

New Evidence on the End of the Hittite Empire

Itamar Singer

Tel Aviv University, Tel Aviv

The wealth of written documentation from the 13th century B.C. may easily mislead the historian to place excessive confidence in our knowledge of the basic facts relating to the last phases of the Hittite Empire. Yet, time and again, new discoveries reveal previously unsuspected facets of late Hittite history

that call for an overall re-evaluation of the “known” facts. The major developments over the last years are related to sources from Anatolia, but I will open this concise survey with the less spectacular additions to the history of the period from two important centers of Hittite Syria, Ugarit and Emar.

Ugarit

In the philological domain, the most significant contribution of Ugarit in the last decades was the discovery of a new 13th-century archive (Schaeffer 1978; Bordreuil and Pardee 1995). The lot of tablets was accidentally brought to light by military constructions in the south-central part of the city. Salvage excavations carried out in 1973 unearthed about 120 tablets and fragments, of which a dozen are in Ugaritic and the rest in Akkadian. The Ugaritic texts were promptly published, but the publication of the Akkadian material suffered a long delay owing to the death of the epigraphist Jean Nougayrol and other circumstances (Bordreuil 1991:8). Photographs of the casts and a preliminary catalogue were included in *Ugaritica* VII (Schaeffer 1978). Finally, this important material was published as *Ras Shamra-Ougarit* VII by a joint team (Bordreuil 1991).

Meanwhile, permission was obtained from the Syrian authorities to demolish the military structure, and systematic excavation of the area was begun in the late 1980s (Lombard 1995). The large ashlar house

yielded a few tablets every season, but the real “treasure trove” was hit in 1994 with the discovery of more than 300 tablets and fragments. A general survey of this exciting new archive was presented in the Ugarit Symposium held in Paris in June 1993 (Bordreuil and Pardee 1995). In their joint article P. Bordreuil and D. Pardee reached the conclusion that the archive belonged to a certain Urtenu, a very important political figure in the last decades of Ugarit. Preliminary notes on some of the important political documents were presented at the same symposium by F. Malbran-Labat (1995) and S. Lackenbacher (1995).

The texts published in *RSO* VII include mostly letters, but also some administrative and lexical lists, ritual texts, and a quasi-duplicate of the previously known ruling concerning the merchants of Ura (no. 1 = RS 34.179; cf. PRU IV, pp. 103–105). The geographical scope of the letters covers almost the entire range of Ugarit’s foreign relations: Egypt, Beirut and Sidon in Canaan, Assyria, the Land of Suhi on the Middle Euphrates, and, of course, primarily the main

centers of the Hittite Empire: Hattuša, Tarhuntašša, Karkamiš, Ušnātu, Qadeš, and Emar (Fig. 2.1) As stated by D. Arnaud in his introduction to the volume (Bordreuil 1991:14), the abundant new material does not revolutionize our previous knowledge about Ugarit and its neighbors, but it definitely augments and amplifies several important aspects (Singer, in press b).

The growing unruliness of Ugarit in face of its weakening but demanding Hittite overlords is further demonstrated by several documents. In no. 7 (RS 34.136) the king of Ugarit is reprimanded by the king of Karkamiš for sending insufficient tribute to the nobles of Hatti. The punishment inflicted on the messengers from Ugarit in an earlier incident is cited as a warning. Even more severe are Ugarit's attempts to evade its military duties, from which the rich mercantile port used to be exempt in better days. In no. 6 (RS 34.143) the king of Karkamiš questions the validity of the information provided by the king of Ugarit about the whereabouts of his army. According to the information held by the Hittite viceroy, the army of Ugarit is stationed in the city of Apsuna on the northern frontier of the kingdom of Ugarit, and not across the border in Mukiš. We can hardly tell who is right in this dispute, but we may perhaps combine the new evidence with a previously published Ugaritic letter in which a dignitary informs his queen that the enemy is in Mukiš (RS 16.402 +; PRU II, no. 12; KTU 2.33). The king of Karkamiš further reprimands his correspondent, charging that the chariots and soldiers sent from Ugarit to Karkamiš are of poor quality and that the horses are starved.¹ The king of Ugarit is accused of keeping back for himself the best *marianu* troops, an accusation that is also echoed in previously known letters.

A most interesting new document contains a list of ships of the king of Karkamiš that are no longer in a condition to sail anywhere (no. 5 = RS 34.147). The 14 ships are identified by their owners or captains, including a Sidonian and a man of Akko. The dependence of the Hittites on the fleet of Ugarit was well known from the documents dealing with the transportation of grain, but this is the first time that we hear about ships of Karkamiš harbored in the port of Ugarit, apparently in bad mechanical condition. The Hittite concern to keep the fleet of Ugarit in a constant state of readiness is also reflected in a letter sent from Karkamiš to the queen of Ugarit in which she is allowed to send some ships to Byblos and Sidon, but not to more distant places (no. 8 = RS 34.138).

Perhaps the most interesting aspect revealed by the new archive concerns Ugarit's adaptation of its foreign policy to the changing international situation. Realizing the rapidly weakening and disintegrating condition of her once powerful Hittite suzerain, the resourceful foreign office of Ugarit explored ways to expand and enhance its diplomatic and commercial

ties with other great powers. A surprising letter of an Assyrian king to the king of Ugarit has already been published (Lackenbacher 1982; see also Singer 1985b). It contains detailed information on the circumstances leading to a major battle fought in Nihriya, in the Upper Tigris region, between Tudḫaliya "IV" and an Assyrian monarch, probably Tukulti-Ninurta I. The Hittites were utterly defeated. The Assyrian king's very act of reporting this event to an acknowledged Hittite vassal is no doubt more than a simple act of courtesy. It may mark an opportune *détente* between Ugarit and the Assyrians, who were always keen to get access to Mediterranean ports.

Whereas this new overture between Ugarit and Assyria, practically "over the head" of Karkamiš, was certainly regarded as treachery by the Hittites, the revival of the traditional close ties between Ugarit and Egypt was more in line with Hittite interests after the conclusion of the Silver Treaty in 1258 B.C. The commercial contacts were naturally extended to Egyptian Canaan as well. A letter probably addressed to Ramesses deals with some transactions between the "sons of the Land of Ugarit" and the "sons of the Land of Canaan" (RS 20.182+; *Ugaritica* V, no. 36, augmented by S. Lackenbacher 1994b). The letter from Ugarit found at Tel Aphek in Israel records a grain shipment sent to Ugarit from the port of Jaffa around 1230 B.C. (Owen 1981; Singer 1983a).

An overt political overture toward Egypt is documented in a fascinating new letter from the Urtenu archive found in 1986 (RS 88.2158; S. Lackenbacher 1995; 1994a). It contains the cautious response of Merneptah to a request from Ugarit to send Egyptian sculptors who would erect a statue of Pharaoh in the temple of Ba'al in Ugarit. The Egyptian monarch acknowledges his correspondent's pledge of being "the servant of the king, the Son of Re," just as his ancestors before him. The rest of this intriguing new document lists an outstandingly rich shipment of luxury items from Egypt to Ugarit. One is reminded of the well-known sword of Merneptah found east of the palace of Ugarit (Schaeffer 1956; cf. Helck 1995:93).

The cordial relations with Egypt seem to have thrived until the very end of Ugarit. The Ugaritic draft of a letter from Ras Ibn Hani contains an extremely elaborate courtesy address: "[to the Sun,] the great king, the king of Egypt, [the good] king, the just king, [the king of ki]ngs, the lord of all the land [of Egypt]t" (RIH 78/3+30; KTU 2.81; Bordreuil and Caquot 1980:356f.; Pardee and Bordreuil 1992:711; for the epithets, see Milano 1983). The name of the sender is almost entirely lost, but the title of the Egyptian king is paralleled in another draft from Ugarit, which was sent by Ammurapi "to the Sun, the great king, the king of kings" (RS 34.356; KTU 2.76; Bordreuil 1982:10 ff.). Very probably this letter was also directed to the Egyptian "Sun," and not to the

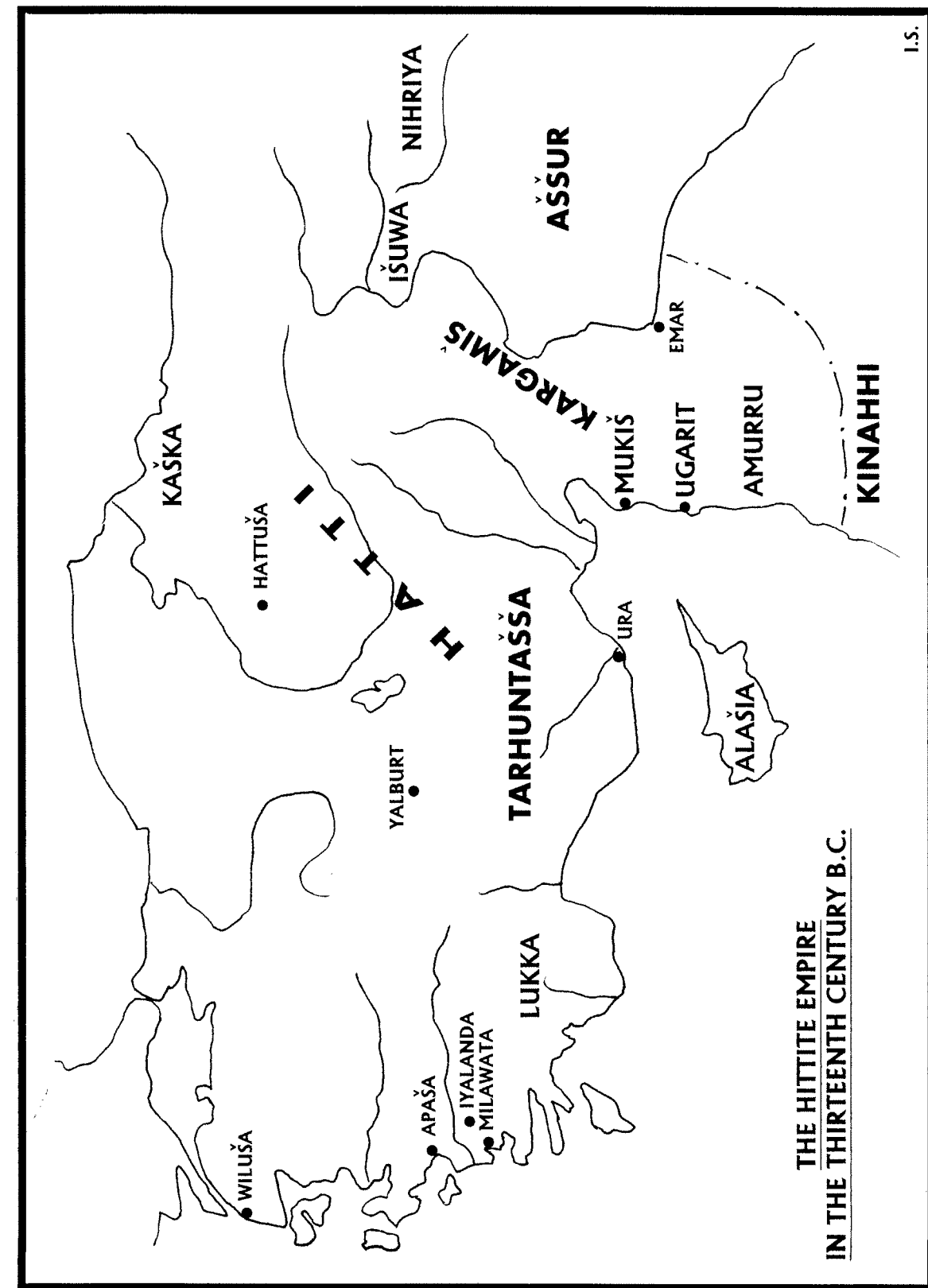


Fig. 2.1. The Hittite Empire in the 13th century B.C.

Hittite "Sun," whose brilliance had faded considerably by this time.

A most valuable *terminus post quem* for the fall of Ugarit is provided by a letter sent to Ammurapi by Beya, "Chief of the troops of the Great King, the King of Egypt" (RS 86.2230; Arnaud *apud* Bordreuil 1987:297; Arnaud 1992:181 n. 6; Freu 1988; Yon 1992:119; Helck 1995:93f.; de Moor 1996:217ff.). He must be identical with the "Great Chancellor" Bay, a dominant figure in late Nineteenth Dynasty Egypt, who operated well into the reign of Siptah (1197–1192).²

A central theme in the last correspondence of the Hittite Empire is the devastating famine and the attempts to procure some desperately needed food (Klengel 1974; Singer 1983a:4ff.; Neu 1995:121f.). A long letter from Urtenu's archive, sent by a certain *Ban(?)–ni-ya* or *E(?)–ni-ya* to his unnamed "lord," apparently deals with this problem, but many details in it remain enigmatic (no. 40 = RS 34.152). Its general tone strongly recalls the dramatic letters from Courtyard V of the palace and from the Rap'anu archive: "The gates of the house are sealed. Since there is famine in your house, we will starve to death. If you do not hasten to come we will starve to death. A living soul of your country you will no longer see" (ll. 9–14).

Finally, the Urtenu archive has also provided the already well-known letter concerning "the Šikila people who live on boats,"³ the first mention by name of one of the raiders of Ugarit, who are usually referred to simply as "the enemy" (Lehmann 1985:29). This cuneiform spelling probably corresponds to *Skil* in the Egyptian texts, one of the Sea Peoples who fought against Ramesses III and then settled on the central coast of Palestine.⁴ The texts from Ugarit also mention the *ptnm/šerdanū*, but these are no doubt units of mercenaries serving in the army of Ugarit, just as the *ši/erdanū* served the king of Byblos in the Amarna period and the *Šrdn* served in the Egyptian

army (for a comprehensive discussion, see Loretz 1995).

The texts from Ras Ibn Hani (perhaps ancient Apu) are mostly dated to the late 13th century (Lagarce 1995:149ff.), and do not seem to provide any substantial information on the last days of Ugarit. On the other hand, the joint Syrian-French excavations at this site have recovered important new data on the reoccupation of the Syrian coast after the fall of Ugarit (Lagarce 1988; Caubet 1995, with further references). The Late Bronze Age palaces had been abandoned and then destroyed, more or less at the same time as Ugarit. But whereas the latter remained deserted (except for occasional squatters), Ras Ibn Hani was immediately resettled by people who produced Myc. III C:1 ware of the same type that appears along the entire Levantine coast, from Cilicia to Philistia, and in Cyprus (Badre 1983; Lagarce 1988). The traditional association of this Early Iron Age pottery with the settlement of the Sea Peoples along the eastern Mediterranean coasts has recently been questioned by scholars who would rather see in it a basically local ceramic development (Caubet 1992:130; Noort 1994:113ff.). To my mind, the introduction of Myc. III C:1 ware clearly points to the new settlement of foreign population groups from the Aegean region, more sparsely in the northern Levant than in Philistia (Singer 1985a:112; 1988). It is worth noting that at Ras Ibn Hani, as in Philistia, there is a gradual evolution from monochrome to bichrome pottery (Lagarce 1988:153), and such similarities should be further explored in the areas of the Sea Peoples' diaspora. Besides the Myc. III C:1 ware, the Iron Age settlement at Ras Ibn Hani has also produced types of pottery that continue local ceramic traditions (Lagarce 1988:154f.; Caubet 1992:127). This may indicate that, as in Palestine, new settlers and groups of autochthonous population intermingled.

Emar

The texts of Ugarit provide the most dramatic descriptions of the impending catastrophe, but the gradual deterioration in living conditions can also be traced in the documents from Meskene/Emar, a kingdom situated on the southeastern frontier of the Hittite Empire.⁵

The juxtaposition of two recently published documents seems to indicate a drastic increase in the yearly tribute paid to the Hittite viceroy, from 700 to 2000 *shekel* of gold (Arnaud 1991:16, 41ff., nos. 14–15). The corresponding amount of silver is only

preserved in the former document: 30,000 *shekel*! To raise this formidable sum Emar was forced to sell property of the city and its patron god, Ninurta.

The growing burden of the Hittite tribute came, as it happened, at the worst time, for the general food shortage had already reached this fertile region as well. A series of year-names significantly single out the staggering grain prices as the most salient feature of these years: "The year of hardship when three *qa* of grain cost one silver *shekel*" (Tsukimoto 1988:166f., no. E; Sigrist 1993:169f., no. 2). Then, only two *qa*

could be obtained for the same price (Arnaud 1991: 125, no. 74), and finally, only one *qa* (Arnaud 1991: 58, no. 25). The exact chronology of the Emar texts has yet to be worked out in detail, but it is worth noting that an inflational curve in grain prices is also found in other regions of the Near East (Neumann and Parpola 1987; Černý 1933–1934; Janssen 1975: 551–552).

The year with the highest price is also characterized as "the year in which the *tarwa*-troops (*erim.meš tar-wa*; previously read *ga-yu*) laid siege on the city (of Emar)" (Arnaud 1991:58, nos. 25 and 44). The identity of these hordes, probably themselves driven by the general famine, is not known.⁶ For the date of

Emar's fall we are still relying on the fortunate discovery of a legal document dated to the second year of Melišipak, i.e., 1185 B.C., in the destruction level of a private house (Arnaud 1975; 1986:26).⁷ The fact that this date corresponds, more or less, with Ramesses III's battles against the Sea Peoples does not prove, as maintained by some (e.g., Boese 1982:18), that the latter were also responsible for the destruction of Emar and other inland cities (Margueron 1995:127). Aramean tribes seem to be much better candidates for the disruption of Late Bronze Age conditions in this area (Singer 1988:418f.; cf., however, Yon 1992: 117; Caubet 1992:129).

Hatti

If the new evidence from Syria merely refines our previous conceptions, in Anatolia the discovery of new documents has radically changed the historical picture of the last decades of the Hittite Empire. The new data and their implications have been discussed extensively over the last years, both in specialized articles and in more general presentations to symposia dealing with the end of the Bronze Age in the eastern Mediterranean. In the symposium held in Zwettl (Austria) in 1980, H. Otten dealt with the last phase of the Hittite kingdom (1983). Ten years later, in a symposium held at Brown University (Providence), H. A. Hoffner provided an updated summary on "The Last Days of Khattusha" (Hoffner 1992), and H. G. Güterbock followed up with the "Survival of the Hittite Dynasty" (Güterbock 1992). Finally, two recent monographs offer general overviews of the sources for the Late Hittite Empire (Hawkins 1995a: 57ff.; Giorgieri and Mora 1996). It would be futile to repeat here a full presentation of the new documents. I will instead concentrate on some specific aspects relevant to this series of lectures, namely, the military strategy of the last Hittite kings in the face of the growing problems along their Aegean and Mediterranean coasts.

In an article written in 1983 I attempted to summarize what was known at the time about Western Anatolia in the 13th century (Singer 1983b). In the Hittite sources that I surveyed, the last king known to have campaigned in the turbulent regions of the Lukka Lands, in southwestern Anatolia, appeared to be Hattušili "III". In the well-known "Tawagalawa Letter" an unnamed Hittite king describes a western journey leading him from Hattuša to Millawanda (i.e., Miletos, on the Aegean coast). One of the last stations on his itinerary was Iyalanda, described as a

formidable mountain fortress inaccessible by chariot. Iyalanda is generally identified with classical Alinda (Demirci-deresi) east of Miletos, one of the strongest fortified positions in Caria (Garstang and Gurney 1959:78). Following a suggestion of Güterbock, I identified the author of the "Tawagalawa Letter" with Hattušili (Singer 1983b:205ff.).⁸ Supporting evidence for this dating has now turned up in an unexpected source—a letter of Ramesses II to Hattušili, published by E. Edel in his voluminous monograph on the Hittite-Egyptian correspondence (Edel 1994: no. 80 = KBo 28, 28). Ramesses quotes from a missive sent from Hatti, in which the Hittite monarch boasted about his victory over Iyalanta and the booty that he had taken there: captives, cattle, and sheep. Apparently, Hattušili attributed much importance to this campaign, which was intended to reduce the potential danger from the "wild west" of Anatolia.

On the evidence of the Hittite sources available at the time, I assumed that the last kings of Hatti, Tudḫaliya "IV" and Šuppiluliuma II, were no longer able to assert their control over the southwestern Anatolian regions, and that they were compelled to establish their frontline farther inland, somewhere in the Konya Plain. The new hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions from Yalburt, in central Anatolia, and from the so-called Südburg in Boğazköy (the former first published in 1988, the latter discovered in the same year), have necessitated a full revision of my earlier conclusions.

The Yalburt inscription (also known as Ilgin) was accidentally unearthed by a bulldozer in 1970. Its extraordinary importance as the longest hieroglyphic inscription of the Empire period was immediately recognized; only in 1988, however, were photographs and a short description of the site published, as an

appendix to the excavation report of Inandik.⁹ On the basis of these photographs and visits to the site, D. Hawkins (1992:260–264; 1995a:66ff.) and M. Poetto (1993) were able to prepare full publications of the inscription. The text is inscribed on 19 blocks lining three walls of a large, rectangular water basin built over a sacred source. It records a campaign of Tudḫaliya “IV” to several localities in the Lukka Lands, including Wiyanawanda, Talawa, Pinali (or Pinadi), Awarna, and Mount Patara. A major contribution to western Anatolian historical geography is Poetto’s demonstration that these place-names correspond with those of Lycian and Greek toponyms in western Lycia along the Xanthos River (1993: 75–84).¹⁰ This important discovery reinforces the equation of Lukka with Lycia,¹¹ and at the same time shows that the valley of the Xanthos was inhabited in the second millennium, although definite archaeological evidence is still lacking.¹²

Tudḫaliya boasts that with the help of the Storm-God he scored a great victory over these places and took captives, oxen, and sheep. The victory inscription from Yalburt is closely paralleled by the block from Emirgazi (Masson 1979; Hawkins 1995a:86ff.), both sites located at a considerable distance from the place where these events took place. How effective this previously unknown campaign of Tudḫaliya actually was is hard to tell. Surely, a decisive military success was badly needed in order to restore the king’s self-confidence and pride after a painful defeat on the Assyrian front (Singer 1985). It is obvious, however, that the restless Lukka Lands were far from being pacified, and continuous Hittite intervention was necessary in the following generation as well.

Before we move on to the next and last generation of Hittite emperors, it is necessary to briefly recall the evidence of another major discovery, the Bronze Tablet bearing the treaty between Tudḫaliya of Ḫatti and his cousin Kurunta of Tarḫuntašša (Otten 1988).¹³ The relations between the two Hittite states were particularly delicate, for they were ruled by competing branches of the royal family—descendants of Muwatalli in the former, descendants of his usurping brother, Ḫattušili, in the latter. In this treaty Tudḫaliya granted far-reaching political and territorial concessions to his older cousin in order to gain his continuous support and at least his nominal recognition of Ḫattuša’s supremacy. But, apparently, Tudḫaliya’s magnanimous offers were insufficient, and eventually Kurunta chose to assert his legitimate rights to the Hittite throne and issued seals with the title Great King (Neve 1987:401–403; 1991:330, Abb. 35, 332). Because the bullae bearing this seal were found at Boğazköy, it was generally inferred that Kurunta must have temporarily occupied the capital of Ḫatti (Otten *apud* Neve 1987:403–404; Otten 1988:4f., 9; Hoffner 1992:50f.).

Although this is a possible scenario, I suggested

elsewhere a different, less bellicose, outcome of the inner-Hittite strife (Singer 1996b). Kurunta’s intransigence took the form of political propaganda rather than a military offensive against Ḫattuša. In other words, there were now two Great Kings sharing the domination of Anatolia, not to mention the king of Karkamiš, who ruled northern Syria. Despite their rivalry, Ḫattuša and Tarḫuntašša continued to cooperate in matters of common interest, such as the import of grain from Egypt through Ugarit.

The cuneiform Hittite documents pertaining to the last generation of Hittite kings are particularly fragmentary and problematical (Laroche 1953; Otten 1963; Giorgieri and Mora 1996:61ff.). Good command of the sources and, especially, much prudence are required in piecing together the scattered information to form a coherent historical reconstruction. This is hardly the case in M. Astour’s recent discussion of late Hittite history (1996:49ff.). After a concise presentation of the recent discoveries from Boğazköy, he sets out to prove that Kurunta’s coup d’état took place at the time of Arnuwanda III’s ascent to the throne, and that the ensuing civil war in Ḫattuša provided Tukulti-Ninurta with an incentive to attack the Hittites. To establish this reconstruction Astour uses rather free interpretations of fragmentary passages, ignores better-preserved texts that do not fit his purpose, and misrepresents the views of some of the scholars he quotes.¹⁴

The alleged battle lost by Arnuwanda III to the Assyrians is based on a misinterpretation of KUB 26. 33 iii 4–9 (CTH 125), a fragmentary passage from a loyalty oath to or a treaty¹⁵ with Šuppiluliuma II. Astour finds in it a mention “of an unspecified enemy whom the king (Arnuwandaš III) could not withstand in battle.” He proceeds by concluding that the Land of Egypt, mentioned in l. 7, was certainly not the enemy in this period; therefore, it must have been the Assyrian army, which had invaded Syria. Despite the deplorable state of preservation, I think that the passage must be understood quite differently. Typically for a treaty or an oath, it raises the theoretical possibility (note the conditional *mān*, “if”) that the sworn person would not support wholeheartedly the king of Ḫatti in the eventuality of a war. It is impossible to tell in which context the Land of Egypt is mentioned here, but in any event I fail to see in the passage any allusion to a lost battle against the Assyrians. The treaty between Ḫatti and Alašiya, KBo 12.39 (CTH 141) indeed refers to some involvement with the king of Assyria,¹⁶ but it is not at all clear whether this refers to Šuppiluliuma II or, more likely, to his father, Tudḫaliya.¹⁷

Whereas he uses, rather forcibly, these fragmentary and oblique references to prove a Hittite-Assyrian military encounter in the short reign of Arnuwanda III, Astour is totally mute about two major sources, one from Ugarit (RS 34.165; Lackenbacher 1982 =

no. 46 in Bordreuil 1991) and one from Ḫattuša (KBo 4.14), which refer directly to a decisive battle that was fought at Niḫriya. The former text mentions Tudḫaliya by name, and the latter is probably also attributed to the same king.¹⁸ It would be tedious to repeat in this context the arguments for the redating of KBo 4.14, and the new information on the Hittite-Assyrian conflict deriving from these and other sources. Suffice it to say that it completely disagrees with the chronological framework set up by Astour.¹⁹

Most of the documents dated safely to the reign of Šuppiluliuma II point to a continuing instability within the Hittite capital and a growing sense of mistrust (Otten 1963:3ff.; Giorgieri and Mora 1996:61ff.). As for his military record, the only remaining cuneiform document is the well-known report on the battle against “the enemy of Alašia” (KBo 12, 38; Otten 1963:13ff.; Güterbock 1967). According to the most plausible understanding of the fragmentary text, in its first part Šuppiluliuma narrates the deeds of his father, Tudḫaliya, namely, the subjection of Alašia and the imposition of tribute on its king and its *piduri*. In the second part Šuppiluliuma describes his own deeds in the following words: “. . . I mobilized, and I, Šuppiluliuma, the Great King, [sailed out(?)] at once to the sea. / The ships of Alašia met me in battle at sea three times, but I smote them. I captured the ships and set them afire at sea. / When I reached dry land again, the enemies of Alašia came in multitude against me for b[attle, and I fought against] them” (rev. iii 2’–14’; Beckman 1996:33).

Though the “enemies of Alašia” are not more closely defined, Otten (1963:21) suggested, with good reason, that they must have been the Sea Peoples. As for the “dry land”²⁰ where the battle against the “enemies of Alašia” was continued, both the Cypriote and the Anatolian coasts have been taken into consideration; to my mind, the latter is more plausible. It would seem that despite the alleged victory in the open sea, Šuppiluliuma was followed back to his own haven by the enemy hordes. In fact, there is a remarkable resemblance between this Hittite description of both a sea and a land battle, and Ramesses III’s wars against the Sea Peoples recorded at Medinet Habu.

The “manly deeds” described in the text were probably drafts or copies of lapidary hieroglyphic inscriptions set up by Šuppiluliuma in “Eternal Peaks” (NA4 *ḫekur* SAG.UŠ) of his father and of his own. The former has been plausibly identified with Chamber B at Yazılıkaya (Otten 1963:22; 1989b:34), the latter with Nişantaş (Güterbock 1967:81). The beginning of the Nişantaş inscription corresponds perfectly with obverse ii 22–26 of the cuneiform text. In the last years D. Hawkins has attempted to extract something from the rest of the badly eroded surface, but so far the name of Alašia has not turned up (personal communication).

Surprising new evidence on the military enterprises of Šuppiluliuma II turned up with the 1988 discovery of the so-called Südburg inscription in *Kammer 2*, a cultic installation related to the nearby sacred pool (Otten 1989a; Hawkins 1990; 1995). Though perfectly preserved, the text is difficult to understand because of the frequent use of unknown logograms. It contains three accounts of conquests, two of them followed by the building of cities. In this context, one would rather take these building activities to mean fortifying existing places or constructing military strongholds. Unfortunately, the names of these cities are mostly written logographically and cannot be identified. As observed by Hawkins, the statement of time “in that year” seems to indicate that the text describes the events of a single year. If so, the places mentioned should probably be located not too far from each other. The first campaign is to several southwestern lands: Wiyanawanda, Tamina, Masa, Luka, and Ikuna. Two of these places, Wiyanawanda and Luka, were also defeated by Tudḫaliya, according to the Yalburt inscription. The second campaign is to a mountain whose name is illegible. Finally, the third victory is, surprisingly, over the Land of Tarḫuntašša (“Storm-God’s City Land”). The latter is followed by the building or strengthening of three cities, one of which is Tana. Hawkins suggests that this could be Adana (attested in Hittite texts), assuming that after the defeat of Tarḫuntašša Šuppiluliuma continued eastward into Kizzuwatna.

All in all, the Südburg inscription provides exciting new information on a formerly blank area: an extensive campaign of the last Hittite king along the whole length of Anatolia’s Mediterranean coast. Even if this is partly self-laudatory propaganda, it must contain a kernel of truth, because we know of joint efforts of Ḫatti and Ugarit to contain the sea-borne enemy in Lukka (RS 20.238 = *Ugaritica* V: 88, no. 24). If so, what was the objective of Šuppiluliuma’s attack on Tarḫuntašša? Was it merely a further and final chapter of the inner-Hittite strife for the imperial throne (Hawkins 1995a:61ff.)?

H. A. Hoffner was the first to consider a different interpretation, namely, that in his attack on Tarḫuntašša Šuppiluliuma was already fighting Sea Peoples who had landed on the southern coast of Anatolia and were pushing north (1992:49, 51). However, for reasons related to the relative dating of the Südburg and Nişantaş inscriptions, he gave up this interpretation and preferred the inner-Hittite scenario. I think that Hoffner’s original intuition was correct. Nişantaş appears to be slightly earlier than Südburg (for arguments, see Singer 1996b); in any case, I understand both attacks, on Alašia and on Tarḫuntašša, as part of the same last-ditch attempt to block the further advance of the Sea Peoples. That Šuppiluliuma’s was, in the best case, a Pyrrhic victory is shown by the last documents from Ugarit, which were already

reporting that the ships of the enemy had landed and had set fire to towns in the land of Ugarit (RS 20.238 = *Ugaritica* V: no. 24). Contrary to some recent historical evaluations (e.g., Liverani 1995:49),²¹ I think that both Hatti and Tarḫuntašša collapsed at

about the same time at the turn of the 12th century B.C.²² Only the dynasty of Karkamiš, who held the line of the Euphrates as far as Malatya, survived to carry on the torch of Hittite civilization (Hawkins 1988; 1995b; Güterbock 1992).

Notes

1. Trade in horses is the subject of several letters of this archive (nos. 11, 21, 39), including a delivery to the messenger of the king of Alašia (no. 35 = RS 34.153).

2. Cf. the slightly lower Egyptian chronology proposed by Helck 1995:94, n. 94. The new evidence lowers by a few years the date I proposed, before the discovery of the Beya letter, for the fall of Ugarit, although I added, "perhaps we can allow for a few more years into the first decade of the 12th century, at the most, both in Hattuša and in Ugarit" (Singer 1987:418). I fail to see, however, why Freu (1988:398) insists on lowering the date of Ugarit's destruction to "*sans doute pas avant 1190*," if, as he maintains, the letter was sent around 1995 B.C. We have no evidence whatsoever to establish the interval between the arrival of the letter and the fall of Ugarit.

3. RS 34.129; Dietrich and Loretz 1978; Lehmann 1979; republished by F. Malbran-Labat in Bordreuil 1991:38f. (*RSO* VII, no. 12). Incidentally, the corrected reading of the name of the *kartappu* in l. 15 as Nirgaili (instead of Nisahlili), who could be identical with the Hittite prince Nerik(a)ili (for whom see Klengel 1989; van den Hout 1995:96ff.), was first suggested by Singer 1983a:10, n. 14.

4. On the transliteration of the name, see Edel 1984; Lehmann 1985:34–35; Singer 1988:245–246. On the settlement of the Sikils and other Sea Peoples in Palestine, see Singer 1994:295ff.

5. For the contribution of the Emar texts to the study of the Hittite administration of Syria, see Beckman 1992; 1995; Yamada 1993.

6. Astour's belief (1996:32 n. 28) that this name refers to the same enemies who are elsewhere called "Hurrian troops" is completely unfounded.

7. This is now confirmed by a document that bears a dating by the Assyrian eponym system (Beckman 1996a:34).

8. An authorship of Hattušili "III" is also maintained

by Heinhold-Krahmer 1983:97; 1986:47f.; van den Hout 1984:91f.; Popko 1984:202; Güterbock 1990. On the other hand, Unal (1991:33) reiterates his earlier ascription of the letter to Muwatalli II (1974: 52–54; see also Smit 1990–1991). It is beyond the scope of this article fully to reexamine the issue, but it may be noted in passing that the passage in the Ramesses letter dealing with the Iyalanda campaign also mentions the princes Nirikili and Tudḫaliya, one of whom could be the "crown-prince" at the time of this western offensive.

9. R. Tamizer apud Özgüç 1988:xxv–xxvii, pls. 85–95, figs. 60–63. For additional photographs and drawings of the inscription, as well as a map showing the location of this and neighboring sites, see Poetto 1993.

10. Wiyanawanda = Gr. Oinoanda; Talawa = Lyc. Tlawa, Gr. Tlos; Pinal/di = Lyc. Pinale, Gr. Pinara; Awarna = Lyc. Arṇna (Aramaic > *urn*), Gr. Xanthos; Patara = Gr. Patara. The sequence of the towns Awarna and Pina also appears in the Millawata letter (CTH 182), another document dated to Tudḫaliya (Masson 1979:15,36f.; Singer 1983:216; Bryce 1985: 18; Poetto 1993:77). M. Mellink (1995:36), following an old idea of J. Garstang, suggests adding to this list a possible equation between the Šyanta River Land, given by a Hittite king to Madduwatta, and the Xanthos Valley, the principal artery of western Lycia.

11. The equation is still considered philologically unproven by Otten 1993b (with extensive references to earlier literature on Lukka and Lycia, to which add Bryce 1979, 1986, 1992). See also Mellink 1995. To be sure, the second millennium Lukka Lands extended over an area much larger than classical Lycia.

12. For a sound reevaluation of archaeological conditions in this region, see Mellink 1995:37–41.

13. For the rapidly growing literature on this document, see references in van den Hout 1995:326 and Singer 1997. For the circumstances of Muwatalli's transfer of the capital from Hattuša to Tarḫuntašša, see Singer 1996a:191ff., and in press a.

14. For example, in dealing with the relative dating of the Tarḫuntašša treaties, Astour (p. 51, n. 98) ponders over "the question whether Ulmi-Tešub preceded or succeeded Kuruntaš," totally unaware of the view shared by many Hittitologists (including Gurney, whom he misquotes) that Ulmi-Tešub and Kurunta are identical. The possibility that Ulmi-Tešub preceded Kurunta, strenuously defended by Astour, can almost certainly be ruled out. See, most recently, van den Hout 1995:11, n. 29.

15. The almost completely lost col. IV has the remnants of what appears to be a list of witness gods (ll. 2'–3' ^dGAZ.BA.A.A; l. 8' *ERJ-SE-TUM*), followed by the concluding formula: "They shall b[e witnesses] to this [treaty and oath!]." This would fit a state treaty better than an oath of allegiance with a dignitary. But on the other hand, the sworn person uses the first person singular (as in CTH 124), and he addresses Suppiluliuma in a very familiar way (iii 21') to justify his position on the succession issue. A king of Kargamiš would be a good candidate for the authorship of this exceptional document.

16. An interesting restoration of the passage was suggested by P. Meriggi (apud Saporetti 1977:325): "*Il re di Assiria, che [non ha mai] varcato [il ma]re, la porta [di 20Alašia non ha mai varcato]*."

17. The text is attributed to Tudḫaliya by Güterbock 1967:80 and Beckman 1996:32; to Suppiluliuma by Otten 1963:13; Carruba 1968:22; Singer 1985:121f. However, as I attempted to prove, the series of

rhetorical questions must refer to Tudḫaliya.

18. Singer 1985, followed by van den Hout 1989: 273ff.; Hawkins 1990:313; 1995a:58; Klengel 1991:238 n. 91; *CHD*, L-N: 372 (but cf. Harrak 1987:261; Zaccagnini 1990:42 n. 12). C. Mora's suggestion (1988: 563ff.) to attribute both this text and RS 34.165 to a hypothetical Tudḫaliya, son and successor of Suppiluliuma II, has categorically been refuted by Otten 1993a and Hawkins 1995a:57, n. 207.

19. Several fragmentary letters from Boğazköy seem to indicate that, contrary to Astour's selective reconstruction, under the last kings of Hatti peace was resumed with Assyria. For KBo 18. 25 and KUB 57. 8, see Hagenbuchner 1989: nos. 189 and 224, respectively. For further pieces of the Hittite-Assyrian correspondence, see von Soden 1988; Zaccagnini 1990: 40ff.

20. Other occurrences of *ḫadantiya* have fully confirmed Güterbock's (1967:80) tentative rendering as "dry land." See Puhvel 1991:263.

21. I fully agree, though, with Liverani's observation that Ramesses III's account on the advance of the Sea Peoples refers to states rather than simply regions, and that Qode corresponds to the land of Tarḫuntašša.

22. On Hartapu as the last king of Tarḫuntašša, see Singer 1996a.

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