

Hittites

Harry A. Hoffner Jr.

The Lord had caused the Arameans to hear the sound of chariots and horses and a great army, so that they said to one another, "Look, the king of Israel has hired the Hittite and Egyptian kings to attack us!"
—2 Kings 7:6

History

Historiography

Before discussing what is known about Hittite history from texts and archaeological investigation, we should touch briefly on the question of how the Hittites recorded their own past.¹ The Hittites had no chronographic literature. The closest Hittite approximation to a king list does not record dates or lengths of reigns. Hittite kings left behind annalistic records of their military campaigns, beginning as early as the Old Hittite king Hattushili I.² Royal edicts, such as those of the Old Hittite kings Hattushili I and Telepinu and the New Hittite king Hattushili III, often contain historical narrative.³ Treaties with historical prologues first appear in the so-called Middle Hittite period (ca. 1420–1344).

1. Annelies Kammenhuber, "Die hethitische Geschichtsschreibung," *Saeculum* 9 (1958): 136–65; Alfonso Archi, "La Storiografia Ittita," *Athenaeum* 47 (1969): 7–20; Harry A. Hoffner Jr., "Propaganda and Political Justification in Hittite Historiography," in *Unity and Diversity: Essays in the History, Literature, and Religion of the Ancient Near East*, ed. Hars Goedicke and J. J. M. Roberts (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), 49–62; idem, "Histories and Historians of the Ancient Near East: The Hittites," *Orientalia* 49 (1980): 283–332; Hans G. Güterbock, "Hittite Historiography: A Survey," in *History, Historiography, and Interpretation: Studies in Biblical and Cuneiform Literatures*, ed. Hayim Tadmor and Moshe Weinfeld (Jerusalem: Magnes/Leiden: Brill, 1983), 21–35.

2. Hoffner, "Histories and Historians." For English translations of Old Hittite historical texts see Trevor R. Bryce, *The Major Historical Texts of Early Hittite History* (Queensland, Australia: University of Queensland Press, 1982).

3. Hoffner, "Histories and Historians"; idem, "Propaganda and Political Justification."

There was a deliberate attempt at verification in the annals, emphasized by remarks like the following: "Whoever hears the narrative of this tablet (and doubts its description of the city of Ura), let him send and see for himself how the city of Ura was built."⁴

Pre-Old Kingdom

It is not known when or from where the Indo-European-speaking ancestors of the Hittites entered Anatolia.⁵ Their presence cannot reliably be detected from nonlinguistic remains.⁶ The first onomastic evidence for Hittite or Luwian speakers is in the Old Assyrian documents (dated from the nineteenth and eighteenth centuries) from the Anatolian trade centers (Old Assyrian *karûm*).⁷ Since it is usually assumed that the speakers of the closely related Indo-European languages Hittite (Nesite), Luwian, and Palaic entered Anatolia as a single group and that their languages differentiated after they dispersed in Anatolia, it seems to follow that the passage of several centuries would have been required between the date of their immigration and the beginning of the Assyrian merchant colonies.⁸

The earliest Hittite kings who ruled at Hattusha identified their history with a city named Kushshar. This same city was the original seat of rule of a king named Anitta, who is attested in Old Assyrian commercial documents and is best known from a long narration of military conquest preserved in an Old Hittite tablet.⁹ Based on its grammar and style, Erich Neu concludes that the Anitta text cannot be a translation into Old Hittite from another language.¹⁰ It might follow from this that Anitta was himself a speaker of Hittite, but no Hittite king traced his lineage back to him.

Although Anitta destroyed the city of Hattusha and laid a curse on its resettlement, Hittite kings beginning with Hattushili I settled there, and this

4. Albrecht Goetze, *Die Annalen des Muršiliš*, *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptische Gesellschaft* 38 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1933), 98.

5. James Mellaart, "Anatolia and the Indo-Europeans," *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 9 (1981): 135-49; Itamar Singer, "Hittites and Hattians in Anatolia at the Beginning of the Second Millennium BC," *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 9 (1981): 119-34; James G. Macqueen, *The Hittites and Their Contemporaries in Asia Minor*, 2d ed. (London: Thames & Hudson, 1986), 22-35; Oliver R. Gurney, *The Hittites*, 2d ed. (Baltimore: Penguin, 1990), 15-21.

6. Ronald A. Crossland, "Immigrants from the North," in *CAH* 1/2:824-76.

7. Louis L. Orlin, *Assyrian Colonies in Cappadocia* (The Hague: Mouton, 1970); Mogens T. Larsen, *The Old Assyrian City-State and Its Colonies* (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1976).

8. Crossland, "Immigrants from the North."

9. Tahsin Özgüç, "The Dagger of Anitta," *Türk Tarih Kurumu Bülteni* 20 (1956): 33-36.

10. Erich Neu, *Der Anitta-Text*, *Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten* 18 (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 1974).

city remained the political center of Hittite government until the state finally collapsed around 1180.

Old Kingdom

We now know the names of the kings who reigned during the Old Kingdom period, which stretches from ca. 1750 to 1600.¹¹

Labarna I	Zidanta I	Alluwamna
Ḫattushili I	Ammuna	Ḫantili II
(= Labarna II)	Ḫuzziya I	Zidanta II
Murshili I	Telepinu	Ḫuzziya II
Ḫantili I	Taḫurwaili	Muwatalli I

Many of these names until quite recently were known only from lists compiled during the New Kingdom (ca. 1400-1180) for sacrifices to the images of deceased royalty.¹² Some scholars doubt the existence of Ḫantili II, Zidanta II, and Ḫuzziya II, but recent textual discoveries confirm their existence and justify their use by Albrecht Goetze and Michael B. Rowton to establish a "longer" chronology.¹³ Surprisingly, the most recent attempts to establish a Hittite chronology still advocate a "short" chronology.¹⁴

Foreign expansion of the Hittite Kingdom during the Old Hittite period followed several stages. During the reign of Hattushili I, the armies cam-

11. Macqueen, *Hittites*, 36-45; Gurney, *Hittites*, 16-19.

12. Heinrich Otten, "Die hethitischen 'Königslisten' und die altorientalische Chronologie," *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft* 83 (1951): 47-71.

13. Albrecht Goetze, "The Problem of Chronology and Early Hittite History," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 122 (1951): 18-25; idem, "Alalah and Hittite Chronology," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 146 (1957): 20-26; idem, "On the Chronology of the Second Millennium B.C.," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 11 (1957): 53-61; Michael B. Rowton, "Chronology, II: Ancient Western Asia," in *CAH* 1/1:193-238 (Hittite material on pp. 202, 211-17). The new finds are described in Heinrich Otten, *Das hethitische Königshaus im 15. Jahrhundert v. Chr.: Zum Neufund einiger Landschenkungsurkunden in Boğazköy* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1987). Scholars who deny the existence of these kings are Otten, "Die hethitischen 'Königslisten'"; idem, "Das Hethiterreich," in *Kulturgeschichte des alten Orient*, ed. Hartmut Schmökel (Stuttgart: Kröner, 1961), 313-447; idem, *Die hethitischen historischen Quellen und die altorientalische Chronologie* (Wiesbaden: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, 1968); Kammenhuber, "Die hethitische Geschichtsschreibung."

14. Gernot Wilhelm and J. Boese, "Absolute Chronologie und die hethitische Geschichte des 15. und 14. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.," in *High, Middle or Low? Acts of an International Colloquium on Absolute Chronology Held at the University of Gothenburg 20th-22nd August 1987*, ed. Paul Åström (Gothenburg: Åströms, 1987), 1:74-117; Michael Astour, *Hittite History and Absolute Chronology of the Bronze Age*, *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature* 73 (Gothenburg: Åströms, 1989).

paigned in the far western Arzawa lands and in the southeast in north Syria. During the reign of Murshili I, a long march through Syria brought the Hittite armies into Babylonia, where they sacked the city of Babylon and brought to an end the First Dynasty of Babylon (ca. 1595). During the reigns of Murshili I's successors, Hittite control of lands to the east and southeast seems to have collapsed, for we hear of no further campaigning there.

New Kingdom

Although Hittite influence in western Asia Minor and north Syria declined at the end of the Old Kingdom and was then revived by Tudḫaliya II (ca. 1420–1370), the founder of the New Kingdom, the greatest period of foreign expansion occurred during the hundred years from the accession of Shuppiluliuma I (ca. 1344) to the end of the reign of his grandson Ḫattushili III (ca. 1239). During this period the Hittites gained and retained control of Syria almost as far south as Damascus. Several battles with the Egyptians led to a diplomatic stabilization of the boundaries of their spheres of influence in Syria-Palestine. Ḫattushili III concluded a treaty with Ramesses II and gave him a Hittite princess in marriage.

The alliance with Egypt survived intact during the sixty years of the Hittite Empire (ca. 1239–1180) under the reigns of Tudḫaliya IV, Arnuwanda III, and Shuppiluliuma II. But new forces were active that were to prove even more threatening to the stability of the Hittite state. Assyria under its rulers Shalmaneser I and Tukulti-Ninurta I was showing itself much more aggressive against its northern neighbors, as we learn not only from the annals of the Assyrian kings but also from the coordination of a previously obscure diplomatic letter from Tudḫaliya IV (possibly to the king of Ishuwa) with a newly published letter from Ugarit.¹⁵ In the west, the growing power of the Ahḫiyawa kingdom is reflected in a passage from the treaty of Tudḫaliya IV with the king of Amurru, where Ahḫiyawa is listed with Egypt and Assyria as one of the great powers.¹⁶

Closer to home Tudḫaliya IV had serious troubles with the kingdom of Tarḫuntashsha to the south, which since the death of his grandfather Mu-

15. Sylvie Lackenbacher, "Nouveaux Documents d'Ugarit, I: Une Lettre Royale," *Revue d'Assyriologie* 76 (1982): 141–56; Itamar Singer, "The Battle of Nihriya and the End of the Hittite Empire," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 75 (1985): 100–123; idem, "Dating the End of the Hittite Empire," in *Hethitica VIII: Acta Anatolica E. Laroche oblata*, ed. René Lebrun (Louvain/Paris: Peeters, 1987), 413–22; Harry A. Hoffner Jr., "The Last Days of Khattusha," in *The Crisis Years: The Twelfth Century B.C.*, ed. William A. Ward and Martha S. Joukowski (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt, 1992), 46–52.

16. Cord Kühne and Heinrich Otten, *Der Šaušgamuwa-Vertrag*, Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten 16 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1971), 14–15.

watalli II had been ruled by Muwatalli's own descendants: first Kurunta (written KAL), followed by Ulmi-Teshub. Important new evidence bearing on this kingdom came to light with the discovery in 1986 of an intact copy of a treaty between Tudḫaliya IV and Kurunta preserved on a bronze tablet.¹⁷ Despite Tudḫaliya's self-serving description of undying love between Kurunta and him, it appears that relations between Tarḫuntashsha and Ḫattusha during this last century were strained, to say the least. An impression of Kurunta's royal seal, on which he styles himself "Great King," an unthinkable appropriation of the imperial title, has been found in the upper city at Ḫattusha. This, together with evidence for a destruction layer in the upper city that can be attributed to the reign of Tudḫaliya IV, has led both Peter Neve and Heinrich Otten to conclude that Kurunta for a time succeeded in wresting the throne from Tudḫaliya.¹⁸

Despite all the welcome new evidence bearing on the last years of Ḫattusha, we still cannot identify precisely what political or social forces (or combination of both) brought about the fall of Ḫattusha.¹⁹ It is, however, now clear that what "fell" was not the entire Hittite Empire, but only the imperial capital Ḫattusha. There was a continuation of Hittite rule in other centers, particularly in the east at Carchemish²⁰ and in the south in the general area of the Tarḫuntashsha kingdom, as the Kızıldağ-Karadağ relief and inscription shows.²¹

Language and Writing System

Language

Indo-European Origin. The Indo-European character of the Hittite language was recognized at the time of its decipherment and has never been seriously questioned.²² Hittite shares many linguistic features with the other Indo-

17. Heinrich Otten, *Die Bronzetafel aus Boğazköy: Ein Staatsvertrag Tuthalijas IV*, Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten 1 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1988).

18. Peter Neve, "Boğazköy-Hattusha: New Results of the Excavations in the Upper City," *Anatolica* 16 (1989–90): 7–20.

19. Hoffner, "Last Days of Khattusha."

20. Ibid.; J. David Hawkins, "Kuzi-Tešub and the 'Great Kings' of Karkamiš," *Anatolian Studies* 38 (1988): 99–108.

21. Sedat Alp, "Eine neue hieroglyphen-hethitische Inschrift der Gruppe Kızıldağ-Karadağ aus der Nähe von Aksaray und die früher publizierten Inschriften derselben Gruppe," in *Anatolian Studies Presented to Hans Gustav Güterbock on the Occasion of His Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. Kurt Bittel, Philo H. J. Houwink ten Cate, and Erica Reiner (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut in het Nabije Oosten, 1974), 17–27; and J. David Hawkins, "Light in the Dark Ages: Evidence for Hittite Continuity," paper read at a symposium entitled "The Eyes and Ears of the Ancient Near East," University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1989.

22. Gurney, *Hittites*, 97–101.

European languages of ancient Anatolia: Luwian (and its descendant Lycian) and Palaic.²³

Non-Indo-European Features. Although the grammatical structure of Hittite, Luwian, and Palaic is Indo-European, when speakers of these languages arrived in Anatolia they adopted much vocabulary from the peoples they encountered.²⁴ This was particularly true of terms for native flora and fauna for which the Indo-Europeans had no corresponding terms from their earlier homeland,²⁵ and also of terms denoting social status and professions peculiar to the new land. While the terms for king and queen seem to be Indo-European, those for various kinds of priests and artisans are clearly not. Interestingly, the Hittite word for priest, *shankunnish*, was borrowed not from the local non-Indo-European Anatolians, but from Mesopotamia (Sumerian SANGA, Akkadian *šangû*) via the Hurrians (the suffix *-nni*). As usual, foreign elements appear rarely in verbs, but quite commonly in nouns and adjectives.

Development. The Hittite language was written over a period of several centuries, from ca. 1650 to 1180. From the early days of Hittitology, when texts of the earliest kings were edited, it was known that Old Hittite could be distinguished from the classical language of Shuppiluliuma I's successors. But at that time no criterion had yet been elaborated to distinguish Old Hittite originals from New Hittite copies of Old Hittite originals. The latter were likely to include many modernizations, making it very difficult to determine which linguistic features were genuinely old. New research and the publication of new texts (from ca. 1965 to the present) now allow this determination.²⁶ The *Chicago Hittite Dictionary*, edited by Hans Güterbock and me, indicates both the date of the original composition (Old Hittite, Middle Hit-

23. Pierro Meriggi, *Schizzo Grammaticale dell'Anatolico* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1980); J. David Hawkins, Anna Morpurgo-Davies, and Günter Neumann, *Hittite Hieroglyphs and Luwian: New Evidence for the Connection*, *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse* 73/6 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974); Annelies Kammenhuber, "The Linguistic Situation of the Second Millennium B.C. in Ancient Anatolia," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1975): 116–20; Calvert Watkins, "Questions Linguistiques Palaïtes et Louvites Cunéiformes," in *Hethitica VIII: Acta Anatolica E. Laroche oblata*, ed. René Lebrun (Louvain/Paris: Peeters, 1987), 423–26; Terumasa Oshiro, "Some Luwian Words of Indo-European Origin," *Oriens* 24 (1988): 47–54.

24. Gurney, *Hittites*, 99.

25. Harry A. Hoffner Jr., *Alimenta Hethaeorum: Food Production in Hittite Asia Minor*, *American Oriental Series* 55 (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1974).

26. Philo H. J. Houwink ten Cate, *The Records of the Early Hittite Empire (c. 1450–1380 B.C.)* (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut in het Nabije Oosten, 1970) (see my review in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 31 [1972]: 29–35); Hans G. Güterbock and Harry A. Hoffner Jr., *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1989), vol. L–N (originally labeled vol. 3), pp. x–xi.

tite, or New Hittite) and the date of the copy (Old Script, Middle Script, or New Script).

Writing System

Derivation. Since the cuneiform script used on the tablets from Hattusha ultimately must have derived from Mesopotamia, where it was invented in the third millennium, the question remains, where was the more immediate source? Although during the period of the Old Assyrian trade colonies cuneiform was used to write Old Assyrian, it is thought that both the shapes of the individual signs and the choice of particular signs for specific syllabic values differed too radically between Old Assyrian and Hittite for the latter to have been directly derived from the former. For this reason the standard view is that the Hittites adopted their cuneiform writing system from a form of Old Babylonian used in Syria.²⁷ If such was the case, the initial contact may have occurred during one of the Hittite military forays into north Syria, perhaps during the reign of Hattushili I.

Adaptation. Since cuneiform was primarily intended for writing Sumerian and Akkadian, Hittite scribes had to make some changes in order to write Hittite. The z-series of syllabic signs (*za, zi, zu, az, iz*, etc.) was taken over not to represent a voiced sibilant, but the sound /ts/. Although the Hittite language possessed the voiced-unvoiced opposition in the occlusives (b/p, d/t, g/k), this distinction was not expressed by separate signs for *ba* and *pa* or for *gu* and *ku*. Certain signs were given new phonetic values; for example, since the Hittite word for wine was *wiyanaš*, Hittite scribes gave the syllabic value *wi* to the Sumerian word sign for wine (GEŠTIN).²⁸

Diachronic Aspects. As the Hittite language itself—its grammar and lexicon—gradually changed over the five centuries of its written history, so also did the way of writing Hittite cuneiform. This affords a criterion for the dating of individual clay tablets. The first step was the recognition of the Old Hittite ductus. The determination of the date of this distinctive type of script was made possible by the recovery of the so-called Zukrashi tablet from an archeological stratum datable on other grounds to the Old Hittite period. On the basis of this single tablet it was then possible to identify other Old Hittite copies from the archives of thirteenth-century Hattusha. The first attempts—

27. Thomas V. Gamkrelidze, "The Akkado-Hittite Syllabary and the Problem of the Origin of the Hittite Script," *Archiv Orientalní* 29 (1961): 406–18; J. David Hawkins, "The Origin and Dissemination of Writing in Western Asia," in *The Origins of Civilization*, ed. P. Roger S. Moorey (Oxford: Clarendon, 1979), 128–66.

28. The best current description of the Hittite writing system is Christel Rüster and Erich Neu's *Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon: Inventar und Interpretation der Keilschriftzeichen aus den Boğazköy-Texten*, *Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten* 2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1989).

necessarily tentative and incomplete—to show the evolution of Hittite cuneiform paleography and to work out the development of this writing system were made by Christel Rüster and Erich Neu in 1972–75.²⁹ Some, notably Annelies Kammenhuber and her students, fundamentally challenged the concept;³⁰ others accepted it with modifications. The first volume of the *Chicago Hittite Dictionary* primarily followed the dating scheme advocated by Caruba, Otten, Houwink ten Cate, and Neu. With the appearance of Rüster and Neu's *Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon* there now exists a comprehensive register of sign forms used in Hittite texts.

Archeological Excavations

From the standpoint of Hittite history and culture, by far the most important excavated site is ancient Hattusha (modern Boğazköy or Boğazkale). The concession to excavate the massive ruins near Boğazköy was obtained for the German Oriental Society by Hugo Winckler, and excavations began in 1906. Winckler worked with Theodore Makridi in 1907, 1911, and 1912. After an interruption caused by the Balkan War, the First World War, and the Greco-Turkish War, excavations were resumed in 1931 under the joint auspices of the German Archeological Institute and the German Oriental Society. Nine consecutive annual campaigns (from 1931 to 1939) were conducted on the site under the direction of Kurt Bittel. After another hiatus, caused by World War II, excavations were resumed in 1952, with no interruptions since then. Since 1952, the epigraphy has been under the direction of Heinrich Otten, now emeritus professor at Philipps University in Marburg and director of the center for Hittitological research in Mainz. Bittel's successor, the current general director of the excavations, is Peter Neve.

The best general presentation of the results of the excavations at Hattusha through the 1960s is Bittel's *Hattusha: The Capital of the Hittites*.³¹ No single published work gives a complete summary of the excavations of the 1970s and 1980s. For this, one must consult the annual reports by Neve in *Archäol-*

29. Christel Rüster, *Hethitische Keilschriftpaläographie*, Studien zu den Boghazköy-Texten 20 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1972); Neu and Rüster, "Zur Datierung hethitischer Texte," in *Festschrift Heinrich Otten*, ed. Erich Neu and Christel Rüster (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1973), 221–42; Neu and Rüster, *Hethitische Keilschrift-Paläographie II* (14./13. Jh. v. Chr.), Studien zu den Boghazköy-Texten 21 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975).

30. Susanne Heinhold-Krahmer et al., *Probleme der Textdatierung in der Hethitologie*, Texte der Hethiter (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1979).

31. Kurt Bittel, *Hattusha: The Capital of the Hittites* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970).

ogischer Anzeiger and the important archeological studies of Hittite Anatolia written in English that have appeared in the past twenty years.³²

Textual Sources

Cuneiform Tablets (Including Inscriptions on Seals)

In the first season of digging at Hattusha (1906) the site yielded thousands of inscribed clay tablets. Many of these were in Akkadian and could be read immediately. The most important tablets, state treaties that gave information about political history and diplomacy, were published by Ernst F. Weidner in 1923.³³ Even before the decipherment of Hittite by Bedřich Hrozný, material from the newly discovered Sumero-Akkado-Hittite vocabularies was studied and exploited by leading Assyriologists. And within a few years of the decipherment, full-fledged Hittite grammars were written, some of which are still useful today, although the current standard grammar is Johannes Friedrich's *Elementarbuch*.³⁴

In accordance with their agreement with the Turkish authorities, the Germans immediately set about copying, publishing, cleaning, and conserving the clay tablets excavated from Hattusha. Most of these were transported to Berlin for this purpose, although a small number remained in Istanbul. In Berlin, Hans Ehelolf was in charge of the Hittite material and under his direction a small group of skilled Assyriologist-Hittitologists began the work of making hand copies of the Hittite tablets. Among them were Hugo H. Figulla, Ernst F. Weidner, Albrecht Goetze, Arnold Walther, J. Schiele, Hans G. Güterbock, C. G. von Brandenstein, Josef Sturm, and Heinrich Otten. Ehelolf died during World War II and was succeeded in Berlin for a time by Otten, who continued the publication of Hittite tablets on loan to the Berlin museum in the KUB series (Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi). After Otten emigrated to West Ger-

32. James Mellaart, *The Archaeology of Ancient Turkey* (London: Bodley Head, 1978); Tahsin Özgüç, *Excavations at Maşat Höyük and Investigations in Its Vicinity* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1978); idem, *Inandıktepe: An Important Cult Center in the Old Hittite Period* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1988); Maurits N. van Loon, *Anatolia in the Second Millennium B.C.*, Iconography of Religions 15/12 (Leiden: Brill, 1985); Jeanny V. Canby, "Hittite Art," *Biblical Archaeologist* 52 (1989): 109–29; Neve, "New Results."

33. Ernst F. Weidner, *Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien: Die Staatsverträge in akkadischer Sprache aus dem Archiv von Boghazköi*, Boghazköi-Studien 8–9 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1923).

34. Johannes Friedrich, *Hethitisches Elementarbuch*, vol. 1: *Kurzgefasste Grammatik*, 2d ed., Indogermanische Bibliothek: Lehr- und Handbücher (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1960). Earlier grammars include Emil Forrer, "Die Inschriften und Sprachen des Hatt-Reiches," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 76 (1922): 174–269; Johannes Friedrich, "Die hethitische Sprache," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 76 (1922): 153–73.

many, that task was assumed by Horst Klengel. In West Germany, Otten revived the old KBo series (Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi), which has become the vehicle for the publication of tablets found at Hattusha since World War II. At this writing there are sixty volumes in KUB and thirty-two in KBo.

Hieroglyphic Inscriptions

Although known for years as "hieroglyphic Hittite," it is now recognized that the language of the hieroglyphic texts composed by the Hittite kings is a dialect of Luwian. The corpus of Luwian texts written in cuneiform, first presented by Otten, has now been enlarged and updated by F. Starke.³⁵ A glossary of the cuneiform Luwian texts and an outline of their grammar was published by Emmanuel Laroche.³⁶

Although the solid research of Ignace J. Gelb, Pierro Meriggi, and Emmanuel Laroche laid a substantial foundation for the reading and interpretation of hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions, 1974 represented a watershed. In this year a joint publication of J. David Hawkins, A. Morpurgo-Davies, and G. Neumann proposed new readings of signs that allowed the close relationship between the grammar and lexicon of the cuneiform and hieroglyphic Luwian texts to be seen.³⁷ In the 1970s and 1980s several important new hieroglyphic inscriptions were identified and published, and known inscriptions were reexamined and reinterpreted. At this writing the most recent attempt at a comprehensive reassessment of the hieroglyphic Luwian texts is Marazzi's.³⁸ Scholars are awaiting the appearance of Hawkins's announced corpus of hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions, which will doubtless set a new standard.³⁹ Also eagerly awaited is the official publication by Hawkins of the new inscription of Shuppiluliuma II from the southern fortress at Hattusha.⁴⁰

35. Heinrich Otten, *Luwische Texte in Umschrift*, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichung 17 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1953); F. Starke, *Die keilschrift-luwischen Texte in Umschrift*, Studier. zu den Boğazköy-Texten 30 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1985).

36. Emmanuel Laroche, *Dictionnaire de la Langue Louvite* (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1959).

37. Hawkins, Morpurgo-Davies, and Neumann, *Hittite Hieroglyphs and Luwian*.

38. Massimiliano Marazzi, *Il Geroglifico Anatoico: Problemi di Analisi e Prospettive di Ricerca*, Biblioteca di Ricerche Linguistiche e Filologiche 24 (Rome: Dipartimento di Studi Glottoantropologici, Università "La Sapienza," 1990).

39. J. David Hawkins, *The Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions of the Iron Age* (Berlin: de Gruyter, forthcoming).

40. Neve, "New Results"; and Hoffner, "Last Days of Khattusha." A provisional report was given in Heinrich Otten, "Die hieroglyphen-luwische Inschrift," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1989: 333-37.

Material Culture

Agriculture

The basic treatment of agriculture and food production among the Hittites remains my *Alimenta Hethaeorum*.⁴¹ The texts show that several cereals and a wide variety of fruits and vegetables (beans, chick peas, lentils, cucumbers, onions, leeks, and garlic) were cultivated. Both honey and wax were obtained from bee-keeping. Beverage wine was produced from vineyards, as were raisins. The technique of beer-making was known and practiced. Various classes of wine are not distinguished in the texts, but at least three varieties of beer are. Other fermented beverages included "beer-honey," which could be either mead or regular beer made from barley and sweetened with honey; others remain only names to us: *walhi*, *tawal*, and something called "beer-wine."

Livestock

Meat, lard, milk, butter, and cheeses were food products derived from raising livestock (cattle, sheep, goats, and pigs).⁴² A list of standard prices for food commodities can be found in the Hittite laws.⁴³ The hides of certain animals were also sold.⁴⁴ The horns (Hittite *karawar*) of certain animals were used as containers, wall decorations, and musical instruments (Hittite *shawatar* or *shawitra*). Plowing was done with oxen. Donkeys were a common means of transporting loads. Oxen and mules drew carts, and horses pulled war chariots. Both mules and horses were used for riding.

Food Preservation

Texts mention the collection and storage of snow and ice in special houses for later use during the hot seasons.⁴⁵ These may have been used both for the cooling of beverages and for the preserving of fresh meat. But the preservation of both fruits and meat by drying is well attested in the texts.⁴⁶ Sugar-containing fruit juices were also preserved by the process of fermentation.

41. Hoffner, *Alimenta Hethaeorum*.

42. *Ibid.*, 120-23.

43. ANET 195-96 §§178-86; Johannes Friedrich, *Die hethitischen Gesetze: Transkription, Übersetzung, sprachliche Erläuterungen und vollständiges Wörterverzeichnis*, Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui 7 (Leiden: Brill, 1959), 78-83; Harry A. Hoffner Jr., "The Hittites and Hurrians," in *Peoples of Old Testament Times*, ed. Donald J. Wiseman (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973), 207.

44. ANET 196 §185; the unit price of hides (or fleeces) ranged from one-twentieth of a shekel to four shekels. For comparison with prices of other commodities in the laws see Hoffner, "Hittites and Hurrians," 207.

45. Harry A. Hoffner Jr., "Hittite Ega- and Egan-," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 24 (1971): 31-36.

46. Hoffner, *Alimenta Hethaeorum*, 16-17.

Architecture and City Planning

Excavations at second-millennium Boğazköy, Alaca Hüyük, Beycesultan, Tarsus, Maşat, Norşuntepe, and Tepecik give evidence for a certain level of town planning.⁴⁷ Streets were usually straight and surfaced with a layer of coarse gravel. Sloping sites were terraced, with attention given to drainage. Many streets had stone-roofed drainage channels running down the middle, with smaller channels feeding into them from houses or side streets.

Private houses were by no means uniform in plan. Most had a courtyard, but often in front of the house, rather than in the center. Houses were constructed of mud brick with timber reinforcement (against earthquakes) on a foundation of stones. Mud-thatched roofs were flat rather than pitched. Both the mud-brick exterior and the thatched roofs required periodic renewal to prevent leakage. Columns on the ground level supported a second story. Floors were either of stamped earth or covered with plaster or stones. Windows, if they existed, were small and high up, not for looking out, but to permit sunlight in.

Metallurgy

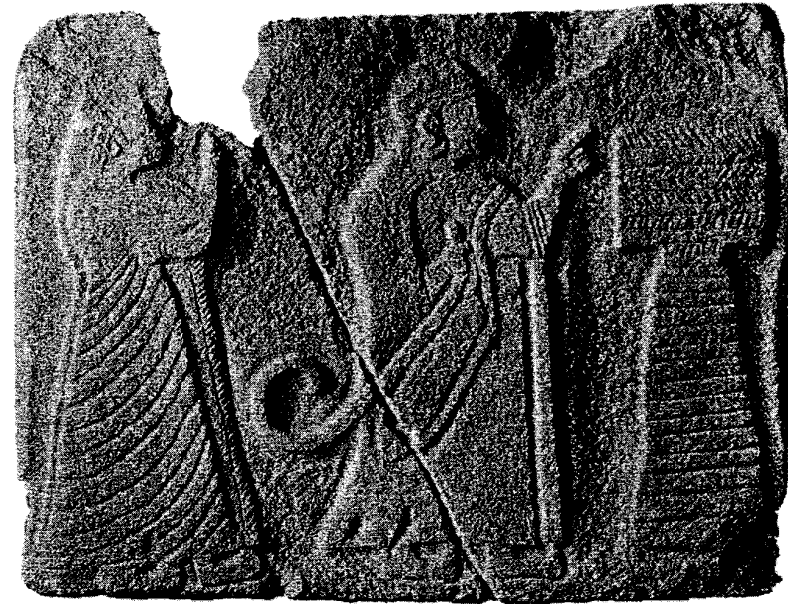
There is no truth to the common misconception that the Hittites were the inventors of iron technology in the Near East and that they owed their military supremacy to this advantage.⁴⁸ Like other large states of the late second millennium with a need for metals with which to make weapons, the Hittites exclusively exploited bronze for that purpose. Bronze armor scales were found at Hattusha.⁴⁹ Textual evidence on the use of iron shows it to have been largely a luxury used for making small items, but almost never for weapons.⁵⁰ Other metals used were gold, silver, copper, lead, and tin. Gold was used for very small objects and as a plating on statues of deities. Prices and fines were measured in weights of silver. Copper was imported from the is-

47. Macqueen, *Hittites*, 79–96; Nilüfer Boysan-Detrich, *Das hethitische Lehmhaus aus der Sicht der Keilschriftquellen*, Texte der Hethiter 12 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1987).

48. Jane Waldbaum, "The First Archaeological Appearance of Iron and the Transition to the Iron Age," in *The Coming of the Age of Iron*, ed. Theodore A. Werhane and James D. Muhly (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 69–98, esp. 83–84.

49. Macqueen, *Hittites*, 63, pl. 33.

50. Aharon Kempinski and Silvin Kořak, "Hittite Metal 'Inventories' (CTH 242) and Their Economic Implications," *Tel Aviv* 4 (1977): 87–93; Jana Siegelová, "Gewinnung und Verarbeitung von Eisen im hethitischen Reich im 2. Jahrtausend v. u. Z.," *Annals of the Náprstek Museum* 12 (1984): 71–168; Silvir Kořak, "The Gospel of Iron," in *Kaniššumar: A Tribute to Hans G. Güterbock on His Seventy-fifth Birthday, May 27, 1983*, ed. Harry A. Hoffner Jr. and Gary M. Beckman, *Assyriological Studies* 23 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1986), 125–35.



King and queen from Alaca Hüyük, 14th–13th century b.c. (height: 4' 2")

Courtesy of the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara

land of Cyprus (ancient Alashiya). Lead was sometimes employed in magical implements because of its supposed imperviousness to evil influences.⁵¹

Society

Structure

King. At the top of the social scale was the king.⁵² Unlike Egyptian pharaohs or some Mesopotamian kings who claimed divinity during their lifetimes,

51. Harry A. Hoffner Jr., "Second Millennium Antecedents to the Hebrew 'ôb," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 86 (1967): 398–99 and n. 33; idem, "Hittite *Tarpiš* and Hebrew *Terāphim*," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 27 (1968): 61–68.

52. Hans G. Güterbock, "Authority and Law in the Hittite Kingdom," in *Authority and Law in the Ancient Orient*, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* Supplement 17 (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1954), 16–24; Oliver R. Gurney, "Hittite Kingship," in *Myth, Ritual and Kingship*, ed. Samuel H. Hooke (Oxford: Clarendon, 1958), 105–21; Albrecht Goetze, "State and Society of the Hittites," in *Neuere Hethiterforschung*, ed. Gerold Walser

Hittite kings were not considered to be divine while living. When a king died, however, it was said that he “became a god.” This concept is reflected not only in the official cult for the spirits of deceased kings, but also in the pictorial representation of deceased kings, who are shown in reliefs standing on mountains (Tudḫaliya IV in Yazılıkaya) or with horns coming from their heads or crowns (Shuppiluliuma II in the southern fortress of Ḫattusha)—just like the deities portrayed on reliefs or seals or as statuettes.⁵³ Living kings portrayed on their seals do not have these attributes.

According to tradition,

The land belongs only to the Stormgod. Heaven and earth with the people belong to the Stormgod. He has made the Labarna, the king, his administrator, and gave him the whole land of Hatti. Let the Labarna keep administering the whole land with his hand!⁵⁴

Thus the king was the gods’ appointed regent. The fate of the land and the people at the hand of the gods depended upon how well the king served the gods and executed his role as administrator. This at once secured great respect for the person of the king and placed upon him exacting requirements of behavior.

As the land’s supreme priest, the king’s person was sacred and had to be protected at all times from defilement. His presence at the major religious festivals was important enough to bring him back from distant battlefields. When presiding at religious ceremonies the king carried a crook (Hittite *kal-mush*) and wore the robe and cap of the sun god. It is in this attire that we see him depicted on many reliefs, including those at Alaca Hüyük and Yazılıkaya.

As the land’s supreme judge,⁵⁵ the king heard cases of the gravest nature, requiring the death penalty:

(Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1964), 23–33; Galya Kellerman, “The King and the Sun-god in the Old Hittite Period,” *Tel Aviv* 5 (1978): 199–208; Philo H. J. Houwrik ten Cate, “The Sun God of Heaven and the Hittite King,” in *Effigies Dei: Essays on the History of Religions*, ed. Dirk van der Plas, Numen Supplement 51 (Leiden: Brill, 1987), 13–34.

53. For Tudḫaliya IV, see Gurney, *Hittites*, 119, fig. 8, no. 64.; Kurt Bittel, *Die Hethiter: Die Kunst Anatoliens vom Ende des 3. bis zum Anfang des 1. Jahrtausends vor Christus* (Munich: Beck, 1976), 214. For Shuppiluliuma II, see Peter Neve, “Die Ausgrabungen in Boğazköy-Ḫattuša 1988,” *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1988: 317, pl. 40. For deities on reliefs, see Macqueen, *Hittites*, 25, 131; Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, 173, 179, 212, 214; on seals, see Gurney, *Hittites*, 172–73; Macqueen, *Hittites*, 48, pl. 23; Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, 168, 170, 172; as statuettes, see Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, 213.

54. Güterbock, “Authority and Law,” 16.

55. *Ibid.*, 16–24; Harry A. Hoffner Jr., *The Laws of the Hittites* (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 1963), 325–26.

sorcery (§§44, 111)
 adultery (§198)
 sexual relations with certain animals (§§187–88, 199)
 treason
 serious dereliction of military duties
 major theft (§102)
 allowing a bull to escape from its corral (§176)
 taxation (§47 and its late parallel)

Even stray livestock found in the vicinity of Ḫattusha had to be driven to “the king’s gate” (i.e., a royal tribunal) in order for legal custody to be assigned to the finder (§71). Persons who believed themselves unjustly treated in lower courts could appeal to the king’s court (§55). Refusal to comply with the king’s or the magistrates’ verdict brought extremely serious consequences (§173).

Queen. We know relatively little of the queen’s power in the Old Kingdom.⁵⁶ During the New Kingdom she seems to have exercised great influence.⁵⁷ The king and queen used a joint seal that portrayed the king on the right and the queen on the left, both standing under the winged solar disk and facing each other across the hieroglyphs that identified them.⁵⁸ Some if not all queens held the office of chief priestess, corresponding to their husbands’ office of chief priest. In this capacity they could control a substantial amount of temple wealth. On occasion this led to a conflict of interest with the king himself, as in the case of King Murshili II and his stepmother, the dowager queen Tawannanna.⁵⁹ Ḫattushili III’s queen, Puduhepa, who was the daughter of a powerful priest of Kizzuwatna, was one of the most influential persons in the history of the New Kingdom.⁶⁰ During her husband’s lifetime she corresponded independently with Pharaoh Ramesses II of Egypt, and as dowager queen she continued to issue decisions regarding matters of state in the southeastern dependencies.

56. Shoshanna R. Bin-Nun, *The Tawannanna in the Hittite Kingdom*, Texte der Hethiter 5 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1975).

57. Albrecht Goetze, *Kleinasien*, 2d ed., Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft: Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients (Munich: Beck, 1957), 92–95.

58. A good example is the seal of King Tudḫaliya IV and his queen; see Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, 171 (mistakenly labeled Shuppiluliuma I in Macqueen, *Hittites*, 77, pl. 48).

59. Gurney, *Hittites*, 54; Harry A. Hoffner Jr., “A Prayer of Muršili II about His Step-mother,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 103 (1983): 187–92.

60. Heinrich Otten, *Eine hethitische Königin in ihren Textzeugnissen*, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur [Mainz]: Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klassen, Jahrgang 1975/1 (Mainz: Steiner, 1975).

Princes. By *prince* I do not mean only young sons of the king. Rather I include all male descendants of kings, regardless of age. Hittite princes are depicted on the rock reliefs at Hanyeri, Hemite, and Imankulu.⁶¹ In the former two, the prince is shown with a spear held vertically in his right hand, a bow slung over his left shoulder, and a sword or dagger in his belt.

At some point during his reign the king designated one of his sons, usually the oldest, as crown prince (Hittite *tubukantūsh*). This designation could always be changed, as in fact it was on a number of occasions. During the Old Kingdom, Ḫattushili I replaced his first choice with another son, only to replace this second with his grandson Murshili I. Ḫattushili III replaced his oldest son by the younger Tudḫaliya IV. Princes often held responsible positions in the government. Already in the earliest phase of the Old Kingdom, Labarna I and Ḫattushili I sent princes to govern the major provincial cities of their kingdoms. After the conquest of north Syria, Shuppiluliuma I installed two of his sons as hereditary kings of the major centers Carchemish and Aleppo. Ḫattushili III installed his nephew and adopted son Kurunta as hereditary king of Tarḫuntashsha.

Nobility. The term *Great Family* (Hittite *shalli ḫashatar*) already in the early Old Kingdom designated the extended family, that is, blood relatives, of the king. It was from this pool that the king supplied all the high officials of his realm. It was they who made up the *pankush* ("ruling class") that in the Old Kingdom constituted an advisory body for the king. They did not make law, but they did have the power to convict and execute a king for murdering a fellow member of the Great Family.⁶² They were responsible for the safety and education of one who succeeded to kingship while still a child.⁶³ While a Hittite king should always be characterized by mercy, his judicial clemency was especially appropriate toward a member of this Great Family.

Free Persons. While the concept of freedom in the Hittite kingdom was much less comprehensive than the modern Western concept, the law distinguished between "free" and "unfree."⁶⁴ Very few persons were exempt from

61. Eittel, *Die Hethiter*, 180–82.

62. Edgar H. Sturtevant and George Bechtel, *A Hittite Chrestomathy* (Philadelphia: Linguistic Society of America, University of Pennsylvania, 1935), 190–91; Bryce, *Major Historical Texts*, 137–38, with comments on 153–55.

63. Ferdinand Sommer and Adam Falkenstein, *Die hethitisch-akkadische Bilingue des Ḫattusili I. (Labarna II.)*, Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philologisch-historische Abteilung (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1938), 8–9 §8; Bryce, *Major Historical Texts*, 102–3; see also Harry A. Hoffner Jr., "Advice to a King," in *Festschrift for Seda Alp*, ed. Hayri Ertem, Yaşar Coşkun, and Aygül Süel (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1992), 295–304.

64. Güterbock, "Authority and Law," 16–24; Goetze, *Kleinasiens* 106–7; Gurney, *Hittites*, 57–58, 78–81; Goetze, "State and Society of the Hittites," 28–29; Hans G. Güterbock, "Be-

some form of compulsory payment or duty. Only a minority of the persons called free (Hittite *arawannis*) were also exempt (*arawash*) from the payment of the twin obligations *shabḫan* and *luzzi*. In the more general sense, free persons could buy and sell, enter into contracts, change their place of residence, and enter and leave marriage without need to secure the approval of some superior. This was not so for the unfree.

Domestic or Private Slaves. The most obvious type of unfree person was the private slave,⁶⁵ who was the property of a master. In the laws, if a slave caused damage, the master was required to make compensation to the injured party or else lose the slave. Reparations for injury inflicted on a slave went to the master. Occasionally we read of a slave making a payment to a free person to induce the latter to marry the slave's daughter—which implies the ability of slaves to acquire some private wealth. Whether they ever used this wealth to purchase their own freedom is not known. A kind of periodic remitting of debts and manumitting of debt slaves seems to have been known among the Hurrians, who constituted a major component of the Hittite population during the New Kingdom. To date, this custom is only known from a Hurro-Hittite bilingual literary text, where the practice is enjoined on the basis of a divine precedent.⁶⁶ We have no historical or legal text from Ḫattusha to show its application, although it is claimed that this practice is reflected in a Middle Hittite edict.⁶⁷

Public Slaves. The *arnuwalash* (Sumerian NAM.RA) was essentially a displaced person, someone of foreign birth captured in battle and serving (in a community of similar persons) as migrant workers or farmer-settlers. The king could assign them wherever there was a need. The local provincial gov-

merkungen zu den Ausdrücken *ellum*, *wardum* und *asirum* in hethitischen Texten," in *Gesellschaftsklassen im alten Zweistromland und in den angrenzenden Gebieten: XVIII. Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, ed. Dietz O. Edzard (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1972), 93–97. On the Hittite words for "free," see my "Review of *Hethitisches Wörterbuch* by Johannes Friedrich and Annelies Kammenhuber," *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 40 (1983): 409–11.

65. Sumerian IR; Hittite reading unknown.

66. Heinrich Otten, "Blick in die altorientalische Geisteswelt: Neufund einer hethitischen Tempelbibliothek," *Jahrbuch der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen* 1984: 50–60; idem, "Ebla in der hurritisch-hethitischen Bilingue aus Boğazköy," in *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft in Ebla: Akten der Internationalen Tagung Heidelberg, 4.–7. November 1986*, ed. H. Waetzoldt and H. Hauptman (Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag, 1988), 291–92; Erich Neu, *Das Hurritische: Eine altorientalische Sprache in neuem Licht* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1988); idem, "Varia Hurritica: Sprachliche Beobachtungen an der hurritisch-hethitischen Bilingue aus Ḫattuša," in *Documentum Asiae Minoris Antiquae*, ed. Erich Neu and Christel Rüster (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1988), 235–54.

67. Raymond Westbrook and Roger D. Woodard, "The Edict of Tudḫaliya IV," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 110 (1990): 641–59.

ernor would then provide them with food, shelter, seed, and equipment to do their job. The *hipparash* (Akkadian *asirum*) is less clearly understood.⁶⁸ From the laws (§§48–49) it appears that they were not allowed to buy or sell (which suggests ownership by the state) and could not dispose of anything that they used.

Metics. At the capital city there would always be a small community of foreign ambassadors, or temporary foreign residents (Akkadian *ubārum*).⁶⁹ While not citizens of Hatti, these persons were from the upper class, often relatives of their king, and possessed certain rights and privileges, which included limited access to the Hittite temple precincts. This class of persons has some similarities to the Biblical Hebrew *gēr* and the Greek *metoikos* or *paroikos*.

Law

In illiterate societies, law is obviously unwritten. But also in some ancient societies where the ruling and administrative classes were literate no written (or codified) law has been preserved. For example, no collection of laws is known from the important kingdom of Ugarit. But among ancient Near Eastern societies who wrote on clay tablets, there are collections of laws from Sumer, Babylonia, Assyria, and Hatti.⁷⁰ The Hittite laws can be studied in critical editions and translations; in addition, there are discussions of the laws as a corpus.⁷¹

Formal codifications of case laws such as the Hittite collection are not the only written sources for law. Diplomatic law is illustrated in state treaties. Bureaucratic and administrative law is expressed in royal decrees and in what

68. Güterbock, "Bemerkungen zu den Ausdrücken," 96–97.

69. On *ubārum* in general, see Wolfram von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, 3 vols. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1965–81), 1399; on its use in Old Assyrian, see Larsen, *Old Assyrian City-State*, 279; on its use as a logogram in Hittite texts, see Einar von Schuler, "Hethitische Kultbräuche in dem Brief eines ugaritischen Gesandten," *Revue Hittite et Asiatique* 21 (1963): 45–46 n. 17; Harry A. Hoffner Jr., "An English-Hittite Glossary," *Revue Hittite et Asiatique* 25 (1967): 42 n. 56; Franca Pecchioli Daddi, *Mestieri, Professioni e Dignità nell'Anatolia Ittita*, *Incunabula Graeca* 69 (Rome: Ateneo, 1982), 575–78.

70. Translations in ANET, with discussions in the following monographs: Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Ancient Orient and Old Testament* (Chicago: InterVarsity, 1966), 134–35, 147–48; idem, *The Bible in Its World: The Bible and Archaeology Today* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 1977), 79–85; Cyril J. Gadd, "Hammurabi and the End of His Dynasty," in *CAH* 2/1:177, 182–85, 187–95, 195–97, 202–6; John H. Walton, *Ancient Israelite Literature in Its Cultural Context* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1989), 69–93 (with full anterior literature).

71. Friedrich, *Die hethitischen Gesetze*; Fiorella Imparati, *Le Leggi Ittite*, *Incunabula Graeca* 7 (Rome: Ateneo, 1964); Hoffner, *Laws of the Hittites*, 8–123; Albrecht Goetze, "The Hittite Laws," in ANET 188–97; Einar von Schuler, "Die hethitischen Gesetze," in *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments*, vol. 1: *Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden historisch-chronologische Texte* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1978), 96–123. For discussions, see Güterbock, "Authority and Law"; Goetze, *Kleinasien*, 109–17; Hoffner, *Laws of the Hittites*.

Hittitologists call "instruction texts." The administration of Hittite law in the provinces and tributary states of the empire is illustrated in documents from Ugarit and Emar.⁷² The general outline of how such cases would be heard is also described in the "Instructions to the District Commanders."⁷³ The conduct of inquests to determine guilt or innocence in cases affecting the Hittite state or royalty is portrayed in the genre of texts known as *Gerichtsprotokolle*. Serious cases that carried the death penalty (such as treason) were always referred to the king's court.⁷⁴

Statecraft

Hittite government was above all a government of law. In addition to the corpus of laws that governed all citizens, there were "rule books" for the conduct of every major office of the government, only some of which have survived in the form of "instruction texts."⁷⁵ There were even instructions for the king.⁷⁶ It was fitting, therefore, that relations between Hittite kings and their equal-ranked and subordinate foreign counterparts should be formalized and regulated in writing. To this practice we owe the extensive collection of treaty documents in the Hattusha archives.

Hittite treaties have been the object of intensive investigation over the past half century—by Hittitologists themselves and by a number of outside scholars, some specializing in comparative law, others in Old Testament. Hittitologists have been principally interested in the content of the documents: what they have to say about Hittite history and the interrelations of the various states of the Hittite bloc and the outside powers.⁷⁷ Non-Hittitologists have

72. In Ugarit: Einar von Schuler, "Eine hethitische Rechtsurkunde aus Ugarit," *Ugarit-Forschungen* 3 (1971): 223–34; in Emar: Horst Klengel, "Die Keilschrifttexte von Meskene und die Geschichte von Astata/Emar," *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 83 (1988): 645–53.

73. Einar von Schuler, *Hethitische Dienstanweisungen für höhere Hof- und Staatsbeamte*, *Archiv für Orientforschung Beiheft* 10 (Osnabrück: Biblio-Verlag, 1957), 47–48 (iii 9–16); English translation by Goetze in ANET 211.

74. Hoffner, *Laws of the Hittites*, 325, 327.

75. Von Schuler, *Hethitische Dienstanweisungen*; idem, "Hethitische Königserlasse als Quellen der Rechtsfindung und ihr Verhältnis zum kodifizierten Recht," in *Festschrift Johannes Friedrich zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. R. von Kienle et al. (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1959), 435–72; idem, "Staatsverträge und Dokumente hethitischen Rechts," in *Neuere Hethiterforschung*, ed. Gerold Walser (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1964), 34–53; English translations by Goetze in ANET 207–11.

76. Hoffner, "Advice to a King."

77. Johannes Friedrich, *Staatsverträge des Hatti-Reiches in hethitischer Sprache*, vol. 2, *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptische Gesellschaft* 34 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1930); Viktor Korošec, *Hethitische Staatsverträge*, *Leipziger rechtswissenschaftliche Studien* 60 (Leipzig: Weicher, 1931); von Schuler, "Staatsverträge und Dokumente hethitischen Rechts"; idem, "Sonderformen hethitischer Staatsverträge," *Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschungen* 2 (1965): 445–64; Albrecht Goetze, "The Hittites and Syria (1300–1200 B.C.)," in *CAH* 2/2:252–73; Oliver R. Gurney, "The Hittite Empire," in *Power and Propaganda: A Symposium on An-*

compared these texts with similar documents from Mesopotamia and ancient Israel and have seen them as a valuable form-critical tool for dating and interpreting treaty and covenant documents.⁷⁸

Earlier studies on the literary pattern of Hittite treaties were restricted to examples from the period after Shuppiluliuma I (ca. 1344). Subsequently published examples from the Middle Hittite period (ca. 1420–1344) revealed a different structure. The period during which the structure of Hittite treaties most closely resembles that of the Old Testament covenant form is ca. 1344–1271 (reigns of Shuppiluliuma I, Murshili II, and Muwatalli II). The elements of that literary form include the following:

1. introduction of the speaker
2. historical prologue
3. stipulations
4. statement concerning the document

cient Empires, ed. Mogens T. Larsen (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1979), 151–65; ForellaImparati, “La Politique Extérieure des Hittites: Tendances et Problèmes,” in *Hethitica VIII: Acta Anatolica E. Laroche oblata*, ed. René Lebrun (Louvain/Paris: Peeters, 1987), 187–208; Onofrio Carruba, “Die Hajasja-Verträge Hattis,” in *Documentum Asiae Minoris Antiquae*, ed. Erich Neu and Christel Rüdter (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1988), 59–76; Heinrich Otten, *Die 1986 in Boğazköy gefundene Bronzetafel*, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 42 (Innsbruck: Universität Innsbruck, 1988).

78. George E. Mendenhall, *Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (Pittsburgh: Biblical Colloquium, 1955); idem, “Covenant Forms in Israelite Tradition,” *Biblical Archaeologist* 17 (1954): 50–76 (repr. in *The Biblical Archaeologist Reader*, vol. 3, ed. Edward F. Campbell Jr. and David N. Freedman [Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1970], 25–53); idem, “The Suzerainty Treaty Structure: Thirty Years Later,” in *Religion and Law: Biblical-Judaic and Islamic Perspectives*, ed. Edwin B. Firmage, Bernard G. Weiss, and John W. Welch (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 85–100; Klaus Baltzer, *The Covenant Formula in Old Testament, Jewish, and Early Christian Writings*, trans. David E. Green (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971); Dennis J. McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant*, 2d ed., Analecta Biblica 21a (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute Press, 1981); Delbert R. Hillers, *Covenant: The History of a Biblical Idea* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1969); Kitchen, *Bible in Its World*, 79–85; P. Kalluveetil, *Declaration and Covenant: A Comprehensive Review of Covenant Formulae from the Old Testament and the Ancient Near East* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute Press, 1982); Walton, *Ancient Israelite Literature*, 95–110. Exceptions to this general dichotomy of interests are the studies of the treaties’ literary form and specialized vocabulary by Korošec, *Hethitische Staatsverträge*; von Schuler, “Staatsverträge und Dokumente hethitischen Rechts”; idem, “Sonderformen hethitischer Staatsverträge”; Guy Kestemont, *Diplomatique et Droit International en Asie Occidentale (1600–1200 av. J.C.)*, Publications de l’Institut Orientaliste de Louvain 9 (Louvain-la-Neuve: Université Catholique de Louvain, Institut Orientaliste, 1974); G. F. del Monte, *Sulla Terminologia Hittita per la Restituzione de Fuggiaschi*, *Studia Mediterranea* 4 (Pavia: Aurora, 1983); Dietrich Sürenhagen, *Paritätische Staatsverträge aus hethitischer Sicht*, *Studia Mediterranea* 5 (Pavia: Aurora, 1985); Carruba, “Die Hajasja-Verträge Hattis”; and Theo van den Hout, *KBo IV-10 + (CTH 106): Studien zum spätjung-hethitischen Texte der Zeit Tuthalijas I* (Ph.D. diss., University of Amsterdam, 1989).

5. divine witnesses
6. curses for noncompliance and blessings for compliance

Scholars differ on the derivation of the biblical covenant form with relation to the form evident in the Hittite treaties. A conservative Christian viewpoint is represented by Egyptologist Kenneth Kitchen (followed by John Walton), who gives a tentatively positive verdict with the caveat that there is still much that is unknown about this form in certain areas of the Near East during the first millennium.⁷⁹

Military

Since many of the historical texts are concerned with the military expeditions of the king, Hittite texts yield valuable information about ancient warfare. The first cultural synthesis of the Hittites devoted a chapter to the subject.⁸⁰ Recent years have witnessed renewed interest in this subject, with the appearance of three lengthy articles, a chapter in a book, and a doctoral dissertation soon to be revised into a book.⁸¹ Ahmet Ünal studies the technical

79. Kitchen, *Ancient Orient and Old Testament*, 90–102; idem, *Bible in Its World*, 79–85; Walton, *Ancient Israelite Literature*, 106–7.

80. Goetze, *Kleinasien*, 122–29 (“Das Kriegswesen”). An English summary with the same perspective appeared six years later: idem, “Warfare in Asia Minor,” *Iraq* 25 (1963): 124–30.

81. Ahmet Ünal, “Untersuchungen zur Terminologie der hethitischen Kriegsführung, I: ‘Verbrennen, in Brand stecken’ als Kriegstechnik,” *Orientalia* 52 (1983): 164–80; idem, “Studien über das hethitische Kriegswesen, II: Verba Delendi *harnink-harganu*—‘vernichten, zugrunde richten,’” *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* 24 (1984): 71–85; Philo H. J. Houwink ten Cate, “The History of Warfare according to Hittite Sources: The Annals of Hattusilis I (part II),”



Warrior from the King's Gate at Hattusha (Boğazköy), 14th–13th century B.C. (height: 6' 6")
Courtesy of the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara

terminology of warfare, Philo Houwink ten Cate investigates key texts dealing with warfare, and Richard Beal brings a vast amount of data from all kinds of written sources to bear on the question of the organization of the military. James G. Macqueen illustrates the technology and method of Hittite warfare, utilizing both texts and archeological remains.

Temples and Priesthood

It is well known that the Hattusha excavations revealed the foundations of several large temples.⁸² The largest (temple I) was in the lower city and contained a double cella, indicating in all probability that the chief god Teshub and the chief goddess Hebat (identified with the sun goddess of Arinna) were the principal deities worshiped there. Up through the 1960s four other temples (nos. II–V) were found, all in the upper city. But in the past twenty years, Neve has discovered a veritable temple city in the previously unexcavated portions of the upper city. Not all of the structures Neve calls temples may eventually prove to be such. But even when such an allowance is made, there seem to have been at least twenty Hittite temples inside the city.

The famous outdoor galleries at Yazılıkaya undoubtedly served as part of a temple complex, although perhaps of a specialized type: a temple to deceased royalty.⁸³

Anatolica 11 (1984): 47–83; Macqueen, *Hittites*, chap. 4; Richard Beal, *The Organization of the Hittite Military* (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1986), now published: *Texte der Hethiter* 20 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1992).

82. Jacob Milgrom, "The Shared Custody of the Tabernacle and a Hittite Analogy," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 90 (1970): 204–9; Rudolf Naumann, *Architektur Kleinasiens von ihren Anfängen bis zum Ende der hethitischen Zeit*, 2d ed. (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1971); Hans G. Güterbock, "The Hittite Temple according to Written Sources," in *Le Temple et le Culte: Compte Rendu de la Vingtième Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archeologisch Instituut te Istanbu., 1975), 125–32; Viktor Korošec, "Einiges zur inneren Struktur hethitischer Tempel nach der Instruktion für Tempelleute (KUB XIII,4)," in *Anatolian Studies Presented to Hans Gustav Güterbock on the Occasion of his Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. Kurt Bittel, Philo H. J. Houwink ten Cate, and Erica Reiner (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archeologisch Instituut in het Nabije Oosten, 1974), 165–74; Horst Klengel, "Zur ökonomischen Funktion der hethitischen Tempel," *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* 16 (1975): 181–200; Kurt Bittel, "The Great Temple of Hattusha-Boğazköy," *American Journal of Archaeology* 80 (1976): 66–72; idem, "Hittite Temples and High Places in Anatolia and North Syria," in *Temples and High Places in Biblical Times*, ed. Avraham Biran (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1981), 63–72; Sedat Alp, *Beiträge zur Erforschung des hethitischen Tempels: Kultanlagen im Lichte der Keilschrifttexte* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1983) (see Gary M. Beckman's review in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 104 [1984]: 583–84); Gary M. Beckman, "The Religion of the Hittites," *Biblical Archaeologist* 52 (1989): 98–108; Gurney, *Hittites*, 120–30.

83. Bittel, *Hattusha*, 91–112; Kurt Bittel et al., *Das hethitische Felsheiligtum Yazılıkaya, Boğazköy-Hattuşa* 9 (Berlin: Mann, 1975); Hans G. Güterbock, *Les Hiéroglyphes de Yazılıkaya*

In addition, the texts tell us that every city and town in the Hittite domains had at least one temple, served by both male and female cult personnel. The texts that show this most clearly are the cult inventory texts prepared during the reign of Tudḫaliya IV.⁸⁴ I have elsewhere drawn up a list of Hittite cities and the deities known to have had temples there.⁸⁵

The village priest was not of noble descent and occupied a relatively low rung in Hittite society. But chief priests of temples in major cities were sometimes of royal descent, younger brothers who were not eligible to succeed to the throne. Priests could marry and were exempted from many taxes and forced labor.

Temple servants included many occupations found also in the "secular" sphere: cooks, leather workers, potters and other artisans, musicians, augurs and other diviners, herders for the temple flocks, and farmers who tilled the temple lands.

Jacob Milgrom points out that the two classes of temple guards mentioned in Hittite instructions for priests correspond in function rather closely to the biblical priests and Levites,⁸⁶ which indicates greater antiquity for the tabernacle ritual in the Pentateuch than is often assumed by more critical scholars.

Religion

An overall view of Hittite religion can be had from chapters in handbooks on the Hittites and from separate books and essays on the subject.⁸⁷

Mythology

Although the Hittite language is of Indo-European derivation, the Hittites as a large, mixed group were by no means Indo-European in every aspect of their culture. This is particularly apparent in the case of their myths, none of which is derived from an Indo-European type. In fact, Hittite mythological texts are usually classified in three groups (none of which is Indo-European per se): Hattian-Anatolian, Hurrian-Mesopotamian, and Asianic.

kaya: A Propos d'un Travail Récent, Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1982); Macqueen, *Hittites*, 123–32; Gurney, *Hittites*, 116–17, 123–24, 165–70.

84. Charles Carter, *Hittite Cult Inventories* (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1962).

85. Hoffner, "Hittites and Hurrians," 211–12.

86. Milgrom, "Shared Custody."

87. Oliver R. Gurney, *Some Aspects of Hittite Religion*, Schweich Lectures 1976 (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1977); Beckman, "Religion of the Hittites"; Harry A. Hoffner Jr., "Hittite Religion," in *Religions of Antiquity*, ed. Robert Seltzer (New York: Macmillan, 1989), 69–79.

We possess no example of a mythological text in the Old Hittite script, but certain myths in the Hattian-Anatolian category seem to have derived from the Old Hittite period, notably myths dealing with the vanishing god (the "Telepinu myth") and the slaying of the serpent ("Illuyanka").⁸⁸

Myths derived from or by way of the Hurrians include the "Song of Kumarbi" (sometimes called "Theogony" or "Kingship in Heaven") and the songs of Hedammu, Ullikummi, the god LAMMA, and Silver.⁸⁹

One myth of West Semitic origin is preserved in a Hittite translation: a myth about the god Elkunirsha (Semitic *ʿel qôneh ʿerši*, "El, Creator of earth"; cf. Gen. 14:19, 22), his wife Asherah, and the young storm god Baal-Haddu.⁹⁰ Its motif of a virtuous young male (Baal-Haddu) refusing the advances of a married female (Asherah) is the same as the Egyptian "Tale of Two Brothers" and the biblical account of Joseph and Potiphar's wife.

Since the Hebrew Bible does not contain "myths" as such, evangelical biblical scholars customarily only utilize the myths of surrounding peoples to compare with the passages in the Hebrew Bible dealing with creation.⁹¹ But one type of Hittite myth, namely the vanishing-deity myth, illuminates the situation portrayed in 1 Kings 18:20–29, where the priests of Baal invoke their absent deity and are mocked by the prophet Elijah in terms that recall scenes from ancient myths about deities who have run off and must be brought back. The way such *evocatio* rituals were conducted is illustrated not only in the ritual portions of the myths themselves but also in the separate rogation rituals.⁹²

Cult

Our knowledge of Hittite cult continues to grow.⁹³ That there was a calendar of cultic events for the capital city is suggested by the much more abbreviated

88. English translations by Goetze in ANET 125–28 and by Harry A. Hoffner Jr., *Hittite Myths*, ed. Gary M. Beckman; *Writings from the Ancient World 2* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 10–14. Surveys of their contents may be found in Hans G. Güterbock, "Hittite Mythology," in *Mythologies of the Ancient World*, ed. Samuel N. Kramer (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1961), 139–79; Harry A. Hoffner Jr., "Hittite Mythological Texts: A Survey," in *Unity and Diversity: Essays in the History, Literature, and Religion of the Ancient Near East*, ed. Hans Goedicke and James J. M. Roberts (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), 136–45.

89. Cf. Hoffner, *Hittite Myths*, 38–61.

90. Goetze, ANET 519; Hoffner, *Hittite Myths*, 69–70.

91. For example, compare Walton, *Ancient Israelite Literature*, chap. 1.

92. Emmanuel Laroche, *Catalogue des Textes Hittites* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1971), nos. 422–23, 483–85; cf. English translation by Goetze in ANET 351–53.

93. Gurney, *Some Aspects of Hittite Religion*; Hoffner, "Hittite Religion," 74–76; Beckman, "Religion of the Hittites"; James Moyer, "Hittite and Israelite Cultic Practices: A Selected Comparison," in *Scripture in Context*, vol. 2, ed. William W. Hallo, James C. Moyer, and Leo G. Perdue (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1983), 19–38; Nancy W. Leinwand, "Archaeological Evidence for Hittite Cult Statuary," *American Journal of Archaeology* 89 (1985): 338–39.

counterparts for the smaller provincial towns and cities included in the great cult inventory texts drawn up at the command of Tudḫaliya IV.⁹⁴ And although we have no copy of such a calendar, it is possible to reconstruct its broad lines from the large number of festival descriptions found in the royal archives.⁹⁵

Much is known about festivals.⁹⁶ Although there was, of course, a daily cult for each of the temples, festivals were special times when the cult statue of the deity was transported in procession through the streets and "entertained" with music, dancing, acrobatics, and athletic events, as well as a wide variety of sacrifices and offerings.⁹⁷ In ancient Israel, in addition to the major festivals, solemn convocations marked the new moon and the Sabbath. The Hittites had no equivalent to the Sabbath. Their most frequently repeated festival was the "festival of the month," by which we are probably to understand a festival marking the new moon. Most Hittite seasonal festivals were celebrated in the spring and fall, marking the harvesting or planting of some crop.⁹⁸

Magic Rituals

Considerable use was made of magical practices in Hittite rituals.⁹⁹

Several Hittite rituals involve making offerings to chthonic deities, the offerings being lowered into specially prepared pits in the ground. The name of one pit is written *a-a-bi*, the precise phonetic interpretation of which is still unclear. Goetze advocates */ayabi/*, while Friedrich and other Hittitologists normalize the word as *ābi*. Vieyra and I compare this to the Biblical Hebrew word *ʾōb*, which represents either a being in the realm of the dead who is consulted by necromancy or the means for such consultation.¹⁰⁰ Influenced by

94. Carter, *Hittite Cult Inventories*.

95. Laroche, *Catalogue des Textes Hittites*, 103–44.

96. Gurney, *Hittites*, 126–30; Harry A. Hoffner Jr., "Religions of the Biblical World: Asia Minor," in *ISBE* 4:79–85; idem, "Hittite Religion," 75–76; Hans G. Güterbock, "An Outline of the Hittite AN.TAḪ.SUM Festival," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 19 (1960): 80–89; idem, "Some Aspects of Hittite Festivals," in *Actes de la XVII^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, ed. André Finet (Brussels: Comité Belge de Recherches en Mésopotamie, 1970), 175–80; Goetze in ANET 346–61.

97. Güterbock, "Hittite Festivals."

98. Hoffner, *Alimenta Hethaeorum*, 18–20, 49–50.

99. David Engelhard, *Hittite Magical Practices* (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 1970); Ahmet Ünal, "The Role of Magic in the Ancient Anatolian Religions according to the Cuneiform Texts from Bogazköy-Hattuša," in *Essays on Anatolian Studies*, ed. T. Mikasa (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1988), 52–85.

100. Maurice Vieyra, "Le Noms du 'Mundus' en Hittite et en Assyrien et la Pythonisse d'Endor," *Revue Hittite et Asiatique* 69 (1961): 47–55; Hoffner, "Second Millennium Antecedents to the Hebrew *ʾōb*"; idem, "Hittites and Hurrians," 216–17; and idem, "𐎎𐎗 *ʾōbb*," in *TDOT* 1:130–34.

the Hittite parallel, I favor the second interpretation. Others dispute the connection of the Hurro-Hittite word with the Hebrew and Ugaritic.¹⁰¹

Cultural and Literary Parallels to the Old Testament

From the beginnings of Hittitology it was assumed that the Hittites mentioned in the Old Testament were the same people whose capital was at Boğazköy-Hattusha in central Anatolia.¹⁰² There are two questions that must be addressed. First, was it the intention of the biblical writers to indicate that persons bearing the name *Hittite* or *sons of Heth* belonged to that foreign people from the north (Anatolia or north Syria)? Second, is it credible or plausible that such Hittites from the north actually were in Palestine in Old Testament times?

Many Old Testament scholars answer the first question "yes" and the second "no." They regard references to Hittites in the Old Testament, especially the references in the patriarchal narratives of Genesis, as anachronisms—a reading back into earlier times of the Hittites known from the period of the Israelite monarchy (ca. 950–700).

Others answer both questions "yes," the first one confidently, the second tentatively. Assyriologist-Hittitologist Emil Forrer takes this second point of view. Both Oliver R. Gurney and Aharon Kempinski seem to incline to this view.

I hold a third point of view, answering the first question "yes and no."¹⁰³ Passages referring to Hittites during the Israelite monarchy almost certainly refer to the Syrian kingdoms earlier controlled by the Hittite Empire during the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries and still referred to by the name *Hatti* in the annals of the Neo-Assyrian kings. But Hittites mentioned in the narratives of Genesis–Joshua are native Palestinians, members of a group mentioned alongside Canaanites, Jebusites, Amorites, etc. Their personal names are West Semitic and their customs (e.g., the purchase of the cave and field of Ephron in Gen. 23) offer no convincing evidence for an Anatolian connection.

101. Cf. literature cited in Johannes Friedrich and Annelies Kammenhuber, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*, 2d ed., Indogermanische Bibliothek: Wörterbücher (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1975–84), 181.

102. Emil Forrer, "The Hittites in Palestine, I," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* (1936): 190–203. This subject has been discussed in several publications: Gurney, *Hittites*, 1–11, 47–50; Harry A. Hoffner Jr., "Some Contributions of Hittitology to Old Testament Study," *Tyndale Bulletin* 20 (1969): 27–55; Ruth Mayer, "Die Hethiter und das Alte Testament," in *Mysterium der Gnade*, ed. H. Rossmann (Regensburg: Pustet, 1975), 65–73; Aharon Kempinski, "Hittites in the Bible: What Does Archaeology Say?" *Biblical Archaeology Review* 5.4 (1979): 20–45; Richard Beal, "The Hittites after the Empire's Fall," *Biblical Illustrator* (1983): 73–81.

103. Hoffner, "Some Contributions of Hittitology," 28–37.

tion. The tradition preserved in Genesis 10 of their descent from Heth, who with Canaan is descended from Ham, places them firmly in Palestine.

Archeological evidence for an Anatolian Hittite presence in ancient Palestine, as given by Kempinski, supports this "yes and no" answer: "Recent archaeological finds suggest that Hittite immigration at the end of the 13th century and at the beginning of the 12th century . . . extended into Canaan as well as into Syria."¹⁰⁴ But the only evidence that Kempinski adduces for a Hittite immigration southward into Palestine earlier than ca. 1200 is the well-known Hittite passage (originally adduced by Forrer) about the people of the city Kurushtamma, who prior to the reign of Shuppiluliuma I migrated from Hatti into Egyptian territory. Such a migration, the reverse of that mentioned in Judges 1:26, would hardly account for all the "Hittites" of the Genesis-to-Joshua period.

But whether or not the Hittites of the early parts of the Old Testament are products of the early imperial culture of Anatolia, it is possible to see influences from that distant northern culture in the Old Testament. Over the past twenty-five years many studies of the Hittites and the Old Testament have appeared.¹⁰⁵ Elsewhere I have proposed a number of Hittite parallels to institutions described in the Old Testament, some of which have been reviewed in the preceding discussion.¹⁰⁶

Culture words (German *Kulturwörter*) common to Hittite and Biblical Hebrew include the following:

	Hittite	Hebrew
wine	<i>wiyanaš</i>	<i>yayin</i>
helmet, headgear	<i>kubaḫiš</i>	<i>kôba'</i>
sesame	<i>šapšama</i>	<i>šumšôm</i>

104. Kempinski, "Hittites in the Bible," 41.

105. Kitchen, *Ancient Orient and Old Testament*, 90–102, 154–56; Hoffner, "Some Contributions of Hittitology"; Milgrom, "Shared Custody"; Mayer, "Die Hethiter und das Alte Testament"; Kitchen, *Bible in Its World*, 71, 80–86; Kempinski, "Hittites in the Bible"; Beal, "Hittites after the Empire's Fall"; Herbert M. Wolf, *The Apology of Hattusilis Compared with Other Political Self-Justifications of the Ancient Near East* (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 1967); J. B. Geyer, "Ezekiel 18 and a Hittite Treaty of Mursilis II," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 12 (1979): 31–46; P. Kyle McCarter Jr., "The Apology of David," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 99 (1980): 489–504; Moyer, "Hittite and Israelite Cultic Practices"; Matiti-ahu Tsevat, "Two Old Testament Stories and Their Hittite Analogues," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 103 (1983): 321–26; David P. Wright, *The Disposal of Impurity: Elimination Rites in the Bible and in Hittite and Mesopotamian Literature*, Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series 101 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987).

106. Hoffner, "Some Contributions of Hittitology," 37–55; idem, "Hittites and Hurrians," 213–21.

oak	<i>allan</i> (in <i>allantaru</i>)	<i>ʾallôn</i>
glaze	<i>zapzigi</i>	<i>sipsîgîm</i> ¹⁰⁷
idol	<i>tarpiš</i> (a demon)	<i>tērāpîm</i>

A topos found in two Hittite texts is also reflected in Isaiah:

Let the mountains be leveled before you, O gods!
(KUB 15.34 i 45, iii 52)

Before you, O god, let the rivers be bridged!

Before you let the valleys be leveled!

Let the mountains betake themselves down to the vegetation!
(KBo 15.25 obv. 13–15)

In the desert prepare the road of Yahweh!

In the Arabah make a straight highway for our God!

Let every valley be elevated;

let every mountain and hill be brought low!

Let the crooked become straight
and the rough places level!

(Isa. 40:3–4)

On the Hittite parallel to priests and Levites sharing the custody of the tabernacle see above under “Temples and Priesthood.”

A close similarity exists between the scapegoat ritual of the Day of Atonement, as described in Leviticus 16, and the various magic rituals of the Hittites in which a small animal was dispatched bearing away sin or impurity.¹⁰⁸

Recommended Reading

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107. Reading *kēsapsîgîm* for the MT's *kesep sîgîm* in Prov. 26:23.

108. Gurney, *Some Aspects of Hittite Religion*, 47–52.

Friedrich, Johannes, and Annelies Kammenhuber. *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*. 2d edition. Indogermanische Bibliothek: Wörterbücher. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1975–84.

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