

FOREIGNERS AND FOREIGNNESS IN HITTITE ANATOLIA

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FOREIGNERS AND FOREIGNNESS

IN HITTITE ANATOLIA

Bilkent University

A Master's Thesis

by

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Ankara

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for those who are perceived as foreigners...

FOREIGNERS AND FOREIGNNESS IN HITTITE ANATOLIA

The Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences

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ABSTRACT

FOREIGNERS AND FOREIGNNESS IN HITTITE ANATOLIA

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Identifying foreigners and foreign elements, and understanding how foreignness was conceptualized in the Hittite world is challenging. Since the Hittite society was complex and, it included various different languages and possible ethnic groups, it is not obvious in the textual or archaeological record which individuals and groups were accepted and which were perceived as unfamiliar to the society. Just as there were no particular words to indicate locals, citizens or Hittites in general, there is not a single word to mark foreigners in the Hittite language. Several different

words were used to distinguish marginalized groups and individuals. Archaeological records as much as the textual sources provide insights into the presence and perception of the foreigners in Hittite society. Foreign artefacts in Hatti represents the connections and contacts of the Hittites with their surrounding states. Hittite relations with Azzi-Ḫayaša are a good example to comprehend the attitudes of the Hittite towards a region and a state that they might have perceived as foreign.

Key Words: Foreign, Hittite, Marginalized groups, Azzi-Ḫayaša, Late Bronze Age

ÖZET

HİTİTLERDE YABANCILAR VE YABANCILIK

Ege Dağbaşı

Yüksek Lisans, Arkeoloji Bölümü

Tez Danışmanı: Dr. N. İlgı Gerçek

Eylül 2021

Hititlerde yabancıları tespit etmek ve yabancı kavramları ve unsurları anlamak çok kolay değildir. Hitit devleti karmaşık bir toplum yapısına sahip olduğu için, çeşitli farklı dilleri ve olası etnik grupları içermektedir, hangi kişi ve grupların kabul edildiği ve hangilerinin topluma yabancı olarak algılandığı çok açık değildir. Hititçede bir yerliyi, bir vatandaşı veya genel olarak bir Hititliyi ifade edecek tek bir kelime olmadığı gibi, yabancıları işaret edecek tek bir kelime de yoktur. Marjinalleştirilmiş grupları ve bireyleri ayırt etmek için farklı kelimeler kullanılır. Metinsel kaynaklar kadar

arkeolojik kayıtlar da yabancıların toplumdaki varlığı hakkında bir bilgiler vermektedir. Hatti'deki yabancı eserler, Hititlerin çevre devletlerle olan bağlantılarını ve temaslarını gün yüzüne çıkarır. Hititlerin Azzi-Ḫayaša ile ilişkileri, Hititlerin yabancı olarak algılayabilecekleri bir bölge ve devlete yönelik tutumlarını anlamak için güzel bir örnektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yabancı, Hitit, Marjinal gruplar, Azzi-Ḫayaša, Geç Tunç Çağı

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

The aim of this study is to understand foreigners, foreign artefacts, and overall foreignness in the Hittite world. This examination is essential because diverse cultural and ethnic groups made up a significant portion of Hittite society.

1.1 Background

In the ongoing academic endeavour to comprehend the distinct identity of the Hittites, foreigners and foreignness have been significantly understudied in comparison to other facets of Hittite society. The reason for this negligence is not due to the fact that scholars have made a purposeful choice to ignore this aspect of Hittite society. It is because foreigners, though a significant and substantial part of Hittite states, are not always clearly visible in

the Hittite textual or archaeological record. It is not always easy to distinguish a foreigner from a local in Hittite society.

There are two studies that not only shed light on this, overlooked subject, but also play an important role in the scope of this thesis: "Fremde und Außenseiter in Hatti" by J. Klinger (1992) and "Foreigners in the Ancient Near East" by G. M. Beckman (2013). These two articles, combined, form an integral part of my study and provide a much-needed glimpse into the foreigners of the Hittite world. However, it must be noted that, though these two studies are important insights into the subject, they primarily use philological data. Therefore, at present, there are no substantial studies about foreignness in the Hittite world that combine philological, historical, and archaeological data. Thus, a comprehensive study that combines all perspectives and aims to gain a deeper understanding of foreignness and perceptions of it in Hittite communities has so far not been achieved. This thesis is an attempt to get one step closer to understanding foreigners and foreignness.

1.2 Aim of Research

The study aims to delve deeper into the concept of foreignness in the land of Hatti. In order to do so, the following

research will examine which individuals, groups of individuals, or cultural elements were discerned as “foreign” and which were not. Additionally, this study will move this investigation further by assessing how individuals or groups that were thought to be foreigners were perceived by the Hittite society. Analysis of texts alluding to foreigners will help us understand whether they were deemed as valuable members of society or not.

1.3 Methodology

For the philological and historical perspectives, I will evaluate Hittite texts and focus on the mention and usage of words that connote foreignness. During the analysis, I will translate these texts, examine the grammatical structure around the word in question, and finally deduce who and what the foreign entity was and what was the Hittite reaction or feeling toward it. The aim of this endeavour is to comprehend what foreigners were from the eyes of the Hittite people.

I will focus on a few words that may have been meant to represent foreign or foreignness: *arahzena-* whose definition depending on the context can be “foreigners” and a peculiar and intriguing word *dampupi-*, an adjective used to describe certain foreigners.

The other lens from which this research attempts to view ideas of foreignness in Ancient Anatolia, is the lens of archaeology. This will be done by searching for non-Hittite objects within the strata and context of Hittite cities and settlements. Secondly, Hittite objects will also be searched for in non-Hittite contexts, in neighbouring or more distant regions. By analysing these two aspects of material culture we will be able to see tangible proof of foreignness in the Hittite world. This will further aid in understanding which places and people were considered foreigners, and which objects held importance in this context.

1.4 Outline of Thesis

The following thesis is divided into five chapters; the first being the "Introduction" which covered the background, aim, methodology, and outline. The second chapter is titled "Foreignness in Hittite Anatolia" and it initially discusses meanings of the word foreign and tries to incorporate this meaning into an ancient and Hittite context. Since foreigners and foreignness are a product of borders and state-lines, this chapter also focuses on the geographical limits of Hatti and the issues with this task. The chapter also establishes the multi-ethnic and multi-cultured character of the Hittite empire. This chapter also adds an

archaeological perspective to the study. It aims to list down and analyse foreign objects found in Hatti. Furthermore, it also aims to list and examine Hittite objects found in other locations, outside of Central Anatolia. This part of the thesis also aims to infer how these foreign objects were moving between these areas and what this movement says about the issues of foreigners in Hatti, and about the overall trade and politics of this region.

The third chapter is called, "Textual Evidence Regarding Foreigners" and relates directly to the attestations of foreigners in Hittite texts. The chapter recognizes that there is no particular word that is always used to specifically denote or describe foreigners. However, there are a set of words, such as, *hippara-*, *dampupi-*, *araḫzena-*, *ZAG-aš UN*, *NAM.RA* and *UBĀRU*, that are used by Hittite scribes to denote foreigners, foreignness or foreign objects. This chapter then dives further into each of these terms and describes them with their textual evidence. Special attention is given to *araḫzena-*, which may be an indicator of foreignness depending on the context. Additionally, careful notice was also given to the word, *dampupi-*, which is attested in various ritual documents and was an adjective that suggested possible negative perceptions of foreigners in the Hittite world.

Chapter four discusses a case study about foreign material from the north east of Anatolia. The chapter also includes sections about history of philological and archaeological research done on this particular case study region. Finally, it discusses specific examples from two places from north east of Anatolia: Sos Höyük and Büyüktepe Höyük.

Chapter five is the concluding chapter which provides summaries and conclusions to chapter two through five.

CHAPTER 2

Foreignness in Hittite Anatolia

The adjective “foreign” and the concept of foreignness are defined as “pertaining to, characteristic of, or derived from another country or nation; not domestic or native” in the Oxford English Dictionary.¹ This definition is similar with other glossaries, most of which specifically emphasize the term “country”.² It indicates that individuals, or foreigners, are defined by their country in the modern understanding. In the ancient world, there are always some grey domains between the states which either change their political position by force, or by an agreement, or they are left out of the control zone, perhaps by their lack of resources or hard-to-exploit geographical features. Nevertheless, it is highly inaccurate to assume that these regions were not occupied by anyone.

¹ Oxford English Dictionary “foreign” 8.a.

² Cambridge Dictionary, Merriam-Webster Dictionary and dictionary.com.

If the Hittite state is considered, the change in the form of administration between the Hittite core lands, the region within the Kızılırmak basin, and the frontier districts can be seen from the textual sources in which the frontier towns were almost always alerted against possible hostile engagements and their state of attentiveness can be observed, for instance, from the Maşat Höyük letters.³ In the ancient world, lands were usually divided by the geographical features or inhabited towns. Considering this, a foreigner in the ancient world should be considered as the one who is not a part of the viewer's society and who is perceived to be different from them. From the perspectives of the ancients, this perceived distinction of foreigners is far more appropriate than border lines and idea of "country".

In this examination, the main objective will be to determine how the Hittites perceived and represented foreigners and foreignness. Before a detailed examination of the subject, it is important to note the subjectivity of this research. The reader should bear in mind that the given information was only gathered from the Hittite archives and these sources represent the perspectives of the ones who produced them. Additionally, in order to understand and classify foreigners, one should also make a good determination about the identity of the Hittites. Hittite society is a

³ Hoffner 2009.

complex community. When considered, the population can be divided into two groups: an upper and a lower-class.⁴ Due to the fact that textual sources were produced by the royal scribes, their compositions were actually the reflections of the mindsets of the ruling class. Thus, the discriminations of the foreigners and the marginalized groups might be the perspectives only of the upper-class members. It is important to first define the “upper-class”. This upper-class can be identified as the ruling family and the elites. Furthermore, literacy and occupations inside the royal household or palace are distinct characters of members of the upper-class. Contrastingly, the members of lower-class or, in other words the common people, the rest of the inhabitants of the Hittite state, are not represented well in the textual record. Thus, their perspectives about this matter remain unknown. With a clearer definition of “Hittite”, the recognition of foreigners will be simpler to acknowledge. The Hittite state was a multicultural society that was a host to various languages and possible ethnic groups even though we do not have any reliable evidence for the ethnic identities of the population.

Foreignness is a relative concept in the Ancient Near East. For instance, while the city states of the third millennium BC Sumer consider the inhabitants of neighbouring cities as foreigners, in the

⁴ Klinger 1992, 187.

Late Bronze Age Hittite Anatolia, every individual, regardless of their ethnic background or the languages that they speak were recognized as LÚ.MEŠ^{URU}Ḫatti, “the men of Ḫatti”.⁵ In this manner, even though some individuals who had formerly immigrated into the state are identifiable with the onomastic studies, they might not be viewed as foreigners in the eyes of the other inhabitants.

The response for the arrival of foreigners into the Hittite state differed and depended on the intentions of the foreigners. For instance, while voluntarily immigrating individuals and families were accepted, raiding armed groups were not tolerated. Specifically, some groups were always welcomed generously in the Hittite state. The merchants were fairly valued in Hatti. In fact, their safety as well as the security of the cargo they carried were protected by the Hittite laws as we see in the following text:

“If anyone kills a merchant, he shall pay 4.000 shekels of silver, and he shall look to his house for it. If it is in the lands of Luwiya or Pala, he shall pay the 4.000 shekels of silver and also replace his goods. If it is in the land of Hatti, he himself shall

⁵ Beckman 2013, 203.

bring the aforementioned merchant for
burial".⁶

The integration of the foreign merchants into the Anatolian societies started in the Middle Bronze Age. The Assyrian merchants who were living in the commercial districts of Anatolian cities could marry the local women and have children.⁷ Apart from the merchants, ancient states would often exchange and loan doctors, builders, physicians, exorcists, scribes, and other specialists between them. Specifically, in the reign of Ḫattušili III, the exchanges of specialists between the Hittite and Egypt states were numerous.

An important way of receiving foreigners in ancient states was royal marriages. These marriages helped the states to place their representatives in the high seats of power.⁸ Hittite rulers, specifically were willing to arrange these marriages with their daughters and sisters. In KUB XXI 38, queen Puduḫepa proudly mentions how she arranged the marriages of the daughters of Babylonia and Amurru as follows:

⁶ KBo VI 2 and KBo VI 3; Hoffner 1997, 19.

⁷ Veenhof 1982, 151-152 cited in Beckman 2013, 206.

⁸ Beckman 2013, 208.

“The daughter of Babylonia and the daughter of Amurru whom I the Queen took for myself – were they not indeed something for me to be proud of before the people of Ḫatti? It was I who did it. I took each daughter of a Great King, through a foreigner, as daughter in law...” (47’ -52’).⁹

Apart from the daughters and sisters, the Hittite state have also sent a prince for a foreign royal seat. Prince Zannanza was sent to the widow of Akhenaten; however, he could not reach his Egyptian throne and was murdered on the way.¹⁰ Through diplomatic marriages, foreigners could acquire immense power. The Babylonian wife of Šuppiluliuma I is a good example for this. She and her stepson Muršili II had a power struggle after the death of Šuppiluliuma I. On the other hand, as one of the most powerful women in the Hittite history, Puduḫepa herself held an extensive power in the state.¹¹ However, her foreignness is a matter of perspective because Kizzuwatna was already annexed for long time.

⁹ Hoffner 2009, 286.

¹⁰ van den Hout 1994; Miller 2007 cited in Beckman 2013, 209.

¹¹ Otten 1975 cited in Beckman 2013, 209.

Finally, the largest group of foreigners in the Hittite state are the fugitives and captives. They are equally important in the Hittite history because of the lack of manpower in the region, specifically in the reign of Muršili II, the scarcity of inhabitants can be seen from the plague prayers of Muršili II. In most of the treaties, it was stipulated that if anyone flees from the land of Ḫatti, the Hittite king wants the subordinate to return the fugitives back to him. These people could be skilled craftsmen or just simple farmers. Regardless of their profession, if they deserted the Hittite lands, kings usually desired them back. However, if the fugitives arrived in the Hittite lands from the subordinate vassal states, the Great Kings often exploited this opportunity to put the refugees into production or cultivation.¹² Finally, the captives from the royal campaigns, NAM.RA people who are driven by force into the Hittite lands, demonstrate the labour shortages in the state.¹³ Due to this reason, they were valuable for the state. In the Annals of Muršili II, the campaign narrations conclude with the counting of the captives in the following manner:

“The civilian captives whom I, My Majesty, brought to the royal establishment numbered 15.500. The captives whom the noblemen of Ḫattuša and the infantry and

¹² Beckman 2013, 209.

¹³ Bryce 2002, 77-78, 101-102 cited in Beckman 2013, 210.

chariotry brought back were without number. I dispatched the captives to Ḫattuša, and they were led away.”¹⁴

All these fugitives and captives, depending on where they were driven from, may or may not have been foreigners in the eyes of the Hittites. If they were, after spending their time in the land of Ḫatti with working on the productions, cultivations and even military services in exchange for the tax payments, they may have become a part of the Hittite society.

Tracing foreigners in the Hittite state from the archaeological record is a challenging task. The number of foreign objects in Hittite territory is scarcer than what one might have assumed. Genz argues that foreign materials entered Hittite lands by royal gift exchanges, tributes, or as war booty. The same way, the Hittite objects that are found outside of Central Anatolia, are also interpreted as either the royal gift exchanges or personal belongings of the Hittite officials. Interestingly, he argues that there are very limited number of cases when the trade is taken into consideration for the presence of the foreign materials.¹⁵

¹⁴ KBo III 4; Grélois 1988, 61, 88 cited in Beckman 2013, 210.

¹⁵ Genz 2011, 301.

Hittite connections with the surrounding regions of Central Anatolia started from the first king, Ḫattušili I and continued until the end of the Hittite empire period around 12th century BC. The diplomatic and militaristic contacts of the Hittites are attested in many different textual sources such as Hittite, Babylonian, Assyrian, and Egyptian. However, when the trade relations are examined, these textual sources are relatively limited. The number of imported objects is fairly low, and the Hittite originated materials outside of the Hittite core lands are also sparse.¹⁶ While the origin of some material culture is unknown and still debated such as the Red Lustrous Ware which is often produced for spindle bottles and libation arms in several different Hittite sites, some artefacts are identified with other cultures around the Ancient Near East.¹⁷ In the following part of the research, the archaeological materials, objects from the Hittite world, that are found from various regions and the Hittite artefacts from outside of the Hittite core lands will be examined.

When Western Anatolia is considered, there are couple of sites with Hittite originated materials. The Hittite presence in the western Anatolia was mentioned in several different Hittite texts, various kings organized campaigns towards the West. However,

¹⁶ Genz 2011, 301.

¹⁷ Eriksson 1993, 149; Knappett 2000; Knappett *et al.* 2005; Mielke 2007 cited in Genz 2011, 321.

direct control or complete annexation of the region was never achieved. The Hittite connections with the region are identifiable from various materials. For instance, in Dorylaion, Şarhöyük, a Hittite bulla was found, the mound was identified as the most Western Hittite site.¹⁸ However, I think it is not enough to identify a site with a single bulla find.

In fact, there is a possibility of a Hittite fortification in the Late Bronze Age Miletus, however, the origin of this reinforcements is still unclear.¹⁹ A different object to indicate the Hittite connections of this site might be the Mycenaean sherd with depictions of a Hittite horned crown.²⁰ It must be noted that even the international correspondence within the Anatolian peninsula was written in Hittite, it is in fact a great indication for the Hittite influence over the entire region.

Even more westwards, in Mycenae, a silver stag shaped vessel was found in Shaft Grave VI (Figure 1).²¹ This specific type of vessel was also mentioned as a royal gift in an Egyptian letter to Šuppiluliuma I.²² When the other way around is considered, only

¹⁸ Darga and Starke 2003 cited in Genz 2011, 303.

¹⁹ Niemeier 1998, 38; 2002, 298 cited in Genz 2011, 304.

²⁰ Niemeier 1998, 39 cited in Genz 2011, 304.

²¹ Cline 1991, 134-35; Koehl 1995, 61-63 cited in Genz 2011, 304.

²² Koehl 1995, 63 cited in Genz 2011, 309.

three Hittite sites; Maşat Höyük (Figure 2)²³, Ḫattuša (Figure 3)²⁴, and Kuşaklı Sarissa (Figure 4)²⁵ have foreign Mycenaean material culture. On the other hand, one of the most important discoveries of the Aegean style foreign artefacts in the Hittite stratigraphy is the bronze sword that is dedicated to Tudḫaliya after his conquest of Aššuwa (Figure 5)²⁶.

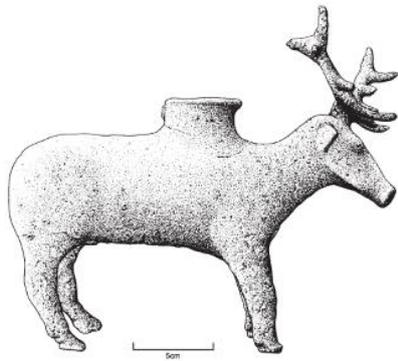


Figure 1



Figure 2



Figure 3

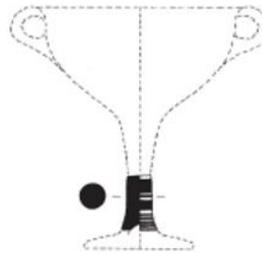


Figure 4

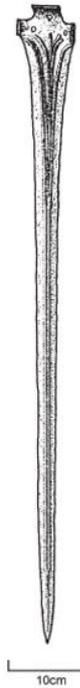


Figure 5

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²³ Özgüç 1978, 66; 1982, 102-103; Mee 1978, 132-133; 1998, 141; Cline 1994, 68; Kozal 2003, 68 cited in Genz 2011, 309.

²⁴ Genz 2004 cited in Genz 2011, 309.

²⁵ Mielke 2004a, 26; 2004b, 155-157 cited in Genz 2011, 309.

²⁶ Müller-Karpe 1994, 434-439; Cline 1996 cited in Genz 2011, 309.

²⁷ The figures are taken from Genz 2011.

The southeast of Anatolia is relatively different in terms of the concept of foreignness or foreign material culture when it is compared with western Anatolia. The fact that the Hittites had direct control over northern Syria and parts of northern Mesopotamia in some periods might have changed the perspective of foreignness in the region. Additionally, some treaties were forged with the other defeated cities for tributary arrangements such as precious metals, wool, and textile.²⁸ Unfortunately, the presence of wool and textile type of materials in the archaeological record is extremely hard to find because of their perishable nature however, other types of artefacts still demonstrate the relations of the Hittite state with the region. This perishable and reusable nature of materials can also be one of the reasons for the lack of great amounts of foreign materials.

Apart from the Hittite tablets from Ugarit, Emar and Alalakh, the most common forms of the Hittite material culture in north western Syria and Mesopotamia are the seals. Various biconvex seals and seal impressions were found in Ugarit²⁹ (Figure 6), Emar³⁰ (Figure 7), Tell Fray³¹, Tell Kazel³², Minet el Beida³³, Ebla³⁴

²⁸ Neu 1995, 116-118; Singer 1999, 644; Dietrich 2001 cited in Genz 2011, 311.

²⁹ Schaeffer 1956, 1-23; Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, 76; Gorny 1993, 183; Singer 1999, 650 cited in Genz 2011, 312.

³⁰ Gorny 1993, 190; Beyer 2001, 19-163, 440-443; Starke 2001, 103-105; 2003, 91-92 cited in Genz 2011, 312.

³¹ Archi 1980a; Matthiae 1980, 47-48 cited in Genz 2011, 312.

³² Singer 1977, 184; Singer 1992, 232-233 cited in Genz 2011, 312.

and Alalah³⁵. These biconvex seals display proper Anatolian tradition.³⁶ I believe that these seals are the traces for the Hittite representatives and officials in the region. Foreign seals were also found in Hittite core lands, for instance, in Boğazköy two cylinder seals from 13th century BC in Mittanian style and a Kassite seal in Alişar Höyük dated around 1400 BC were found.³⁷ There are more Kassite materials in Ḫatti, in fact, in Boğazköy several different bronze daggers were found.³⁸ However, it is quite hard to fully comprehend how these Kassite materials entered the Hittite state.



Figure 6



Figure 7

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Furthermore, Alalah⁴⁰ and Emar⁴¹ also offer Central Anatolian jug styles in their archaeological record. Besides the ceramics, an

³³ Gorny 1993, 183 cited in Genz 2011, 312.

³⁴ Archi 1980b cited in Genz 2011, 312.

³⁵ Wooley 1955, 266-267; Singer 1977, 184; Gorny 1993, 183-184 cited in Genz 2011, 312.

³⁶ Gorny 1993 cited in Genz 2011, 312.

³⁷ Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, 108; Gorny 1995, 165 cited in Genz 2011.

³⁸ Boehmer 1972, 41-43; Seeher 2004, 66 cited in Genz 2011, 316.

³⁹ The figures are taken from Genz 2011.

ivory figurine with the Hittite tradition was found in Temple A of Nuzi.⁴² The figurine is depicting the goddess Iṣtar and it is dated back to 15th century BC. Hittite monumental art is also visible in some rare cases. A rock carving from Level I Alalaḫ is presenting a male figure in Hittite style. The Luwian inscriptions next to the representation declares "Tudḫaliya the great ... the son of the king". Due to these writings, the relief is assumed to be a figure of Tudḫaliya IV.⁴³ However, the latest inspections suggested that it is in fact a Hittite governor of Mukiš with the name of Tudḫaliya.⁴⁴ The same way, the son of Telipinu, Talmi-Šarumma is also mentioned in a building inscription in Aleppo.⁴⁵ When this region is taken under consideration, it seems there are more Hittite artefacts in their archaeological layers than the south east of Anatolian material culture in the Hittite archaeological records. This may indicate that the Hittite authority attempted to have an impact in the north western Syria and Mesopotamia. However, not much archaeological materials turned out to be in the Hittite core lands. Although, it is known that the Hittite state, especially in the Empire period was highly influenced by the culture of these regions specifically the Hurrian traditions and customs. It is in fact

⁴⁰ Wooley 1955 cited in Genz 2011, 312.

⁴¹ Caubet 1982 cited in Genz 2011, 312.

⁴² Mellink 1964 cited in Genz 2011, 314.

⁴³ Wooley 1955, 241-242 cited in Genz 2011, 313.

⁴⁴ Niedorf 2002, 521-522 cited in Genz 2011, 313.

⁴⁵ Kohlmeyer 2000, 8-9 cited in Genz 2011, 313.

surprising to see the lack of Hurrian archaeological materials in the Hittite state.

Egypt was always an important region in Hittite history. The expansion strategies of the Hittites led them into the Levant and Egypt, one of the main rivals of the Hittites, was already influencing the region when they were campaigning to the southern lands. The former rivalry between the states changed into an alliance in the reigns of Ḫattušili III and Ramesses II. In fact, the two kings arranged a royal marriage in which Ramesses II married the daughter of Ḫattušili III. The letter exchanges between the states were accompanied by royal gifts including precious metals, jewellery, garments, and vessels.⁴⁶ However, interestingly, a very few numbers of Egyptian artefacts were found in Central Anatolia. It is also the case for the Hittite materials in the Egyptian records.

The earliest Egyptian object that is found in Central Anatolia is an obsidian vessel (Figure 8)⁴⁷. The name Pharaoh Chian of Hyksos was written on the surface, and it is found in Boğazköy. However, this object may not signify the first contacts of the two states because it is from the 17th century BC. It is interpreted that the vessel was taken in much later times as a war booty from the

⁴⁶ Edel 1994; Klengel 2002, 104 cited in Genz 2011, 318.

⁴⁷ Stock 1963; Boehmer 1972, 211 cited in Genz 2011, 319.

Hittite campaigns of the north western Syria and Mesopotamia.⁴⁸ However, if the period of Ḫattušili III and Ramesses II is focused, there are some Egyptian artefacts in Ḫattuša from that time. A part of an Egyptian stele⁴⁹ (Figure 9), an alabaster vase⁵⁰ and a lid⁵¹ was found in Büyükkale. Furthermore, an Egyptian axe was located in the Upper City, in Temple 26⁵². Other than Ḫattuša, other Hittite sites were also identified with Egyptian materials. A hair ring made of gold⁵³ and a bronze plaque depicting a head in Egyptian tradition were found in Ortaköy⁵⁴. The golden hair ring and the formerly mentioned alabaster from Büyükkale are assumed to be the royal gifts which were attached to the letter exchanges.⁵⁵ Moreover, small amulets were identified as Egyptian style in Alacahöyük⁵⁶ and Alişar⁵⁷. These amulets may indicate the popularity of the Egyptian medical and magical practices in the Hittite state.⁵⁸

⁴⁸ Stock 1963, 76; Klengel 2002, 30-31 cited in Genz 2011, 319.

⁴⁹ Boehmer 1972, 208 cited in Genz 2011, 319.

⁵⁰ Boehmer 1972, 211 cited in Genz 2011, 319.

⁵¹ Boehmer 1972 cited in Genz 2011, 319.

⁵² Neve 1993, 29 cited in Genz 2011, 319.

⁵³ Süel 1998, 45-46 cited in Genz 2011, 319.

⁵⁴ Süel and Süel 2000, 323 cited in Genz 2011, 319.

⁵⁵ Genz 2011, 319.

⁵⁶ de Vos 2002, 46 cited in Genz 2011, 319.

⁵⁷ de Vos 2002, 46 cited in Genz 2011, 319.

⁵⁸ Genz 2011, 320.

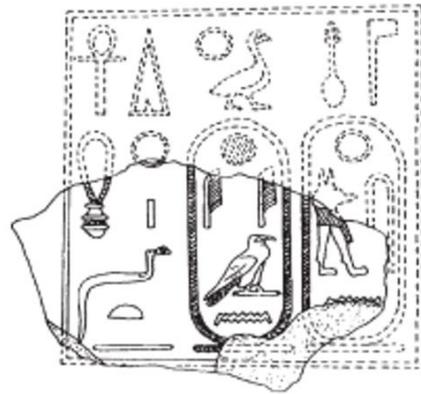


Figure 8



Figure 9

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The attestation of Hittite objects in archaeological record of Egypt is even more rare. One of these rare items is a silver statue (Figure 10) from the time of 18th Dynasty found in Tell el-Amarna.⁶⁰ Several weapons and shield moulds in Hittite traditions were found in Pi-Ramesse, the capital of Ramesses II. It is, therefore, suggested that this is undeniable evidence for Hittite military presence in the region.⁶¹ It is interpreted that when Ramesses II married the daughter of Ḫattušili III, the princess was accompanied with Hittite guards and maybe the guards remained to serve the princess in the Egyptian city afterwards.⁶²

⁵⁹ The figures are taken from Genz 2011.

⁶⁰ Bell 1986 cited in Genz 2011, 320.

⁶¹ Pusch 1990, 103-103; 1991, 250-254; 1993, 139-140; Klengel 2002, 136-139 cited in Genz 2011, 320.

⁶² Pusch 1990, 108; 1993, 142; Klengel 2002, 136-139 cited in Genz 2011, 320.

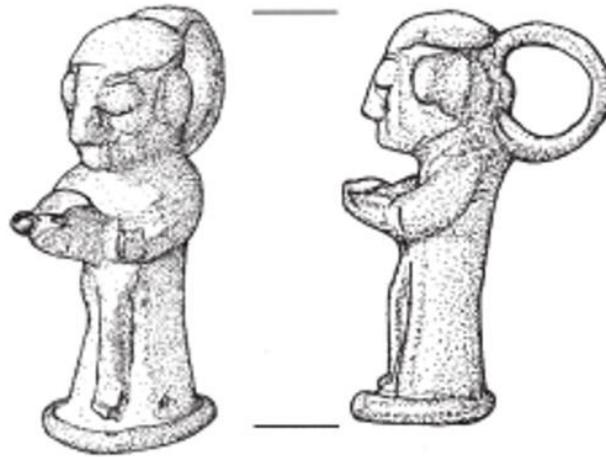


Figure 10

On the other hand, the Levant is also an important location because of its position between the two states. It was the main route for the communication and unlike the Egyptian lands, Hittite materials in Levant, specifically in the southern parts of it are more abundant. An ivory plaque⁶³ (Figure 11), possibly a part of a furniture and a steatite biconvex seal in Hittite tradition was found in the city of Megiddo.⁶⁴ A bronze signet ring⁶⁵ (Figure 12) identified in a Late Bronze Age burial in Tel Nami and two more comparable silver rings were found in Tell el-Fara⁶⁶ and a fragmentary bulla (Figure 13) was discovered from the Egyptian residence in Tel Aphek.⁶⁷ Even though the name on the bulla was not identifiable from its poor condition, it is dated around the 13th

⁶³ Loud 1939, 10-11; Alexander 1991 cited in Genz 2011, 316.

⁶⁴ Singer 1995 cited in Genz 2011, 316.

⁶⁵ Singer 1993 cited in Genz 2011, 317.

⁶⁶ Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, 76; Singer 1993 cited in Genz 2011, 317.

⁶⁷ Singer 1977 cited in Genz 2011, 317.

century BC the time period of the kings Hattušili III and Ramesses II.⁶⁸



Figure 11

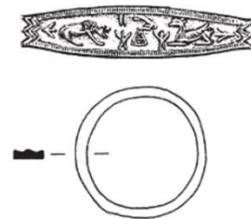


Figure 12



Figure 13

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Another important site with Hittite materials in the archaeological record is Cyprus. Unlike Levant, very few Hittite items were discovered on the island. A golden stamp (Figure 14) and a terracotta head from Tamassos, a silver pendant (Figure 15) from Kalavassos-Hagios Demetrios and a terracotta bull head from Hagia Paraskevi are some examples for the artefacts in Hittite tradition.⁷⁰ On the other hand, interestingly, the Cypriot material culture was significantly common in the southern and western coasts of Anatolia. Even the Central Anatolia was hosting some of

⁶⁸ Genz 2011, 317.

⁶⁹ The figures are taken from Genz 2011.

⁷⁰ Kozal 2002, 651, 65 cited in Genz 2011, 321.

the Cypriot artefacts in their presence. A milk bowl in the Cypriot tradition⁷¹ was found in Maşat Höyük and several different Cypriot cylinder seals (Figure 16) were discovered in Һattuša and Alaca Höyük.⁷² It is also interesting and unknown how and why these foreign objects left the island and entered Central Anatolia.



Figure 14



Figure 15



Figure 16

⁷¹ Özgüç 1978, 66; Todd 2001, 210; Kozal 2003, 69 cited in Genz 2011, 321.

⁷² Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, 108-109 cited in Genz 2011, 321.

⁷³ The figures are taken from Genz 2011.

CHAPTER 3

Textual Evidence Regarding Foreigners

A specific term to refer to a “Hittite”, an individual who is considered local and a citizen did not exist in the Hittite language.⁷⁴ On the other hand, there is no particular word for “foreign” or “foreigner” either. However, the Hittites distinguished foreigners by several different words in their language. A few of these words are: *hippara-*, *dampupi-*, *araḫzena-*, *ZAG-aš UN*, *NAM.RA* and *UBĀRU*. Detailed translations of these words will be discussed in the following pages. These terms were used in different contexts such as laws, treaties and rituals. Depending on the reigns of kings and political circumstances of time periods, Hittite historical narrative may discern the foreign groups or individuals differently. A group, culture or element which has formerly been perceived as foreign may change into something more domestic and familiar with an increase in contact with the state over time. Thus, when an

⁷⁴ Klinger 1992, 193.

individual or an aspect is described as foreign in the textual record, it must be remembered that it is perceived as foreign in the time of the production of the tablet. It is entirely possible that this notion of foreignness may or may not change across different times and places. Additionally, the connotations of these terms may have changed from context to context and period to period.

It is also critical to note that words within a foreign connotation depending on their context might indicate a neutral meaning as much as an unfavourable or negative sense. To understand this difference in a clearer way, in this chapter, two words will be analysed in detail: *arahzena-* and *dampupi-*. Although Hittites used several different words to refer to foreign groups and individuals as mentioned before, focusing on these two words will demonstrate different approaches towards the concept of foreignness.

3.1 *hippara-*

The adjective *hippara-* connotes “unreliable people who are kept incarcerated and who are not allowed to trade” by Johannes

Friedrich.⁷⁵ Friedrich claims that more detailed information about this group of people is still unknown.

3.2 ZAG-aš UN

The literally meaning of the Sumerogram ZAG-aš UN is “the man of the border”. However, Cord Kühne suggested that this word could possibly be translated as “foreigner”.⁷⁶

3.3 UBĀRU

A different word to refer the foreigners is the Akkadogram UBĀRU. This term was translated as “stranger” however, Schuler suggested a different translation as “non-Hittite”.⁷⁷

3.4 NAM.RA

The Sumerogram NAM.RA, *arnuwala-* in Hittite, also alluded to a group of foreigners depending on the context. This is the largest group of people in Hatti that were possibly viewed as

⁷⁵ Klinger 1992, 189.

⁷⁶ Klinger 1992, 194.

⁷⁷ Klinger 1992, 200.

foreigners. However, this group must be examined in detail owing to the fact that not all members of this group can be identified as foreigners. The word NAM.RA can be translated as a group of people considered "deportees". These deportees might have been coming from the Anatolian peninsula or beyond. This way, if the inhabitants of the Central Anatolia are considered, they might not be regarded as foreigners in the eyes of the Hittites. However, some of these deportees also came from distant lands, such as Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, and Levant. Additionally, regardless of their origins, there is a certain aspect that separates NAM.RA people from the others. Even though they were brought to Hatti by force, when they were in the Hittite territories, they had the possibility to attain an occupation and accommodation. In this way perhaps, these people, even if they were foreigners to the land, might get familiar to the Hittite culture and society quite rapidly.

3.5 *araḫzena-*

The meaning of the adjective *araḫzena-* may indicate a sense of foreignness depending on the context. According to Hethitisches Wörterbuch, the general meaning of this word is "located outside, surrounding, adjacent and neighbour/neighbouring".⁷⁸ This

⁷⁸ Hethitisches Wörterbuch, 241.

translation derives from the root of this word which is *arḫa-/irḫa-* and it is translated as "border". Thus, *araḫzena-* is referring a location that is relatively outside of the borders; this can also indicate the meaning "outside". However, there is a possibility that this term can also be translated as "foreign, foreigner".⁷⁹ Additionally, even if it is used in the sense of "foreign", *araḫzena-* is generally not a negative or derogatory term. The individual described as '*araḫzena-*' might be a foreigner but not an enemy. In the following section, several different attestations of this adjective will be analysed and at the end of each example their meanings, depending on their contexts, will be examined.

One of the most common forms of this word is when it is used in the meaning of "surrounding/neighbouring". For instance, in KUB XXVI 74 I 3⁸⁰, the sentence, [*a-ra-aḫ-z*]é-na-aš KUR.KUR^{MEŠ} ŠA^{LÚ}[KUR ḫar]nin-kiškir⁸¹, is translated as "they destroyed the surrounding lands of the enemy". In this context, the adjective is used to describe the location of the enemy lands. Similarly, "the surrounding enemy lands", is also used in different texts such as

⁷⁹ Hethitisches Wörterbuch, 241.

⁸⁰ CTH 10 Fragmente mit Erwähnung des Feldzugs Muršilis I. gegen Babylon.

⁸¹ Hethitisches Wörterbuch, 241.

KBo III 4 I 3⁸², KBo III 4 I 26⁸³, KUB XXI 27 I 20⁸⁴ and Bo 2489 II 6⁸⁵.

It is also used without “enemy”, in KUB XXIV 4 Rs. 7⁸⁶, the sentence [*a-ra-aḥ-z*]é-ni-e-eš ud-ne-e-an-te-eš₁₇ [*ḥ*]u-u-ma-an-te-eš is translated as “all the surrounding/neighbouring countries/lands”. Again, this exact meaning of “surrounding/neighbouring countries/lands” is also attested in KUB XIV 14 I 28⁸⁷, KUB XXIV 3 II 45⁸⁸, KBo XXII 16 13⁸⁹, KUB XXIII 103 Rs. 13⁹⁰. The same meaning in the singular form is seen in texts such as KUB XXIV 4 Rs. 3⁹¹, KUB XXXI 99 Vs. 7⁹², KUB XXIX 7 Vs. 44⁹³, KBo IV 10 Vs. 13⁹⁴, KUB XXIII 68 Vs. 13⁹⁵, KBo IV 10 Vs. 29⁹⁶, and KUB XXIV 6 Vs. 6⁹⁷. The main distinction between the suggested translations of “surrounding” and “neighbouring” might be the knowledge of the land. If the encircling lands are better

⁸² CTH 61 Annalen Muršilis II. (.I Zehnjahresannalen, .II Ausführliche Annalen, .III nicht zugeordnete Fragmente).

⁸³ CTH 61 Annalen Muršilis II. (.I Zehnjahresannalen, .II Ausführliche Annalen, .III nicht zugeordnete Fragmente).

⁸⁴ CTH 384 Gebet Puduḥepas an die Sonnengöttin von Arinna.

⁸⁵ CTH 385 Fragmente der Gebete an die Sonnengöttin von Arinna.

⁸⁶ CTH 376 Hymnen und Gebete and die Sonnengöttin von Arinna.

⁸⁷ CTH 378 Pestgebete Muršilis II.

⁸⁸ CTH 376 Hymnen und Gebete and die Sonnengöttin von Arinna.

⁸⁹ CTH 275 Fragmente der Instruktionen und Protokolle.

⁹⁰ CTH 178 Briefe Tutḫalijas IV. An Baba-aḥ-iddina sowie an andere Adressaten aus Assyrien.

⁹¹ CTH 376 Hymnen und Gebete and die Sonnengöttin von Arinna.

⁹² CTH 275 Fragmente der Instruktionen und Protokolle.

⁹³ CTH 480 Ritual von Šamuḫa.

⁹⁴ CTH 625 Fragmente des AN.DAḫ.ŠUM^{SAR}-Festes.

⁹⁵ CTH 133 Vertrag Arnuwandas I. mit den Leuten von Išmerika.

⁹⁶ CTH 106 Verträge mit Königen von Tarḫuntašša.

⁹⁷ CTH 385 Fragmente der Gebete an die Sonnengöttin von Arinna.

known and closer to the starting point, “neighbouring” translation might fit better than “surrounding”.

Another possible meaning for this word is the sense of “located outside”. As an example, in KUB XXVI 31 10⁹⁸, the sentence *n//an a-ra-aḫ-zé-na-aš BÀD-aš UL uḫanzi* is translated as “the walls outside do not see him”. Another example from KUB XXXVI 12 III 18⁹⁹, *-kan] a-ra-aḫ-zé-ni ḫilamni anda* is translated as “in the outer porch”.¹⁰⁰ The same “outer, outside” meaning is also attested in KUB XIII 4 III 28¹⁰¹, KUB IX 22 III 36¹⁰² and KBo XVII 64 5¹⁰³.

In some contexts, *araḫzena-* might mean “foreign”, “foreign one” or “foreigner”. Even though the number of attestations in this form is scarcer than others, for the purpose of this research, this is the most important part of this section and therefore several different examples will be examined.

⁹⁸ CTH 264 Instruktionen für Priester und Tempelpersonal.

⁹⁹ CTH 345 Lied von Ullikummi (.I Hethitisch, .II Hurritisch).

¹⁰⁰ Hethitisches Wörterbuch, 243.

¹⁰¹ CTH 264 Instruktionen für Priester und Tempelpersonal.

¹⁰² CTH 477 Geburtsritual.

¹⁰³ CTH 477 Geburtsritual.

The first example is from KUB XIII 4 II 10¹⁰⁴, *man* LÚ-BA-RUM//*mu kuedani uizzi* (7) [n//aš INA] É.DINGIR^{LIM} šara pauwaš U[N-aš] n//aš//kan LUGAL-ašš//a (8) [^{GIŠ}kattaluzzi] šarraškitta n//an [apaš//]a šara (9) [peḫteddu] nu KÚ-kiddu akkuš[kidd]u man//ma//aš (10) [LÚ/ LÚa-ra-aḫ-zé]-na-aš UL//aš URUḪattušaš DUMU.L[Ú.UL]Ú^L[^U DING]IR^{MEŠ}-aš t[iya]zi (11) [n//aš aku kuis kui]š peḫtezzi//ma n//at//ši SAG.DU-aš aggat[ar]¹⁰⁵ this part is translated as “But if any stranger comes and he is a person who goes up to the temple, a person who has the right to do so and he also usually crosses the threshold of the king, then that temple employee should also lead him up. Then the stranger should eat and drink for a while. But if he is a foreigner, that is not a man from Ḫattuša, and goes to the gods, then whoever leads him there gets a capital crime”.¹⁰⁶ This is the most important attestation in this chapter because in this particular example, the meaning of *araḫzena-* changes into something other than “surrounding, neighbouring”. In this attestation, LÚ, the determinative of “man”, is used right before *araḫzena-* and as a result, *araḫzena-* is referring to an individual. That person is identified as the one who is not from Ḫattuša. This might be interpreted in two different ways. Either the person is not from the city of Ḫattuša and that way s/he is not perceived as a Hittite which makes the individual a

¹⁰⁴ CTH 264 Instruktionen für Priester und Tempelpersonal.

¹⁰⁵ Hethitisches Wörterbuch, 242.

¹⁰⁶ Hethitisches Wörterbuch, 242.

foreigner or ^{URU}*Ḫattušaš* is used to indicate the whole land of Ḫatti and in this case, this person is not a member or “citizen” of the Hittite state which makes him/her a foreigner.

The second case is from KUB XIII 3 III 16¹⁰⁷, the sentence *man//ma(!) tamai//ma datteni* (15) LUGAL-*i//ma//at tetten nu//šmaš//at UL waštul* (16) LUGAL-*š//at LÚ/LÚ a-ra-a-aḫ-zé-e-ni//ma (!) uppaḫḫi* (17) [*n*]*ašma//at ANA ÌR piḫḫi*¹⁰⁸ is translated as “But if you use leather other than the prescribed one, tell the king! Then it is not a sin for you. I, the king will send it to a foreigner or give it to a slave”¹⁰⁹. Just like the previous one, in this passage, *araḫzena-* is also used with the “man” determinative. This way, *araḫzena-* is used to specify a person and thus may have the meaning of “foreigner”. It is important that although this individual is described as a foreigner, this characterization does not hold any negative connotations. However, it should be noted that this individual can also be translated as a “neighbour”.

The final example is from a broken context. However, in Hethitisches Wörterbuch KUB XXVI 51 7¹¹⁰, the sentence *ma-a-na-aš a-ra-aḫ-zé-n[a-aš ku-i]š-ki an-tu-u-wa-aḫ-ḫa-[aš]* is translated

¹⁰⁷ CTH 265 Instruktionen für Palastangestellte.

¹⁰⁸ Hethitisches Wörterbuch, 242.

¹⁰⁹ Hethitisches Wörterbuch, 242.

¹¹⁰ CTH 212 Fragmente von Verträgen oder Instruktionen.

as “when some foreigner man...”. In this attestation, the indefinite pronoun *kuiški*, indicates that *araḫzena-* refers to an individual as well, and it is translated as “a foreigner”. More examples in this meaning are found in KUB VII 46 Rs. 10¹¹¹ and KUB XIII 5 II 11¹¹².

The adjective *araḫzena-* is often used with the noun “king” to refer to neighbouring king/s. For instance, in KUB VIII 83 2,¹¹³ in the sentence, LU[GAL X](3) *a-ra-aḫ-zé-ni-eš kunanzi*¹¹⁴, *araḫzena-* is used to define the kings that are mentioned and thus, it can be translated as “surrounding kings”, “the neighbouring kings” or “foreign kings”.

Apart from king/s the adjective is also used with ERÍN^{MEŠ}, the Sumerogram for “troops”. In KBo XVI 97 Rs. 1¹¹⁵, the sentence, *man a-ra-aḫ-zé-na-aš kuitki ERÍN^{MEŠ} arnuḫalaš idalu iyazzi* is translated as “if a foreign army does something bad to the NAM.RA”¹¹⁶. The same meaning with the Sumerogram ERÍN^{MEŠ} is also used in IBoT I 36 III 35¹¹⁷.

¹¹¹ CTH 418 Ritual gegen einen dem Königspaar feindlich gesinnten Fremden.

¹¹² CTH 264 Instruktionen für Priester und Tempelpersonal.

¹¹³ CTH 538 Geburtsomina (šumma izbu) (.I Akkadisch, .II Hethitisch).

¹¹⁴ Hethitisches Wörterbuch, 242.

¹¹⁵ CTH 571 Leberorakel (SU) mit unabgekürzten Termini.

¹¹⁶ Hethitisches Wörterbuch, 242.

¹¹⁷ CTH 262 Instruktionen für die Leibwache (LÚ.MEŠMEŠEDI).

Finally, *araḫzena-* is also used in texts in which the meaning of the word is hard to decipher. For instance, in KBo VIII 82 Vs. 5¹¹⁸, the sentence [... *ša-ša-n*]u-uš ZABAR a-ra-aḫ-zé-na-aš can be translated as “the lamps made of bronze foreign...” unfortunately this section is significantly fragmentary and the actual meaning of *araḫzena-* is undetectable here. There are also more examples of such fragmentary and indecipherable usages such as, KUB XVI 19 I 2¹¹⁹, KBo XXIII 50¹²⁰, KBo VIII 35 I 26¹²¹, KUB XII 39¹²², KBo XIV 46¹²³, KBo XVIII 93¹²⁴, KUB XXIII 61 Vs. 7¹²⁵, KUB XXXI 99¹²⁶, KUB XXXI 100 Vs. 16¹²⁷ and KUB XXXI 100 Rs. 19¹²⁸.

In the end, when all of these examples are considered, one might accept the fact that the adjective *araḫzena-* is most of the time used in a sense of “surrounding, adjacent and neighbouring” as mentioned before. However, with the leading attestation, KUB XIII 4 II 10, *araḫzena-* is also translated as “foreign, foreigner”. It seems that, when *araḫzena-* is following a person determinative, or when it is referring to individuals or groups it may be more

¹¹⁸ CTH 479 Ritual von Kizzuwatna.

¹¹⁹ CTH 577 Kombinierte Orakel I: SU, KIN und MUŠEN.

¹²⁰ CTH 433 Rituale für Schutzgott der Jagdtasche (^DKAL ^{KUŠ}kuršaš).

¹²¹ CTH 139 Vertrag Arnuwandas I. mit den Kaškäern.

¹²² CTH 470 Ritualfragmente.

¹²³ CTH 215 Undifferenzierte Fragmente historischer Texte.

¹²⁴ CTH 209 Fragmente hethitischer Briefe.

¹²⁵ CTH 214 Fragmente historischer Texte.

¹²⁶ CTH 275 Fragmente der Instruktionen und Protokolle.

¹²⁷ CTH 257 Instruktionen Arnuwandas I. für den Bürgermeister (*hazannu*).

¹²⁸ CTH 257 Instruktionen Arnuwandas I. für den Bürgermeister (*hazannu*).

appropriate to translate as "foreigner". However, if it is not specifically explained as in KUB XIII 4 II 10, more common translations such as "surrounding, adjacent and neighbour/neighbouring" should still be under consideration.

CTH	KUB	KBo	Bo	IBoT
10	XXVI 74			
61		III 4 *		
133	XXIII 68			
139		VIII 35		
178	XXIII 103			
209		XVIII 93		
212	XXVI 51			
214	XXIII 61			
215		XIV 46		
257	XXXI 100 *			
262				I 36
264	XXVI 31			
264	XIII 4 *			
264	XIII 5			
265	XIII 3			
275		XXII 16		
275	XXXI 99 *			
345	XXXVI 12			
376	XXIV 4 *			
376	XXIV 3			
378	XIV 14			
384	XXI 27			
385			2489	
385	XXIV 6			
418	VII 46			
433		XXIII 50		
470	XII 39			
477	IX 22			
477		XVII 64		
479		VIII 82		
480	XXIX 7			
538	VIII 83			
571		XVI 97		
577	XVI 19			
625		IV 10 *		

* Attested twice in the same text

3.6 *dampupi-*

The adjective *dampupi-*, has been translated differently. It is often used to refer to an individual, or as will be discussed, for a region. Klinger proposed a translation as “probably uncultivated, barbaric”.¹²⁹ This translation was based on the Akkadian equivalent *nuwā’um*, which is defined as “unintelligent, barbarian”.¹³⁰ A translation was given by Friedrich as “layman”.¹³¹ This particular one was an outcome of the attestations of a number of various ritual documents. However, he also suggested a different translation as “inferior” from the attestations of the law tablets.¹³² According to Einar von Schuler, this word is used to designate the people in the north and east of Hatti who are considered as “barbaric”.¹³³ However, this word has never been used against the people of Kaška.¹³⁴

The usage of *dampupi-* is notably different than the way that Hittites used *arahzena-*. From the examples that will be discussed later on this chapter, one can easily identify the main distinction

¹²⁹ Klinger 1992, 191.

¹³⁰ A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian.

¹³¹ Klinger 1992, 191.

¹³² Klinger 1992, 191.

¹³³ Klinger 1992, 191.

¹³⁴ Klinger 1992, 191.

between the two adjectives. As it is mentioned before, *araḫzena-*, in most cases, is used in a neutral and inoffensive way. Depending on the context, as previously specified, *araḫzena-* describes the individuals, groups of people and sometimes even the objects as foreign. Thus, the word is occasionally translated as “foreign” or “foreigner”. However, this is not the case with *dampupi-*. From the contexts within which this word has been used, one may deduce the biased approaches of the Hittites towards what they considered foreign.

When we consider the meaning of *dampupi-*, the translations often change depending on the contexts and the scholars who analyse the attestation. However, the leading interpretation “barbaric” comes from the lexical list KBo I 30 Vs. 8^{135,136}. The tablet is divided into four columns: the first column gives a Sumerian word; the second column offers the scribe how to read that Sumerian word by syllabifying it; the third column presents the Akkadian equivalent of that word and finally, the last column introduces the Hittite counterpart of the word. On line 8 the Sumerian word ^{LÚ}AŠ.ḪAB is translated into Akkadian as *nu'ú* and into Hittite as *dam-pu-pí-iš*. However, interestingly, the next line

¹³⁵ CTH 305 LU = ša.

¹³⁶

<https://www.hethport.adwmainz.de/fotarch/bildausw2.php?n=VAT%207455&x=1f6a46e7507f152c0f77765f69791420>.

also mentions *dampupi-*. In KBo I 30 Vs. 9¹³⁷, the Sumerian word LÚGADA.TAR is once again translated into Akkadian as *nu'ú* and translated into Hittite as *dam-pu-pí-iš*. Line 9 may have been mistakenly repeated line 8 and this misleading copying may have been a scribal error.



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As for the usages referring to individuals, several different examples will now be presented from various texts and their translations will be compared. The first case is from KUB XXXX 2 Vs. 18¹³⁹, the sentence (17) É.ŠÀ-ni IT-TI D Iš-ḫa-ra U^[RU]Ne-e-ri-ša...] (18) *dam-pu-pí-iš Ú-UL ku-iš-ki pa-iz-z[i]* is translated as “no

¹³⁷ CTH 305 LU = ša.
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<https://www.hethport.adwmainz.de/fotarch/bildausw2.php?n=VAT%207455&x=1f6a46e7507f152c0f77765f69791420>

¹³⁹ CTH 641 Kut der Išḫara.

unworthy person enters the interior of the Išhara of Neriša". Here, *dampupi-* is translated as "an unworthy person".

In the Hittite laws, the interpretation of this word is slightly different. In KBo VI 10 Rs. 22¹⁴⁰ and KBo XIV 67 3¹⁴¹, the sentence (22) [*ták-ku* LÚ.U₁₉.LU]-*an dam-pu-pí-in₄ ku-iš-ki uš-ne-eš-kat-ta* (23) [*ta-ma-i-ša-k*]*án pé-ra-an* GUL-*aḫ-zi* (24) [*wa-aš-túl-aš* 5 G]ÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i* is translated as "[If] someone is in the process of selling an unskilled person, and another (seller) strikes first(?), as the fine for his offence he shall pay 5 shekels of silver."¹⁴² In this particular attestation, *dampupi-* is translated as "unskilled person", considering the fact that this person could be sold and bought also illustrates that this individual was being treated as a slave. The same meaning is also found in KBo VI 26 Vs. Kol. II 29¹⁴³, the sentence *ták-ku* LÚMUŠEN.DÙ-*a[n a]n-na-nu-wa-an-ta-an ku-iš-ki wa-a-ši* (28) 25 GÍN KÙ.BA[BBAR] *pa-a-i* *ták-ku* LÚ-*an na-aš-ma* MUNUS-*an* (29) *dam-pu-u-pí-in ku-iš-ki wa-a-ši* 20 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i* is translated as "If anyone buys a man trained as an augur(?), he shall pay 25 shekels of silver. If anyone buys an unskilled man or woman, he shall pay 20 shekels

¹⁴⁰ CTH 292 Gesetze, 2. Serie: "Wenn eine Rebe".

¹⁴¹ CTH 292 Gesetze, 2. Serie: "Wenn eine Rebe".

¹⁴² Hoffner 1997, 122.

¹⁴³ CTH 292 Gesetze, 2. Serie: "Wenn eine Rebe".

of silver".¹⁴⁴ In this attestation, the meaning of *dampupi-* is used in a neutral, informative way.

In a land donation tablet, KBo V 7 Vs. 19¹⁴⁵, *dampupi-* used in [^m]x-zi-ti-iš ˀdam-pu-u-pi'-i[š̄]. In this attestation the name of the individual is also partly visible. The passage itself is a description of the members of a specific household and one of these members is [^m]x-zi-ti-iš̄ the *dampupi-*. So, specifically for this attestation, the "Layman" translation of Friedrich appears to fit better than a barbaric person in a domestic establishment.

The best known and mostly debated form of this word is used in "Ḫukkana Treaty" between the Great King Šuppiluliuma I and Ḫukkana, the ruler of the land of Hayaša. It is an interesting treaty; it represents the loyalty of Ḫukkana to the Hittite king as a subordinate and the marriage between him and the sister of Šuppiluliuma I which was perhaps orchestrated to create stronger bonds between the two states. In this treaty, Ḫukkana was warned by Šuppiluliuma I about his possible improper sexual behaviour. According to the treaty, Hatti has stricter sexual customs than Ḫayaša and Ḫukkana is expected to comply with these terms. As it

¹⁴⁴ Hoffner 1997, 141.

¹⁴⁵ CTH 222 Landschenkungsurkunden.

is shown before, this adjective is frequently used to refer to people. However, in KBo X 3 Rs. Kol. III 32¹⁴⁶ and KBo XIX 44 + KUB XIX 24 Rs. 20¹⁴⁷, it is used to indicate a region. The details of this treaty will be discussed in chapter five. In the text, the sentence *šū-me-en₆-za-an KUR-e dam-pu-u-pí ku-it an-da-[a]t za-[aḥ-ḥa]-an* is translated as “Because your land is barbaric, it is in conflict(?)” by Gary Beckman¹⁴⁸. For the first time in this chapter *dampupi-* is used to refer to a land and describing a region as “barbaric”, and this, in turn, might indicate the cultural and possible administrative differences between the two states.

Additionally, this word is also found in texts such as KUB LVIII 109 Vs. 13¹⁴⁹, KBo XXIII 23 + KBo XXXIII 118¹⁵⁰, KUB XXVII 29 12¹⁵¹, KUB V 7 Vs. 46¹⁵², KUB IX 7 Vs. 4¹⁵³ and KBo III 63 Vs. II 5¹⁵⁴. Furthermore, it is also attested in very fragmentary forms in KBo XXXX 236 Vs. 1¹⁵⁵, Bo 2752; KUB LVIII 68 Vs. 23¹⁵⁶, KUB XXIX 38 Vs. 15¹⁵⁷, KBo IX 111 8¹⁵⁸, KUB LVIII 92 5¹⁵⁹, UBT 96 3¹⁶⁰,

¹⁴⁶ CTH 42 Vertrag Šuppiluliuma I. Mit ḫukkana von ḫayaša

¹⁴⁷ CTH 42 Vertrag Šuppiluliuma I. Mit ḫukkana von ḫayaša

¹⁴⁸ Beckman 1996, 27.

¹⁴⁹ CTH 780 Ritual der Allaituraḫḫi.

¹⁵⁰ CTH 780 Ritual der Allaituraḫḫi.

¹⁵¹ CTH 780 Ritual der Allaituraḫḫi.

¹⁵² CTH 574 MUŠEN ḫURRI-Orakel.

¹⁵³ CTH 763 Hethitische Ritualfragmente mit Luwismenn.

¹⁵⁴ CTH 655 Festfragmente mit Nennung des Königs ḫantili.

¹⁵⁵ CTH 832 Hethitische Fragmente verschiedenen Inhaltes.

¹⁵⁶ CTH 470 Ritualfragmente.

¹⁵⁷ CTH 292 Gesetze, 2. Serie: “Wenn eine Rebe”.

¹⁵⁸ CTH 470 Ritualfragmente.

KUB XXIX 38 Vs. II 15¹⁶¹ + 29, KUB XXIX 38 Rs. III 10¹⁶² + 29,
KUB XXIX 21 Rs. III 6¹⁶³, KBo LXIV 362 Rs. Kol. III 3¹⁶⁴, Bo 3243;
KBo III 63¹⁶⁵ and Private L 2.

Finally, when all these different attestations are considered, it seems that even though the lexical list of KBo I 30 Vs. 8 might suggest a translation as “barbarian or barbaric”, this meaning does not fit in every other example. Calling a land barbaric in a treaty or having a barbarian in a household might not be an ideal choice. Therefore, a better translation could be “layperson” and by extension, “ignorant”. This translation fits better for an individual who works in a domestic establishment, someone who does not have a speciality on a subject or who is not an expert of something and for the treaty part it might be better to translate that section as “Because your land is ignorant (of our customs), it is in conflict”. It presents the situation in a better way since Azzi-Ḫayaša and its inhabitants in fact probably did not know the Hittite customs very well. Instead of this most known negative connotation, a more neutral meaning as “ignorant” fits better in every attestation.

¹⁵⁹ CTH 832 Hethitische Fragmente verschiedenen Inhaltes.

¹⁶⁰ CTH 470 Ritualfragmente.

¹⁶¹ CTH 292 Gesetze, 2. Serie: “Wenn eine Rebe”.

¹⁶² CTH 292 Gesetze, 2. Serie: “Wenn eine Rebe”.

¹⁶³ CTH 292 Gesetze, 2. Serie: “Wenn eine Rebe”.

¹⁶⁴ CTH 832 Hethitische Fragmente verschiedenen Inhaltes.

¹⁶⁵ CTH 655 Festfragmente mit Nennung des Königs Ḫantili.

CTH	KUB	KBo	Bo	UBT
42		X 3		
42		XIX 44		
42	XIX 24			
222		V 7		
292		VI 10		
292		XIV 67		
292		VI 26		
292	XXIX 38 **			
292	XXIX 21			
305		I 30 *		
470			2752	
470	LVIII 68			
470		IX 111		
470				96
574	V 7			
641	XXXX 2			
655		III 63		
655			3243	
655		III 63		
763	IX 7			
780	LVIII 109			
780		XXIII 23		
780		XXXIII 118		
780	XXVII 29			
832		XXXX 236		
832	LVIII 92			
832		LXIV 362		

* Attested twice in the same text

** Attested thrice in the same text

CHAPTER 4

Case Study: Hittites and Azzi-Ḫayaša

The northeast of the Hittite territory was known by the names Azzi and Ḫayaša. This is a mountainous region and the inhabitants were living under harsher geographical conditions. The names Azzi and Ḫayaša are not attested frequently in Hittite sources. They are predominantly mentioned in the reigns of three kings of Hatti. They are first attested in the Hittite sources around the time of Tudḫaliya II. They became subjects according to the historical documents from the reign of Šuppiluliuma I and finally, they appeared as a prominent hostile group of people in the time of Muršili II. They continued to be mentioned after these three kings as well. However, after the reign of Muršili II, they do not appear in Hittite sources as frequently as before.

One of the oldest historical attestations of the north eastern countries was the aggression of Azzi towards the Hittite core lands during the reign of Tudḫaliya II. In fact, there is a narrative called the "Concentric Invasion". It is not mentioned in a written document at the time of Tudḫaliya II, but the information was gathered from a historical background of an edict that was produced in the time of Ḫattušili III.¹⁶⁶ Since the described events were more than hundred years old, the accuracy of the narration should be taken into consideration with caution. According to Ḫattušili III, it was a time when the Hittites were seen as a weak rival and almost every neighbour of Ḫatti took their chance to get an advantage of this. It was in this period that the Hittites were attacked from all fronts; Kaška, Arzawa, Arawanna, Išuwa, and Armatana tried to seize Hittite lands. Just as the other countries, Azzi also invaded Hittite territory and according to Hittite sources, they plundered all of the Upper Lands and took the city of Šamuha as their new frontier. This conquest can perhaps be seen from an archaeological perspective. Apparently, the level 3 of Šamuha ended with a conflagration. However, according to Müller-Karpe, the buildings were looted systematically before they were

¹⁶⁶ CTH 88 Erlass Ḫattušilis III. Über die Befreiung des *ḫekur* des Pirwa von Abgaben.
Bryce 2005, 146; Collins 2007, 45.

incinerated, and he goes on to claim that these actions are a sign of a conquest.¹⁶⁷

The reconquest of Šamuha, the capital of the Upper Lands, occurred quite swiftly after its loss to the Azzian enemy. It was in fact one of the first cities that Tudḫaliya II alongside with his successor Šuppiluliuma I took over from enemy control. The historical document called “the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma”¹⁶⁸ which was produced in the time of his son Muršili II concerns the military achievements of Šuppiluliuma, it clarifies that his first actions towards the reconquest of Anatolia with his predecessor Tudḫaliya started with the north eastern regions.¹⁶⁹

After the reconquest of the Upper Land’s capital, the army general Šuppiluliuma I organized a campaign towards the territories of Azzi-ḫayaša. Even though the easterners tried to avoid the battle by not facing the Hittite army in a battle, Šuppiluliuma I and Tudḫaliya II caught Karanni/Lenni, the king of Azzi-ḫayaša, around the city of Kummaha. Although the outcomes of this battle are not described in the written sources, it would not be a mistake to think that the Hittites emerged victorious against

¹⁶⁷ Müller-Karpe 2017, 62

¹⁶⁸ CTH 40 Šuppiluliumas Mannestaten.

¹⁶⁹ Bryce 2005, 148; Collins 2007, 46.

the kingdom of Azzi-Ḫayaša. Šuppiluliuma I reformed this land into a vassal state for the Hittite Kingdom. In the Treaty of Ḫukkana¹⁷⁰, an agreement with the new ruler of this region, Šuppiluliuma I arranged a marriage between his sister and Ḫukkana. It is clear in the conditions of this treaty that the kingdom of Azzi-Ḫayaša was forced to admit Hittite superiority over them by accepting to return the Hittite fugitives back to Šuppiluliuma I as well as embracing the Hittite family customs by not taking any other woman from the land of Azzi-Ḫayaša as a wife except for his former wife who may continue to company him as a concubine.¹⁷¹

These agreements of Šuppiluliuma I with Azzi-Ḫayaša started to be disregarded after his death in the time of his son Muršili II. In the seventh year of Muršili II's reign, Anniya, the new king of Azzi-Ḫayaša, invaded the Land of Dankuwa, one of the subjects of the Hittite state, and drew the inhabitants back to his kingdom. As a reaction to this Muršili II advanced towards the eastern regions and according to the Hittite sources, Muršili II first tried to settle the issue in a diplomatic manner, simply demanding the freedom of his subjects. When he was rejected by Anniya, Muršili II sieged the city of Ura which was a border town of Azzi-Ḫayaša. The tension between the two states lasted for a notably long time owing to the

¹⁷⁰ CTH 42 Vertrag Šuppiluliumas I. mit Ḫukkana von Ḫayaša.

¹⁷¹ Bryce 2005, 150; Collins 2007, 120.

unresolved conflicts in the region when Muršili II had to leave his campaign over Azzi-ḫayaša and had to go to Kummanni to perform a ritual that his father neglected in Kizzuwatna.¹⁷²

The conquest of the Land of Dankuwa by the Azzi-ḫayašan king was in reality just a small complication compared to what happened to Muršili II later on. In his time in the Land of Kummanni, a series of unfortunate events occurred for the Hittite state. Muršili II arranged a meeting with his brother Šarri-Kušuh, the ruler of Carchemish to discuss the future of the territories of North Western Syria. His other brother Telipinu, the ruler of Aleppo was recently deceased, and his son Talmi-Sharrumma was soon to be coronated. Muršili II wanted to discuss this matter with his brother Sharri-Kushuh alongside with the Nuhašši problem in the region as well as the enhancing threats of the Egyptians and Assyrians with the death of the Hittite viceroy in Aleppo. Probably every concern of Muršili II for the fate of the Hittite control in the South East happened quite rapidly. First of all, his brother Sharri-Kushuh unexpectedly fell ill and passed away in his time in Kummanni. The death of both viceregal kings of Syria weakened the Hittite power over the region. As a consequence of this, the rebels of Nuhashshi rose against the state. Aitakkama, the vassal ruler of Kadesh wanted to gain its independence against the

¹⁷² Bryce 2005, 201.

Hittites. Additionally, when the death of Sharri-Kushuh was heard by the Assyrians, they sieged and took over the Kingdom of Carchemish. At this very moment, just as what happened in the reign of Tudḫaliya II, every neighbour of Hittites was attacking them. Azzi-Ḫayaša took the chance to invade the Upper Land once again and destroyed the Land of Iština while sieging the city of Kannuwara. There were three major obstacles while there was only one king. Muršili II decided to divide the army into three companies and deal with these problems all at once. He first dispatched his general Kurunta to suppress the Syrian rebellions. Followed by this, he sent his most experienced general Nuwanza to reclaim the territories of the Upper Land from the hands of the Azzi-Ḫayašan enemy and he, himself, went to Ashtata to formulate his attacks against the Assyrians in Carchemish. Even though Nuwanza was an experienced general, before attacking Azzi-Ḫayašan armies he wanted to take his time to consult the seers and diviners for the fate of the battle. Muršili II got disturbed by this delay on the reclaiming of Upper Land so much so that he made the oracles himself to encourage Nuwanza to advance to regain the Hittite power over the North Eastern regions. Nuwanza at the end reconquered the Upper Land and pushed the Azzi-Ḫayašans back to their own territory. On the other hand, Muršili II managed to reclaim the Hittite power over north western Syria and achieved to take back the viceregal kingdoms of Carchemish and Aleppo. He

went on to place the sons of the former viceroy to their ancestral thrones. After the second reclamation of the Upper Land, Muršili II installed a local ruler to govern the Upper Lands, and with this action, the Upper Lands were never invaded again by any hostile groups in the reign of Muršili II. However, his ninth year ended without regaining the control and vassalization of Azzi-ḫayaša. He only managed to do that in his tenth year.¹⁷³

One of the main problems in modern Hittite history is the exact chronology of the events that happened in the state. Frequently, the greatest incidents of the Hittites were also recorded by foreign states or nature itself and they are usually the primary sources for the chronology that the Hittitologists practice with. One of these natural events happened exactly in this time period. According to Collins, a solar omen which is thought to be an eclipse by the scholars took place in the ninth or tenth year of Muršili II when he was campaigning in the land of Azzi.¹⁷⁴ If the event that are presented before the ninth year of Muršili II's reign are considered, it might be a better assumption to assume that this astronomical event occurred in the tenth year of Muršili II's reign since it was actually the time that the king himself was in the land of Azzi for a campaign instead of sending any generals. Since that

¹⁷³ Bryce 2005, 203; Collins 2007, 51.

¹⁷⁴ Collins 2007, 19.

solar eclipse is dated back to 1311 BC, it may also be a marker for the tenth year of Muršili II. On the other hand, this event was foreseen as the death of Muršili II by the infamous queen of the time, the Babylonian wife of Šuppiluliuma I, who was accused of many crimes against the Hittite state and the personal life of Muršili II. According to the Hittite king, Tawananna's (the queen's) misuse of power in the state and her antagonism towards his partner were so severe that both the state and Gaššulawiya (wife of Muršili II) got disturbed. Another reason for Muršili II's arrival at Kummanni was to pray for his spouse's wellbeing. According to Muršili II she became a victim of his mother in law's unending curses which led for Gaššulawiya to get afflicted by the plague that was prevalent in the land of Ḫatti for decades. Even though Muršili II had the strength to withstand her actions, after Gaššulawiya's part, according to him, Muršili II exiled her mother with good conditions. In the end, the omen that Tawananna encountered did not reflect any reality and Muršili II returned to Ḫattuša after his campaign over Azzi-Ḫayaša on his tenth year with success.¹⁷⁵ After the reign of Muršili II, the attestation of the kingdom of Azzi-Ḫayaša dropped immensely in the Hittite sources. This may be the outcome of the Hittite focus on the other regions instead of the north eastern highlands of Anatolia.

¹⁷⁵ Collins 2007, 51.

4.1 The History of Philological Research

The term that is used to refer to the north eastern lands of Anatolia in the modern scholarship is not the same as how those lands were referred to in the second millennium BC. The term that is used today as “Azzi-Ḫayaša” is not present in this compound form in the tablets. However, both of these regions were attested in similar contexts and in some cases, they even appear in the same texts. Due to this, Alparslan claims that maybe even the Hittites did not see a difference between these lands, and this is the reason why Hittitologists write in this compound form.¹⁷⁶ To prove this argument, he cites a section of the Ten Year Annals of Muršili II. In the 9th year of his reign Muršili II says that “the year has become too short for him” and as a consequence of this, he could not continue his campaign into the land of Azzi (KBo 3.4 IV 22-23).¹⁷⁷ However, in the Extended Annals even though he could not advance to Azzi, he declares that he did go to Ḫayaša (KBo 4.4 III 23-26).¹⁷⁸ Considering this statement, one must think that the Hittites did in fact distinguish these two regions. Based on geographical information deriving from the written documents about the eastern highlands, it may be assumed that Azzi was

¹⁷⁶ Alparslan, 2017, 215.

¹⁷⁷ CTH 61 Annalen Muršilis II. (.I Zehnjahresannalen, .II Ausführliche Annalen, .III nicht zugeordnete Fragmente).

¹⁷⁸ CTH 61 Annalen Muršilis II. (.I Zehnjahresannalen, .II Ausführliche Annalen, .III nicht zugeordnete Fragmente).

located to the north of Hayaša which suggests that they were two different lands. On the other hand, it is a fact that these two regions were situated very close to each other and since they are located right next to the strongest empire of the second millennium BC in Anatolia, they were probably unified politically from time to time for a defensive strategy. Additionally, because of this alliance, Alparslan claims that the Hittites may have perceived the two states as belonging together and he also argues that this viewpoint might indicate that these states could share a similar culture, customs and way of living.¹⁷⁹ However, whether the Hittites considered these two states as one is not truly known.

The historical geography of this region and the precise locations of the known cities of this region are unfortunately not clear. There are different opinions about their possible borderlines. The first attempt to locate the region was around the southeast of Trabzon.¹⁸⁰ Later, a different location, around Kelkit, within the Gümüşhane province, was suggested and finally, the region is currently considered around the modern provinces of Erzincan, Bayburt and Gümüşhane.¹⁸¹ Several settlements have been identified in this region, however, none of them can be classified as

¹⁷⁹ Alparslan, 2017, 215.

¹⁸⁰ Forrer 1926, 4; 1931; Garstang and Gurney 1959 cited in Alparslan, 2017, 216.

¹⁸¹ Forlanini and Marazzi 1986; 1997; Wittke, Olshausen and Szydiak 2007, 15 cited in Alparslan, 2017, 216.

"cities".¹⁸² Most of the settlements are quite small and it has been suggested that the reason for this might be the environmental conditions and their possible nomadic lifestyle primarily based on a pastoral economy.¹⁸³ As will be discussed later, the archaeological finds might also support this theory. Their tool usages are also distinctive. It is almost completely different than the Hittite material culture and this again might be caused by the conditions of their surroundings. According to Müller-Karpe, their pottery traditions appear to be similar to the Araxes Culture which is frequently decorated with linear motives and produced with a wheel.¹⁸⁴ Another reason for the significantly small settlements might be their geographical positions. In KBo 4.4 IV 29-31, it is mentioned that "they held fortified settlements, the rocks, the high mountains, places difficult to reach...".¹⁸⁵ Since they have positioned themselves in arduous places so their rivals might not reach them, they may have had not the physical capacity to grow into larger cities.

At least three settlements are known from textual sources. The first one, *Ura*, is a challenging one. It appears that there was

¹⁸² Müller-Karpe, 2017, 62.

¹⁸³ Müller-Karpe, 2017, 62

¹⁸⁴ Müller-Karpe, 2017, 62.

¹⁸⁵ CTH 61 Annalen Muršilis II. (.I Zehnjahresannalen, .II Ausführliche Annalen, .III nicht zugeordnete Fragmente). Müller-Karpe 2017, 66.

more than one settlement called *Ura* and understanding which one is referred to can be difficult to detect. However, one of them is definitely in the lands of Azzi-ḫayaša. There is a sentence from the seventh year of Muršili II as “and the city of *Ura*, which is the first border watch post of [the land] Azzi, [is located] in a steep place...” (KUB 14.17 III 21-23).¹⁸⁶ This settlement must have had an impressive fortification system because Muršili II specifically demands the reader to see how it is constructed. The section from the Annals of Muršili II might indicate a steep mountainous position for *Ura*. Furthermore, considering the fact that *Ura* is mentioned as the first watch point narrows down the location to the western section of the region as near to the Hittite lands as possible. Scholars have different opinions for the precise location of this settlement, Şebin-karahisar, Gaziura and Amasya are some of them.¹⁸⁷ The second settlement, *Aripša*, is only attested in the Ten-Year Annals of Muršili II (KBo 4.4 IV 4, 5, 12, 16, 20; KUB IV 37, 39). In the annals Muršili II advances to the lands of Azzi however, the enemy troops do not confront him in the battlefield and retreats to the fortified settlements of *Aripša* and *Dukkama*. The exact location of this settlement is also a matter of discussion. Apparently, this settlement was established around a water source, which could either be a lake or a sea as well as a quite high

¹⁸⁶ CTH 61 Annalen Muršilis II. (.I Zehnjahresannalen, .II Ausführliche Annalen, .III nicht zugeordnete Fragmente); Müller-Karpe, 2017, 62.

¹⁸⁷ Cornelius 1963, 242; 1973, 186, 321 cited in Alparslan 2017, 216.

mountain ridge. Regarding this information, several different locations are proposed by different scholars such as, west coast of Lake Van, Giresun and Kelkit.¹⁸⁸ Due to the fact there was a lake here in the Bronze Age, Erzincan is also suggested as a possible location.¹⁸⁹ If the water source that was mentioned is actually the sea, then the potential locations differ from the ones that were suggested before. For this possibility, the modern towns of Çarşamba and Ordu were suggested.¹⁹⁰ Additionally, a section from the Annals of Muršili II indicates *Aripša* as “in the middle of the sea” this expression is either referring the Black Sea or a very large lake just as the one in Erzincan.¹⁹¹ On the other hand, according to Alparslan, Lake Van is too far away from the region.¹⁹² The third and last one is the settlement called *Ḫalimana*. Just like *Aripša*, *Ḫalimana* is also only attested in the Annals of Muršili II. According to the annals, while facing the Hittite army, the people of Azzi assigned Mutti, a man from *Ḫalimana* to lead the forces of Azzi-Ḫayaša against the Hittite invasion. It seems like Mutti was successful in defending the land because after the confrontation of the two armies, Muršili II retreats and abandons his campaign over Azzi. Unfortunately, from this context, a clear definition for the location of *Ḫalimana* could not be obtained.

¹⁸⁸ Forrer 1928, 144; Garstang and Gurney 1959, 37-39; Cornelius 1973, 193-194 cited in Alparslan 2017, 217.

¹⁸⁹ Forlanini and Marazzi 1986 cited in Alparslan 2017, 217.

¹⁹⁰ Alparslan 2017, 217.

¹⁹¹ Alparslan 2017, 217.

¹⁹² Alparslan 2017, 217.

4.2 The History of Archaeological Research

With the rediscovery of the Hittite capital by the French explorer Charles Texier in 1834, the scholarly interest for the ancient Anatolian history mainly focused on the Hittite capital Ḫattuša and its vicinity for the first years, which is also largely defined as Central Anatolia. The archaeological excavations revealed a great deal of information for the Hittites most of which are concentrated in the Hittite heartland, within the Kızılırmak Basin. While Central Anatolia was examined in detail, the eastern regions of the peninsula were relatively neglected by the scholars.¹⁹³ The number of excavations and surveys are considerably low compared to the Hittite core region. There is so little archaeological work that even the eastern border of the Upper Land, a Hittite territory is not entirely known.

From the first half of the 20th century, three important surveys and one rescue excavation can be marked as essential for eastern Anatolian research. The first one was conducted by the Alişar Expedition team of the Oriental Institute of Chicago between 1927 and 1931. It is followed by the University of Ankara with the

¹⁹³ Müller-Karpe 2017, 58.

lead of Kılıç Kökten in 1940 and lastly, the third one was undertaken by Charles Burney of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara in 1950. Even though the surveys are immensely important in archaeology for gathering the first impressions of the land and the archaeological record, according to Müller-Karpe they were not enough to obtain the knowledge needed to comprehend the societies of the second millennium BC, their settlements, and cultures of this specific region.¹⁹⁴ This objective for the eastern Anatolia was slightly achieved for the first time with the start of the salvage excavations that are concluded before the construction of the Keban Dam in 1968.

Although these projects were only shedding light on the southern part of eastern Anatolia, they were still a start in understanding the history of the ancient Eastern Anatolia for the first time. The first excavation for this purpose was carried out by Antonio Sagona between 1990 and 1992 in Büyüktepe Höyük, which is located within the province of Bayburt. He continued his expedition for this region at Soshöyük, modern Erzurum between 1994 to 2000.

¹⁹⁴ Müller-Karpe 2017, 58

4.3 The Excavations of Büyüktepe Höyük

The excavations at Büyüktepe Höyük have been conducted by the collaboration of the University of Melbourne and Erzurum Museum. Although the site provides a great deal of information about different periods, unfortunately, we generally only have a very limited store of knowledge about the civilizations of the second millennium BC. It seems like the site is only used as a temporary encampment.¹⁹⁵ The exact dating of the site was done by a bone sample which is found next to a hearth. The radiocarbon dating proves that the site was in use between 1680 to 1310 BC.

Apart from the bone sample we also have some pottery pieces from this site. Three sherds from different ceramics clarify some information about this site. The first sherd is from an upper section of pottery, it is a loop handle which is connecting the rim and the neck of the ceramic to each other (Figure 17). The colour of the clay is dark grey (2.5 YR 2.5/0), and it is hardened by some semi coarse limestones along with some quartz grits. This sherd is fired until it turned a brownish (7.5 YR 5/5) colour on both surfaces. We can certainly identify this piece as wheel-made pottery with the marks that can be seen from the interior section. The second sherd has some remarkable decorations on it (Figure

¹⁹⁵ Sagona, Pemberton, and McPhee 1993, 74.

18). The design seems like some rough vertically waved carvings. This fragment has a dark grey core with brown (5 YR 5/6) edges. Both surfaces have brown slipped (exterior 2.5 YR 4/2.5, interior 2.5 YR 4.5/4) colours. The marks around the decoration demonstrate to us that this sherd was also wheel made. The last piece is a ring base and the most important aspect of this one is the fact that it is handmade pottery (Figure 19). The clay is heavily loaded with grits and there are some samples of chaff and mica in it. The exterior section has mottled brown (5YR 5.5/6) and beige (10YR 6.5/3.5) colours and is slightly polished. On the other hand, the inner section is untouched with a plain brown (5YR 5.5/6) colour. Apart from these three sherd pieces and a bone sample, we do not have any other material from the second millennium BC to enhance our knowledge about this site. Because of this reason, Sagona believes that this location is only used as a temporary encampment in the Late Bronze Age.¹⁹⁶ The lack of numerous sherd pieces and any traces of the architectural remains in the stratigraphy actually supports this claim.

¹⁹⁶ Sagona, Pemberton, and McPhee 1992.

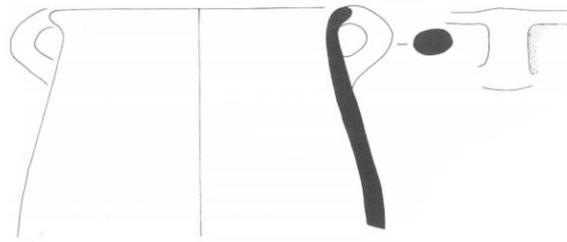


Figure 17

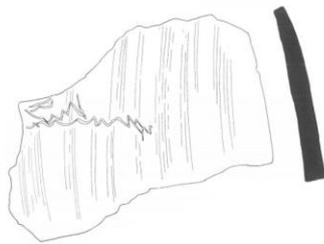


Figure 18



Figure 19

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4.4 The Excavations of Sos Höyük

Another collaborated project of University of Melbourne and Erzurum Museum is the excavations of Sos Höyük. Unfortunately, just like the case in Büyüktepe Höyük, this site is also providing only limited information about the second millennium BC. Correspondingly, when it is compared with the other layers, it is the least understood period of Sos Höyük. The northern section of the mound has been identified as an industrial zone for the Late Bronze Age, there are no residential sectors in this part of the mound.¹⁹⁸ The lack of the stable architectural remains might suggest the idea of dwellings being made from perishable materials

¹⁹⁷ The figures are taken from Sagona, Pemberton, and McPhee 1993.

¹⁹⁸ Sagona 2010, 45.

such as matting or reeds. It is also possible that the mound was not used for a long time in the Late Bronze Age by the inhabitants.¹⁹⁹

A group of pits some of which show some intense firing marks demonstrate the production area in the section. The wasted pottery pieces and vitrified limestone fragments in the pits may suggest the purpose of the pits as baking ceramics or processing limestone for pottery productions. The pottery pieces that are gathered from the pits are wheel made, and they are not polished. The firing techniques may have not been ideal because many sherd pieces have cracks on their surfaces because of over firing.²⁰⁰

The Late Bronze Age pottery from the site is typically dark and fairly hard. Two sherds of comb-stamped Trialeti ware were identified, and the decorated one (Figure 20) has a brown colour (7.5 YR 4/3).²⁰¹ Even though painted pottery was rare in the field, one is decorated on the buff slip with two shades of brown (Figure 21).

¹⁹⁹ Sagona 1996, 32.

²⁰⁰ Sagona 2010, 45.

²⁰¹ Sagona 1996, 32.



Figure 20



Figure 21

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Apart from the pottery, some obsidian tools with notched edges (Figure 22), triangular shaped blades (Figure 23) and some other microliths (Figure 24) were also found at the site.



Figure 22



Figure 23



Figure 24

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In the end, Sos Höyük excavations conducted for six years whereas Büyüktepe Höyük excavations were done for three years. Both sites only offer a very limited information for the Late Bronze Age and their exposure to this age was not as big as the other time periods. Coming up with a conclusion only from these sites is quite challenging. On the other hand, gathering information for this

²⁰² The figures are taken from Sagona 1996.

²⁰³ The figures are taken from Sagona 1996.

region from the Late Bronze Age textual records is also a hard task. It seems that the relationship between the Hittites and Azzi-ḫayaša was not very close. The ignorance of the Hittite customs in the highlands and the lack of detailed information about the highlands in the Hittite textual records are some examples for this. Additionally, it must be noted that the two states were only in contact with each other in a frequent way in the reigns of three consecutive kings; Tudḫaliya II, Šuppiluliuma I and Muršili II. When the entire history of the Hittite state is considered, we can say that the interactions with Azzi-ḫayaša was focused on a less than hundred years. Thus, the Hittites in fact, did not know much information about the detailed lifestyles of the inhabitants.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

In the Late Bronze Age, specifically in the Hittite Kingdom, identifying foreigners in the textual and archaeological record is surprisingly difficult. The Hittites did not explicitly distinguish and describe which individuals, groups or cultures were foreign and which were accepted and local in their textual records. Especially, when the multi-cultural and possibly multi-ethnic nature of the society is considered, it seems foreigners were often viewed as valuable individuals or groups. The fact that they are not discriminated against in the textual sources might indicate that they were an important part of Hittite society.

Tracing foreigners from the archaeological evidence is harder than the textual record. Unexpectedly, foreign materials in the Hittite territory are noticeably scarce and Hittite material culture is also not frequently found outside of Central Anatolia. Since the

Hittite state is a polity with many contacts with their surrounding regions for various reasons, it is interesting that the material culture was not followed with them. The foreign objects which are coming surrounding the lands of the Hittite state are also a matter of discussion. The foreignness of an object may change depending on the perspective of the individuals.

The archaeological record for Azzi-Ḫayaša is even scarcer than the previous research areas. Unfortunately, the North Eastern territories of Anatolia is actually neglected in the modern archaeological research. When Azzi-Ḫayaša was focused on as a region, two important excavations; Büyüktepe Höyük and Sos Höyük shed light upon the foreignness of the region for the Hittite state. Both mounds were indicating that the pottery pieces from the second millennium BC were significantly different than the Hittite traditions and the lack of stable architectural features might signify the fact that this region was only used as a temporary shelter in the Late Bronze Age. Perhaps the people of Azzi-Ḫayaša were nomadic in nature and they were moving around the region with their possibly main source of living, animal husbandry.

5.1 Future Research and Final Words

There is an unmistakable need to study all aspects of what appears to be a complex society which includes many cultural and possible ethnic groups. Future research in Hittitology must focus on the diverse social structures of the Hittite world and it must do so by analysing which members of society or lands were considered foreign. It is also essential for future researchers to examine why certain groups were believed to be foreign by the locals. Additionally, special attention must be paid to the North East of Anatolia as it has been considerably neglected in studies of Hittite archaeology. Clear and detailed studies of the aforementioned foreign aspects of Hittite demographics hold the potential for far reaching implications, not only in understanding the politics and social setting of Ḫatti but also of other Late Bronze Age Anatolian states.

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