



Endnotes for *Hittites and Hethites:* *A Proposed Solution to an* *Etymological Conundrum*

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Notes

¹ Excepting the instances where English translations have rendered חֶת (ḥēt), “Heth,” as Hittites (Gn 10:15 = 1 Chr 1:13), בְּנֵי־חֶת (benê ḥēt), “sons of Heth,” as Hittites (Gn 23:3, 5, 7, 10 [2], 16, 18, 20; 25:10; 49:32), and בְּנוֹת־חֶת (benôt ḥēt), “daughters of Heth,” as Hittite (Gn 27:46 [2]).

² Translations in other languages based on the Vulgate had a form of Hethite(s) until relatively recent times; e.g., German at first had Hethiter, later changed to Hetiter, and French Hétheien(s), became Hittite(s).

³ The passages where these terms are found are listed in Table 1 at the end of the article. Heb. grammars only mention the masc. sg. gentilic. Gogel gives the fem. sg. and masc. pl. suffixes, both based on the masc. sg., as is the fem. pl. not listed by Gogel (Sandra Landis Gogel, *A Grammar of Epigraphic Hebrew* [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998], 181).

⁴ For convenience, I shall use Hittite(s) to represent both Hethite(s) and Hittite(s) in our English translations, until the end of the article when I shall separate the two.

⁵ Aharon Kempinski, “Hittites in the Bible: What Does Archaeology Say?” *BAR* 5.5 (1979), 20–44, esp. 30–44.

⁶ Itamar Singer, “The Hittites and the Bible Revisited,” in *I will Speak the Riddles of Ancient Times: Archaeological and Historical Studies in Honor of Amihai Mazar on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday* 2, eds. Aren M. Maeir and Pierre de Miroschedji (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 754.

⁷ Id. 756; as Van Seters (John Van Seters, *Abraham in History and Tradition* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975], 46). Billie Jean Collins relates the use of “Hittite(s)” in the OT to the Assyrian rhetoric of Sargon II against the Neo-Hittite cities of northern Syria: “the Jerusalem-based biblical authors of the late 8th century incorporated the Hittites and other groups into their foundational story of Israelite origins. The presence of Hittites in the narratives of Israelite beginnings is thus rhetorical and ideological rather than historical.” (“Hittites,” in *The New Interpreter’s Dictionary of the Bible* 2, [ed. Katharine D. Sakenfeld; Nashville: Abingdon, 2007], 843; cf. id., “The Hittites and Their World,” *Archaeology and Biblical Studies* 7 [Boston: Brill, 2008], 197–213).

⁸ Ignace J. Gelb, “Hittites,” *IDB* 2.613.

⁹ Tomoo Ishida, *History and Historical Writing in Ancient Israel: Studies in Biblical Historiography* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 15.

¹⁰ For recent treatments of Hittite history, see Trevor Bryce, *Life and Society in the Hittite World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); id., *The Kingdom of the Hittites*, new ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); Collins, *The Hittites and*

Their World. A useful compendium of the peoples and places of ancient Anatolia and northern Syria is Trevor Bryce, *Routledge Handbook of the Peoples and Places of Ancient Western Asia: From the Early Bronze Age to the Fall of the Persian Empire* (New York: Routledge, 2009).

¹¹ Heinrich K. Brugsch, *A History of Egypt Under the Pharaohs Derived Entirely from the Monuments 2* (London: Murray, 1879), 2. Technically, this is an invalid association since הַתִּי (ḥittî) was an ethnonym for descendants of the (ḥēt), who lived in Canaan (see below), whereas Ḥattî was the ancient name of unknown origin for Anatolia.

¹² Oliver R. Gurney, *The Hittites* (New York: Penguin, 1990), 2; Hans G. Guterbock and S. David Sperling, “Hittites,” 2nd ed., online at http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/judaica/ejud_0002_0009_0_09061.html.

¹³ *The Empire of the Hittites* (New York: Scribner & Welford, 1884).

¹⁴ Archibald H. Sayce, *The Hittites: The Story of a Forgotten Empire* (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1888; 2nd ed. 1890 and 1892, 3rd & enl. ed. 1903, 5th ed. 1910, 4th rev. & enl. ed. 1925).

¹⁵ John Garstang, *The Land of the Hittites: An Account of Recent Explorations and Discoveries in Asia Minor, with Descriptions of the Hittite Monuments* (London: Constable, 1910), updated as *The Hittite Empire, Being a Survey of the History, Geography and Monuments of Hittite Asia Minor and Syria* (London: Constable, 1929).

¹⁶ Bryce, *Handbook*, 297, 314; Gregory McMahon, “Hittites in the OT,” *ABD* 3.232.

¹⁷ Heth is the Anglicized transliteration of ḥēt, son of Canaan (Gn 10:15 = 1 Chr 1:13). The name occurs in isolation only in Gn 10:15 = 1 Chr 1:13, but some twelve times in combination with בְּנֵי- (benê) and בְּנוֹת- (benôt). Editors note: Autochthonous means “indigenous, native”.

¹⁸ Collins, “Hittites,” 842–43; Gelb, “Hittites,” 614; Gurney, *Hittites*, 1–2; Harry A. Hoffner Jr., “Hittites,” in *Peoples in the Old Testament World*, eds. Alfred J. Hoerth, Gerald L. Mattingly, and Edwin M. Yamauchi (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1994), 152–53; id., “Hittites,” *OEANE* 2.84; Gregory McMahon, “The History of the Hittites,” *BA* 52 (1989), 75; id., “Hittites,” 233.

¹⁹ On the lists of indigenous peoples, see Tomoo Ishida, *History and Historical Writing in Ancient Israel: Studies in Biblical Historiography* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 8–36.

²⁰ The chronology for the patriarchs used in this paper is based on an exodus date of 1446 BC (Rodger C. Young, “[When Did Solomon Die?](#)” *JETS* 46 [2003], 589–603; Bryant G. Wood, “[The Rise and Fall of the 13th-Century Exodus-Conquest Theory](#),” *JETS* 48 [2005] 475–89) and a sojourn of 430 years (Paul J. Ray Jr., “[The Duration of the Israelite Sojourn in Egypt](#),” *AUSS* 24 [1986], 231–48).

²¹ In the early days of Hittitology a number of scholars argued for a Hittite background to the negotiations described in Genesis 23. Today, this association largely has been abandoned. Hoffner writes, “it is quite unlikely that genuine Hittite land tenure laws underlie this story” (Harry A. Hoffner Jr., “Some Contributions of Hittitology to Old Testament Study,” *TynBul* 20 [1969], 37). Singer agrees, stating Genesis 23 does not “reflect an intimate knowledge of Hittite legal procedures, as had formerly been claimed” (“Hittites,” 728).

²² Hoffner, “Contributions,” 32.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ The dates for Israelite kings in this paper are from Rodger C. Young, “[Tables of Reign Lengths from the Hebrew Court Recorders](#),” *JETS* 48 (2005) 245–46.

²⁵ Hoffner, “Contributions,” 32.

²⁶ 2 Sm 11:3, 6, 17, 21, 24; 12:9, 10; 23:39 (= 1 Chr 11:41); 1 Kgs 15:5.

²⁷ Hoffner, “Contributions,” 32; Singer, “Hittites,” 745.

²⁸ 2 Kgs 16:10, 11, 15, 16; Is 8:2; and Ezr 8:33; Neh 3:4, 21.

²⁹ Kenneth A. Kitchen, “The Patriarchal Age: Myth or History?,” *BAR* 21.2 (1995), 56–57.

³⁰ Singer, “Hittites,” 729–30.

³¹ *Id.* 730.

³² Bryce, *Handbook*, 297.

³³ Eugene H. Merrill, *Kingdom of Priests* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker, 1987), pp. 147–48.

³⁴ Boling understands אֶרֶץ הַחִיטִּים (*ereṣ haḥittîm*) as being Anatolia (Robert G. Boling, “Judges: Introduction, Translation and Commentary,” *AB* 6A, 59), as does Singer (“Hittites,” 726).

³⁵ It is not yet possible to assign accurate dates to the Hittite kings. Synchronisms with Egyptian history, however, indicate Tudhaliya III ruled ca. 1370?–1350 BC (Bryce, *Handbook*, 299).

³⁶ Nm 34:8; Jos 13:5; Jgs 3:3; 1 Kgs 8:65 (= 2 Chr 7:8); Ez 47:16; Amos 6:14.

³⁷ Bryce, *Handbook*, 282–84; Rudolph H. Dornemann, “Hama,” *OEANE* 2.466–68.

³⁸ This possibility is strengthened by the apparent changing of the prince’s name from Aramean Hadoram, “Hadad is exalted,” to Hebrew Joram, “Yahweh is exalted.” Thiel believes Joram to be a scribal error since the LXX at 2 Sam 8:10 has essentially the same form of the name as in 1Chr 18:10 (Winfried Thiel, “Joram,” *ABD* 3.953). However, this simply may be a case of harmonization by the LXX translators.

³⁹ For a detailed study of this passage, see Yutaka Ikeda, “Solomon’s Trade in Horses and Chariots in Its International Setting,” in *Studies in the Period of David and Solomon and Other Essays*, ed. Tomoo Ishida (Winona Lake IN: Eisenbrauns, 1982), 215–38.

⁴⁰ Bryce, *Handbook*, 583–84.

⁴¹ Clyde E. Fant and Mitchell G. Reddish, *Lost Treasures of the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 116–19.

⁴² Bryce, *Handbook*, 576–77; Rudolph H. Dornemann, “Qarqur, Tell,” *OEANE* 4.370–71.

⁴³ There is some question about the credibility of the numbers in the Kurkh Stela (Shigo Yamada, *The Construction of the Assyrian Empire: A Historical Study of the Inscriptions of Shalmaneser III (859–824 B.C.) Relating to His Campaigns in the West* [Boston: Brill, 2000], 161–62). Even so, the relative sizes of the armies provide useful information.

⁴⁴ K. Lawson Younger, Jr., “Shalmaneser III (2.113): Kurkh Monolith (2.113A),” *COS* 2.263.

⁴⁵ For these campaigns only the kings of Damascus and Hamath are named in the available sources. The formulaic phrase “Hadad-ezer (Adad-idri), the Damascene, (and) Irhulēni, the Hamathite, together with twelve kings on the shore of the sea, trusted in their combined forces” is used to describe the coalition (Younger, “Shalmaneser III,” 264–70).

⁴⁶ Bryce, *Handbook*, 386–87; Timothy P. Harrison, “Neo-Hittites in the ‘Land of Palistin’: Renewed Investigations at Tell Tacyinat on the Plain of Antioch,” *Near Eastern Archaeology* 72 (2009), 174–89.

⁴⁷ Bryce, *Handbook*, 284.

⁴⁸ K. Lawson Younger, Jr., “Tiglath-pileser III (2.117): The Calah Annals (2.117A),” *COS* 2.285.

⁴⁹ Bryce, *Handbook*, 146–50; John D. Hawkins, “Carchemish,” *OEANE* 1.423–24.

⁵⁰ K. Lawson Younger, Jr., “Sargon II (2.118): The Annals (2.118A),” *COS* 2.293.

⁵¹ Conversely, these constructs were not used in association with the indigenous חתי (ḫittî).

⁵² Where pl. gentilics would be expected when referring to the descendants of חת (ḫēt), the constructs בְּנֵי-חַת (benê ḫēt) and בְּנוֹת-חַת (benôt ḫēt) were used instead. While the similarity of Ḫatti and ḫittî no doubt lies behind the usage of the pl. gentilics of חתי (ḫittî) for the people of Ḫatti in the Hebrew Bible, the linguistic details of this association are beyond the scope of the present paper.

⁵³ חתי (ḫittî) occurs in Jos 3:10; 9:1; 11:3; 12:8; and 24:11; as opposed to חֲתִיִּם (ḫittîm) in 1:4. חתי (ḫittî) is found in Jgs 3:5 contrasted with חֲתִיִּם (ḫittîm) in 1:26. In 1 Kgs, חתי (ḫittî) appears in 9:20 (= 2 Chr 8:7) and 15:5, while חֲתִיִּם (ḫittîm) is in 10:29 (= 2 Chr 1:17), and חֲתִיּוֹת (ḫittîyōt) in 11:1.

⁵⁴ I would argue the references in Jos 1:4 and Jgs 1:26 are to the Hittite empire as I would place these allusions in a historical context prior to 1177 BC.

⁵⁵ McMahon, “Hittites,” 233; cf. id., “History,” 75.

⁵⁶ The Anatolian Indo-Europeans properly should be called “Hattians,” but that name has been reserved for the pre-Indo-European population of Anatolia (Gurney, *Hittites*, 13; Guterbock and Sterling, “Hittites;” Hoffner, “Hittites,” 85).