

The History of the Hittites

by Gregory McMahon

At the western entrance to the Upper City of Hattuşa is the monument known as Lion Gate, named for the two heavy-chested lions that guard it. The lion on the righthand side of the gateway, shown in profile on facing page right, is almost intact. Notice how the mane is rendered in a complicated pattern of incised tufts. Carved out of two very large arched blocks, the lions were cut to fit each other exactly. All photos in this article are by Gregory McMahon.

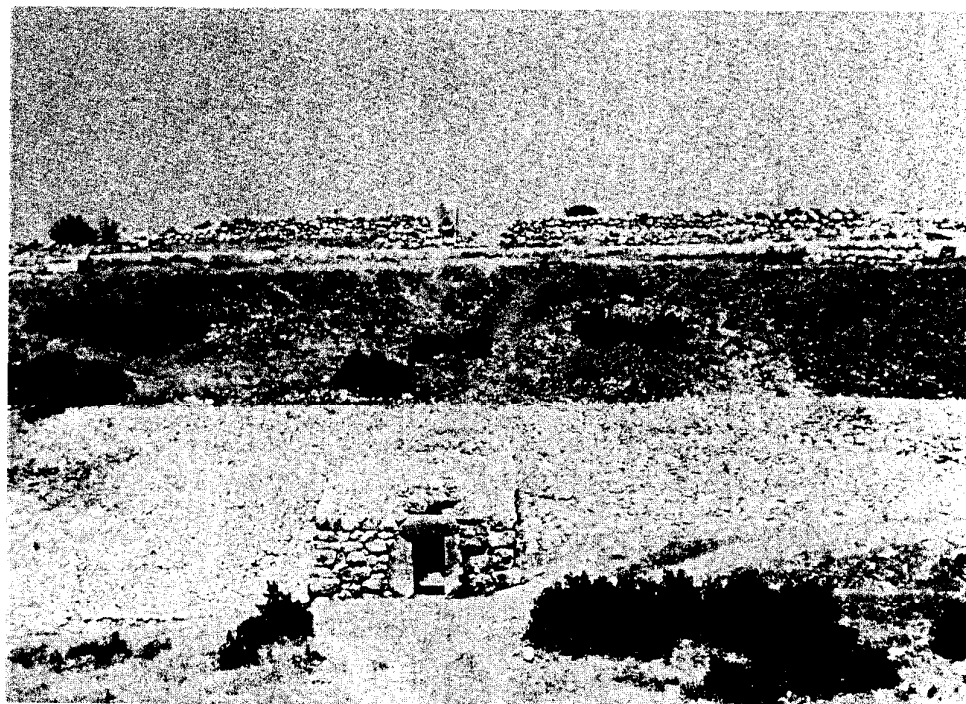
S ometime near the beginning of the second millennium B.C.E., a group of Indo-Europeans made their way into Anatolia, the area we know today as Asia Minor. These people carved a new face on the peninsula situated between the Black Sea and the eastern Mediterranean. They established a powerful kingdom, built a great empire, and influenced their neighbors in the ancient Near East for several centuries. Vestiges of their great empire can be seen today in huge stone monuments, rock carvings, hundreds of texts, and in several biblical passages referring to the Hittites.

Pre-Hittite Anatolia—The Assyrian Colony Age

The earliest writing, and therefore the beginnings of history in Anatolia, can be traced to the Old Assyrian Colony Age, a period lasting from about 1925 to 1650 B.C.E.¹ During this time Assyrian merchants, based in Aššur, established trading colonies at several Anatolian cites and, through them, did a thriving business in metals and other commodities. The best known of these trading colonies (*kārum* in Old Assyrian) is Kaneš, the site of modern-day Kültepe.

Excavation in the upper levels of the *kārum* at Kaneš has uncovered cuneiform tablets written in a dis-

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At the top of this glacis, along the southern boundary of the Upper City of Hattuša, is the monolithic entryway known as the Sphinx Gate. One of the sphinxes that guarded the gate is still visible, but the other two are in the Istanbul and Berlin Museums. The lower portal, or postern gate (Yerkapı in Turkish, meaning "ground-gate"), opens into a tunnel that runs underneath the earthworks and enters into the Upper City.

tinctive script and dialect of Akkadian called Old Assyrian. Most of these documents are commercial in nature — correspondence with the home office in Aššur, records of goods transported, and contracts. As exemplified by written trade agreements, the foreign businessmen enjoyed formalized relations with their Anatolian hosts. The local prince granted trading concessions and protection to the merchants and, in return, taxed commerce carried out in his domain. The Old Assyrian records contain some names with Indo-European elements, attesting to the presence of Indo-Europeans who would later

create the Hittite kingdom.

From the discovery of tablets written in Old Assyrian found in the palace at Kaneš it is evident that the local Anatolian princes adopted the important new technology of writing. These tablets were presumably written by an Assyrian scribe employed by the prince, but a letter to king Waršama of Kaneš from the king of Mama, Anum-Hirbe, indicates that writing was practiced in other parts of Anatolia as well (Balkan 1957).

In addition to writing, the Assyrians brought with them the cylinder seal, a type of seal developed in Mesopotamia. The cylinder seal is a small cylinder of stone or metal

with an incised inscription and/or scene. When rolled across a wet clay tablet the seal leaves an impression of the legend inscribed on it and thus signs the tablet. Many of the Old Assyrian tablets are sealed in this way, as are the clay "envelopes" in which some of the tablets were enclosed. That the cylinder seal was adopted by the local inhabitants may be inferred from the Anatolian motifs on the seals in addition to the expected Mesopotamian forms.

Development of the Hittite State

We are not certain who put an end to Assyrian commercial activity in Anatolia in the eighteenth century

PRE-HITTITE RULERS			
Pithana		early 18th Century	late 18th Century
Anitta	son of Pithana	mid-18th Century	early 17th Century
OLD HITTITE KINGDOM RULERS			
Labarna	first known Hittite king	1680-1650	1600-1570
Hattusili I	nephew/adopted son of Labarna	1650-1620	1570-1540
Mursili I ⁽¹⁾	grandson/adopted son of Hattusili I ⁽¹⁾	1620-1590	1540-1530
Hantili	assassin and brother-in-law of Mursili I	1590-1560	1530-1500
Zidanta I ⁽¹⁾	son-in-law of Hantili	1560-1550	1500-1490
Ammuna	son of Hantili	1550-1530	1490-1470
Huzziya II ⁽¹⁾	son of Ammuna?	1530-1525	1470-1465
Telipinu	son of Zidanta I/brother-in-law of Ammuna	1525-1500	1465-1440
Tahurwaili ^(*)	?		1440?
Alluwamna	son-in-law of Huzziya I		1440-1430
Hantili II	son of Alluwamna ^(*)	1500-1450	1430-1420
Zidanta II ^(c)	?		1420-1410 ^(*)
Huzziya II ^(c, 1)	?		1410-1400 ^(*)
Muwatalli I ^(k, 1)	?		1400? ^(*)
MIDDLE KINGDOM RULERS			
Tudhaliya II ^(*)	son of Huzziya II ⁽¹⁾	1450-1420	1400-1380
Arnuwanda I ^(*)	son-in-law of Tudhaliya II	1420-1400	1370-1360
Tudhaliya III	son of Arnuwanda I	1400-1380	1360-1343
Tudhaliya (the younger) ⁽¹⁾	son of Tudhaliya III ^(*)	1380?	1343?
Hattusili II ^(c)	?	?	?
HITTITE EMPIRE PERIOD RULERS			
Suppiluliuma I	son of Tudhaliya III, maybe Hattusili II	1380-1340	1343-1322/18 ⁽¹⁰⁾
Arnuwanda II	son of Suppiluliuma I	1340-1339	1322/18
Mursili II	son of Suppiluliuma I	1339-1306	1322/18-1296
Muwatalli II ⁽¹⁾	son of Mursili II	1306-1282	1296-1273
Mursili III ^(d) (= Urhi-Tesub)	son of Muwatalli II	1282-1275	1273-1266
Hattusili III ⁽¹⁾	son of Mursili II	1275-1250	1266-1235
Tudhaliya IV ⁽¹⁾	son of Hattusili III	1250-1220	1235-1215
Karunta ^(k)	son of Muwatalli II/cousin of Tudhaliya IV ⁽¹⁾	?	?
Arnuwanda III	son of Tudhaliya IV	1220-1215	1215-1210 ⁽¹⁵⁾
Suppiluliuma II	son of Tudhaliya IV	1215-1200	1210-1200 ⁽¹⁶⁾
KEY (1) murdered (*) position unclear (c) existence debated (d) deposed (k) kingship disputed			

Note: This table was compiled by Ronald L. Gorny. Except where noted, the dates used here are schematizations based on a few known synchronisms and the use of a time span of 20 years per generation with adjustments made for kings thought to be long-lived and those thought to be short-lived. The lack of accurate chronological or genealogical data for the Hittite kings precludes the possibility of accurate chronological dating at this time. All bibliographic citations are listed in the bibliography of Ronald Gorny's article.

⁽¹⁾Middle chronology after framework established by John A. Brinkman (1964). Hittite dates based on approximate dates suggested by O. R. Gurney (1981: 218).

⁽²⁾Low chronology after Gernot Wilhelm and Johannes Boese (1987).

⁽³⁾Sack of Babylon, 1595 B.C.E. middle chronology/1531 B.C.E. low chronology.

⁽⁴⁾See Beal (1983b).

⁽⁵⁾See Otten (1987b).

⁽⁶⁾Tudhaliya I is a shadowy figure whose existence is uncertain. He was originally proposed as the first king of this name because the name Tudhaliya was found at the beginning of one variant of the sacrificial lists as the father of one PU-saruma (KUB XI 7; compare Otten 1968: 122). Consequently, the convention that begins the numbering of the Tudhaliyas in this fashion was established at an early date. The sequence of that variant, however, has remained enigmatic, and many

Hittitologists would dispute the existence of this figure, beginning the sequence of Tudhaliyas with our present Tudhaliya II (compare Astour, 1989: 50-51). The early system is retained here as a means of explaining different numbering systems found in the literature.

⁽⁷⁾See Otten (1987b).

⁽⁸⁾For possible coregency of Tudhaliya II and Arnuwanda I, see Philo Houwink ten Cate (1970: 58, note 2), O. Carruba (1977: 166-69, 177, note 7), and O. R. Gurney (1979: 214-15).

⁽⁹⁾Compare Astour (1989: 73).

⁽¹⁰⁾Compare Wilhelm and Boese (1987).

⁽¹¹⁾Battle of Kadesh, fifth year in reign of Ramesses II, around 1275 B.C.E.

⁽¹²⁾Treaty with Ramesses II, twenty-first year in reign of Ramesses II, around 1259 B.C.E.; marriage of Hattusili III's daughter to Ramesses II, thirty-fourth year in reign of Ramesses II, around 1246 B.C.E.

⁽¹³⁾For possible coregency between Hattusili III and Tudhaliya IV, see C. Mora (1987).

⁽¹⁴⁾See Neve (1987a: 402-04), Otten (1988), and van den Hout (1989: 87-105).

⁽¹⁵⁾Compare Singer (1987: 417).

⁽¹⁶⁾Compare Singer (1987: 418). Wente and van Siclen (1977) would set this date at 1175 B.C.E.

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B.C.E., but we know that the foundation of a Hittite state followed shortly thereafter (Güterbock 1983: 24–25, note 8). Most of our textual evidence for the history of the Hittite kingdom comes from the archives found at the Hittite capital at Hattuša, present-day Boğazköy/Boğazkale, a village east of Ankara. Other important evidence has come from archaeological sites including Alaca Höyük, Alishar Höyük, and Maşat Höyük.

The term *Hittite* derives from the place-name Hatti used for the pre-Indo-European inhabitants of central Anatolia. The Hittites, who were Indo-Europeans, referred to themselves as Nešites, or people of Neša (Kaneš), a tradition supported by the evidence of Hittite names in the tablets found at Kaneš. What we call Hittite civilization is a mix of the early Hattic culture with that of the Indo-European newcomers and, later, with the culture of the Hurrians of northern Mesopotamia.

One of the most important and obvious contributions of these newcomers was their language, the language we call Hittite today, the oldest attested Indo-European language. Curiously, the Hittites did not get their writing from the merchants based in Aššur; their script most closely resembles Old Babylonian and may have been borrowed from the scribes of northern Syria, an area in the orbit of the Old Babylonian dynasty of Hammurapi (Güterbock 1983: 24–25; Hoffner 1973: 204). By the beginning of the Old Hittite period (sixteenth century B.C.E.), the new state had borrowed the cuneiform writing system and adapted it to the Hittite language, beginning a distinctively Hittite scribal tradition.

The archives at Hattuša contain texts written in several different

languages, the most predominant of which is the Indo-European Hittite. The other major language of the archive is Akkadian, the Semitic language of Mesopotamia that the Hittites used early, along with Hittite, for state records and, later, for international correspondence and diplomacy. Texts, including bilinguals, were written in Hattic and in two other Indo-European languages, Luwian and Palaic. In addition, many texts dating mostly to the later stages of the kingdom contain, or are written in, Hurrian, the agglutinative language of the people of southern Anatolia and northern Mesopotamia. Sumerian, the Mesopotamian language that was already used exclusively as a scholarly language, is attested at Hattuša in the common use of Sumerian logograms as well as in vocabulary lists that give Sumerian, Akkadian, and Hittite equivalents. An Indo-Aryan language related to Sanskrit is the origin of a few technical terms in horse training texts adopted from the Hurrians.

In tracking noticeable changes that took place in the Hittite language and writing system during the roughly four centuries of the kingdom's scribal tradition, modern scholars use the noted characteristics of the language in a particular period to date texts that cannot be dated by other criteria. Because many of the texts found in the Hittite archives were considered important enough to be copied, Hittitologists are interested in the date of an original composition as well as that of a particular copy. Thus, for example, a clearly Old Hittite text such as the Anitta text (CTH 1)² may exist in copies written in both Old Script and New Script.

The Old Hittite Kingdom. The Old Hittite Kingdom may be said to begin with Labarna I, the first king of the dynasty that established the kingdom of Hattuša. Two earlier kings, Pitḫana and his son Anitta, bear an as yet unclear relationship to the first Hittite dynasty of Labarna (Güterbock 1983: 25). Pitḫana and Anitta occur in Old Assyrian texts (Gurney 1981: 19), and a dagger or spearhead inscribed with "the palace of Anitta the king" discovered in the city district at Kaneš provides additional documentation. This dagger could indicate that Anitta was king at Kaneš or, if the destruction of this level can be attributed to him, that the dagger was lost there. According to the Anitta text, the one text from the Hittite state archives attributed to him, Anitta and Pitḫana, based at their home city of Kuššara, created an empire made up of neighboring small kingdoms. Anitta later moved his residence to Kaneš/Neša. Among the kingdoms that he conquered was Hattuš, which had had a *kārum*. He sowed weeds on the site and cursed any who would rebuild it. In the Hittite form of the name, Hattuša, a Hittite stem vowel is added on the older Hattic name, Hattuš.

It is uncertain how long it was after Pitḫana and Anitta before Labarna I established the first Old Hittite dynasty. His son, Labarna II, changed his name to Hattušili I, which means "man of Hattuša," and may have resettled Hattuša and made it his capital. It was during the reign of Hattušili I that the Hittite state emerged into the light of history. With the exception of the Anitta text, which was discovered in the city he had sacked, the Hittite state archives begin with Hattušili I. By the time of his death, Hattušili had



Above: Overall view of the main chamber of Yazılıkaya, an open-air rock sanctuary located a mile northeast of Hattuša. A grand procession of Hittite gods is carved in a long relief frieze that follows the contours of the natural chamber. The male and female sides of the procession meet in the main scene, visible in the middle of the photograph. The sanctuary dates to the reign of Tudḫaliya IV, toward the end of the Hittite Empire. Left: This rock relief of Muwatalli II is located at Sirkeli in southern Anatolia, on an outcropping of rock at a bend in the Ceyhan River. Ruling at the beginning of the thirteenth century B.C.E., Muwatalli is known for two major events: the Battle of Kadesh around 1275 B.C.E. and his moving the capital to Tarḫuntašša, a city somewhere in southern Anatolia, thus shifting the empire's center of gravity toward Syria and the troublesome Egyptian frontier.

not only established the capital that would serve the Hittite kingdom for most of its history; he had created an empire by campaigning into outside areas, especially south into Syria. The Political Testament of Hattušili I describes the problems encountered by this king in finding a successor to the throne; it also gives insights into the institution of the Hittite assembly, which the king addressed (Beckman 1982: 437–39). The document, which is from the state archives, indicates that Hittite procedures for dynastic succession were fairly fluid during the early days of the kingdom.

Hattušili's adopted successor was Muṣili I who, in the mid-

sixteenth century B.C.E., carried on Hattušili's tradition of campaigning and extending the empire. Following the direction of Hattušili's campaigns south, Muṣili I pushed the Hittite army deep into Mesopotamia and sacked Babylon around 1531 B.C.E. This raid ended the Old Babylonian dynasty of Hammurapi and is the most important synchronism between Hittite and Mesopotamian history for the early period. Babylon was the deepest into Mesopotamia the Hittites ever penetrated, however. The attack was nothing more than a raid and did not represent a serious attempt to control Mesopotamia as far as Babylon. Unfortunately for Muṣili—and for Hittite dynastic stability—his absence during the Babylonian campaign allowed the development of a palace intrigue. Upon his return Muṣili I was murdered, and the Hittite state was beset with dynastic difficulties that led to a succession of weak Old Hittite kings who could not keep up the campaigns necessary to maintain an empire.

The most important king of the end of the Old Hittite period is Telipinu, the king known for the Telipinu Edict (CTH 19), a proclamation dealing with the subject of dynastic succession. The text chronicles some of the internal problems and disunity experienced since the death of Muṣili I and, in an effort to put an end to the turmoil, sets forth rules to determine legitimate dynastic succession. Problems of succession proved to be disastrous for the Old Hittite state, but the kingdom demonstrated sufficient political resiliency to survive this early period. Five or six ephemeral kings succeeded Telipinu before Tudḫaliya II began a new, stronger dynasty that ruled in

This elaborate rock relief, which dates to the Empire period, was carved on a giant boulder at Imamkulu in central Anatolia. The center section shows the Storm-God driving a chariot pulled by bulls over bowing mountain gods held up by smaller gods. The figure to the left, perhaps a Hittite prince, carries a bow over his shoulder. The figure to the right is a goddess, possibly Ištar.



the Middle Hittite period.

The Middle Hittite Kingdom. Tudḫaliya II's new dynasty drew strength from that king's renewed interest in campaigning as the early Old Hittite kings had done (see Beal 1986 for new evidence for Hittite conquest and diplomacy under Tudḫaliya II). Later Middle Hittite kings were unable to continue the campaigns, however, and it was left to Šuppiliuma I in the later fourteenth century B.C.E. to renew Hittite conquests abroad and inaugurate the New Hittite, or Empire, period.

The Middle Hittite period is distinguished partly on linguistic and paleographic grounds based on a characteristic form of the language (Middle Hittite) and a distinctive type of script (Middle Script). Our understanding of the late Old Hittite and Middle Hittite periods suffers from a scarcity of documentation—even the number and proper sequence of kings between Telipinu and Šuppiliuma I is disputed. Unlike their neighbors in Mesopotamia, the Hittites did not keep as a formal part of their state records a list of rulers. They did keep lists of offerings made to deceased kings, which help in reconstructing the names and sequences of the kings, but not all of the kings are included in these lists, and some of those who are included never became king. Therefore, the only sure way to establish a dynastic sequence is to find records for each king and use the genealogical information contained in them. For some kings of the middle period we do not have such records. Some kings are attested only by seals or seal impressions that give their name and ancestry.

Perhaps the best known Middle Hittite king is Arnuwanda I, who

ruled in the mid-fourteenth century B.C.E. With his queen, Ašmunikal, Arnuwanda wrote a prayer (CTH 375) that poignantly reflects the political situation of the Middle Hittite era. In the prayer, the king and queen bemoan the loss of the important cult city of Nerik; at the same time, they remind the gods how well the Hittites have cared for them, in contrast to the Kaška, the barbarian peoples of the north who now hold Nerik. The importance of maintaining cult offerings to all the gods is reflected in the prayer when Arnuwanda and Ašmunikal promise to continue to give the gods of Nerik all their offerings by moving the site of their worship to Hakpiš, a city still under Hittite control.

The Kaška people referred to in the prayer were one of the most troublesome neighbors of the Hittites. Situated in north central Ana-

tolia, north of the Hittite homeland, they were a rough tribal people who had no centralized capital and were therefore difficult to pin down and conquer. In periods of strength the Hittites were able to keep the Kaška tribes at bay, but they exerted constant pressure on the northern border of the kingdom and were ready to take advantage of any weakness in Hittite military capability. In spite of its great religious importance, the cult city of Nerik was not recovered until Hattušili III was able to re-establish Hittite control half a century later.

Information about the Middle Hittite kings is also available in a series of unusual texts that scholars designate as *instructions*, texts that set forth the duties of a particular officer or a group of state officials. In addition to Arnuwanda's instructions to his "mayors" (CTH 157),



Above: Two men, or gods, raise their arms to a seated deity (not visible in photo) on this rock relief located at Gâvur Kalesi, southwest of Ankara. There is no inscription, and the relief has no architectural framework, but its style is characteristic of Hittite imperial art. **Above right:** This Neo-Hittite relief dating from the eighth century B.C.E. depicts Warpalawa of the kingdom of Tuwanuwa worshipping Tarḫu, a god of vegetation and storms. Located at Ivriz near Konya in southern Anatolia, the sculpture shows Assyrian influence, especially in the treatment of the beards and hair, which are tightly curled and carefully sculpted. Warpalawa's cap and robe also could be Assyrian, but the fibula, or clasp, that holds his robe together appears to be Phrygian.

which details their duty to maintain security in cities throughout the kingdom, there is an extremely interesting series of instructions to the border guards (CTH 261), usually denoted by the Hittites with the Akkadian phrase *bēl madgalti*, "lord of the watchtower." These texts make clear the priority given to guarding the frontiers and keeping hostile neighboring lands under surveillance

during the Middle Hittite kingdom, a period of military weakness.

The Hittite Empire Period. With the accession of Šuppiluliuma I in the mid-fourteenth century B.C.E., the middle period of relative Hittite weakness ended, and the final phase of the kingdom, the Empire period, began.

Šuppiluliuma I was an exceedingly vigorous king who, like the first Hittite kings, campaigned every year in order to increase the size of the kingdom and create a true empire encompassing different geographic regions. After reestablishing Hittite power in central Anatolia, Šuppiluliuma directed his energies toward a formidable neighbor to the southeast, the state of Mitanni. This Hurrian kingdom had grown strong during the period of Hittite weakness, becoming one of the major powers of the ancient Near East and establishing equal diplomatic relations with Egypt. After being defeated in his first encounter with the Mitannian king, Tušratta, Šuppiluliuma mounted a second campaign



against this powerful enemy, attacking the Mitannian capital, Waššukanni, and sacking it. Tušratta escaped and set up a kind of government-in-exile, but Mitanni's days of power were numbered. Šuppiluliuma, meanwhile, proceeded to correspond with Egyptian pharaohs of the Amarna period just as Tušratta had done before him.

Although the Hurrian state had been vanquished, Hurrian culture, especially literature and cult practice, continued to flourish; taken up by the Hittites, it was preserved in their literary tradition. The Mitannian capital, with its state archives written in Hurrian, has not yet been discovered. Most preserved Hurrian texts come from Hattuša, an indication of the great cultural influence exerted by the Hurrians on the Hittites in the empire period despite the collapse of their political power base.

It was perhaps as much as 30 years later when Šuppiluliuma returned to Syria (Gurney 1981: 30–31) and, taking advantage of the final

The fortress at Karkamiš
became the center of
Hittite control in Syria.



Above: Ancient Sam'al, located at modern-day Zincirli in the area south and east of the Hittite homeland, was the site of a Neo-Hittite (sometimes called Syro-Hittite) kingdom. Removed in time from the Alaca Höyük sphinxes of the Empire period, this sphinx from Zincirli was manufactured at Yesemek, a Hittite quarry and sculpture workshop. It is currently housed in the garden of the Gaziantep archaeological museum. **Above right:** Carved into the living rock at a mountain pass at Hanyeri (Gezbel) in central Anatolia is this relief of a late Empire Hittite prince. The prince, who carries a spear and a bow, is accompanied by a hieroglyphic inscription. Birds are also seen flying in the air.

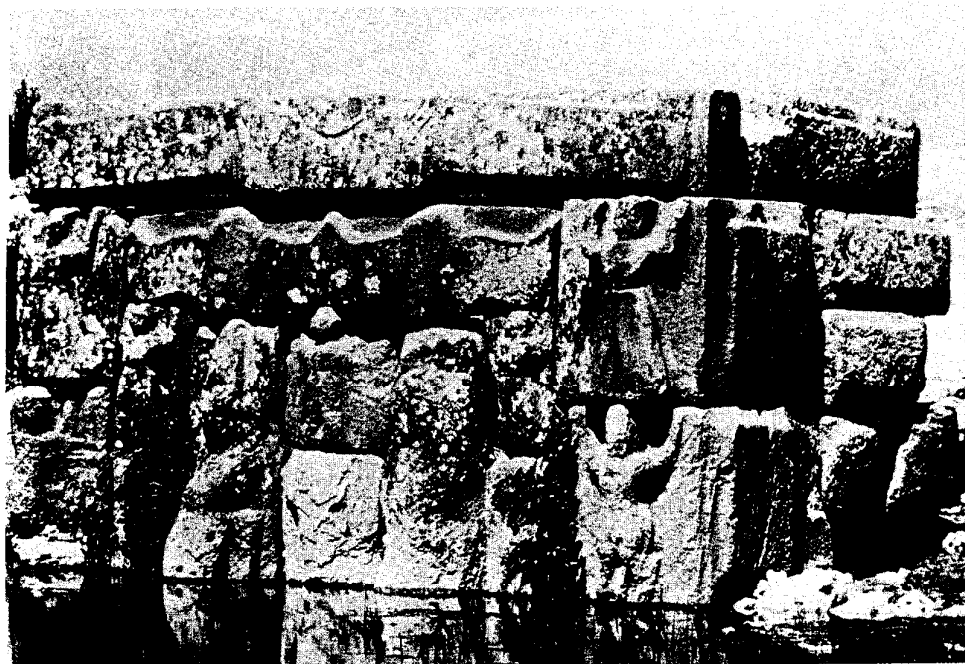
collapse of Mitanni, annexed more of northern Syria, including the strategic fortress at Karkamiš. This site became the center of Hittite control in Syria, where a viceroy for

Syria, usually a royal prince, was stationed. Šuppiluliuma had eliminated his most powerful southern neighbor and thus opened the road to Syria, an important component of the Hittite empire. This was to have serious repercussions in Near Eastern politics. Assyria, which had been kept in check by its neighbor Mitanni, was now free to expand its territory, and this expansion eventually brought Assyria into conflict with the Hittites near the end of the empire period (Singer 1985). Hittite expansion into Syria coincided with a revival of Egyptian interests in the same area, leading eventually, around 1275 B.C.E., to the battle of Kadesh.

Šuppiluliuma also turned his

attention west, toward the land of Arzawa, which, in the Middle Hittite period, had become strong enough to correspond directly with the Egyptian pharaoh. The Hittite king was again able to subdue these neighboring lands and incorporate them into the empire. However, when Šuppiluliuma died, followed by his son, Arnuwanda, their successor, Muršili II, faced a revolt in the lands of Arzawa. The campaigns of this Muršili are particularly well known because of two different series of annals in which the young king describes his campaigns and the peoples he conquered. Many rulers from the surrounding lands thought Muršili was too young to rule and therefore tried

Ḫattušili's wife, Puduḫepa, was an active queen. Daughter of a priest of Kizzuwatna, she brought Hurrian culture from her Hurro-Luwian homeland.



This block monument, made up of individual stones with deities carved in relief, is located at Eflātun Pınar, a late Empire cult site at a spring in west central Anatolia. The monument, which is about 23 feet long, has a typically Hittite layered composition in which the central deities help support the winged sun-disc, symbolic of Hittite royalty.

to detach themselves from the Hittite orbit, but Muwatalli proved them wrong by reconquering much of his father's empire and consolidating it for future kings. Muwatalli campaigned in other areas as well. He repeatedly journeyed north to subdue the Kaška, and he had to make one major expedition to Syria to replace the viceroy at Karkamiš and force the Syrian provinces to recognize the new imperial deputy.

The reign of Muwatalli's son, Muwatalli II, is especially noteworthy because of two major events. One is the battle of Kadesh, around 1275 B.C.E., a direct confrontation between the Egyptians and the Hittites over border disputes in Syro-Palestine (Murnane 1985). Under Muwatalli the Hittites outmaneuvered the Egyptian army led by Ramesses II, who was fortunate to escape with his life. This did not prevent the pharaoh from describing Kadesh as a victory in his representations of it in

Egypt, but continued Hittite control of the area indicates that the victory belonged to the Hittites. The other noteworthy event of Muwatalli's reign in the early thirteenth century B.C.E. was his moving the capital to Tarḫuntašša, a city somewhere in southern Anatolia. This city has not been definitely located, but Emmanuel Laroche has suggested Meydancık Kalesi as a possible site (Mellink 1974: 111). Locating a new capital in southern Anatolia shifted the empire's center of gravity toward Syria and the troublesome Egyptian frontier. The brother of Muwatalli, Ḫattušili III, was left in charge of the northern portion of the kingdom and given the status of a lesser king. When Muwatalli died, his son Urḫi-Tešub succeeded him (as Muwatalli III) and soon came into conflict with his uncle. Having retaken much of the northern area for the Hittites, including the cult city Nerik, Ḫattušili III responded to Urḫi-Tešub's attempts

to exclude him from his share of the rule by deposing his nephew and usurping the throne. This incident gave rise to one of the most unusual documents in the Hittite archives, the Apology of Ḫattušili III (CTH 81). In it the king tells his version of the story, justifying his actions by noting the great wrongs done to him by Urḫi-Tešub and the special patronage shown to him by the goddess Ištar.

Ḫattušili III, ruling in the mid-thirteenth century B.C.E., proved to be an excellent king. He inherited a smoothly operating empire and kept it that way. During his reign relations with Egypt, strained since the battle at Kadesh, were normalized. The treaty that was drawn up between these two great powers around 1259 B.C.E. is unique in the ancient Near East; it is extant in the languages of both parties. The Egyptian version was inscribed on the walls of a temple of Ramesses. The other version was written in Hittite on a clay tablet that was discovered very early in the excavations at Ḫattuša.

Ḫattušili's wife, Puduḫepa, the daughter of a priest of Kizzuwatna (Cilicia), was an exceedingly active queen. On his way home from helping his brother, Muwatalli, at the battle of Kadesh, Ḫattušili was instructed by Ištar to stop in Kizzuwatna and wed Puduḫepa. Puduḫepa brought Hurrian culture with her from her Hurro-Luwian homeland, which, when she later became queen, had a great impact on Hittite

A large unfinished stela from the late Empire period still lies in the area where it was found, at Fasillar near Eflâton Pınar in west central Anatolia. Visible here are the head and figure of the Storm-God who wears a conical cap and who has his right hand raised above his head. A copy of this stela is set up in the garden of the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara.

culture. She also proved to be a very vigorous monarch in her own right, conducting royal correspondence in her own name and remaining active in affairs of state after her husband died (Singer 1987: 415; Otten 1975).

With the death of Hattušili III, his son Tudḫaliya, the fourth king of that name, took the throne. Ruling at the end of the thirteenth century B.C.E., Tudḫaliya enjoyed the peace won by his father and their predecessors and is best known for his efforts toward religious reform. The Hittite religious tendency toward an eclecticism in which every god, no matter what its origin, is to be propitiated with the appropriate ceremonies is exemplified beautifully in the *cult inventories* of Tudḫaliya. These texts are lists compiled by special deputies commissioned by the king to visit cult sites throughout Anatolia and make an inventory of all the religious accoutrements in the area; cultic equipment, personnel, and traditional cult ceremonies are all listed as cult paraphernalia. Tudḫaliya IV also tried to make sure that traditional local cults continued to perform the required ritual ceremonies, and he brought some local cults to the capital as well.

The potential for conflict along the Hittite-Assyrian border was finally realized during this monarch's reign. A major battle was fought between Tudḫaliya IV and an Assyrian ruler, probably Tukulti-Ninurta (Singer 1985). Tudḫaliya also corresponded both with the Assyrian court and with the Egyptian pharaoh.

Two of Tudḫaliya's sons succeeded him on the throne. Arnuwanda III ruled for only about five years, and we have little material from his reign. His brother, Šuppiluliuma II, is almost certainly the last king of the



Hittite Empire, although the recent discovery of a tomb intended for him (Bayburtluoğlu 1989) has cast doubt on this long-held idea because if Šuppiluliuma was buried in a tomb there must have been at least one king to follow him. In any case, correspondence from Ugarit dating to his reign indicates that disaster was on the way. In the correspondence, the ruler of Ugarit, responding to the pressure of invaders, appeals to the great Hittite king for help. Apparently, however, the Hittites needed help as well. The Egyptian pharaoh Merneptah sent aid to the Hittites—grain to alleviate the effect of famine—near the end of the empire (Singer 1987: 415–16).

The actual end of the Hittite Empire can only be guessed at, for the obvious reason that no one was left to chronicle the event after the capital was taken around 1200 B.C.E. (see Singer 1985 and 1987 for prob-

lems in dating the fall of the empire). With the sacking of Hattuša, the centralized Hittite polity came to an end forever, as did the Hittite cuneiform scribal tradition; no Hittite cuneiform tablets that post-date the fall of Hattuša have been discovered in either Anatolia or Syria. The site was later occupied by the Phrygians and later still by the Byzantines. After the fall of the empire, many cities in Anatolia retained their Hittite character but eventually developed a distinctive culture characterized by a mixture of Anatolian and Syrian elements.

The Hittites and the Bible

Several different Hebrew words or phrases in the Old Testament are usually translated as Hittite or Hittites.³ One is "sons of Heth," which occurs only in Genesis. See Genesis 10:15 for a listing of Heth as one of the sons of Canaan. The "daughters

of Heth," translated as "Hittite women" in the Revised Standard Version and the New International Version, occurs in Genesis 27:46. In that passage, Rebekah voices fear of the local non-Hebrews because she does not want Jacob to take a foreign wife. Thus the patriarchs perceived the Hittites as early inhabitants of Canaan, or, in the broadest sense of the term, *Canaanites*.

The more common Hebrew word used to denote the Hittites, *ḥitti*, is also based on the name Heth. This form may be used to designate the ethnicity of an individual, for instance, "Ephron the Hittite" in Genesis 23:10. Ephron's appearance in Genesis 23 along with many examples of the sons of Heth confirms their identification with the Hittites. This word, *ḥitti*, is also used in lists of peoples living in the promised land. In modern versions of the Old Testament the singular form is used in a generic sense and usually translated in the plural, "the Hittites." In this way the Hittites are included in what is considered to be the standard list of the seven major peoples of Palestine: the Hittites, the Girgashites, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites—as, for example, in Deuteronomy 7:1. The one attested example of a plural feminine form occurs in a list of the foreign (non-Israelite) women admired by Solomon (1 Kings 11:1), again indicating that the Hittites were a recognizable local ethnic group.

The five occurrences of the term Hittite in the masculine plural form deserve special mention. Unlike most other forms of the word, which have a narrowly defined usage, the masculine plural form is used in widely varying contexts. In Joshua



A king of the Neo-Hittite kingdom of Milid, located at Arslantepe close to present-day Malatya, is depicted in this 10-foot-tall limestone statue dating from the eighth century B.C.E. and currently housed in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara. The king's wavy hair and curled beard are evidence of an Assyrian influence as are the pose, full robe, and sandaled feet. The king holds a scepter in his right hand and clutches a cloak in his left. Sculpture in the round, as opposed to relief sculpture, was rare in Hittite times but was commonly produced by the Assyrians.

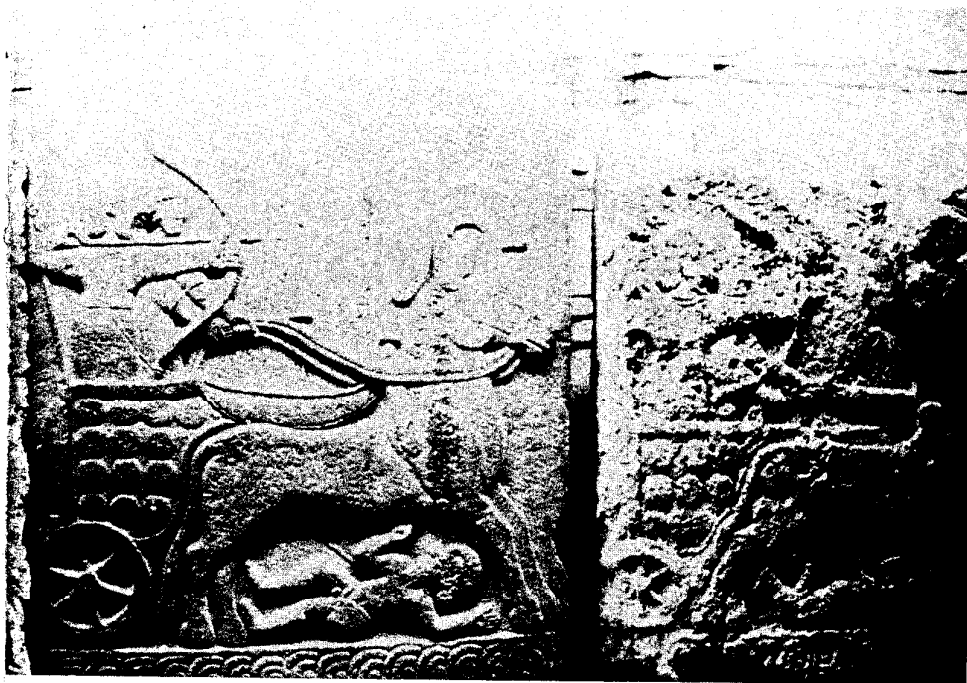
1:4 the phrase "land of the Hittites" is used as part of God's description of the land promised to Moses. The same phrase is used in Judges 1:26, which tells the story of the man who betrayed Bethel to the Israelites and escaped to the land of the Hittites. In 1 Kings 10:29, and its parallel in 2 Chronicles 1:17, the phrase

"kings of the Hittites" refers to some of the rulers who imported chariots and horses from Solomon. Finally, in 2 Kings 7:6 the very rumor of the kings of the Hittites and the kings of Egypt is sufficiently alarming to cause the Syrians to flee while besieging Samaria.

References to the Hittites in the patriarchal narrative indicate that Abraham encountered them as a settled people of Palestine. Indeed, the Hittites were included in another description, in Genesis 15:20, of the land promised to Abraham. The concern felt by Isaac and Rebekah about the foreign wives their sons might take turned out to be justified when Esau married Judith and Basemath (Genesis 26:34), two Hittite women. Rebekah worried that Jacob would also choose a bride from among the local non-Hebrew inhabitants of Canaan, including the Hittites.

When the Hebrews returned from Egypt under Moses and Joshua, they again encountered the Hittites, along with many other Canaanite peoples. When Moses' spies returned after 40 days and made their report at Kadesh Barnea (Numbers 13:29), they located the Hittites, Jebusites, and Amorites in the hill country and other groups on the coast or in the Negeb. Joshua 11:3 cites the same three peoples, plus the Perizzites, as inhabitants of the hill country. References to the Hittites also appear in God's cataloging of the peoples the Israelites must fight in order to conquer the promised land. In Deuteronomy 20:16–18 the Israelites are told that they must utterly destroy the Hittites (among others), indicating that Hittite territory was in the heart of the region that the Israelites were to take over. Some kind of political organization is indicated by

Karkamiš (Carchemish) was a major independent kingdom in the Old Testament period and the greatest center of Neo-Hittite sculpture. It had a distinctive style that influenced surrounding cities. These orthostats, large stone slabs decorated with relief carving and used as architectural ornamentation, are from Karkamiš and date from the ninth century B.C.E. The war scene relief shown here was carved on alternating black (basalt) and white stones, average height about 5½ feet. The basalt stones have apparently weathered the years better than the white stones. These orthostats are currently housed in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara.



the reference to the kings of the Hittites, Amorites, Canaanites, and so on in Joshua 9:1–2.

The patriarchs also encountered the Hittites around Hebron (Genesis 23) and Beer-sheba (Genesis 26:24; 27:46), and most of the evidence we have relating to their location at the time of the conquest is consistent with those locations. The exception to this is Joshua 1:4, in which the area around the Euphrates is referred to as “the land of the Hittites.” This does not fit with the other references to the Hittites as one of the local peoples of southern Palestine; it probably refers to the neo-Hittite principalities of northern Syria dating to this period.

From the conquest on the Hebrews struggled with the problem of Canaanite influence, partly because they did not completely eradicate the local inhabitants of Palestine. One of the Canaanite peoples whom

the Israelites continued to encounter in the period of the judges were the Hittites. Judges 3:5–6 note the failure of the Hebrews to eradicate the Hittites and, consequently, the resulting intermingling of the peoples, including intermarriage and the assimilation of “Canaanite” religious influences.

Those Hittites who survived the Israelite conquest of the promised land continued to interact with the Hebrews during the period of the monarchy. One of King David’s comrades while he was being pursued by Saul was Ahimelech the Hittite, whom David asked to accompany him into Saul’s camp at night (1 Samuel 26:6). Ahimelech’s Hebrew name indicates that he had been integrated into Hebrew society. Chapters 11 and 12 of 2 Samuel tell the story of Uriah the Hittite, who lived in Jerusalem, served in the Hebrew army, was one of David’s mighty men, and

had a Hebrew wife.

Hittites were among the Canaanite peoples ruled by King Solomon. As mentioned previously, 1 Kings 11:1–2 mention Hittite women as some of the foreign women in Solomon’s court. Solomon also forced the Hittites, along with other Canaanite peoples who had survived the conquest, to work on his building projects (1 Kings 9:20–21 and their parallel in 2 Chronicles 8:7–8).

It is understandable that references to the Hittites of Solomon’s time would describe them as local Canaanite people who were left over from the pre-conquest days, but 1 Kings 10:29 (and its parallel in 2 Chronicles 1:17) details a relationship with Solomon that does not fit into this context. This passage describes Solomon’s exportation of horses and chariots to the kings of the Hittites and the Arameans.

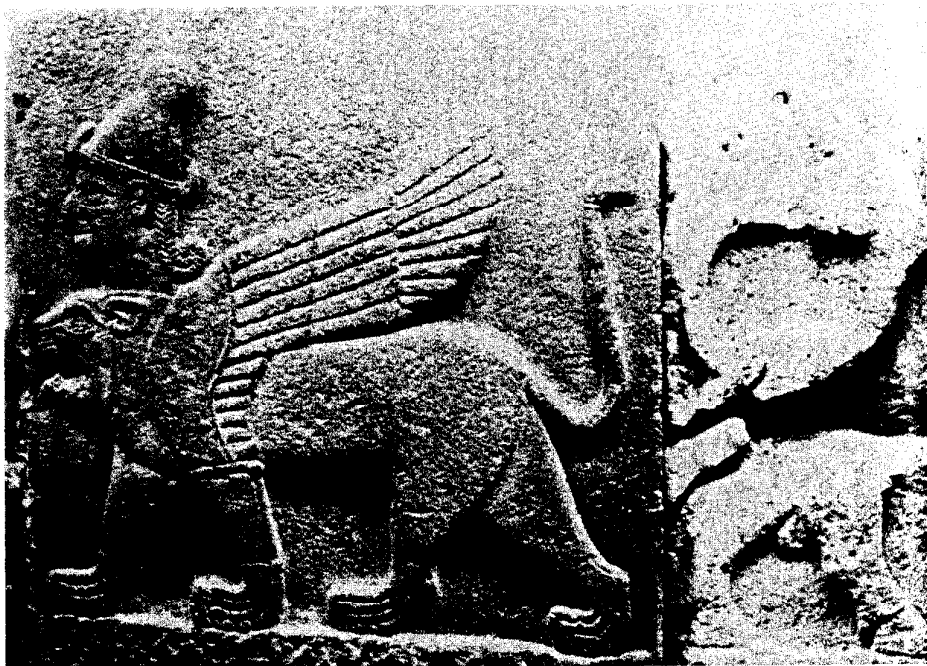
These Hittites cannot be the same group Solomon was using for forced labor. The pairing of Hittite and Aramean kings indicates that these monarchs should be located in the city-states of northern Syria, states that were of Neo-Hittite and/or Aramean background. In the years after Solomon, during the period of the divided monarchy, the reputation of the kings of the Hittites coupled with the kings of the Egyptians helped out the northern kings, and this also raises the question of which Hittites are being cited. During the Syrian siege of Samaria described in 2 Kings 7:6, the attackers fled their camp when they heard the sound of a great army that they convinced themselves was made up of the kings of the Hittites and the Egyptians hired by Israel. It is extremely unlikely that the local Palestinian Hittites who had earlier worked as

forced labor under Solomon would now be a vital military force in the same region as Israel; again, this must be a reference to the kings of Neo-Hittite principalities in Syria.

In the Exilic and post-Exilic periods the Hebrews continued to come into contact with, or recall previous contact with, the Hittites in Palestine. One of Ezekiel's prophecies refers to the ancestry of Jerusalem: "your mother was a Hittite and your father an Amorite" (Ezekiel 16:45; 16:3 similar). When, in the late sixth century B.C.E., the Hebrews returned from exile in Babylon, Ezra was faced with the same crisis of intermarriage that had caused problems for Isaac and Rebekah and for Solomon. In Ezra 9:1–3, he is horrified by information that the Hebrews have taken wives from all the local tribes of Palestine, including the Hittites. This represents a serious breach of Israelite purity from idolatry, no less grave a matter than it was at the time of the conquest. The patriarchal description of the promised land as the land of the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Amorites, and so on is again recalled in Nehemiah 9:8.

References to the Hittites in the Old Testament seem to refer to two distinct groups. One group, described as the descendants of Canaan through the eponymous ancestor Heth, were encountered by Abraham around Hebron. Because these sons of Heth were living in the heart of the land that had been promised to the Israelites, God commanded the Hebrews, upon their return from Egypt, to destroy the Hittites utterly. That the Hittites were not completely eradicated but continued to inhabit southern Palestine, including the area around Jerusalem, can be seen

This Neo-Hittite relief of a "mixed being," a sphinx with a lion and man's head, is also on an orthostat from Karkamiš and also dates from the ninth century B.C.E. The relief is carved on basalt in the distinctive Karkamiš style. Notice that the tail has a bird's head. A little more than 4 feet tall, the sculpture is housed in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara. A modern three-dimensional copy sits at a traffic signal outside the train station there.



in the references to them in the Hebrew army, as forced labor conscripts, and as possible wives for the Hebrews—all the way until the return from exile in Babylon. Most Old Testament references to the Hittites make sense when they are pictured as a local Canaanite people who were never quite exterminated during the Hebrew conquest of Canaan.

Five references in the Old Testament, however, do not fit this picture (Gelb 1962: 613–14). The reference in Joshua 1:4, for example, which describes the area around the Euphrates as being Hittite territory, cannot refer to the Hittites of Hebron but rather to the Neo-Hittite kingdoms of northern Syria (see Boling and Wright 1982: 122–23 for a different view). In Judges 1:26, the reference to the man who, after betraying Bethel, goes to the "land of the Hittites" could refer to either southern Palestine or northern

Syria, but in view of the use of the phrase *eres haḥittim* ("land of the Hittites")—Joshua 1:4 being the only other occurrence of this phrase—it is quite possible that it, too, refers to the Neo-Hittite area. Robert G. Boling (1975: 59) has indirectly implied that he understands this phrase as referring to the area of the Anatolian-Syrian Hittites. Also, references to the "kings of the Hittites" who imported horses and chariots from Solomon (1 Kings 10:29 and 2 Chronicles 1:17) must indicate a powerful and wealthy group of kings, not a local Canaanite people who had been enslaved by Solomon. The same can be said for "the kings of the Hittites" whose reputation alone caused the Syrian army to flee (2 Kings 7:6). By contrast, the Neo-Hittite kingdoms fit quite well in terms of chronology and geography; they were in the same area as the Syrians and thus were known to them, and the plural

References to the Hittites in the Old Testament seem to refer to two distinct groups: one in Palestine, another in Anatolia and north Syria.

The Hurrians and the Horites

The Hurrians were a neighboring people whose culture greatly influenced that of the Hittites after they were conquered by Šuppiluliuma I early in the Empire period. Probably originating from the mountains of eastern Anatolia, the Hurrians in the mid-second millennium B.C.E. formed the state of Mitanni and became a major power along with the Babylonians, Egyptians, and Hittites. The Hurrians spread out over a large part of the ancient Near East, through northern Mesopotamia and Syria and south into Palestine (Bright 1981: 63). Evidence that they migrated all the way through Palestine and down into Egypt may be found in the occurrence of Hurrian names among those of the Hyksos, foreign rulers of Egypt during the second millennium (Hoffner 1973: 224–25). When the Hyksos were finally expelled from Egypt in the middle of the second millennium, some of these Hurrians settled in Palestine (Hoffner 1973: 225).

E. A. Speiser (1962: 664–66) identified the Hurrians with the Horites, Hivites, and Jebusites of the Old Testament. He tempered this identification, however, by alluding briefly (1962: 665) to an indigenous group, located around Seir, called Horites. This situation is perhaps analogous to confusion over the term Hittite for indigenous and foreign groups with similar names. The identification of Hurrians with Horites and other Canaanite peoples has been contested by Roland de Vaux (1967). H. A. Hoffner (1973: 225) agreed with Speiser that the Jebusites, some of whom had identifiably Hurrian names, could be Hurrian. It is very likely that Hurrians had settled in Palestine before the conquest, and, therefore, we would expect that the Israelites encountered them during their conquest of the promised land. In this period the Egyptian name for Palestine was Huru, presumably because there was a sizable population of Hurrians in the region (Bright 1981: 116; Speiser 1962: 664).

R. K. Harrison (1983: 245) followed Speiser's suggestion that Jebusite and Horite were local terms for people known elsewhere as Hurrians, citing the archaeological evidence for Hurrians in Palestine during the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C.E. K. A. Kitchen (1983: 242) has been more cautious, preferring to keep the Hurrians distinct from the Hivites until we have more evidence regarding their identity. Edwin Yamauchi (1983: 256), while noting de Vaux's objections to locating the Hurrians in mid-second-millennium Palestine, has accepted evidence of Hurrian names for Jebusite rulers as an indication that they may indeed have been Hurrians. Thus it is at least possible that Hurrians can be found in the Old Testament as the Horites, Hivites, and Jebusites.

"kings" fits very well with the nature of these states, which were not unified into one polity but consisted of several small kingdoms.

It is noteworthy that these five references to the Hittites, which, on the basis of context, should be understood as referring to the Neo-Hittites of north Syria, are also the

only five occurrences of the plural form *hittim* in the Old Testament. This may not be significant, but it could be some indication of a distinction made in the text between the Hittites of Palestine, descendants of Heth, and the Hittites of Anatolia and north Syria, the men of Hatti.

We should distinguish, then,

between the "sons of Heth" of Palestine and the "men of Hatti" of Anatolia and northern Syria (see Gelb 1962: 614; Hoffner 1973: 213–14; Speiser 1983: 169–70). The use of *hitti* to refer to both may reflect nothing more than the similarity of the names Heth and Hatti (Hoffner 1973: 214). This does not imply that the two groups called Hittites in the Old Testament may not be related ancestrally from some period antedating our earliest records or that the Canaanite Hittites were never confused with the Hittites of the Anatolian or north Syrian kingdoms who may have migrated into Palestine and settled there. Aharon Kempinski (1979) has argued convincingly for extensive penetration of the Hittites into Palestine after the fall of Hattuša, and certainly there is archaeological evidence of Hittite cultural influence in Palestine during the Late Bronze Age (Shanks 1973: 234–35, plate 63c; Callaway and Cooley 1971: 15–19). For the period covered by the Old Testament, however, the terms usually translated as Hittites referred to two distinct groups of people.

Syria in the Old Testament Period

The history of northern Syria (and southern Anatolia) in the period between the Hebrew conquest of Canaan and the fall of the northern kingdom of Israel is basically that of the Aramean and Neo-Hittite kingdoms, sometimes called the Syro-Hittite kingdoms. Assyrian documents dating to the first millennium B.C.E. refer to northern Syria as the land of Hatti, reflecting the continued presence of small Hittite states in the southern part of the former Hittite Empire in spite of the collapse of the Hittite polity in central Anatolia.

The collapse of Hattuša signaled the end of the Hittite Empire, but many cities retained their Hittite character for centuries.

Although the collapse of the capital at Hattuša signaled the end of the Hittite Empire, many cities throughout the empire retained their Hittite character for centuries after the imperial structure had vanished. These Neo-Hittite cities show a cultural mix of Hittite and Aramean elements in a period of increasingly strong Aramean presence in Syria. The annals of the Assyrian kings, who eventually incorporated all of these cities into their empire, provide one of the available sources for the political history of these states. The archaeological record from this period includes architectural remains and many examples of Neo-Hittite sculpture. Local documentation consists basically of inscriptions in hieroglyphic Luwian and Aramaic; there is no corpus of nonmonumental documentation analogous to the Hittite archives at Hattuša.

As has been mentioned, the city of Karkamiš, located on the modern-day Syria-Turkey border, was a provincial capital during the Hittite Empire; after the empire fell it became the center of an independent kingdom. Excavations at the site have uncovered a wonderful series of orthostats, stone slabs carved in low relief and used to decorate public buildings. Much of this sculpture, which dates to the first millennium B.C.E., is on display in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara. The art of the surrounding states reflects the influence of the Karkamiš school, a style that may have indirectly influenced the Greeks via the Phrygians.

One of the most spectacular of all the Neo-Hittite sites was Karatepe. Because the orthostats have been preserved in situ, the modern visitor can walk through the city and get a sense of what it looked like in antiquity.

The reliefs and long bilingual inscription of king Azitawanda written in hieroglyphic Luwian and Phoenician illustrate the blending of Hittite and Phoenician culture at this site.

The Neo-Hittite states were quite definitely heirs to Hittite civilization, but they developed a distinctive culture all their own by synthesizing Anatolian and Syrian traditions. As indicated by references to them in the Old Testament, these principalities had some contact with the kingdom(s) of the Hebrews further south in Palestine. They never unified to create a polity on the scale of the Hittite Empire, and this fragmented political situation made them easy targets for Assyrian expansion during the early first millennium B.C.E. As each state was absorbed into Assyria, culturally as well as politically, it lost its distinctive Hittite-Aramean character. Thus, for southern Anatolia and northern Syria, the period immediately following the Neo-Hittite states was one of Assyrian domination, a domination that eventually extended down to the northern kingdom of Israel.

Notes

¹This date, and all dates cited in this article, are based on the low chronology dating system. Under the middle chronology dating system the Colony Age lasted from around 1925 to 1725 B.C.E. For a larger discussion of issues related to an absolute Hittite chronology, see Ronald L. Gorny's article in this issue. Also see, in this article, Gorny's list of Hittite and pre-Hittite kings and their reigns according to both dating systems.

²Hittitologists identify individual Hittite texts by their number in the comprehensive (when compiled) *Catalogue des textes hittites* by Emmanuel Laroche (Paris: Éditions Klincksieck, 1971), which is abbreviated CTH.

³Biblical passages used in this article are from the Revised Standard Version or the New International Version.

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