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The open-air rock sanctuary at Yazılıkaya, near Bogazkoy in central Turkey, has carvings of gods walking in procession on two sides moving to a focal point. It dates to the 19th century BC. The city of Bogazkoy was resettled during the Neo-Hittite period, perhaps by Phrygians, but this major sanctuary may not have been used again.

ILLUSTRATION BY PHOTODISC/ROBERTO

The Hittites

After the Empire's Fall

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Second Samuel 11 describes an affair between King David and Bathsheba, the Israelite wife of Uriah the Hittite, a heroic soldier in David's army. A previous *Illustrator* article dealt with the Hittites (see "The Hittites," Spring '79), but this Uriah lived a long time later. Who, then, was Uriah the Hittite? To answer that question, we need to review a bit of history.

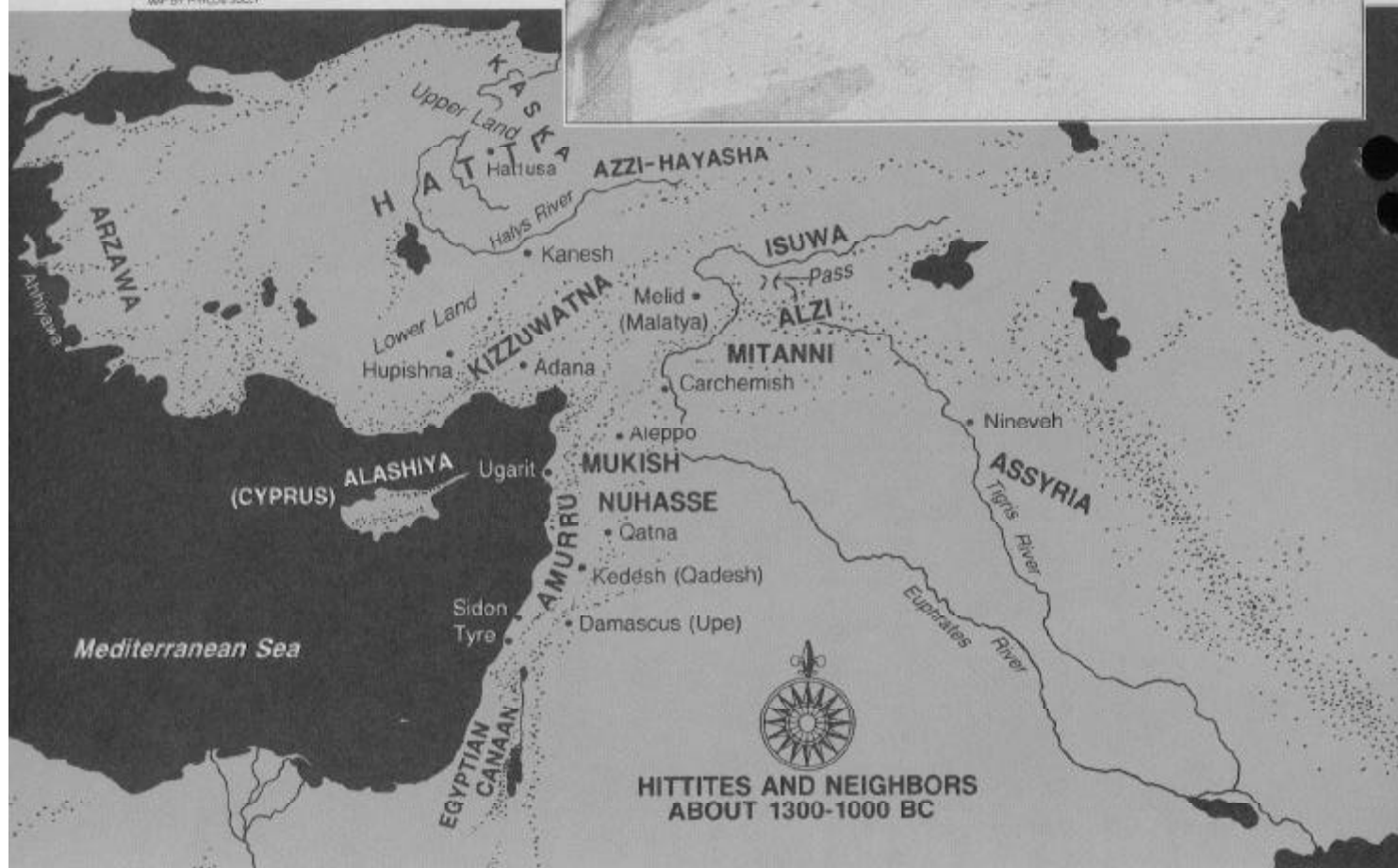
At its height, the Hittite Empire stretched from the Aegean Sea to the Euphrates River and from the Pontic Mountains to Mount Lebanon. The Syrian part of the empire was by the

Right: Old photo shows workers piling licorice root at Aleppo, an ancient city that paid tribute to the Hittites.



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MAP BY PHILIP JOLLY

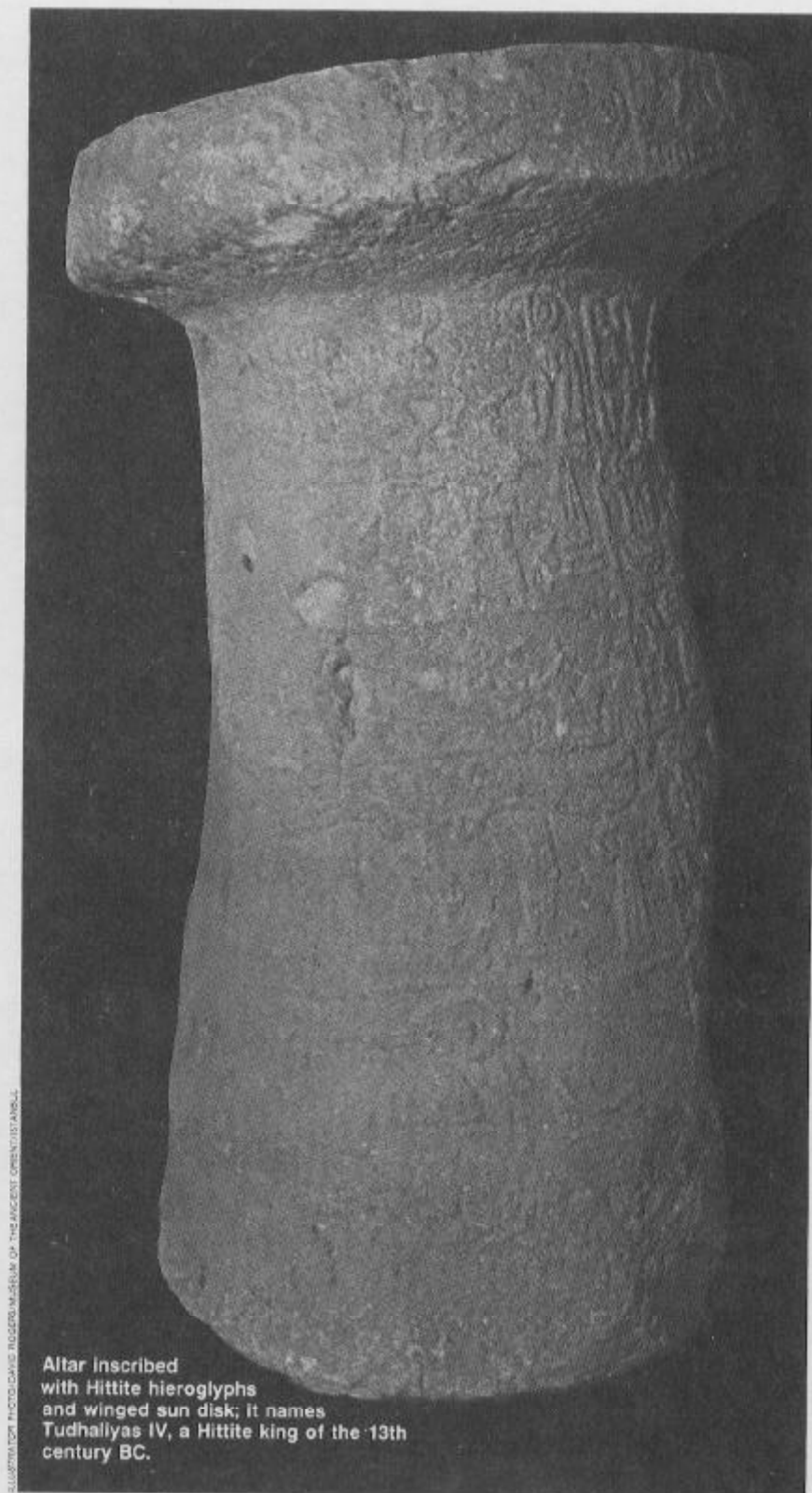


Euphrates and the Mediterranean, and included a number of large and small city-states that paid tribute to the Hittites. These tributaries included Aleppo, Nuhasse, Ugarit, Qatna, and, further south, Qades and Amurru (see map). These city-states were under the jurisdiction of a branch of the Hittite royal family, the kings of Carchemish, who ruled for the Hittite king.

When Suppiluliumas II took the throne, this empire seems to have been largely intact, even though the Hittites had suffered at least two famines. They were helped through those crises by Egypt, Hatti's ally. But, Suppiluliumas II was destined to be Hatti's last king. His reign seems to have started off well enough, for he was able to conquer and hold Cyprus then called Alashiya after a great sea battle. He also felt himself strong enough to attempt to take Upper Mesopotamia from the Assyrians. Having gotten deep into this territory, his luck changed and the campaign turned into a rout; the Hittite army disintegrated and Suppiluliumas barely escaped with his life. This debacle could hardly have helped the empire. However, the end was not to come from this direction.

Records from the last days of Ugarit, which was a Hittite tributary state, give a vivid, though far from complete, picture of the empire's end. Like many other ancient Near Eastern nations, including the Hittites, the people of Ugarit wrote on clay tablets. Some of these texts were found in a tablet oven, where they were in the process of being baked when the city fell. In one, an officer asks the king of Ugarit to fit out and send him 150 ships with all possible speed. Another text from an official of Alashiya (Cyprus) warned the king of Ugarit that twenty ships of enemy raiders

Lesson reference:
L&W: 2 Samuel 12:9



Altar inscribed with Hittite hieroglyphs and winged sun disk; it names Tudhaliyas IV, a Hittite king of the 13th century BC.

ILLUSTRATION: PHOTOGRAPH BY ROBERTA M. SELLER OF THE MUSEUM OF THE ANCIENT CIVILIZATION OF ARLAND

were at sea, and that Ugarit should strengthen its fortifications. Later, the king of Ugarit replied that the enemy indeed did come, burning and plundering Ugarit's towns. He asked the king of Alashiya if he knew that all of Ugarit's troops were in Hatti and all its ships were in the Luqqa lands aiding the Hittites. Another letter found in the oven, from the Hittite king to the king of Ugarit, reads, "The enemy [advances] against us. He is countless; our numbers are [few]. Whatever is available, look for it and send it to me!" Another to the king from a general reads: "Your servant established a position with the [Hittite] king in Lawazantiya (in northern Kizzuwatna), but the king retreated, fled, and then sacrificed [to the gods]." Yet another text reports that the enemy is now in Mukis: "Behold, enemies buffet me, but shall not abandon my wife and children." Shortly thereafter the whole city of Ugarit was burned to the ground, abandoned, and never resettled. Many (though not all) Hittite cities that have been excavated, including the capital Hattusa (Bogazkoy), also show evidence of being destroyed at about this time.

What happened? Egyptian records of Ramses III state: "The foreign countries made a plot in their islands. The lands were dislodged and scattered by battle all at one time. No land could withstand their arms, not Hatti, Kizzuwatna, Carchemish, Arzawa, or Alashiya. Amurru was devastated."

This powerful force that caused such destruction was no marauding army of free-booters; it was a major migration of people intent on establishing new homes. Whole families are portrayed trudging beside their ox carts. Offshore, a sizable flotilla accompanied the masses on the land. Where these refugees came from, and why they left, has never been convincingly established. Ramses III managed to defeat them at the very gates of Egypt itself in two great battles, one on the land and one at sea. The pharaoh had to concede the coastal plain of Palestine, however, to the invaders, among whom were the Philistines.

While the "Sea Peoples" can be held accountable for the destructions in Cilicia and Syria, they were not likely responsible for the destruction of Hattusa, which was high up on the

Anatolian (central Turkey) plateau. The Sea Peoples probably were marching on land and staying close to their flotilla at sea. Another possibility presents itself. The Hittites earlier had lost the Pontic mountain ranges (south of the Black Sea) to the Kaska, a group of tribal barbarians. Ever since then, the Hittite capital had been dangerously exposed to Kaskan depredations. From the Ugaritic evidence, we can guess that Sup-

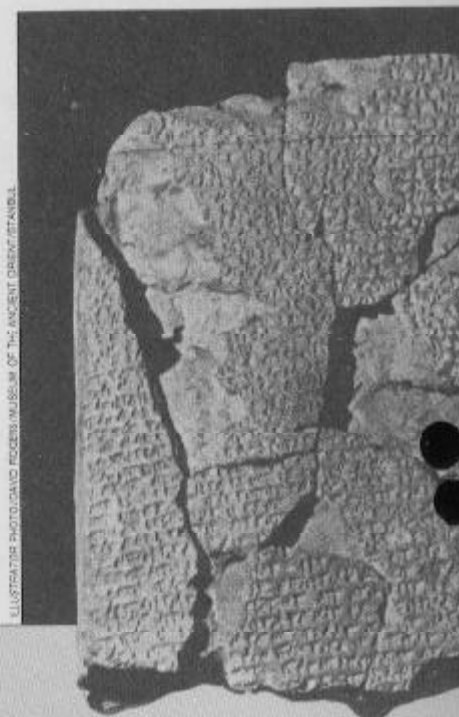
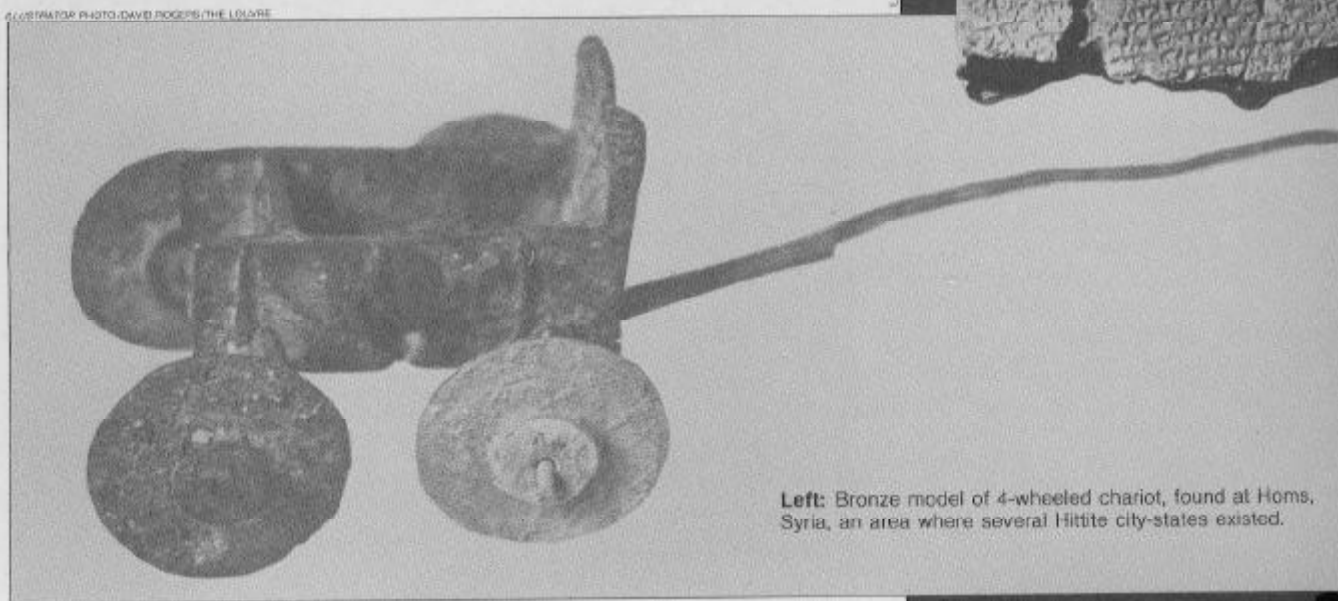


ILLUSTRATION PHOTO: DAVID ROGERS IN USEM OF THE ANCIENT ORIENT MUSEUM



Left: Bronze model of 4-wheeled chariot, found at Homs, Syria, an area where several Hittite city-states existed.

Suppiluliumas II took his army south to fight the Sea Peoples. He was losing the fight, so he would have been unable to disengage between major campaigns and return to the north to push back the Kaskans, as previous kings had done. As a result, Kaskan inroads probably became worse and worse until, in one raid, Hattusa itself was sacked and the government's administrative apparatus dispersed. The Hittite army already had been

weakened and demoralized by Suppiluliumas' debacle against Assyria, so the worn-down empire was unable to hold up against the simultaneous attacks of the migrating Sea Peoples on one side and the barbarian Kaska on the other.

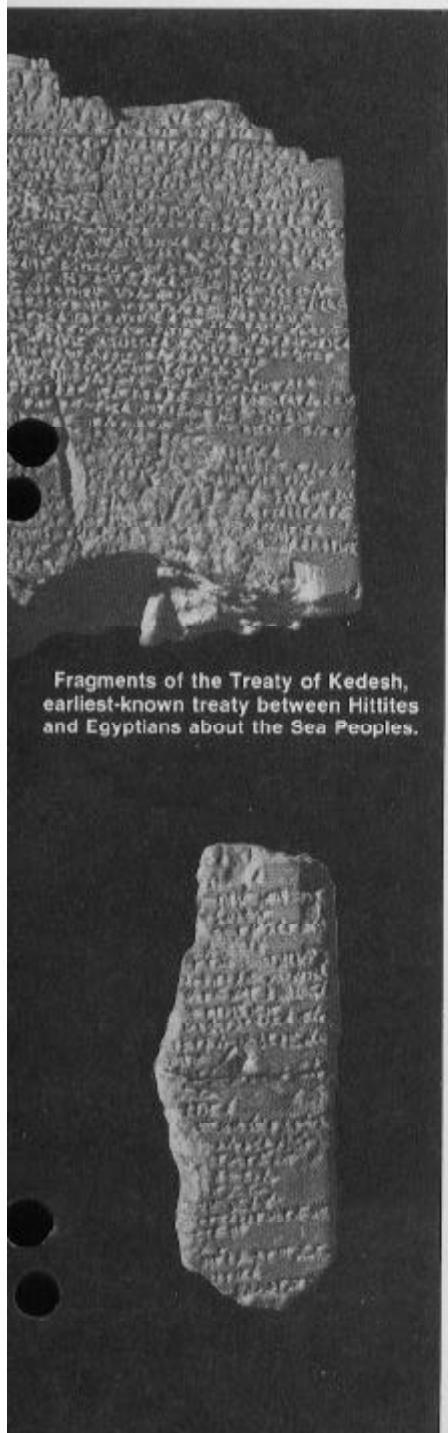
Considerable numbers of Hittites and the closely related Luwians seem to have fled the destructions in Anatolia. Following the path of least resistance, they moved into the north

Right: Bas-relief of Hittite chariot in battle.

Below: Cone-type helmet from Urartu (Ararat), dated to 900-600 BC, a nation in the Lake Van region that had close racial affinity to the Hittites.

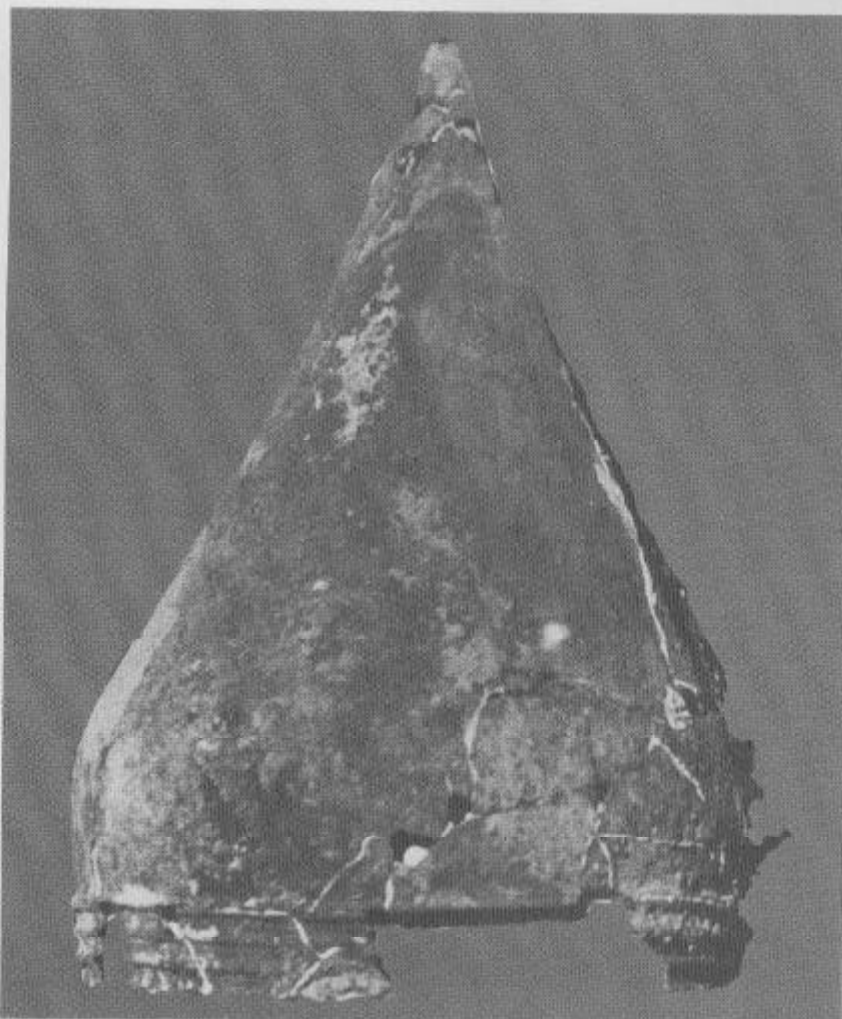


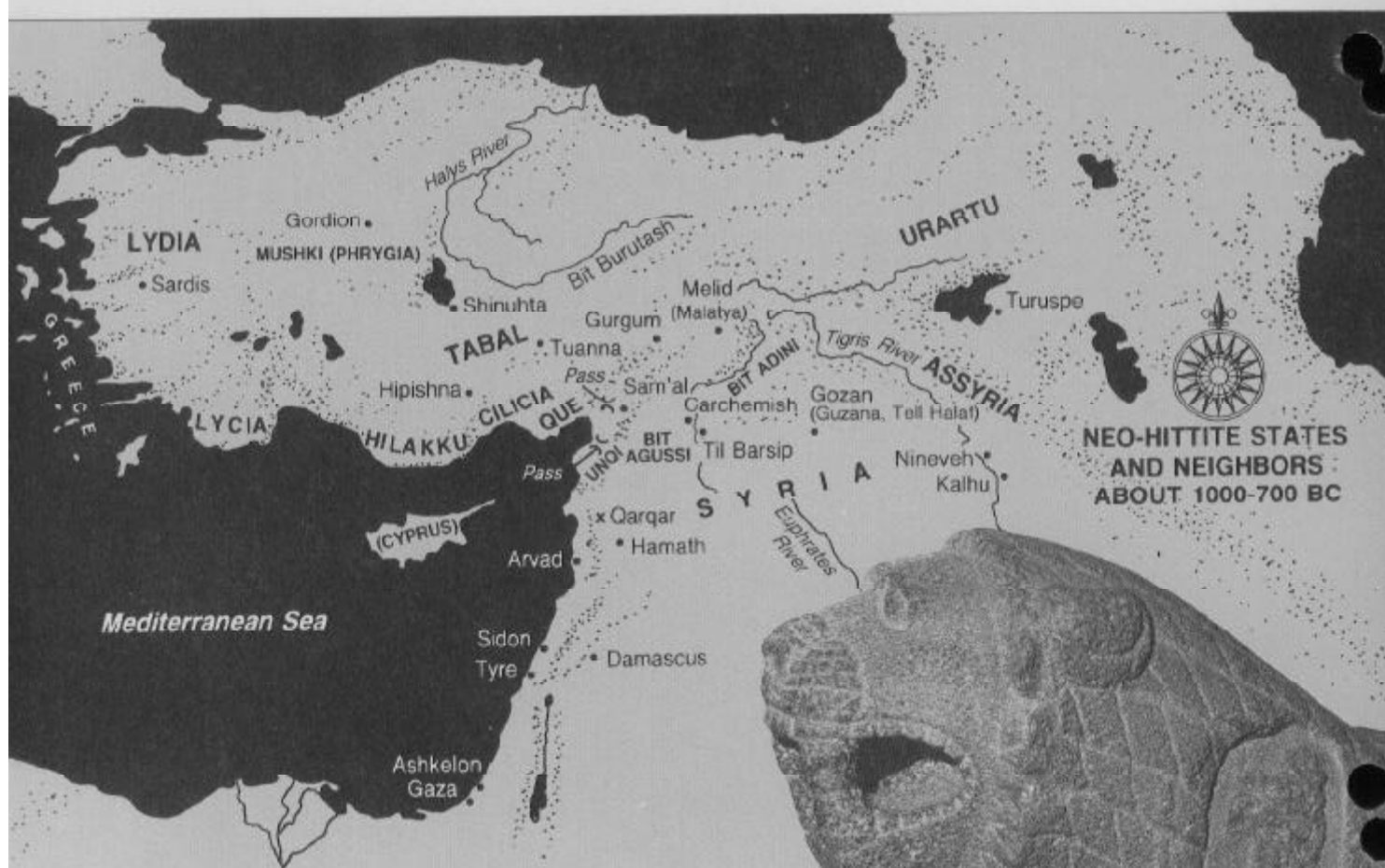
ILLUSTRATION PHOTO: DAVID ROBERTS/NOVANA ARCH-INDUSTRIAL MUSEUM, ANKARA



Fragments of the Treaty of Kadesh, earliest-known treaty between Hittites and Egyptians about the Sea Peoples.

ILLUSTRATION PHOTO: DAVID ROBERTS/NOVANA ARCH-INDUSTRIAL MUSEUM, ANKARA



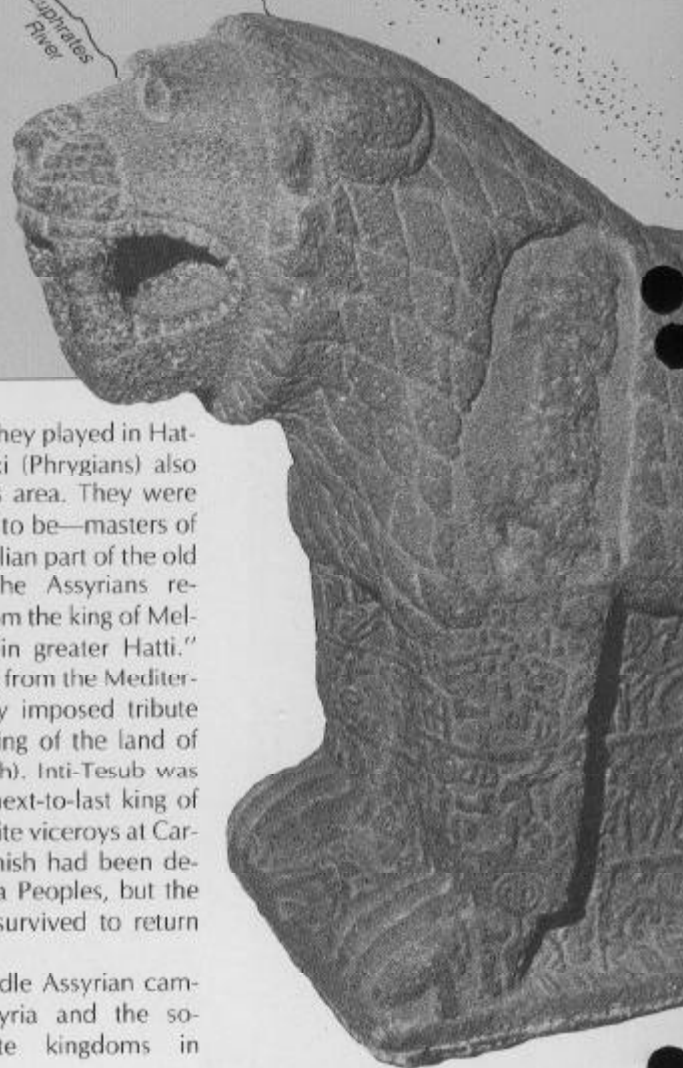


MAP BY PHYLIS JOLLY

Syrian part of the collapsing Hittite Empire. Many of them settled there, giving a distinctly Anatolian-Hittite look to a culture that previously was Hurro-West Semitic. The archeology testifies to this fact. At Hamath (modern Hama in present-day Syria), a distinctive ceramic style, Hittite architectural styles, and Hittite-style cremation burials, all were introduced shortly after the fall of the Hittite Empire.¹ Moreover, less than a century after the fall of Hatti, Tiglath-pileser I of Assyria (1115-1077) found Hittites south of the Taurus Mountains, in what is now southeastern Turkey, in territory that never was part of the Hittite Empire. He also met with Kaskans in the nearby mountains. Their position so far to the south of their previous homeland

indicates the part they played in Hatti's fall. The Muski (Phrygians) also were found in this area. They were the new—or soon to be—masters of much of the Anatolian part of the old Hittite Empire. The Assyrians received presents from the king of Melid, further west “in greater Hatti.” On their way back from the Mediterranean coast, they imposed tribute on Inte-Tesub, “king of the land of Hatti” (Carchemish). Inti-Tesub was the name of the next-to-last king of the dynasty of Hittite viceroys at Carchemish. Carchemish had been destroyed by the Sea Peoples, but the dynasty possibly survived to return and rebuild.

After these Middle Assyrian campaigns, both Assyria and the so-called Syro-Hittite kingdoms in



north-Syria were hit by invasions of Arameans from the Syrian desert. Some states weathered the storm, other succumbed. When the Assyrians revived, the so-called Neo-Assyrian kings again started pushing toward the Euphrates. At that time, after 884 BC, they still knew as Hatti the area of Syria that had been more or less within the borders of the Hittite Empire. The Syro-Hittite states included some twelve independent states. More or less from north to south these were: Tabal (biblical Tubal), Melid, Kummuh, Gurgum, Sam'al, Que, Halakku, Carchemish, Patin or Unqi, Bit Adini or Til Barsip, Bit Agusi or Arpad, and Mahath (see "The Arameans," Spring '82). Ethnic origins are reflected in names of persons, so from Assyrian inscriptions—as well as inscriptions of the local kings themselves—we know that the rulers of some of these states ethnically were Arameans. Others, however, ethnically were Hittites. The

royal names of these "Hittite" kings show the same mixture of Hittite, Luwian, and Hurrian elements that were typical of names during the period of the Hittite Empire: Lubarna and Sapalulme (Suppiluliumas) of Patin, Inti-Tesub of Carchemish, Hattusili and Mu(wa)tallu of Kummuh, and finally Urhi-linas of Hamath. This last king fought beside Hadad-idri of Aram-Damascus and Ahab of Israel to defeat the Assyrians at Qarqar. Some states, like Hamath, saw their Hittite rulers replaced by Arameans, while other states may have changed rulers the opposite way.

Those states with Aramaic rulers usually wrote their inscriptions in Aramaic or Phoenician; those states with Hittite rulers usually wrote in Luwian language, using the so-called "Hittite hieroglyphics," a script unrelated to Egyptian hieroglyphs. This script already was in use in the Hittite empire period along with cuneiform. The artwork of these states shows connections with art of the Hittite imperial period, but it became more Aramaic, then later more Assyrian as time went on.

These "Syro-Hittite" states formed various coalitions to aid those states which had angered the Assyrians and were expecting to be attacked. Sometimes the coalitions were successful, like the mixed one that defeated the Assyrians at Qarqar (853 BC) and several times again in subsequent years. More often than not, however, the coalitions were unsuccessful, leaving the member states worse off than before. Needless to say, some of the states saw fit to side with the Assyrians against their neighbors, when such an alliance was in their interest. During a period of Assyrian weakness, the more northerly states were forced to become tributaries to Urartu. The Assyrians, who resurged after 745 BC, were understanding toward those states and allowed them to become

Assyrian tributaries again.

A tributary state survived if it remained loyal to the Assyrians, sometimes even when its neighbors on every side had long since been incorporated as Assyrian provinces. But sooner or later, each tributary king attempted to break away; then he found that Assyrian patience would run out (examples are Patina in 739 BC, Hamath in 720, Carchemish in 717, Gurgum in 711, and finally Hummuh in 708).

In each defeat, the Assyrians put into practice their policy of transplanting the people. They forcibly removed a sizable part of the population of a newly conquered territory and settled them in a distant part of the empire. In turn, they replaced those people with transplantees from elsewhere. For example, when Sargon II crushed Kummuh's revolt, he transplanted many Kummuhian-Hittites to the Sealands of southern Babylonia. To fill the vacuum they left, people of the recently crushed Bit-Yakin tribe from southern Babylonia were transplanted to the new Assyrian province of Kummuh. These transplantings of people were designed to break down local loyalties and ethnic cultures and create a cosmopolitan Assyrian society throughout the empire. Usually, the policy worked. Thus, like Israel's "ten lost tribes," the Hittite-Luwian inhabitants of Syria were dispersed throughout the empire and new peoples settled among those who remained behind. The end result was that what was left of Hittite civilization disappeared from Syria. The geographical term, Hatti, did not disappear, though; it was extended. By the Neo-Babylonian period (625-539), the term included not only Syria but Palestine as well.

We come now again to Uriah. Where does he fit into this picture? As David lived around 1000 BC, Uriah could not have come from the



Lion with hieroglyphics that guarded a gate to palace of late Hittite King Halparunda III (800 BC). ILLUSTRATION PHOTOGRAPHED BY ROBERTS MUSEUM OF THE ANCIENT ORIENT, ISTANBUL.

powerful Hittite Empire, which, as we have seen, fell some two hundred years earlier around 1200 BC. Who then was Uriah the Hittite? Since he was a soldier, we might assume that he was a mercenary from one of the many Syro-Hittite states flourishing at the time. However, he is not associated with David's mercenaries, who were Cherethites and Pelethites or Gittites, and the Hittites are never

singled out as particularly fine warriors.

Rather, Uriah is listed among David's mighty men (2 Sam. 23:39; 1 Chron. 11:41). This group of somewhat more than thirty warriors apparently gathered around David during his outlaw days, becoming his boon companions and the core of his band. Thus, Uriah possibly left his homeland for some reason and, attracted by David's charismatic leadership, joined his band. However, as

most of the rest of these mighty men are Israelites from Judah-Simeon, Dan, or Transjordan, Uriah possibly belonged to a group of Hittites who were residents in Palestine. Moses' spies reported Canaanites living along the Jordan River and by the Mediterranean Sea, and Hittites, Jebusites, and Amorites living in the hill country (Num. 13:29; Josh. 11:3). Solomon made the pre-Israelite people who had remained in Palestine after the Conquest—including the Hittites—do corvée (forced labor), while the Israelites served in his army (2 Chron. 8:7-8). Hittites also are mentioned in a number of other lists of people prior to the formation of Israel (Gen. 10:15-18; 1 Chron. 1:13-16).

It has been suggested that "Hittite" really should read "Hurrite" (Hurrian). The original Hebrew text did not contain vowels so the change only involves one letter.² Another suggestion, which does not involve any changes in the text, involves the Kurustama treaty between Hatti and Egypt, which dates to approximately the fifteenth century BC. Interestingly, at the time this treaty was made a number of inhabitants of the Anatolian district of Kurustama moved into Egyptian territory and settled there for unspecified reasons. As Palestine was Egyptian territory, then the descendants of these fifteenth-century immigrants possibly still lived in enclaves in Palestine five hundred or so years later during David's time.

A more likely possibility, however, has been suggested.³ As we have seen, when the Hittite Empire was destroyed at the end of the Late Bronze Age (about 1200), the center of Hittite culture shifted to the Hittite territory in Syria; areas which previously had only been under Hittite rule (such as Hamath) received a sizable influx of ethnic Hittites or Luwians at that time. It seems unlikely that all of this wave of refugees moving



Silver drinking cup in shape of clenched fist, symbol for strength, probably used in weathergod ritual; from earlier Hittite period, 15th-14th century BC.

ILLUSTRATION PHOTO: DAVID ROGERS/MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON

