), 73-85.

[71] (Leiden: Brill, 1999).

[72] (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998). See now the new edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

[73] (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).