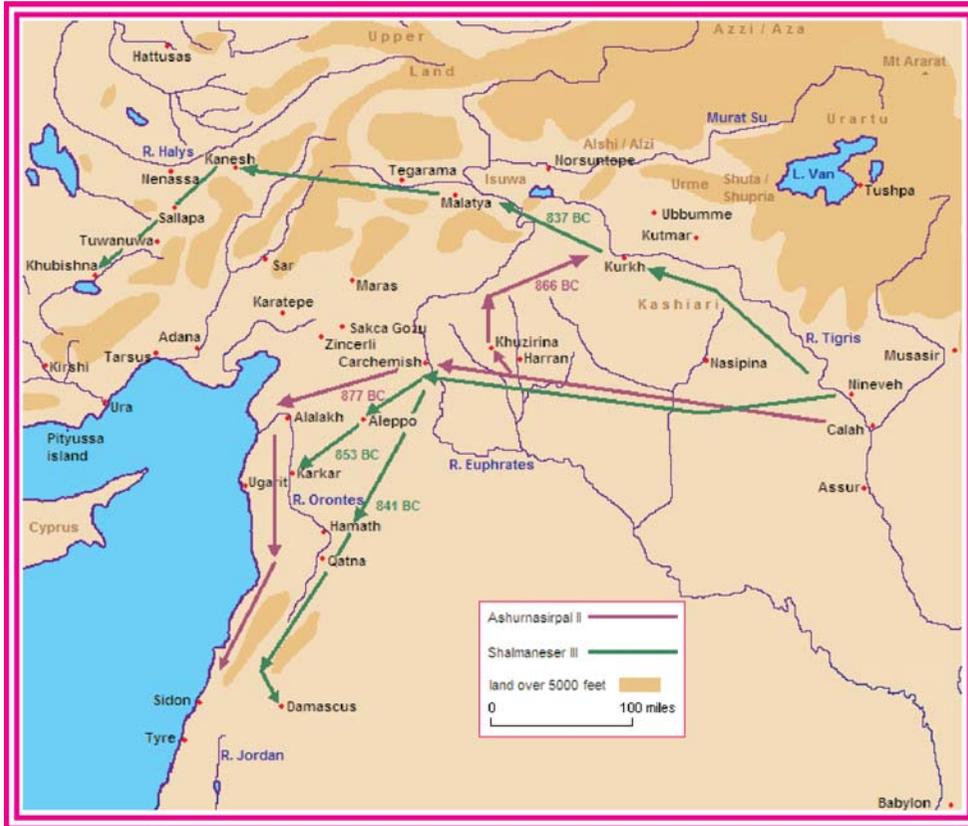


The Major Assyrian Campaigns of 9C BCE  
(B S Curnock.)



*(This version for private circulation; feedback invited.)*

# The Hittites United

By P J Crowe

## Introducing a new historical framework for the Hittites - the fruits of two centuries of Anatolian archaeology

A work in progress

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Successive generations of Near Eastern archaeologists have often had to admit that they could not reconcile their findings with the prevailing view of Hittite history. This paper is a summary version of an interim report for discussion of a new study initiated by B S Curnock. It demonstrates that the histories of the Empire and Neo-Hittites can be merged into a single integrated history of the Hatti Lands dating from the ninth to the mid-sixth centuries BCE. Interlocking supporting evidence is drawn from widespread and diverse sources including the ancient records of Assyria, Babylonia, Mitanni, Urartu, Syria, Egypt and the Old Testament. If this revision is followed, an alternative historical framework becomes available to the archaeologist within which many present difficulties of interpretation may find a more credible solution.

### Quote:

"Few archaeologists have had the courage, or the time, or the overall knowledge to question the bases of the chronology they were taught and are using. For many, the chronological scale is only of peripheral interest...The tombstones of those rash souls who have questioned the fundamentals lie scattered along the dusty by-ways of history, forgotten and unlamented." John Dayton, 'Minerals, Metals, Glazing, and Man' (1978).

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**Introduction**

According to our present understanding of ancient history there were two separate periods of Hittite civilisation. The first, called the Hittite Empire or Kingdom, based around Hattusas to the north of the Halys river, is roughly dated using Egyptian chronology, from c1700 to c1200 with some gaps. It was ended by the Sea Peoples, for whom we have little history and even less archaeology. Then after an absence of some two centuries, people with a very similar culture called the Neo-Hittites appear again, based in several cities in the region of northern Syria. They are dated from Assyrian chronology to c950 to c700. All dates in this paper are BC unless noted otherwise.

**Background history**

Before 1890, when Petrie published his discovery of Mycenaean pottery at the 14C site of Amarna, historians had roughly dated the Mycenaean era to c10-8C, immediately before the Archaic period. By awarding Egyptian dates to the Mycenaean, Petrie backdated them by some 500 years. This created the Dark Ages of Greece, and much distress among some established Greek scholars. A convincing alternative explanation for these depopulations is still awaited. Similarly, before the Hittite version of their treaty with Ramesses II was found in 1906, the many visible Hittite reliefs of what was called 'the forgotten empire', especially those at Yazilikaya, created much interest among art historians. In 1890 O. Puchstein concluded from the appearance of these figures, their clothing, headdress, weapons and emblems, that the reliefs were strongly influenced by Neo-Assyrian art, and should not be dated any earlier than c8-7C. Thus across Anatolia, Greece, and wherever Mycenaean pottery was found, the archaeological evidences of these civilisations, when given Egyptian dates, made them many centuries earlier than experts had previously believed. Yet despite the resulting problems, these dates have been accepted for over a century.

Given the multitude of archaeological problems caused by the gap between the two periods of Hittite history, the theory that they should be overlapped was first proposed by B S Curnock in an unpublished manuscript in 2007. More recently a Hittite study published by B S Curnock and P J Crowe (1) shows that nine major events found in the history of the Empire Hittites were apparently repeated, in the same order, in the history of the Neo-Hittites. The chances against this happening in two different periods of history are much too great to be dismissed as coincidence, and a further more detailed comparative study of the two eras was necessary. Some of our findings are presented here.

These reveal a single cohesive Hittite history of the first half of the first millennium BC. We believe we have demonstrated, beyond reasonable doubt, that the civilisation presently known as the Empire Hittites were the same people, with the same history, as those presently known as the Neo-Hittites. Their relations with neighbours such as Assyria, Babylon, Mitanni, Urartu, Phrygia and Lydia can now be understood within an integrated and more plausible historical context. This revision enables the Amarna

that the Hatti capital probably fell to Croesus in the time of Suppiluliumas II long before Ramesses III (perhaps the king Nectanebos whose wars are described by Diodorus Siculus) became king of Egypt. Most of our information about the final stage of the Hatti kingdom comes from texts found at Ugarit. Ammurapi was king at the time of its destruction, conventionally dated to c1200. It was destroyed at its height and vacated in haste. Cuneiform tablets found there show that an alphabet had been used for some two centuries before it died with the city. The existence of this alphabet so early has long been inexplicable. It contained all the letters of the 9-8C Hebrew / Phoenician alphabet, listed in the same order. The texts include a reference to Jamanu (Ionians), an anachronism if Ugarit really was destroyed c1200. Also the name Sosenk was found there, but no King of Egypt had this name earlier than 10C. The Hatti Empire effectively was brought to an end when its capital Hattusas, perhaps the Pteria of Herodotus, fell to the Lydian king Croesus in c547. Then within a year Cyrus, who had seized Astyages to become king of Media and Persia, marched across western Anatolia and defeated Croesus at Sardis. He then conquered Babylon in 539. When Egypt fell in 525, Persia ruled a vast Empire which included most of Anatolia. During the following centuries of Persian supremacy the once great kingdom of the Hatti Lands lost its independence, and after the conquest of Alexander the Great it was soon forgotten. Its epitaph may be seen inscribed on the famous 'Israel stele' of Merneptah: 'Hatti is at peace'.

**Conclusion**

This proposed revision of Hittite history offers a solution to the many Hittite-related problems outlined by P J James et al in their well known and respected book *Centuries of Darkness* (1991). As presented here it is based very largely upon published versions of contemporary written evidence. As such it is naturally dependent upon the integrity of the translations and on assumptions regarding context made by the translator.

Space does not allow the inclusion here of a raft of supporting archaeological evidence, but four much discussed further problems explained by our revision are:

- a) the Old Kingdom gate at Hattusas with a 9C - 8C design.
- b) the statue of Idri-mi at Alalakh with its first millennium lions and 9C sculpture.
- c) the 7C tomb at Carchemish with its gold figures resembling those carved on the reliefs at Yazilikaya.
- d) the 7-6C pottery found at Yazilikaya.

Given the many known links between the Hittites and their Near Eastern neighbours, our revision, if adopted, offers a solution to most of the hundreds of other LBA/Iron Age archaeological and art-historical conundrums identified and collated by James and his colleagues.

**Copyright PJC 121212****Acknowledgement**

This summary version, without full references and plans, is based upon, and quotes extensively from, a longer report on the unpublished work of Barry S Curnock. To him must go the sole credit for the idea of comparing the two periods of Hittite history.

had fled to Lydia and Neriglissar, not wishing to confront Croesus, had returned to Babylon. He died in his fourth year but, after a short intervening reign, Nabonidus returned to Hume (Cilicia) in his first year. There he acquired prisoners who were set to work on temple rebuilding work at Harran. In his year 2 he was in Hamath and in year 3 he led the Babylonian army to the Amanus region. He then spent several years in Arabia, a text from Harran explaining that there was famine and civil unrest in Babylon. When he returned the famine, which had been severe and widespread, had gone. Abundant rains had replenished food stocks.

Now re-dated by our revision to the 550's, the similarities between Hittite history and the Babylonian history of c557 to c553 are striking. Lydia / Arzawa was implicated in the rebellion, and in both the Hittite and Babylonian versions there was severe famine. Neriglissar, who succeeded Amel-Marduk's unsatisfactory rule, may have joined forces with Hatti out of loyalty to their alliance, or it may simply have been that the threat to Ugarit was a direct threat to Babylonian trade. Hattusilis's letter to Amel Marduk mentions merchants of Babylon in the country of Ugarit.

**5.7 The fall of Ugarit and the 'invaders from the north'.** Two years after the Babylonian intervention the enemy had regrouped, probably with the aid of Lydia, and in c555 once more they marched east. The allies stopped them in Cilicia. In 554 the enemy were again threatening Alasiya and the Syrian coast, and the major clashes were fought south of Ugarit. In 553 we reach the last year of Ugarit. Thudkhaliyas IV led the Hittite army deep into Tarhuntassa, supported by the fleet of Ugarit 'off the Lukka lands'. The Ugarit army, bolstered by Babylonian chariotry, engaged the enemy in the Amanus. There were mixed fortunes for the allies. The land engagements were successful, but both Alasiya and Ugarit fell. With Ugarit lost but with control of Syria re-established, the Babylonian involvement ended. Nabonidus withdrew, having done all he could to ensure Mediterranean outlets for Babylonian trade. Some of the southern Anatolians forces, vanquished by the combined forces of Hatti, Babylon and Syria, sought new pastures in Libya. Here they came into conflict with Egypt. When Libya attacked with an army including 'invaders from the north', Merneptah records 1213 Akawasha, 742 Teresh and 222 Shekelesh among the dead, which also included 6300 Libyans. The Anatolians clearly were providing support to a much larger Libyan force. Here we will simply suggest the identities of Merneptah's 'invaders from the north' as determined by our study. The Lukka were from Lycia, and the Sherden were Lydian troops from Sardis. We would expect the other three to come from broadly the same region. The Teresh were probably from Tarsus, and the leaders, the Akawasha, were followers of Appuwashu. The replacement of the Hittite letter 'k' with the letter 'p', as in Moppos/Mukhshush, is a reasonably common trait in Semitic languages. When retreating from Neriglissar, Appuasus may have passed the mountain fortress of Sagalassos before he reached Lydia. This town became an important regional centre in Pisidia, in the western part of the Taurus Mountains. It 'became known during the Persian period for its warlike factions.' It was, we suggest, the home of the 'Shekelesh'.

**K27. Suppiluliumas II c551?-c546?** Son of Thudkhaliyas IV and the last Hittite emperor. Conventionally the Hittite Empire is believed to have ended when it was overrun by the so-called Sea Peoples some time before year 8 of Ramesses III in c1200. We learn this from Papyrus Harris, which says that Hatti was one of the countries overrun by the Peoples of the Islands before they assembled in Amurru and then attacked Egypt. In our revision we show

Letters to take their rightful place in the mid-9C, in the time of Shalmaneser III, where they enhance the Biblical history of this era. Homer, it seems, was historically correct when he told us in the Iliad that the Trojans and Phrygians were neighbours. Our conclusions are reached after a detailed study of a multitude of texts from Assyria, Babylonia, Old Testament, as well as from the Hittite and Urartian capitals. If sustained, they demand a major chronological revision, and a re-calibration of some science-based dating processes.

The need for such a revision has been increasingly recognised by many scholars over the last century, as archaeology and related studies have yielded more and more inconsistencies, so-called 'dark ages', and anachronisms. Our Hittite study and historical reconstruction are logical extensions of the evidence presented in Centuries of Darkness by Peter J James et al (2), where the urgent need for a complete redating of the Hittite Empire is brilliantly demonstrated.

If accepted, the consequences of this work are as devastating for our conventional view of ancient history as they are emancipating for all those seriously interested in acquiring a better and more convincing understanding of early civilisations. With Mycenaean pottery re-dated, gone at a stroke are the inexplicable Mediterranean Dark Ages, along with a multitude of consequential anachronisms. Gone also are the interminable insoluble disputes among archaeologists and art historians which they introduced.

## The Nine Points

Below are the nine points of similarity between the histories of the Empire and Neo-Hittites. These are explained further in our published paper. In the histories of the two separate periods the following matching events were found to have occurred:

1. A king called Labarnas, who ruled as far as the Amuq Plain.
2. A generation after Labarnas, a Hittite king called Hattusilis ruled the land of Kummukh.
3. A period of some fifty years when Northern Syria came under the control of a Hurrian-speaking people, and Northern Syria was the Hurrians' strongest ally.
4. The Hittites had an enemy called Mita, who captured three cities in Cilicia, in Southern Anatolia ('Kue' in Assyrian).
5. Thirty years of invasion of Anatolia by the Kaska, in which there were specific attacks (by a different enemy) on Tegarama and Cilicia.
6. A powerful Hittite king, based initially in Malatya, who then extended his kingdom across eastern Anatolia.
7. An attack on Western Anatolia as far as Ephesus and Mycale by a Hittite king, son of the king in 6 above. He then advanced on Assyria.
8. A major battle north of Damascus against Egypt. The Egyptians and Babylonians say the enemy crossed the river to attack the Egyptian camp. After the battle, the Egyptians were pursued south through Syria.
9. Attacks on Northern Syria from Cilicia, followed by the destruction of the Hittite capital city.

So far as we can presently ascertain, these events appear to have occurred in the same order in the histories of both the Bronze Age and Iron Age Hittites. With nine matching events occurring in the same order, the chances of these two historical periods being the same are very high. Using simple statistics, the probability that the Empire Hittites were the same people as the Neo-Hittites is over a quarter of a million to one.

### **Tabal, the Assyrian name for the Hatti lands.**

If the Empire Hittites were also the Neo-Hittites, one thing above all is clear. The activities of the Empire Hittites must have been known by their first millennium neighbours. Yet as P J James et al [2] wrote in the notes to Chapter 6, 'Redating the Hittite Empire': 'References to the heartland of the Hittites in central Anatolia do not seem to appear in Assyrian records...There are allusions to Hittite and Hittite soldiers in the records of Shalmaneser I and Tukulti-Ninurta I (conventionally 13C) but none to a Hittite state or its rulers where they might have been expected.' [p. 362, n13].

Today's historians have now located all but one of the known so-called Neo-Hittite states with reasonable accuracy, with the problematic exception of 'Tabal'. The records of major Assyrian campaigns to the north and west confirm that the kingdoms of Tabal lay to the north of Syria and Cilicia, west of Urartu, south of the Kaska lands, and east of Phrygia. Yet scholars could not identify Tabal with the central Anatolian heartland of Hatti around Hattusas because the accepted chronology demands that the Anatolian plateau was effectively deserted from c1200 to c8-700. Freed from this constraint, our studies confirm that Tabal was indeed the Assyrian name for the Hatti homeland.

Once Tabal, the Biblical 'Tubal', is accepted as an Assyrian name for the Hatti lands, a large amount of new information about the Hittites becomes available. This greatly illuminates our understanding of their history, and greatly strengthens the integrity of our study findings.

### **Towards a new consensus?**

However tempting it may be to do so, the implications of this study for Egyptian chronology should not be allowed to influence its appraisal by Hittite scholars. The reader should be aware that archaeological evidence from many sites outside Egypt support a 7C-6C date for Ramesses II. (3) The purpose of this paper is to seek a critical review of our United Hittites theory by experts in related specialist fields. We have combined a myriad of matching events and people from the contemporary records of Anatolia, Urartu, Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine and Egypt to reveal an integrated history of the Hittite people throughout the first half of the first millennium B.C. We believe that, even without applied statistics, the large number of interconnecting links show beyond reasonable doubt that there was only one period of Hittite civilisation. Many insoluble problems created by having the monuments and events of the Empire and Neo-Hittite periods separated by an indeterminate number of centuries may now be resolved, and our understanding of the history of this era is greatly enhanced as a result. The broad sweep through the new history of the Hatti Lands as offered here delivers a

themselves Great Kings. Kuranta had moved to Hattusa following unrest at home, which required force to subdue. The Yalburt inscription may refer directly or indirectly to a campaign by Thudkhaliyas, with or without Babylonian support, against the Lukka lands and Wiyanawanda (Classical Oenoanda).

With Thudkhaliyas IV now placed in the 550s BC, we may suggest the identity of the recipient of the Milawata letter. If Pyama-radius was Alyattes of Lydia who died c560, perhaps the Milawata letter was sent to his son Croesus. What we know of Croesus and his subjugation of the Ionian states fits well with the information in the Milawata letter, and the timing of his father's death matches our dating of Thudkhaliyas IV.

Yazilikaya represents the summit of New Kingdom Hittite art. We credit the second chamber there to Thudkhaliyas IV, while the first was the work of Mursilis II, perhaps built to appease the Weather God over the suspicious death of Thudkhaliyas, although which Thudkhaliyas is not clear.

**K26. Arnuwandas III c552?-551?** Son of Thudkhaliyas IV. There are no confirmed texts from the reign of his son Arnuwandas III, so he is allocated one year by T Bryce [2005. 327].

**5.5 Hattusas and Ugarit.** The clay tablets from Ugarit show many links with Hattusas. They enable us to derive the sequence of Ugaritian kings for this period and show that, as elsewhere, they used dynastic throne names. Thus the Ugarit king Niqmed who concluded a treaty with Suppiluliumas I of Hatti in 7C was not the Niqmed of the 9C Amarna correspondence. Our revision, supported by the evidence of archaeology, including the 8-7C Cypriote-type tombs, E. Greek pottery and the Merneptah sword, strongly suggest that Ugarit existed through 7C and well into 6C. The latest tablets, found unfired in a kiln abandoned at the time of its destruction, show that Ugarit was engaged in conflict right up to its end, and confirm links with Hatti. In one text king Pagan of Alasiya requested a ship of food supplies. The King of Ugarit, Ammurapi, replied in friendly terms but could not come to his friend's aid; the enemy had plundered his coasts and his forces were deployed abroad; his fleet was off the Lukka lands and his troops were in the land of the Hittites.

It seems from these texts that the whole of SE Anatolia was apparently embroiled in unrest driven by famine. One letter was a request from the Hittite king to send corn from Mukish, the Amuq Plain, to Ura in Cilicia. Another letter speculates on the likely involvement of the Egyptian pharaoh, and complains of delay. At this time pharaoh Merneptah, son of Ramesses II, was honouring the terms of the earlier treaty and providing assistance to Ugarit and Hatti in their efforts to quell the uprising among people in Southern Anatolia, who had raided N Syria. In his year 2, Merneptah sent a large quantity of corn to Ura via Mukish, to alleviate famine in 'P-d-s'. We suggest this is the island of Pityussa, as it is close to Ura, the receiving port. Ammurapi, the Ugaritian king, recorded that he planned to erect a statue of the pharaoh in the temple of Baal.

### **5.6 The Appuasus (Appuwasha) wars and Neriglissar.**

Further evidence of unrest in S Anatolia at this time comes from the year 3 record of Neriglissar, c557, in Babylonian Chronicle No.6. This records that a ruler named 'Appuasus', king of Pirindu, part of Cilicia, had assembled a large army and set out to attack and plunder N Syria. Neriglissar mustered the Babylonian army and marched to Cilicia to oppose him. They defeated his army and sacked his royal city of Ura, but Appuasus escaped. The Babylonians also attacked the island of Pitusu, where they captured 6,000 troops. Appuasus

about the power of his uncle, he started to reduce his domains and influence. After 7 years Hattusilis had had enough. He contrived a showdown and the senior officials, not satisfied with the rule of the young king, sided with the older man. Urhi-teshub fled the capital, but was captured in Samuha. His uncle exiled him to Nuhasse in N Syria. Later, while living there he was found to be intriguing with the Babylonians. He was then sent ‘aside to the sea’, and eventually he fled to Egypt to the court of Ramesses.

We suggest that the Mitanni kingdom ended during the reign of Urhi-teshub, in the first decade of 6C. Urartu ended at the same time, probably when it was annexed by the Medes. The last king of both was called Rusa.

**K24. Hattusilis III. c590-c561** Hattusilis, youngest of Mursilis II’s four children, was perhaps around 40 years old when he became king. He later tried to justify his seizure of the throne in a document known as his ‘Apology’, citing general dissatisfaction with the previous rule. His wife was Puduheba, and some fifteen letters to him and his wife from Ramesses II survive. Once enthroned he established sovereignty over the whole empire and carried out some extensions at Hattusas. There are many administrative and religious decrees from his reign. Early in his reign he concluded a peace treaty with Ramesses II. A copy of this treaty, dated to Ramesses year 21, was found at Bogazkoy in 1906. This then became the central pillar of Hittite chronology, in which the Battle of Kadesh was dated to c1275.

When Hattusilis was preparing to marry a daughter to Ramesses in c577, Urhi-Teshub was in exile in Egypt.

Trouble in the west started brewing early in his reign. Fragments of annals show major uprisings in the Lukka lands extending to Lycia, Lyaonia, and Pisidia. Rebel groups were making extensive conquests in S Anatolia. Hattusilis had appealed to the king of Ahhiyawa for help in keeping peace and order in the west, probably to no effect.

Hattusilis was in power after c562, as shown by his letter to Amel-Marduk, successor to Nebuchadnezzar. If he was commander at the battle of Kadesh in 605, say aged 25, then Hattusilis may have died aged about 70. His reign was relatively peaceful, and the three Great Kings, Hattusilis, Nebuchadnezzar and Ramesses grew old together. Trade blossomed in the stable international conditions and the three kings used their wealth to develop and adorn their cities. The Old Testament Book of Ezekiel generally supports our revision. He writes in early 6C that Tabal, closely linked with Phrygia, was a major power in the Middle East, relying in part on its squadrons of Kaska and Cimmerians.

**K25. Thudkhaliyas (IV) c560?-552?** Thudkhaliyas followed c560, perhaps aged around 50. When some texts once thought to be his were shown to be much earlier, the remaining evidence of his reign is rather sparse, suggesting his reign may have been quite short. The Assyrians had started again to cause trouble in the reign of Hattusilis III, their harassment of Babylonian merchants being mentioned in a letter to Kadashm an-Enlil (Nebuchadnezzar). Thudkhaliyas’ treaty with Amurru mentions this conflict and prohibits trade with them. Vassal states such as Amurru remained loyal.

Later in his reign problems arose in Anatolia, and he had to intervene with force. A bronze tablet found in 1986 sets out a treaty with Kurunta of Tarhuntassa, a son of Muwatallis. This enables us to place Tarhuntassa near the coast to the west of Cilicia but east of the Lukka lands. A seal of Kurunta found at Bogazkoy calls him ‘Tabarna, Great King’. At this time it seems that the kings of both Tarhuntassa and Carchemish had sufficient independence to call

much more plausible historical sequence. For example, there were no inexplicable Dark Ages of Anatolia. The so-called Sea Peoples need not be blamed. They may now be identified and reunited with their lost archaeology in the 6-4C. The development of the alphabet is seen as a steady sequence of enhancements, the Ugaritic cuneiform version taking its rightful place in 8C-7C. We can understand the development and spread of Indo-Aryan languages now the Mitanni language is some 700 years later. We now know the locations of the capital of Mitanni and the ‘Battle of Kadesh’, and who killed Sargon II. Two new Hatti kings enter the pages of our history books. We can explain the widow’s letter to Suppiluliumas, the Hittite layer above the Phrygian at Gordion, the death of Gyges, and the 600 absent years above the Ramesses II strata at Byblos. The date and purpose of the Karabel inscription becomes clear, and the inscription at Kizildag need not now be dated some 400 years older than its accompanying relief.

This new vision has only been made possible through the tireless efforts of countless able scholars over the last century who have developed our knowledge of both eras to its present state. This gathering of archaeological and linguistic evidence has enabled us to see, and explore, the feasibility of merging the two eras of Hittite history into one. Our results appear to us to be much more plausible than we could have expected. Yet much work remains. Much re-interpretation of ancient texts and archaeological findings within the new timeframe will be necessary to sort fact from fiction and deliberate obfuscation. Hopefully within the new timeframe such studies will be more fruitful. Much new information will be found to enhance Hittite history far beyond that which our amateur study has been able to achieve. The world of tomorrow will owe its improved understanding of the ancient world to the experts of today who are best able to recover from the shock of this discovery. Once accepted, we hope that in due course professional scholars will be able to apply this new timeframe while developing a much more convincing understanding of the historical, cultural and technological development of western civilisation. Our initial study can only point the way. Those willing to take the lead in the long hard task of reinterpreting the evidence already available will reap the greatest rewards.

## References

1. Crowe P.J. and Curnock B.S. The Neo-Hittites – a case of déjà vu? Society for Interdisciplinary Studies, Chronology and Catastrophism Workshop 2012:1.
2. Peter J James et al, in Centuries of Darkness (1991, 113-141) challenge the present interpretation of Hittite history.
3. See for example papers on dating D19 and LHIII B at [www.ldolphin.org/alanm](http://www.ldolphin.org/alanm)

## 1. The Old Kingdom c950-820

**K1 Anittas.** The earliest known Hittite king is called Anittas. He records receiving, as tribute from the land of Purushkhanda, large iron objects such as a sceptre and a throne. He is presently dated to the Mid Bronze Age (MBA), although Gurney thought these iron objects appeared anachronistic. They would fit better within the early Iron Age. ‘Parsuhanda’ is listed as one of the regions captured and ruled by the sons of Labarnas according to a later text called ‘the Edict of Telepinus’.

### Early Assyrian records relating the Hatti:

**c877** During Ashurnasirpal’s first western campaign he received tribute from ‘**Lubarna of Hattina**’ at his royal city of ‘**Kunulua**’.

**c866** Ashurnasirpal’s second western campaign. At Khuzirina (Kussara?) he received gifts, beams of cedar, silver and gold from **Katazilu (Hattusilis) of Kummukh**.

**c858** Shalmaneser III during his first western campaign was opposed by a small alliance including **three Hittite kings, Hani of Samal, Sapalulme of Hattini, and Sangara of Carchemish**. They had joined forces with Ahuni of Bit-Adini (Beth-Eden? Tell Barsip, S of Carchemish?) Shalmaneser claimed victory and the allies withdrew. He then turned south, crossed the Orontes, and fought a similar alliance including Hittite forces from Khilakku (Cilicia). Shalmaneser claimed victory but returned home after taking a few minor towns and accepting tribute from Bit-Agusi.

**c853** Shalmaneser III came west and fought a major battle at Karkar against a mainly Aramaean coalition including **Ahab of Israel**. He claimed victory but the outcome was unclear. He fought similar alliances in 849, 848 and 845.

**c850** A Shalmaneser III inscription mentions ‘**Mushallim**’ in connection with Aukini (Aleppo) and Iakinu king of the Sea Land (Chaldea). ( Luckenbill 1. 625). We recognize Mushallim as **Mursilis I, king of Hatti**, who captured Aleppo before raiding Babylon.

**c841** Shalmaneser III attacked Damascus but was again resisted by **King Hazael** of Syria and failed to take the city. He then took the coast road, and on Mt. Carmel he received tribute from Tyre, Sidon, and **Jehu, king of Israel**.

**c839** Shalmaneser III attacked three major cities in Que (E Cilicia); Lusanda, Abarnani and Kisuatni. ‘Abarnani’ may be read as ‘Adana’, which according to a later Hatti king Telepinus was lost during the time of **Ammuna**.

**c837** Shalmaneser III visited Tabal (the Hatti lands), but only the cities of Malatya and Kubishna are mentioned. He received gifts from **rulers of Tabal**, perhaps to the west of Malatya at Kanesh, earlier an Assyrian trading colony.

### Hatti Kings c875-c840

**K2. Labarna. c???- c875** He ruled from ‘Kunulua’ in Hattina (Amuq plain). He paid tribute to Ashurnasirpal c877 who called him ‘Lubarna of Hattina’. ‘Kunulua’ was his ‘royal city’.

**K3. Hattusilis I. c875-855** He was called Labarna after his father, but took the throne name Hattusilis (Hatti-sar, Hatti king?) king of Kussara. He moved the capital to Hattusa, and the first Hittite texts from there date to this reign. His war annals cover 6 years, and record a Year 2 campaign through Cilicia, then under Hatti control, to the Amuq plain to NW of Syria. He attacked Alalakh and some other cities in N Syria including Urshu on W bank of the

by Piyama-radus of Arzawa, which resulted in the Hittite king campaigning in the land of Masa (Mysia?) to clear the Arzawans from the area. In our reconstruction, Arzawa was Lydia, and Piyama-radus was Alyattes, king of Lydia. A letter from Manapa-Dattas, king of the Seha River Land, reported to the Hittite King that Piyama-radus had attacked both his land and the island of Lesbos. Alyattes ruled Lydia for possibly half a century, from c610 to c560.

**War against Egypt.** Hatti sources yield no clear evidence for any wars between Egypt and Mursilis II or Muwatallis before the famous Battle of Kadesh in year 5 of Ramesses II. Yet Seti I records at least one war against Hatti, including an attack on a ‘Kadesh’, which is described as ‘a mountainous settlement’. Stelae of his were found at Nebi Mend (Kadesh-on-the-Orontes), and Beth-Shan. It was Muwatallis’s greatest achievement to remove Egyptian control across Syria, Phoenicia and N Palestine. Yet we have no personal account of this war. His brother Hattusilis tells us briefly: ‘It came to pass that my brother made war with Egypt... And I led for my brother the army and the charioteers against the land of Egypt.’ In a later text Hattusilis adds: ‘At the time when king Muwatalli made war against the king of Egypt, when he defeated the king of Egypt, the Egyptian king went back to the country of Aba [the country around Damascus]. But then king Muwatalli defeated the country of Aba, then he marched back to the country of Hatti, but I remained in the country of Aba.’ While in Aba (Abina) near Damascus Muwatallis removed Benteshina from the kingship of Amurru, because he had submitted to the Egyptian king. Shapili was appointed in his place. Muwatallis then returned to Hatti, but Hattusilis remained in Syria. Hatti was now in control of Syria. The Hatti record is sparse but unequivocal. Egypt was defeated somewhere to the north of Amurru and driven south of Damascus.

The O.T. records that Josiah was killed by ‘Necho’ in 609, the accession year of Nebuchadnezzar. A few years later both the O.T and the Babylonian texts record the defeat of an Egyptian king ‘Necho’ beside the Euphrates. This battle is dated to the 4th year of Jehoiakim, i.e. 605. Our studies lead us to conclude that the Battle of Kadesh and the Battle of Carchemish of 605 were the same event. This is supported by an Abydos relief (JHB Vol3.344) showing prisoners ‘...which his majesty brought off, in the victory of his sword in this wretched land of Kheta and this wretched land of Naharin (N-h-ry-n) together with the chiefs of all the countries who came with the vanquished chief of Kheta, as living captives.’ On this evidence, if Ramesses II during the ‘Battle of Kadesh’ took prisoners in Naharin, i.e. Mitanni or N. Mesopotamia, then his ‘Kadesh’ was on the Euphrates, not the Orontes.

**The aftermath.** No post-Kadesh texts of Muwatallis mention Egypt. The Egyptian threat to Hatti had at last been vanquished. We suggest that Babylonia and Hatti came to an agreement whereby Egypt’s earlier vassal kingdoms in Syria and Palestine would become Babylonian vassals, leaving Hatti with her interests in northern Syria, (including Amurru) Hattina, and Cilicia unaffected. The wars of Ramesses II against Retenu after Kadesh are also reflected in the Book of Jeremiah. After pharaoh’s inconclusive battle against Nebuchadnezzar in 601, he rarely ventured outside Egypt. Hattusilis soon moved north to quell the frequent attacks of the Kaska, and remained there to rule the NE part of the empire for his brother. Then at the height of his powers, Muwatallis died.

**K23. Mursilis III (Uhri-Teshub). c596-590?** Uhri-Teshub, a son of a concubine, ruled next with the throne name Mursilis (III). With few texts from this reign, historical information comes from his uncle Hattusilis. Perhaps Nebuchadnezzar’s peaceful visit to Carchemish for a month in 596 was in connection with the new king’s accession. He restored the capital to Hattusas, perhaps aware that Assyria would one day become powerful again. Then, concerned

**5.3 The fall of Assyria.** The remaining years of Mursilis were overshadowed by the momentous events leading to the fall of Assyria. Ashurbanipal died in c627 after a reign of 40 years, and this was the signal for a revolt in Babylon led by Nabopolassar. By 623, Nabopolassar controlled north-central Babylonia, and by 616 he held the whole country. In 615 the Medes, led by their king Cyaxares, joined in the war and sacked Ashur. Nabopolassar and Cyaxares, called ‘King of the Umman Manda’ in the Babylonian Chronicle, agreed a pact against Assyria. In 613 Nabopolassar put down an uprising among the Sutu people on the Euphrates, but no conflict with Assyrians is recorded. In 612 the Medes and Babylonians managed to take Nineveh, the Assyrian capital city. Although king Sin-shar-ishkun was killed, Assyria was not quite finished. Ashuruballit, who may have been the crown prince, fled to Harran and established a government there. Then in 610 Cyaxares and Nabopolassar marched against Harran. Ashuruballit and the Egyptian troops who had been sent to help him abandoned the city, and the Babylonians installed a garrison there. In 609 an Egyptian army arrived and tried unsuccessfully to help Ashuruballit recover Harran. This was probably the army led by the pharaoh called ‘Necho’ in the O.T. who, on his way north to help the Assyrians, had killed Josiah near Megiddo. No more is heard of Ashuruballit. Assyria had been destroyed, and its destruction of Elam was avenged. Mursilis had first moved on Harran in his 9th year. It seems likely that Hatti troops will have been a significant part of the Babylonian army in their wars against Assyria. This ended with a further march to Harran in his 33rd year, c610. Now over 50 years old and ailing badly, he had lived to see the fall of his arch enemy.

Towards the end of Mursilis’ reign there were more disturbances in the western kingdoms. Two names appear in the texts of this time, a trouble-maker called Piyama-radus, and a local ruler in Miletus called ‘Tawagalawas’. We suggest that ‘Piyama-radus’, son of, or man of ‘radus’, was Alyattes, son of Ardys, who reigned for over 40 years. Tawagalawas may have been Thrasybulus, known in Greek history as a tyrant of Miletus. It is also possible that the death of Mursilis c608 was recorded by the Lesbian poet Alcaeus in a short poem. Alcaeus greatly resented the power and influence wielded by a Mursilis, who may have appointed Pittacus as ruler of Lesbos. His death inspired him to write: ‘Now must men get drunk and drink with all their strength, since Myrsilus has died.’ Despite the power and longevity of Mugallu and his son, no monuments bearing these names have ever been found in the lands of Melid and Tabal. Why? Because their inscriptions use their throne names of Suppiluliumas and Mursilis.

### 5.4 Kings of Hatti (continued)

**K22. Muwatallis II c608 - c596** The son of Mursilis II, Muwatallis II, was probably around 30 years old when he came to the throne in c608. He has left us no annals, but some historical information comes from his treaties with Wilusa (Ilios and Troy) and Amurru (Syria), from later references to him by Hattusilis, and from the treaty with Egypt. The two brothers worked closely together. Hattusilis later recorded that his brother had sent him against the Kaska as his first venture as commander of the army. Later he led the army against Egypt. Muwatallis apparently decided early in his reign that the capital Hattusas should be moved some 3-400km south to Tarhuntassa, close to Cilicia. That this decision followed the fall of Assyria may not be a coincidence. The treaty between Muwatallis and Alaksandus of Wilusa / Ilios talks of an attack on Wilusa

Euphrates. In Year 3 he campaigned to pacify the western lands including Arzawa, then returned to Hattusa to deal with a Hurrian attack in the east. In Year 6 he invaded Hurrian lands east of the Euphrates and took Hassu. This was defended by troops of Iarim-lim, king of Aleppo, led by general Zukrashi, and some troops of the ‘Umman Manda’. Conflict between Hattusilis and Aleppo continued during his reign. We also have his ‘political testament’. This shows him angered by the in-fighting within the royal family, and confirms that he nominated the young Mursilis as his successor when he fell sick at Kussara.

**K4. Mursilis I. c855-c845** No historical texts of Mursilis survive. Telepinus tells us Hattusilis had asked that Mursilis be given three years to mature before he was taken on a campaign. His first task was to punish Aleppo, suggesting he attacked it in or after c852. After Aleppo was brought to vassalage, Mursilis led the Hittite army some 500 miles down the Euphrates to attack Babylon. Much treasure was carried back to Hattusas. In later campaigns Mursilis I defeated the Hurrian lands to the east of the Euphrates. Telepinus wrote ‘Mursilis destroyed Babylon and defeated all the lands of the Hurrians.’ The name ‘Mursilis’ may possibly be found in the annals of Shalmaneser III as ‘Mushallim-Marduk, son of Aukani’ (Luckenbill I,625). An independent record of a successful attack on Babylon and the Hurrian lands by a king of Hatti is found in the Amarna Letters.

**K5. Hantili c845-???** Telepinus records ‘...Then did Zidanta approach Hantili, and they committed an outrage: they slew Mursili and committed murder.’ After a fairly short reign Mursilis was dead. He was succeeded by Hantilis, his assassin and brother-in-law. No deeds of Hantili are known from the records.

### Evidence relating to Hatti/Kheta from the Amarna Letters c855-830

The Amarna Letters reveal a historical background in the Middle East which matches well with our knowledge of the time of the Divided Kingdom when Ahab was king of Israel, and Shalmaneser III was king of Assyria. During the period covered by the Letters there was a change of king in both Egypt and Babylonia. In Egypt, Amenhotep III was succeeded by his son Akhenaton who moved his capital to Akhetaten (Amarna) and imposed Aten worship on the people. In Babylon the official king lists reveal only one change of king from the 880s right down to 819 BC. Nabu-apla-iddina reigned for over 30 years, and was succeeded in c854 by his son Marduk-zakir-shumi, who then reigned for 35 years. We recognise these two kings by the names they reserved for royal correspondence, ‘Kadashman-Enlil’ and ‘Burnaburiash’. No change of Assyrian king is mentioned. This supports our revision which places Shalmaneser III’s reign from c858-c824 as contemporary with the Amarna era. The successful campaigns against Babylon and Mitanni by Mursilis are recorded in the Letters in EA75 to Amenhotep III from Rib-Hadda: "...the king of Hatti has overcome all lands, which belonged to the king of Mitta (Mitanni) or the king of Nahma, (Babylonia) the land of the Great Kings. Abdi-Asirta, (king of Syria/Ammuru at Damascus) the slave, the dog, has gone with him".

We recognise the aging Amurru king at Damascus, Ben Hadad, who became ill and was murdered and succeeded by Hazael, as Abdi Asirta of the Letters, who was ill and was then murdered, probably by Aziru (Hazael).

In EA155, we follow Knudtzon in reading the name ‘Shalmayati’ as posing a threat to Tyre, and identify him possibly as Shalmaneser III, who received tribute from Tyre, Sidon and Jehu King of Israel in c841.

We identify the ‘Suppiluliumas, Great (?) king of Hatti’ who wrote Letter EA41 as ‘Sapalulme of Hattina’, one of three Hatti kings who opposed Shalmaneser III in c858. Our revision shows he was not the king Suppiluliumas I, Great King of Hatti, who received a letter from an Egyptian queen while besieging Carchemish.

## Hatti Kings – continued.

**K6. Zidanta. c850?-840?** No annals of Zidanta have been found at Hattusa. He may be mentioned in the Amarna Letters as capturing cities in Amuq (Hattina). For example, in EA170: ‘...Moreover, troops of Hatti under Lupakku have captured cities of Amqu, and with the cities they captured Aaddumi ...Moreover, we have heard the following: Zidanta has come and there are 90,000 infantrymen that have come with him.’

Zidanta had agreed a treaty with Pilliya of Kizzuwadna (part of Cilicia), but with Mitanni growing in power and confidence on his eastern border, Pilliya switched sides and joined Idrimi at Alalakh in becoming a Mitannian vassal.

It seems likely that other city states followed suit. Storm clouds were looming in the east.

**K7. Ammuna. c840? - c831?** Zidanta was succeeded by his son Ammuna. No historical texts from Hatti are known from his reign. Hatti’s power, weakened by court assassinations, was waning. Telepinus says Adana in Cilicia was lost at this time, perhaps the ‘Abarnani’ captured by Shalmaneser III in c839.

**K8. Zurush. c831?-c830?** Telepinus tells us ‘Zurush murdered Tittish and Hantilis. Then Huzzia became king’.

A text of Shalmaneser III year 28, i.e. c831, records ‘The people of Hattina had slain Lubarna their lord, and made ‘Surri’ king’. We suggest the ‘Surri’ of Shalmaneser III may be the ‘Zurush’ of Telepinus.

**K9. Huzzia. c830?-c829?** Named by Telepinus as following the murder of Tittish and Hantilis

**K10. Telepinus c829?-c820?** He has left us his ‘Edict’ which provides most of the information we have about the Hittite Old Kingdom. His major achievement was to impose clear rules of royal succession to the throne. These appear subsequently to have been followed generally except where kings were imposed by Assyria.

**K11. Alluwamnas, c820? - ???** Son-in-law of Telepinus. At this point, with no historical texts to illuminate the period of Mittanian domination, we enter the ‘Hatti Middle Kingdom’.

## 2. The Mitanni period c820-c740

### 2.1 Kings of Mitanni

The Assyrian records support the view that Urartu was the dominant country to the N and NW of Assyria for the next 40-50 years. The only reference to Mitanni in Assyrian records is by Tiglath-Pileser I, conventionally dated c1100 BC. He tells of hunting: ‘In the country of Mitanni, and near to the city of Araziki’. ( Luckenbill I, 247). Some 250 years later Shalmaneser III of Assyria attacked a major city in Urartu called Arzashkun. If, as seems likely, Araziki was the same as Arzashkun, then the earlier ‘Mitanni’ was later called ‘Urartu’. Texts of Shalmaneser IV (c782-c773) mention campaigns against Urartu in 781,

**K20. Arnuwandas II (c644-643)** Son of Suppiluliumas. He may have died from the plague as did his father.

A treaty found at Hattusas between an Arnuwandas and the men of Ismerika mentioning Wassukanni, which was not built until 7C, is probably from his short reign.

**K21. Mursilis II (c643-608?)** He was a son of the Babylonian chief wife of Suppiluliumas, perhaps aged about 20 when he took the throne name Mursilis. His fragmentary ‘Ten Year Annals’ are our principal source of information about his reign. To ensure the continuing support of his older brothers, he confirmed Piyasilis as King of Carchemish, making him and his descendants second only to the Great King. He knew that the greatest threat to Hatti came from Uhha-zitis of Arzawa. He spent his first two years campaigning against Kaska, gaining much battle experience and taking many prisoners who would be trained as soldiers. As he said succinctly: ‘They made troops for me.’

In years 3 and 4 he conquered Arzawa. He reaffirmed the loyalty of existing vassal kings or appointed new ones. Uhha-zitis (Gyges) died during this campaign, but not in battle. This great victory, granted by the thunder god Tarhundas, was recorded in a relief carved on a rock face above the pass at Karabel. We suggest that the damaged hieroglyphs on the monument, the same as on the Tarqu-dimme seal, should yield the same name. ‘Tug-Damme’ was known to the Greeks as Lygdamis, a Cimmerian commander of the Hatti army. On the Assyrian Rassam cylinder, c636 or a little earlier, Ashurbanipal also recorded the attack against Lydia by the Cimmerians led by Tug-damme. If we assume Ardys, the new Lydian king after Gyges, sent his emissary to Ashurbanipal in his first year, we can propose the following dates for the events:

644 - Death of Suppiluliumas I. 643 - Death of Arnuwandas II, first year of Mursilis II.

642 - Second year of Mursilis.

641 - Third year of Mursilis, defeat of Piyama-Kurundas and taking of Mount Arinnandas / Mycale.

640 - Fourth year of Mursilis; death of Gyges; battle of Purandas.

639 - First year of Ardys; Lydian emissary to Assyria.

Assyria at that time was preoccupied in a long war with Elam which ended in 639 with the sack of Susa and the devastation of the whole country.

After his success in the west, Mursilis II turned eastwards to quell the Kaska and restore control over Hayasa and Aruwan. In his 7th year there were problems in Syria. The land of Nuhasse, south of Carchemish, had revolted and had the backing of the King of Egypt. In both his 7th and 8th years he campaigned to settle unrest in Hayasa. On the way he records a celestial event which is generally assumed to be a solar eclipse. This is conventionally dated to c1312, but retro-calculations show there was an eclipse on February 12th 635 BC which was visible from the area of Hattusas. In our revision this would be in the 8th year of Mursilis. This appears to offer remarkable independent support for our work.

The Assyrian records say that after the son of Mugallu had taken Lydia, he and his Cimmerian ally made a move towards Assyria which was checked. This would appear to confirm Mursilis’ move on Harran in c634/3.

Around this time Mursilis II wrote his ‘Ten Year Annals’. His health was not good, and he may have suffered a stroke which impaired his speech. While his young sons Muwatallis and Hattusilis were growing up in the 630s and 620s, he would continue to rely on his excellent generals. This era would see the decline of Assyrian power and an increased Egyptian presence in Syria.

‘Mugallu’, king of Tabal, and his son Mursilis is referred to as ‘son of Mugallu’. The ‘Deeds’ record his campaign against Wassukanni, the Mitannian capital, c667. Tushratta, the king of Mitanni, chose to abandon his capital rather than give battle, withdrawing to the mountains as an earlier king Aram(e) had done in similar circumstances some 170 years before when attacked by Shalmaneser III. The Mitanni capital which the Hittites called ‘Wassukanni’ was the Urartian capital ‘Rusakina’, on the hill at Toprakkale. The treaty with Shattiwaza confirms that Armatana and Isuwa were attacked as a prelude to this campaign. In a single year, c667 when Ashurbanipal was at war against Tirhaka in Egypt, Suppiluliumas had recovered all the remaining ancient Hittite lands, including all the Hittite states which had been annexed by Sargon, with one exception, Carchemish. In c664/3 Suppiluliumas led his army to Carchemish and besieged and captured the city. On the citadel, the King paid his respects to the Hittite gods of the City. Another son, Sharre-Kushukh, was installed as king of Carchemish. Over three thousand prisoners, plus much silver and gold, were taken back to Hattusas.

While there he received a letter from the Queen of Egypt named in the ‘Deeds’ as ‘Dahamunzu’. We identify this queen as the second chief wife, ‘Duk-hat-amen’, of Pharaoh Tirhaka (‘Nefer-tem-khu-re’). Many controversies over the dates of the sculptures at Carchemish may now be resolved. They represent the flowering of Hittite art in 7C. Unsurprisingly, the most important sculpture at Carchemish commemorates the most important event in the history of Carchemish, the recapture of the city from the Assyrians by Suppiluliumas in c664. Suppiluliumas having restored the Hatti Lands, now sought peace with his neighbours. Ashurbanipal records receiving daughters from the kings of Tabal and Khilakku after he had besieged Tyre in c662 or a little later. Shamash-shuma-ukin also sought a wide range of possible allies against Assyria, and Suppiluliumas married the Babylonian king’s daughter. She became his principal wife sometime in the late 660s. Her seal is on the treaty between Suppiluliumas and Niqmaddu, king of Ugarit, which was signed sometime after Syria was taken in 667 BC. She had a son, Mursilis, who would become the King of Hatti. In his later years the Hatti records tell us of his war against Hurri, effectively an Assyrian vassal Hurrian state between Assyria and Urartu. The Hurri war was delegated to Pyasilis of Carchemish, who in due course, defeated the Hurri army, drove off the Assyrians, and put Shattiwaza on the throne as king of Urartu in Wassukanni. The information in the Shattiwaza treaty agrees exactly with the history of Urartu. In both the Hittite record and Urartian history, a Sarduri was the great-great grandfather of another Sarduri, and the earlier king had dominated Assyria.

Later in the reign of Suppiluliumas a new king of Arzawa had started to exert his independence. He was called Uhha-zitis, and he began to intrigue with other lands to form a coalition against Hatti with partial success. We identify him as Gyges, i.e. Gugu in Assyrian texts and perhaps ‘Khukha’ in Luwian. These record that Gugu (Gyges), threatened by Cimmerians and Hatti, decided to seek support from Ashurbanipal. The Assyrian king was not prepared to help. He was aware that Gugu had sent troops from his capital Sardis (the Sherden) to help Psammetichus, the King of Egypt, who had broken away from Assyrian control. Necho, Ashurbanipal’s choice as pharaoh, had died after only a year as ruler of Egypt. Necho’s son, whom Ashurbanipal called Tushamilki, (Greek ‘Psammetichus’ or ‘Seti’) had taken steps to unite Egypt, and by the 650s felt sufficiently strong to declare Egypt’s independence from Assyria.

780, 779, 777 and 775 BC, but record only one Assyrian victory.

**Ishpuini** - a king of Urartu known from his own inscriptions. Ushpina to Assyrians.

**Menua** - c800 –c786 Son of Ishpuini. His inscriptions record the expansion of Urartu. In one campaign he drove west, through the land of Alzi at the source of the Euphrates, received tribute from Malatya, then marched on to ‘the land of Khate’. Here, in early 8C, is the first evidence of Urartian dominance over the land of Hatti.

**Argishti I - c786 – c764?** Son of Menua. His annals were carved in cuneiform at the citadel of Van at Tushpa. Argishti sought a foothold in Northern Syria to achieve an outlet to the Mediterranean. He also raided the lands of Hatti and Malatya. After campaigning to the north he built a city called Erebuni, where he settled 6600 prisoners from the land of Hatti and Tsupani. The Urartians called their country ‘Biaini’.

**Sarduri II, c764?-735?** Son of Argishti. Two stelae at Tushpa record his victories. The Mitanni era ended when N. Syria was taken by the Assyrians in the 740’s.

### 3. The Hatti Middle Kingdom c820-c730

**Looking for the missing kings.** After Telepinus we enter, with his successor and son-in-law Alluwamnas, what is known as the Hittite Middle Kingdom. The texts from Bogazkoy fail to illuminate the period of Mitannian domination. We suggest that Level IVc was destroyed by fire when Hattusas was sacked by Argishti I, circa 783

The Assyrian texts also suggest a period of decline. Tabal (Hatti) is not mentioned again until 738 BC, when Tiglath-Pileser III records receiving tribute from Wassurme of Tabal.

#### 3.1 Kings of Hatti - continued

**K12. Tuwatis. c780-737?** Tuwatis is named on the Topada inscription and on two other monuments of his servants, also close to the river Halys. The annals of Argishti I, King of Urartu, relate that he led the Urartian army into the ‘Lands of the sons of Tuatte’, as far as ‘Pitiera’ and the ‘river Helia’. This campaign is dated c783, so this ‘Tuatte’ is over 40 years before the first mention of Wassusarmas by Tiglath Pileser. We suggest that the ‘Tuatte’ of the Urartian records may be ‘Tuwatis’, the father of Wassusarmas. ‘Pitiera’ appears to be the Hatti capital Hattusas.

**K13. Wassusarmas, son of Tuwatis. c737?-732.** He and his father are named on the Topada inscription. He is recorded paying tribute to Tiglath Pileser III c738. In 732 a similar tribute list says that Wassurme of Tabal refused to pay. A tablet from Calah (Nimrud) explains what happened next: ‘Wassurme of Tabal was indifferent toward Assyria’s achievements and did not come into my presence. My official the Rab-shaku I dispatched. Khulli, son of a nobody, I set upon his royal throne...’ (Luckenbill I, 802.) Wassusarmas was deposed c732 and replaced by a ‘son of a nobody’.

**K14. Thudkhaliyas II. c732 –c720** His origin is unknown. He never claimed to be of royal blood. We suggest that Khulli was a shortened Assyrian form of Thudkhaliyas. The Hittites remembered him as having fought the Hurrians and attacked Aleppo, events not included in his annals. We suggest he led these campaigns while in the service of Tiglath Pileser. His state war annals cover only his campaigns when he was King of Hatti. His western campaign is well documented in the Hittite annals. Excavations at Sardis, the Arzawa / Lydian capital, showed signs of an unexplained violent attack c740-725. This attack was probably by Thudkhaliyas II.

Tiglath Pileser III was succeeded by Shalmaneser V c725, and then by Sargon II following an internal revolt in 721. A note by Sargon suggests that Shalmaneser V removed Khulli from the throne of Tabal and deported him to Assyria.

Sargon later records that he reinstated Khulli and supported him until his death c720. He then confirmed Khulli's son Arnuwandas as king of Tabal.

**K15. Arnuwandas I. c720-713.** Son of Thudkhaliyas II. Sargon approved his appointment and gave him his daughter Akhat-abisha, as queen, and the country of Khillakku (most of Cilicia) as a dowry. In Hatti texts Arnuwandas' wife was called the 'Daughter of the King'. In some texts Arnuwandas was called 'Great King' during his father's lifetime. This would have been when Khulli was removed to Assyria by Shalmaneser V. The Assyrian scribes wrote the unusual Hittite name as Amris, Ambaris, Ambarissi or Ambaridu. Some administrative documents were found signed by Arnuwandas and his wife and some which she signed on her own. Arnuwandas was contemporary with two troublemakers, Madduwattas and Mita. Mita had once been a vassal king probably appointed by Thudkhaliyas. He and his father-in-law Usapa had taken three cities from Hatti and refused to return them. The text 'The indictment of Mita' documents his crimes. We identify Mita with Midas king of Phrygia. In c717, Sargon captured Carchemish. He had accused its king, Pisiris, of intrigue with Mita, and deported him to Assyria. After campaigns in Urartu and 'Mannai', the Assyrian governor of Que, in 715, recaptured the 3 cities previously taken by Mita. In c713, Sargon deposed Arnuwandas, accusing him of intrigue both with Mita and Argishti II of Urartu. An Assyrian was put in charge. At Hattusas a high quality cylindrical Assyrian seal was discovered, dated to c750-700. This seal is exactly what we should expect to find during the only period in its history when an Assyrian was ruling at Hattusas.

**K16. Hattusilis II? c713?** With an Assyrian in charge, the line of royal succession then passed through his brother Hattusilis (II), who may not have been allowed to reign as king of Hatti. No records of his activities are known.

**K17. Mutallu of Kummukh. c712 -c705?** In 712 Sargon captured Melid (Malatya) and gave it to Mutallu of Kummukh, the only major state to retain a Hittite monarch. In 708 Sargon accused Mutallu of intrigue with Urartu, and sent the army against him, but Mutallu escaped. Perhaps Midas and his father-in-law Usapa offered him safety in Phrygia. Sargon's rule in Anatolia was to be short-lived. In the last decade of 8C Sargon's records show that the Kaska had taken the Anatolian plateau and were threatening Cilicia. He built fortresses in N Cilicia 'against the Kaska'. The Hittite texts, conventionally dated to late 15C, confirm that the Kaska had taken the Anatolian plateau and were threatening N Cilicia. By 706-5, Sargon had gained many enemies, and in 705 Sargon led his army towards Tabal. All we know of this fateful campaign is in the Assyrian 'Eponym Chronicle': 'King killed, camp of the King of Assyria taken'. Sargon had been killed in the Taurus Mountains. The enemy who had led the attack on the Assyrian camp was named as 'Eshpai the Kulumean'. We identify him from a text presently dated to 15C and known as 'the indictment of Mita', as Midas' father-in-law, Usapa of Kalimunaya.

## 4. The Kaska Era – c705-675

**4.1 Hatti under Kaska domination.** The next 30 years, from c705 to c675, were the darkest days of Hittite history. The Kaska moved west driven by a second wave of migration south by

the Cimmerians. Greek authors tell of the death of Midas at the hands of the Cimmerians in c696/5. What happened during this period is told by a later New Kingdom king of Hattusas, Hattusilis III. He lists the enemies of Hatti who came from all directions to attack, sack, and occupy their country. One such event, the sack of Tegarama, is also recorded by Sennacherib on a prism in the British Museum. In c695 his generals campaigned to the north of Cilicia: '...against Til-garimmu, a city on the border of Tabal, whose kingdom Hidi had consolidated...'

**4.2 Assyrian records of Sennacherib.** Sargon's son Sennacherib ruled from 704-681. The northern countries, Hatti, Urartu and Phrygia, deterred by a few Assyrian warning campaigns, did not threaten his borders. His main concerns were with Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Babylon and Elam. He claimed defeat of Elam and the destruction of Babylon in 689. Then in 681 Sennacherib was murdered by two of his sons. In his surviving records Tabal is scarcely mentioned. In conventional history, this is the end of Hittite civilization.

## 5. The Hatti New Kingdom – c675-c545

**5.1 The royal family survives.** After Arnuwandas, the succession passed to Hattusilis, then to his son Thudkhaliyas. A full generation of the royal family survived the enemy invasions living in a mountain retreat in 'the Upper Lands' to the north of Tegarama. We learn this from a chronicle of his grandson Mursilis II.

The Assyrian texts confirm that as Anatolia emerged from the Cimmerian period, Ishkallu was king of Tabal. The Hatti texts confirm that as Anatolia emerged from the period of Kaskan domination, Thudkhaliyas was king of Hatti. Ishkallu of the Assyrian text was Thudkhaliyas III, king of Hatti, and 'Mugallu' was his son.

## 5.2 Kings of Hatti - continued

**K18. Thudkhaliyas III. c680-c671.**

Hatti's resurgence commenced with a raid into the land of Hayasa, immediately east of the Upper Lands. Then further campaigns followed during which many Kaska were killed and many prisoners were taken. The Upper Lands remained a retreat for Thudkhaliyas during bouts of illness. Tegarama was recovered and Samuha was taken, causing the enemy to retire to the east of the Euphrates. In c676 the son of Thudkhaliyas III returned to the badly burned Hattusas, and for the first time in over sixty years an independent Great King of Hatti ruled again in Hattusas. Further wars of liberation were led sometimes by father and son, and sometimes, when the king was ill, by the son alone. The Assyrian texts explain further. Esarhaddon records a 'slaughter of the Gimmirai' in c679, and the defeated retreating Cimmerian /Kaskan army were destroyed by the Hittites at Sallapa.

Esarhaddon also records that Mugallu captured Melid (Malatya), and was establishing rule over the surrounding country. Sometimes he campaigned on his own, and sometimes in league with king Ishkallu. Esarhaddon (680-669) responded without delay. Sidon and Cilicia were captured, and in 675 the Assyrians marched against Mugallu at Melid, but no battle took place. Mugallu had left Melid to regain Hattusas. Esarhaddon did not mention him again.

**K19. Suppiluliumas I. 671-c644** When Thudkhaliyas died his son Mugallu chose the throne name Suppiluliumas. His fragmentary 'Deeds' survive, written by his son Mursilis II. In Assyria, when Esarhaddon died in 669 BC, his son Ashurbanipal became king, and another son, Shamash-shuma-ukin, became king of Babylonia. They both always called Suppiluliumas