



Endnotes:

Hittites and Hethites: A Proposed Solution to an Etymological Conundrum

1. Excepting the instances where English translations have rendered תְּחַתְּ (ḥēt), “Heth,” as Hittites (Gen 10:15 = 1 Chr 1:13), בְּנֵי־תְּחַתְּ (benê ḥēt), “sons of Heth,” as Hittites (Gen 23:3, 5, 7, 10 [2], 16, 18, 20; 25:10; 49:32), and בְּנוֹת־תְּחַתְּ (benôt ḥēt), “daughters of Heth,” as Hittite (Gen 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 masculine sg. gentilic. Gogel gives the feminine 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. pp. 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 חִיְתִי (ḥittî) was an ethnonym for descendants of חֵת (ḥēt), who lived in Canaan (see below), whereas Ḫattî 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., http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/judaica/ejud_0002_0009_0_09061.html. (offsite link).

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 (Gen 10:15 = 1 Chr 1:13). The name occurs in isolation only in Gen 10:15 = 1 Chr 1:13, but some twelve times in combination with בְּנֵי־ (benē) 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 Sam 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; Isa 8:2; and Ezra 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) 147–48.

34. Boling understands אֶרֶץ הַחִיטִּים ('ereṣ haḥittīm) 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. Num 34:8; Josh 13:5; Judg 3:3; 1 Kgs 8:65 (= 2 Chr 7:8); Ezek 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 Heb 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 1 Chr 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) Irḫulēni, 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 הַיְתִי (ḥittî).
52. Where pl. gentilics would be expected when referring to the descendants of הַת (ḥēt), the constructs בְּנֵי-הַת (benê ḥēt) and בְּנוֹת-הַת (benôt ḥēt) were used instead. While the similarity of *Hatti* and *ḥittî* no doubt lies behind the usage of the pl. gentilics of הַיְתִי (ḥittî) for the people of *Hatti* in the Hebrew Bible, the linguistic details of this association are beyond the scope of the present paper.
53. הַיְתִי (ḥittî) occurs in Josh 3:10; 9:1; 11:3; 12:8; and 24:11; as opposed to הַיְתִיִּם (ḥittîm) in 1:4. הַיְתִי (ḥittî) is found in Judg 3:5 contrasted with הַיְתִיִּם (ḥittîm) in 1:26. In 1 Kings, הַיְתִי (ḥittî) appears in 9:20 (= 2 Chr 8:7) and 15:5, while הַיְתִיִּם (ḥittîm) is in 10:29 (= 2 Chr 1:17), and הַיְתִיּוֹת (ḥittîyōt) in 11:1.
54. I would argue the references in Josh 1:4 and Judg 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).

This article was originally published in the June 2011 issue (54.2) of the *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*.