

Concordia Seminary - Saint Louis

Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary

Bachelor of Divinity

Concordia Seminary Scholarship

4-15-1939

The Hittites

Gerhard Lewerenz

Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, ir_lewerenzg@csl.edu

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholar.csl.edu/bdiv>



Part of the [History of Christianity Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Lewerenz, Gerhard, "The Hittites" (1939). *Bachelor of Divinity*. 69.
<https://scholar.csl.edu/bdiv/69>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Concordia Seminary Scholarship at Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary. It has been accepted for inclusion in Bachelor of Divinity by an authorized administrator of Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary. For more information, please contact seitzw@csl.edu.

THE HITTITES

A Thesis presented to the
Faculty of Concordia Theological Seminary
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Bachelor of Divinity

by

Gerhard M. Lewerenz

Concordia Seminary
April 15, 1939

Approved by

Table of Contents

Part One: A Survey of Hittite Excavations-----Pages 1-15.

Introduction	Page 1
Excavations at Hamath	3
At Aleppo, Sinjirli, Sakje-Geuzi, Marash	4ff
At Carchemish	7
The Taurus Region	7
Galilee and eastern Asia Minor	8
Boghaz Keui; the Boghaz Keui tablets	10ff
Tellel-Amarna	12
Physical appearance of the Hittites	13
Characteristic dress	14

Part Two: The Decipherment of the Hittite Language--Pages 16-27

Two kinds of script, Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic	Page 16
Cuneiform: the work of Hrozny	18
Indo-European character	19
paradigms	19ff
pronoun forms	20
other dialects	21
Hieroglyphic: comparison with Egyptian	22
various uses of hieroglyphics	22
origin of hieroglyphs	23
decipherment	24ff

Part Three: A Brief History of the Hittites-----Pages 28-41

Origin of the Hittites	Page 28
Early appearances in history	29
Established in Asia Minor	29
Boghaz Keui, their capital	30
Rise to prominence	30
Conquest of Babylon	31
Heresy of Amenhotep IV	32
Hittite dominion over Syria, Palestine	32
Subbiliauma; Hittites at height of power	33
Battle of Kadesh and treaty with Ramses II	34ff
Moschian invasion	38ff
Decline of the Hittite Empire	39
Hittites absorbed by Assyria, and the Fall of Carchemish	40

Bibliography -----Page 43

Chronology-----Page 45

Map : The Land of the Hittites -----Page 46

PART ONE: A SURVEY OF HITTITE EXCAVATIONS

Until about 50 years ago the Hittites were still grouped with the Hivites, Jebusites, and other tribes as an insignificant Syrian group unknown outside of the Bible. At that time it was not known that the Hittites could be identified with the Kheta in the Egyptian records and the Khatti in the cuneiform tablets of Assyria. Evidence, however, had pointed to Asia Minor as their home, and when therefore in the nineteenth century monuments were found at Aleppo and Carchemish on the Euphrates, Hamath on the Crontes, and other sites in Asia Minor, Syria, Cappadocia, and elsewhere, - monuments of unusual style and with inscriptions written in unknown hieroglyphics, - it was natural to attribute them to this nation whose existence was known, but whose civilization had not as yet been uncovered.

Prof. Garstang* of the University of Liverpool names three achievements of modern times that were of greatest importance in restoring the forgotten Hittites Empire to its place in history. The first of these was Prof. Sayce's reconstruction of the Empire in 1888 from scattered archaeological fragments; the second was Dr. Winckler's discovery of the royal Hittite library and archives from the ruins near Boghaz Keui in Asia Minor; the third was the demonstration of the Indo-European character of the official Hittite language by Dr. Hrozný of Prague. Since that time Hittite monuments have been excavated and discovered in neary a hundred

* Garstang, John: The Hittite Empire, Introduction.

sites in Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, and the Tigris and Euphrates valley. As a result of the partial decipherment of the Hittite language, several thousand Hittite state archives and other documents have become available for study, which, in Prof. Garstang's opinion, "promise already to fill the whole gap in the history of Asia Minor between the rise of Babylon and the fall of Troy(2200 B.C. to 1200 B.C.)". *

After many documents had been found in Asia Minor bearing inscriptions in a strange language, archaeologists came to realize that these must be the silent reminders of that mysterious people referred to as the Khetta, Khatta, and Khatti of the Babylonian and Egyptian writings.** It was left to Dr. Sayce to identify them as belonging to the Hittites. The Khatti of the Babylonian seems to have been a name given to a wide variety of ethnological groups, including also the Mitanni of Mesopotamia, which combined to form a powerful kingdom in central and northern Asia Minor which was later able to dominate all Asia Minor, Syria, part of Palestine, and even Babylonia, which it controlled from the overthrow of Samsuditana in 1926 B.C. to about 1750 B.C.

Strictly speaking, we cannot speak of only one Hittite Empire, for even after the great empire which reached its zenith under the warrior-king Subbiluliuma had declined, the Hittites continued to be a power through their many city-states, which banded together in cases of emergency and were in this way able to defy the advances of the Assyrians for

* Idem.

** These words are the exact equivalent of the Hebrew Kheth or Khitti, כֶּתִי.

three centuries, until overpowered by Sargon in 717 B.C. The real discovery of the lost Empire began when attention was drawn to some curiously engraved stones at Hamath on the Orontes River in Syria. In 1722 a French traveller named La Roque speaks of some marble "Hamath Stones". Just a century later Burckhardt in his "Travels in Syria" wrote that he had gone in search of these stones, but had not been able to find any stones of marble in that ancient city, though he did discover something else. He writes: "In a corner of a house in the Bazar is a stone with a number of small figures and signs, which appears to be a kind of hieroglyphic writing, though it does not resemble that of Egypt."* Another half century passed before any serious attention was paid to the matter. In 1870 two Americans, Johnson and Jessup, succeeded in finding similar stones there, but they were unable to copy even the inscriptions because of the fanatical superstition of the natives.** They were successful, however, in getting rough copies, and others who followed them, Dr. Sayce, chiefly, succeeded in taking pictures and making drawings and squeezes. Several others stones were also found, both built into modern houses and lying loose. Five of these monuments were found, ranging in size from 2 ft. in height and 3 ft. long to a block 11 in. by 13 in. on the end. They contained only a few lines of inscriptions, none of them of special importance, but nevertheless sufficient to identify them as Hittite remains. The writing was in the usual old Hittite style, written "boustrophedon", that is, alternately left

* quoted by A.E. Cowley in "The Hittites", p.1.

** One of these stones was thought to have special virtue for rheumatics, who gained its benefits by lying upon it. Garstang: "Land of the Hittites", P. 95.

and right, the first line beginning at the right and reading toward the left, the next reading from left to right, and so on. It was only with great difficulty that the stones were removed by the Turkish governor in 1872, and they now rest in the museum at Constantinople. The stones are all of black basalt, and not of marble, and this explains why Burckhardt was unable to find the stone that La Roque had mentioned.

At nearby Aleppo a large monument was found, a basalt block nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet long and $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, built into the wall of an old mosque, and regarded with special superstition by the natives, who ascribed to it the power of healing ophthalmia. When this stone was found, the natives had almost rubbed off the inscription, which originally was carved in relief. Though the inscription could not be ascertained with certainty, it did establish the fact that this was a Hittite center of days gone by. Indications are that it was one of the stronger cities of the later Hittite era. It is remarkable that no more monuments have been found at Aleppo, but this may be explained by the fact that a medieval Turkish castle now covers the acropolis, which was probably the position of the stronghold in Hittite times.

Not far to the north lie Sinjirli, Sakje-Geuzi, Karaburshlu, and Marash. Sinjirli seems to have been a strong city-state in the late period of Hittite history (after 1200 B.C.), for there, among the numerous mounds in the vicinity, the site of a walled town has been excavated, surrounding an acropolis, which was separately enclosed by a wall. Palaces were unearthed, indicating the permanency of Hittite occupation. From its sculptures and historical

documents it seems to have been taken by the Assyrians under Tiglath-Pileser III and later to have been a temporary residence of Esarhaddon about 670 B.C. Excavators agree that the acropolis was in an earlier period a small town in itself, which gradually grew to greater proportions. This is one of the few sites where three building periods are evident, one upon the other. It is recognized as originally Hittite by its sculpture, which includes an eagle-headed creature with human body and limbs, clad in a short Hittite tunic. There were also several figures with toes turned up in characteristic Hittite style and a horse-rider with a face that showed definite Hittite features.

Not far to the northeast lies Kara-burshlu on one of the slopes of the Amanus range, only a few miles from the extreme northeast corner of the Mediterranean (today called the Gulf of Iskenderun). At the top of a high knoll a carved representation of a ceremonial feast was found, and near it a part of the pedestal upon which it probably once stood. It contains the figures of two female Hittites sitting at a table facing each other, holding cups in their hands and wearing Hittite clothing, including again the shoes with up-turned toes and a cylindrical cap, two features by which Hittite monuments can be recognized with certainty. Between the two figures was a six-line inscription, which, however, is in poor state of preservation except at the edges. The present whereabouts of the stone are unknown, but casts of it are in the Berlin museum.

Sakje-Geuzi is in the same valley as Sinjirli, and like

it contains a walled citadel and ^{the} foundations of a palace with a sculptured portico. From the walls of the chief's house came three sculptured stone decorations depicting a lion hunt in which the king is participating. A new element is brought in when the king is singled out by a winged solar disk. The disk is a symbol of priesthood, and it indicates that the ruler was both king and priest of the town. The monuments of Sakje-Geuzi are considered by some to be of a later date than the others, probably from the time of Sargon, judging from Assyrian influences.*

A much more important center of the Syrian period of the Hittite history is Marash, at the foot of the Taurus Mts. It is situated at the junction of a number of important trade routes, and judging from the remains, it must have been one of the more important centers of the Hittites, a royal seat of even greater prominence than Sinjirli. The acropolis was entered through a gateway into which two lions had been built, one of them freely inscribed with Hittite characters which covered the entire body and even the legs. These inscriptions have been deciphered by Dr. Sayce; he claims that these lions were carved by the Hittite king of the district, who at the same time had made himself the religious leader of the people.** He refers to himself as the "dirk-bearer", "citizen of Marash", "royal lord of these lands", "king of the lands of the god", "chief of the men of the corn land", etc.

* Garstang: "Land of the Hittites", P. 109.

** Idem.

His position as highpriest may also be indicated by the fact that he calls his subjects by the religious name "children of the gods", and not, from the secular viewpoint, as citizens of the state. In a nearby vineyard potsherds and lance heads were also found, which is more or less unique among the monuments of the Hittites.

Perhaps the strongest and most important Hittite settlement in the south was Carchemish on the upper Euphrates. Carchemish was a trade city, mentioned in the records of Egypt as early as about 1480 B.C.; no doubt the Hittites established themselves there as a link between their northern capital Boghaz Keui and Mesopotamia. It held a strategic position, fortified by nature on several fronts, and was therefore a spot coveted by its enemies. Here was a walled and fortified city on the banks of a river, protected by ditches and ramparts, enclosing a high acropolis, a city so strong that it defied the attacks of the Pharaohs and resisted the Assyrians even after the Hittite power had passed its zenith. Heavy walls and fortifications were found here, as well as palaces and houses, lengthy inscriptions in Hittite characters, numerous tablets and fragments, sculptured stones, two stelae, figures of gods and lions, and many other signs of permanent establishment and power. This Hittite city, which today exists as Jerablus, was able to retain its independence until 717 B.C., when the Assyrians under Sargon II succeeded in taking it and thereby dealing the death blow to Hittite power.

In the entire mountainous Taurus region in east-central
PRITZLAFF MEMORIAL LIBRARY
— CONCORDIA SEMINARY
ST. LOUIS, MO.

Asia Minor there are sites which were unmistakably Hittite in origin; and this region, just north of Syria, is taken by some to be the center and focus of all the Hittite lands. The nature of the terrain makes exploration extremely difficult, and it is impossible to know just how much of Hittite remains might be hidden in this region. At least eleven sites, however, are clearly indicated, including such comparatively large towns as Malatia, Palanga, Gurun, Kurubel, and others. At Kurubel an altar decorated with lions was unearthed, with an inscription in the Hittite language; at Palanga a carved lion and a columnar figure also inscribed; at Malatia three reliefs of a lion hunt, a stag hunt, and a ceremonial feast, four reliefs with deities and oblation scenes, and other Hittite remains. All of these indicate an age prior to that of Carchemish.

Even in lower Galilee Hittite evidences have been found. The entire region was dominated by the fortress of Hattin, on the ancient road from Egypt to Damascus. It is protected by great ramparts of stone, part of which show Hittite handiwork. A little farther north on the same road, at the northwestern corner of the Sea of Galilee, an inscription has just recently been found in which Thutmose III tells of his victory over the Mittanian-Hittites, which shows that already in the 15th century B.C. the Hittites were a power in Palestine.

One of the strangest of Hittite monuments is to be found far to the west on Mt. Sipylos, a few miles from the Aegean Sea. High up on the mountainside is a giant sculpture, about

-9-

30 feet high, in a recess specially prepared for it. It was already mentioned in the writings of antiquity, and was no doubt the rock image of the Mother-goddess(Ma) of the Hittites; it is the figure of a woman sitting on a stool, the head inclined forward as though looking down upon the worshippers below. This statue has its counterpart in the Hittite sculptures at Eyuk, near Boghaz Keui. A few of the symbols of the inscription can be recognized, especially the characteristic Hittite shoe. The old Greek writer Pausanias describes this Hittite monument when he says, "This Niobe* I myself saw when I ascended Mt. Sipylos; close at hand it is merely a rock and a cliff, with no resemblance to a woman, mourning or otherwise; but if you stand farther off, you will think that you see a weeping woman bowed with grief.** Not far away, at Karabel is a similar, but smaller, statue of a Hittite soldier in full armor which also originally stood in a recess in the rock mountainside. It is identified as Hittite by the conical hat.

These are only a few of the many Hittite cities that have been discovered. Remains have been found from Lachish in southern Palestine to the Black Sea, and from ancient Niniveh on the Tigris to Mt. Sipylos and Kara-bel on the Aegean. Northern Syria, the Taurus region, and central Asia Minor are the most prolific sources of Hittite evidences, the greatest and most important finds being at Boghaz Keui. In general two building periods are shown by the monuments, one

* This figure had been mistaken by Homer, Ovid, and Sophocles as the Niobe of Greek mythology.

** Pausanias, tr. Frazer, I.XXI, 3, quoted by Garstang in "Land of the Hittites", p. 169.

resembling in symbolism and construction the later finds of Singirli and Sakje-Geuzi, and the other like the older palaces and sculpture of Boghaz Keui, which will be taken up presently.

One thing that has struck investigators is the fact that practically all the monuments are of stone. Prof. Garstang warns* that the objects of bronze, pottery, ceramics, seals, etc. ought to be included only with caution, since it is not certain that such remains come to us from the Hittites. Pottery, usually in animal form, a few painted vases, and neolithic pottery decorated with incisions, and a few seals of ivory, silver, and stone, have in a general way been attributed to the Hittites, but this association cannot be established with certainty. Most of the monuments of Syria pertain to the period of decline, after 1200 B.C., when the bonds of the strong Empire had been broken; of the earlier period only a few remains are to be found in the south. Although it is possible to trace the invasions of the 14th century as far as Palestine, there is no evidence of permanent occupation, or even direct administration, by the old Empire.

Beyond a doubt the most important of all Hittite finds was the discovery by Prof. Winckler of Berlin of the royal archives and library of the kings of the great empire at Boghaz Keui in Asia Minor, about 150 miles inland south of Sinope, a port on the south shore of the Black Sea. Different

* Ibid. p. 82.

travellers had already noted that here must have been an extensive city with large buildings and much decoration. In 1906 Prof. Hugo Winckler excavated the site in connection with the authorities of the Turkish Museum at Constantinople, and discovered two building blocks at the foot of a fortified acropolis, decorated with sculpture and hieroglyphics of familiar Hittite style; digging farther he unearthed a complete city, one and one-fourth miles in length from north to south, surrounded by a circuit of defenses about three miles long. The 14 foot wall was built of stones fitted together without mortar, and in spots was still standing to a height of 12 feet. A number of forts were found at strategic points around the city. In an early palace and elsewhere on the site numerous* whole and fragmentary tablets of brick were found which had once belonged to the kings of the Hittites. They seem to have been collected by order of the kings and carefully classified and arranged. Some of these tablets are documents or copies of documents of the early kings, and relate to the beginnings of Hittite history, but most of them refer to the Imperial Age of Subbiluḫuma and his successors and include fragments of diplomatic correspondence with the Pharaohs of Egypt and other oriental monarchs of the 14th and 13th century before Christ. They suddenly come to an end about 1200 B.C. at the time of the fall of Boghaz Keui, or Pteria, as it was called at one time. These tablets were probably collected about 1300 B.C. to form the

* The number of tablets found is given variously. Cowley in "The Hittites", P.6 places the number at 20,000. Hrozny in the "Ency. Brit.", P. 600 states the figure at 10,000. And-

official library of the Hittite king.

Some of the Boghaz Keui tablets are written in the Babylonian language, which was at the time the common medium of diplomatic communication. These tablets can be read with certainty. But many of them are written in the Hittite language in cuneiform characters, and their decipherment was a more difficult matter. Another group was written in six or seven dialects* related to the Hittite, but differing slightly from one another. Among the discoveries is the copy of the important treaty between the Hittite king and Ramses II of Egypt, the original of which has been found among the Tell-el-Amarna letters. Another, curiously enough, seems to be a letter sent by the widow of Tutankhaman, in which she invites the Hittite king to send one of his sons for her to marry, now that the young husband had left her a widow.** The discovery of these documents and their partial decipherment is highly important, because they reveal a great deal of history, some geographical details, the religion and ritual of the people, literary works by famous authors of the day, bits of scientific knowledge***, the Gilgamesh Epic translated into the Hittite language, and a code of laws. The tablets have received the confirmation of the monuments of Assyria and Egypt. With the help of these tablets Dr.

Dr. Sayce in "The Hittites", P. 207, says that 20,000 of them are at Berlin, and many more at the Museum at Constantinople.

* Hrozný ("Ency. Brit.", XI, 600) one of the greatest of decipherers, lists six allied dialects; Marston in "New Bible Evidences" speaks of a total of eight.

** From Egyptian history we know that this request was honored, but the intended bridegroom was killed on the way.

*** One of these tablets records the science of breeding horses!

Winckler was able to establish the names and succession of the kings to whom the archives belonged and their successors, including some of the greatest kings of the entire Hittite history.

It may be well to mention also the Tell-el-Amarna letters, found in 1888 in the Egyptian city of that name. Though these are altogether Egyptian in character, there are some documents among the 300 found that shed light on the Hittites. The letters, written in Babylonian cuneiform, record the dealings of the Pharaohs with the kings and rulers of Asia and the vassal-kings of Palestine and Syria. From the appeals of the latter for help we are able to follow the advance of the Hittites as they enlarged their empire and forced their way to the south.

From the documents which have been found, we have gained a fairly clear picture of the members of this race. Hittite portraits have come down to us from two sources, whose agreement are a reliable proof of their accuracy. On the one hand we have the pictures drawn by the Egyptians during the 18th and 19th dynasties (1580-1150 B.C.); on the other hand we find them in the hieroglyphics and sculptures of the Hittites themselves. Prof. A.H. Sayce in his "Higher Criticism" and the Monuments" describes them in this way:*

"The face was distinguished by a retreating forehead and chin, and a large protrusive nose. It was, in fact, excessively ugly. That the ugliness cannot be ascribed to the malice of the Egyptian artists is shown by the native portraits, in which the general repulsiveness of the features is even more pronounced than it is

* P. 140.

-14-

in the pictures of their Egyptian enemies. The eyes were black and lozonge-shaped, the lips full, the beard scanty, the hair dark, and the skin yellow. Like the Chinaman, the Hittite gathered the hair behind the head into a "pig-tail". The physiological type, in short, was that of the Mongolian, in marked contrast to the Aryan type of the blond Amorite."

Some of the portraits show Hittites with three queues, one over each shoulder, and the third hanging down the back. The bulbous, prominent nose of the Hittites has led some scholars, including Dr. Breasted, to the theory that the Hittites are responsible for the hooked nose not only of the Armenians, but also of the Hebrews.**

Hittite dress was as characteristic as their facial features. It is distinguished by the use of a boot with upturned toes, a type of footwear still worn by the mountaineers of Asia Minor and Greece.** The boot is no doubt a snow-shoe, and this was taken as an indication of northern origin. Equally characteristic is the cone-shaped hat found in many Hittite representations.

It becomes apparent, even from this necessarily brief survey of Hittite monuments, that the Hittites were not merely an insignificant tribe of Canaanite warriors, as was formerly thought. Prof. Sayce relates that a distinguished scholar about 1843 discredited as impossible the Biblical account of 2 Kings 7,6, where it is stated that the Syrians encamped around Samaria were terror-stricken to hear that the king of Israel had allied himself with the king of the Hittites; he declared that the "unhistorical tone is too

* Hempl: "Mediterranean Studies", p. 25.

** Sayce: "Higher Crit.", p. 142.

manifest to allow of our easy belief in it. No Hittite kings can have compared in power with the king of Judah."* Recent finds have again vindicated the Biblical writers and proved the opposite to be the case. The Hittite Empire was so extensive and the Hittite power so great, that even the leading world powers, Egypt and Assyria, had reason to fear them. Their strength and prowess and aggressiveness made them a people to be feared by every foe for a period of 700 years.

We are indebted to decipherers like Hrozný, Forrer, Delitsch, Sayce, Jensen, and others, whose work made possible the reading of the tablets and inscriptions. Their work has given much added importance to these finds, rendered abundant proof that the Hittites were a nation on an equal with Egypt and Babylonia, and shown them to have been a nation of importance not only to the student of the Bible, but also to the student of Ancient History.

* "The Hittites", p. 11.

PART TWO: DECIPHERMENT OF THE HITTITE LANGUAGE

It is impossible at this time to cover in detail the entire scope of such a wide topic as the Hittite language; a summary of its peculiarities and a brief sketch of the methods and progress of its decipherment will suffice.

It is a curious thing that the Hittites used two entirely different types of writing, the one a cuneiform script, the other hieroglyphic. The cuneiform seems to have been the earlier of the two, since we find cuneiform script used almost exclusively in the area occupied by the Hittites in the earlier period of their history, when the capital was at Boghaz Keui. The hieroglyphics, on the other hand, are found almost without exception in the south, the center of Hittite power after the fall of Boghaz Keui. It may be argued that the hieroglyphic writing was more suitable for monuments, while cuneiform was more naturally used for literary purposes; but although this is true, Cowley* remarks that at Boghaz Keui only one inscription in hieroglyphics has been found (and that one so defaced that it is not certain that it is Hittite), and among the important sculptures there and at Eyuk nearby, there is not a single continuous line of hieroglyphic text. On the other hand, at Carchemish there are many hieroglyphic inscriptions, but hardly any cuneiform, except in commercial documents. It seems reasonable, therefore, to suppose that the cuneiform antedates the hieroglyphic form of writing by several centuries.

* "The Hittites", p. 37.

What we call cuneiform writing has been traced back by George Hempl* to "the early pictographic writing of the Sumerians of 5,000 years before Christ." The lines of which the pictograms were formed had a triangular head, made by the stylus with which the impressions were made on soft, unbaked clay. He goes on to say that

"the characters were originally arranged in perpendicular columns, as the Chinese writing, but it was early discovered that the script could be more easily read if the tablet were tilted over, so that the eye could traverse it horizontally, whereby the columns became lines, and the pictograms assumed a reclining position."**

The writing was passed from the Sumerians to their neighbors and their conquerors, the Babylonians and the Assyrians, and then it spread into all directions. By the 15th century B.C. the Assyrian cuneiform was the usual language of international correspondence. Even the Egyptian kings and their governors in Palestine and Syria used this script. The cuneiform style of writing was a very serviceable one; the Sumerians, Babylonians, and Assyrians all used it in their turn, the Cappadocians followed that method, and now the discoveries of Dr. Winckler show that the Hittites had adapted it to their language. Most of the Tellel-Amarna letters are written in cuneiform, and in Cappadocia a considerable number of such tablets have been excavated, all of a commercial character, dating from about the eleventh century before Christ.

Among the many tablets from Boghaz Keui are some fragments containing Sumerian and Akkadian words and phrases, to-

* Op. cit., P. 58.

** Idem.

gether with the Hittite equivalents written in cuneiform characters in parallel columns. There are bilingual texts in Hittite and Assyrian, as well as comparative dictionaries. All this, with the help of ideographs, which are numerous in the religious texts, has made possible the decipherment of the language and a simple grammar and vocabulary; a large number of words and forms have been identified. It is hoped that a similar key will some day be found by which the mystery of the Hittite hieroglyphic writing can be solved.

After Prof. Winckler died in 1913 with his work on the Boghaz Keui tablets far from complete, the German Oriental Society, under whom the excavations at Boghaz Keui had been carried on, entrusted the work of publishing the Hittite archives to a group of Assyriologists headed by Prof. Hrozný of the University of Prague, one of the greatest of all Hittite decipherers. Hrozný used only the unilingual texts beginning his work from the ground up, as though nothing had been done before. He chose the texts which contained proper names and those in which Sumer-Babylonian ideographs were used most frequently. (Some such ideographs had been taken over by the Hittites and used as a part of the cuneiform script). Comparing the cuneiform characters with the names of known kings at the time, as they were written in the Assyrian inscriptions, and in other ways determining the value of signs, Hrozný was able to reconstruct the Hittite language to such an extent that he could compile a simple Hittite grammar. Many of the word forms of the language could be identified, and Hrozný built up the theory that Hittite was

an Indo-European language, in fact, that it belonged to the western half of the Indo-European family. He found that it was more closely related to Greek, Latin, and the Teutonic languages than to the Slavonic, Armenian, or Persian. The declension of the noun and the general scheme of the verb conjugations are much like the Indo-European. About the same time George Hempl in a paper presented at Stanford University in 1913 showed that in his opinion the Hittite language of the cuneiform texts was a form of Doric Greek, brought in by Greek invaders at a very early date.*

The first clue came when Hrozný noted that the Hittite has a present participle ending in the nominative singular masculine in "-anza" and in the other cases in "-ant" and "-and", much like the Latin "-nt". (Compare the Latin "ferens, ferentis" and the Greek "φερον, φεροντες".) As his research went on he was able to reconstruct the complete paradigm of the Hittite participle. Most of the cases compare more or less closely with Indo-European forms, particularly the Latin and Greek. The declension of the principle cases of "khumanza", "all": **

	<u>Singular</u>	
	<u>Masc. and Fem.</u>	<u>Neut.</u>
Nom.	Khûmanza (ferens)	Khûman (φερον)
Gen.	Khûmandash (ferentis, φεροντες)	
Dat.	Khûmanti (ferenti, φεροντε)	
Acc.	Khûmandan (ferentem, χεροναν)	Khûman (φερον)
	<u>Plural</u>	
	<u>Masc. and Fem.</u>	<u>Neut.</u>
Nom.	Khûmanteš (ferentes, φεροντες)	Khûmanda (φεροντα)

* Op. cit., p. 10.

** Hrozný, Op. cit., p. 600.

Gen. Khûmandash

Dat. Khûmandash

Acc. Khûmandash (lupos, λυκος) Khûmanda (γεγοντα)

The verb, like the participle, compares favorably with the Indo-European verbs in form. It is particularly close to the Sanskrit, as a paradigm of the Present Indicative Active of "jami", "I make", will show: *

	Hittite	Sanskrit	Greek
Sg. 1.	jami	yâmi	τιθημι
2.	jashi	yâsi	τιθης
3.	jazi	yâti	τιθησι
Pl. 1.	javeni	yâmah (Dual:yuvah)	τιθεμεν
2.	jatteni	yâtha	τιθετε
3.	janzi	yânti	τιθεασι (τιθεντι)

Perhaps the greatest similarity to the Indo-European is to be found in the Hittite pronoun. Hrozný has identified Hittite pronouns with Latin, Greek, Gothic, low and high German, English, and other languages. Compare, for instance, the following, which are only a few of the many in Hrozný's list:*/

uga-"I"-ego(Lat),
ammug-"to me"-εμυγι (Grk)
anzâsh-"us"-uns (Ger.)
shumêsh-"you"-υμεις (Grk)
kuish-"who, which"-quis (Latin)
kuit-"what"-quid-(Lat)
kuish kuish-"whoever"-quisquis (Lat)
kuit kuit-"whatever"-quidquid (Lat)

Several other dialects are also noted among the writings of Boghaz Keui, chief of which is the Khattish. Several bilingual texts of litanies are found, in which the Khattish text is placed side by side with its Hittite equivalent. The
** Ibid., 601.

dialect is distinguished by the use of prefixes in the oblique forms of the verb and some noun forms, where most languages generally use suffixes. For instance, the plural of "binu", "child", is "le-binu".

The Luish dialect is very closely related to the Hittite and is found on only a few of the Boghaz Keui tablets, though it seems to have been an important language of a neighboring tribe. The Hittites used singers of the Luish people in their temple services. Another main dialect is the Khurriish which is probably more closely related to that of the Mitanni of the Tigris and Euphrates valley than to the Indo-European languages. A number of litanies and prayers in the Khurriish dialect are extant.

More interesting, perhaps, because of the difficulty of decipherment is the hieroglyphic writing of the Hittites. Comparing the finds of Syria and those at Boghaz Keui, it has been noted that the cuneiform from all appearances is the older of the scripts, almost all of the literary finds of Boghaz Keui being of that kind. There is fairly definite proof, however, that the hieroglyphics were used as far back as the 14th century B.C. At Boghaz Keui a tablet has been unearthed which contains the seal of King Shappiluliumash (ca. 1385 B.C.), the legend of which is written in cuneiform as well as in hieroglyphics. In fact the writing may date from a still earlier period, as is indicated by its use in the old Hittite sanctuary Yasili Kaya, near the Hittite capital. Hrozný therefore has placed the invention of this writ-

ing into the first half of the second millennium^{BC} before Christ.

The Hittite and Egyptian hieroglyphics seem at a glance to be very similar; but an inspection of the ideographs shows that the Hittites could not have borrowed their method of writing from the Egyptians, tho the idea may have come from them. The two forms of writing are entirely different and distinct.

The Hittite characters are used in a number of ways, sometimes as ideographs to express whole ideas, sometimes phonetically to express syllables, sounds, or letters, and sometimes as determinatives to denote the class of the word to which they are attached. For instance, the name of a king may be attached to the determinative which indicates that the word carrying a determinative is the name of a royal personage. In this script each pictogram is a crude picture of some object and is intended to bring to the mind of the reader not necessarily the object depicted, but more often the initial sound or sounds of the name of the object, as though we were to use the picture of a cat, a turtle, and a pillar to spell out the word "caterpillar".* One of the most common of Hittite characters represents the boot or snowshoe with upturned toes, which, as was mentioned, many have taken as an indication of northern ancestry. The ideograph which denotes "country" is a picture of the mountainous peaks of Cappadocia, and from this it seems that this system of writing originated in Cappadocia rather than in Syria or Palestine,

* Hempl*, Op. cit., 9.

where many hieroglyphics have been found. No doubt the Hittites originated their own system of writing, although it is possible that the idea of writing by that method was suggested to them by the Egyptians, just as

"a Cherokee Indian in North America, who had seen the books of the white man, was thereby led to devise an elaborate mode of writing for his countryman. So too we may imagine that the sight of the hieroglyphics of Egypt and the knowledge that thoughts could be conveyed by them suggested to some Hittite genius the idea of inventing similar means of intercommunication for his people." *

In simple words, then, the general appearance of the characters that express the Hittite language is similar to some extent to the Egyptian hieroglyphics, but the language itself is far different, so that the ability to read and interpret the Egyptian would be of no help in deciphering the Hittite.

The Hittite texts are distinguished by severable remarkable characteristics. In the older inscriptions the signs are invariably carved in relief, and it is only in the later texts that they are incised. The lines read alternately from right to left and left to right (boustrophedon), the direction in which the characters look determining the direction in which they were written and in which they are to be read. Another characteristic is the frequent use of the heads of animals, birds, and men. It is rare that the entire body of an animal is drawn; the head alone was considered sufficient.

The problem of deciphering this writing is a very difficult one, and one which is far from completely solved even

* Sayce: "The Hittites", P. 169.

after many years of labor. In the Schweich Lectures for 1918 Dr. Cowley of Oxford states that he could not with certainty translate a single sentence of Hittite hieroglyphics.* In deciphering any language, two things must be considered, first, the value of the signs, and secondly, the nature of the language. In deciphering the Egyptian hieroglyphics, or the Assyrian cuneiform the value of the signs was unknown, but as soon as some of them were established, the language quickly emerged, in each case it was found to be similar to a known language. In other instances the language was unknown, but the alphabet was familiar to a great extent, as was the case with the Lydian and Etruscan. But in hieroglyphic Hittite the decipherers were confronted with two unknown quantities, - signs which could not be read and a language which could not be recognized. In 1925 Dr. Sayce wrote that only about 200 characters were known to exist**, and even in 1937, twelve years later, Hrozný*** mentioned a similar number. The comparative scarcity of characters may be due to some extent to the fact that as a rule only the suffixes were expressed phonetically, while the stems or roots of the words were denoted by ideograms.

Much ingenuity has been used in solving this linguistic puzzle. The task is especially difficult because there are only a very few bilingual inscriptions to be had, and even these are too short and fragmentary to be of any great value.

No "Rosetta Stone" has as yet been found, but the work is

* Op. cit., 48

** The Hittites, P. 170.

*** Op. cit., 600.

steadily progressing, and it is hoped that in time the entire problem will be solved.

Attempts at decipherment were made by many scholars, -- by Conder, Peiser, Jensen, and others, -- but they all failed, partly because of the inaccurate material on hand, and partly because of fundamentally defective methods. It was Sayce who first made real advances, after working for 40 years on the problem.

A bilingual seal, usually called the boss of Tarkondemos, was the starting point. This was a round seal of silver, with a cuneiform legend around the edge and some Hittite signs and a figure in the middle. Even this presented a difficulty, because the cuneiform could be read in various ways, depending upon the starting point and the value given to the signs. When this was fairly definitely established, it presented at least a small basis on which to build. Tentative values were given to several ideograms, including those for "city" and "country", although it was not known how they were pronounced. In addition, Sayce pointed out the usual sign for "god" and "king", generally found on sculptures over the figures which represented monarchs and deities.

Since decipherers had no knowledge of the language, it was best for them to begin with proper names. But it was not easy to say which group of signs out of an unintelligible mass was a name. Two factors helped to clear this situation just a little. For one thing, it was reasonable to suppose that a group of signs which contained the determinative for "king" "god", "country", or "city" would be a proper noun. If the

sign for "city", for instance, stood just before or after a group of signs, it was reasonable to suppose that those signs spelled the name of a city, especially if the same combination was found repeatedly. Or if the determinative for "king" was found in such a connection, the group was either the name of the ruler or of the place where he ruled. The second help was the discovery of a small sign which in some texts was used as a word divider, by which it became possible to divine a long line of symbols into the groups which formed words.

One of the most favorable place names was a group of characters found ten times in Carchemish and never in any other inscriptions. This was correctly taken to be the name of the city Carchemish, and with this find, three more values were added to the six taken from the boss of Tarkendemos and the four discovered by Sayce, making a total of thirteen signs whose values were more or less definitely known. These values in turn were applied to other inscriptions, notably the writing on the two lions found at Marash. In both of these inscriptions occurs a group of signs not found elsewhere which was preceded by the sign for "city". As expected, the groups proved to be the name of the city where they were found. And so the list was once more increased.

Thus the work went on, the known signs being constantly applied to new inscriptions and new values being discovered. Comparisons with other ancient languages of the time, together with a knowledge of the oriental sentence structure and the way of speaking, has brought about the partial decipherment

of these Hittite hieroglyphics. Not enough is as yet known about the language to determine its fundamental character. It is expected that the Hittite hieroglyphic language is the same as the cuneiform, or at least very similar to it, but yet there is definitely a difference between them, according to the best scholars. There is no family of languages, either Semitic or Indo-European, that has any evident connection with the Hittite.

There is still much, both of cuneiform and of hieroglyphic, that has not as yet been published. Perhaps by the time all the material now on hand has been studied and published, enough will be known about the language to warrant our calling the Hittite a known language, reclaimed from the obscurity into which it had fallen in the course of years.

PART THREE: A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE HITTITES

Strange to say, even before a single Hittite inscription could be read, a fairly definite history of this people had been reconstructed. At present there are two main sources of such knowledge, the annals of Babylonia and Assyria and Egypt, and the monuments and the language of the Hittites themselves.

The Hittites make their first appearance in history at the time of Sargon of Akkad, about 2700 B.C. Among the records recovered from the house of the Hittite ambassador at Tell-el-Amarna is the report of a Babylonian expedition into the Hittite territory, not in conquest, but on a botanical mission; the chief object seems to have been the transportation of the pomegranate, the vine, and the rose to Babylon.

Shortly after, several small city-states of northeastern Asia Minor banded together against the Babylonian monarch, including that headed by "Pamba, king of the Hittites". This confederacy was overthrown after three campaigns, however, and the allies were forced to sue for peace and send tribute to the Babylonians.

The origin of the Hittite nation is obscure. There are indications that the original Khatti or Hittites were in Asia Minor early as the fourth millenⁿium before Christ.* The frequent appearance of the snowshoe in their writing and sculpture argues a northern mountainous origin, and it is generally accepted that this region was the Taurus range in eastern Asia Minor, and before that, the region of the Caucasus, between

* These dates, especially the early ones, are only conjecture. There is no way in which they can be definitely fixed.

-29-

the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea. There may be a clue in the possible link between the use of the horse by the Hittites as early as the beginning of the second millen^{ium} B.C. and the antiquity of the remains of horses found in the mounds of Turkestan.* It is thought quite possible that the Hittites migrated from Europe, first going East, and then southwest into Asia Minor. George Hempl's suggestion that the Hittite language was originally Doric Greek might lead us to believe that the Hittites, like the later Greeks, migrated by a direct route to Asia Minor, but there is no evidence to support this assumption. However, if we remember that the Aryan invaders crossed northeastern Asia Minor on their way to India and Persia, it is reasonable to say that the Hittites also may have left central Europe and strayed far to the east before turning south and west, and thus making their way into Asia Minor by way of the Caucasus. At any rate, they were an important people as early as 2000 B.C., and we know that there was, even at this early time, a group of Hittites as far south as Hebron in Palestine, for it was from them that Abraham bought the tomb of Machpelah at the death of his wife Sarah.**

By 2300 B.C. the Semitic Assyrians were established in Asia Minor, and the city of Kanes, which possibly stood at the place now known as Eruk, near Boghaz Keui, was an important trade center. Valuable copper, lead, and silver mines were being worked in the Taurus region by the Babylonians

* Garstang: "Land of the Hittites", 321.

** Gen. 23.

through their agents. Meanwhile, the Hittite state was slowly developing into an empire which later had its capital at Boghaz Keui, which they called Khattusas, "the Hittite city", a name which also signifies "Silvertown". Boghaz Keui was a trade center and the meeting place of merchants from all over the world. This may to some extent at least account for the heterogeneous character of the Hittite language.

Among the Boghaz Keui tablets was one whose historical value for many years was not fully appreciated. Only recently Dr. Hrozný was able to decipher the entire tablet, and he recognized that the author of it, the ancient king Anittas, wrote on it a story which gives us an insight into the origin of one of the oldest city-states of the Hittites in Asia Minor and the rise of the oldest Hittite Empire, which gradually developed from these city-states. Anittas relates that his father, Pithanas, who lived and ruled about the year 1960 B.C., established his capital at the city of Nesas, on the River Halys, and from there entered upon victorious campaigns in all directions. Anittas succeeded his father on the throne and proved himself to be an even greater conqueror. He was victorious in his battle against the original inhabitants of Khattusas, leveling the city with the ground and cursing the king who would colonize it in the future. In the course of time Anittas pushed back the Assyrians and conquered the whole of Asia Minor.*

Under his successors the Hittite power continued to in-

* For a more detailed description of this tablet, see Hrozný's account in the *Evangelical Quarterly*, II, 120-127.

crease. The earliest known eastern inscription that refers to the Hittites is a Babylonian chronicle which says, "Against Shamsuditana the men of the country the Khattu marched."* This king was the last one of the first dynasty of Babylonia, and his rule ceased in 1924 B.C. Taking advantage of the weakened condition of Babylon, which had suffered from the constant attacks of rival kings, the Hittites swooped down upon it and actually succeeded in overthrowing Samsuditana about the year 1924 B.C.** The invaders even carried off the statue of the god Marduk. It is very likely that the Hittites even at this early time had already begun to spread southward, attracted by the wealth and trading possibilities of Mesopotamia, and did not conduct the campaign against Babylonia from so distant a base as Boghaz Keui. Vassal kings were appointed at Aleppo, Carchemish, and other cities in Asia Minor and Syria.

Sometime between the conquest of Babylonia and about 1600 B.C. Hittite power must have waned. Thotmes II of Egypt about 1600 found no Hittites in Palestine or Syria; he marched his armies to the Euphrates, and this territory is described as being "in front of the land of the Hittites." They must, therefore, have been pushed back into Asia Minor by this time. They are not mentioned as having taken part in the great battle of Megiddo fought by Thotmes III, whose armies reached the Euphrates and conquered the people of Mesopotamia. But in his later years the Hittites must have

* Quoted in the American Journal of Archaeology, XXXVI, 2, 68.

** Hrozný dates this event at 1758 B.C., almost 200 years later, and Sayce, 1875 B.C.

regained their power to some extent, so that the pharaoh had to overpower them; he tells us that he twice (1470 and 1463 B.C.) received tribute from the king of the Hittites "the greater" and we further judge from this that there were a number of Hittite kings at this time.

Some years later, however, Amenhotep IV entered into a matrimonial alliance with the king of Mesopotamia, who by this time may have himself have been a Hittite.* His marriage with the Mesopotamian princess brought into Egypt a new religion, since she refused to worship the Amon of Thebes and adored the solar disk, the symbol of her former god. This symbol has been found as far north as Boghaz Keui. Her son, Amenophis IV, was educated in the faith of his mother, and during his reign he tried to force the new religion onto his people, setting up a new city, Tell-el-Amarna, as the center of this cult. From the letters recently recovered from the ruins of this city we are able to trace the rising power of the Hittites. Some of the letters were written by the rulers of Egyptian dependencies in Palestine and Syria, in which the vassal kings begged the Egyptian Pharaoh for reinforcements against the Hittites, who were pressing down upon them from the north. One by one the Egyptian fortresses in Syria fell into the hands of the Hittites. The internal discord in Egypt caused by the heresy of Amenophis IV prevented the Egyptians from sending help to the beleaguered cities, and the Hittite invaders were able to take all Syria and to push down into the land of the Amorites in northern Palestine. One of their

* Price: "Monuments and the Old Testament", P. 166.

generals, Aita-gama, took Pethor, the home of Balaam*, and then went on to Kadesh, which he took away permanently from the hands of Egypt. Kadesh became one of the strongest seats of Hittite power and influence. From here independent bands of Hittites went farther and established themselves with the sword in various parts of Palestine, while Egypt was too weak to expel them.

It was the great warrior-king Subbiluliuma who about 1400 B.C., with the aid of the Habiru (probably the Confederates mentioned in the Tell el-Amarna Letters) and his Amorite allies, completed the conquest of Syria and Palestine. By a brilliant campaign he overran the land of the Mitanni in Mesopotamia and established his suzerainty over the whole eastern area. The story of his conquest is told us in parallel both in the Tell el-Amarna Letters and in the archives at Boghaz Keui. During this century of Hittite history the nation reached the zenith of its power. Tutankhamon, whose tomb was unearthed less than twenty years ago, partially restored the old religion in Egypt, and began to gain power against the Hittites, but he died before he could reclaim the lost territories.

By the time of Ramses I, the founder of the 19th dynasty of Egyptian rulers, the Hittites had made such progress that Ramses was forced to conclude a treaty, first with Sapalel (cuneiform Subbiluliuma) and then with Maurusar (Musar), and thus to recognize the Hittite power as an equal to that of Egypt.

* Numb. 22,5.

Seti I, the successor to Ramses I, revived the power of his country to such an extent that he was able to drive back the Hittites until he finally took Kadesh by storm in a night attack. War between the Hittites and Egypt continued for half a century, leaving Egypt utterly exhausted and ready to make peace again. But Seti once more gained power and won back the territory up to Lebanon, where he was received with acclaim by the people, who cut down their cedars for his Nile fleet. When Seti died the Hittites were again in possession of Kadesh, and the war continued with Ramses II, Seti's successor. During Ramses' long reign the war went on with varying success. The chief result of this long drawn out struggle was the disaster that it brought upon the Canaanite cities, which were repeatedly sacked, first by the Hittites, and then by the Egyptians.

In 1287 Mutallu, king of the Hittites, summoned troops from all parts of the realm and the two great armies, Hittite and Egyptian, met at Kadesh on the Orontes and fought the most decisive battle of the entire century's warfare. Ramses was lead by treacherous Arab guides into an ambushade, but he was able to extricate himself by great personal prowess, an event which has been immortalized in an Egyptian epic. The Hittites outmaneuvered the Egyptians and broke up part of their formation and almost captured Ramses himself. The arrival of reinforcements saved the day for the Egyptians; Ramses was rescued and the battle ended in a draw. Both sides lost heavily, and the leader of the Hittites was assassinated.

Finally, in the 21st year of Ramses*, an offensive and defensive treaty was made with Khattusil; this is the first international treaty whose text has come down to us in detail. The original of this document was written in the Babylonian language, which was still the language of diplomacy. The treaty seems to have been dictated by the Hittite king, but the terms indicate that he did not lean toward his own interests, but made the treaty reciprocal in every point. The treaty was sent by messengers to Ramses, who had come part way to meet them. The gift which Ramses gave them in return, whatever it may have been, was his indication that he accepted the terms of the treaty. The document was later translated into the Egyptian and inscribed on the wall of the temple at Karnak. Recently a copy of the treaty in the original language was found at Boghaz Keui; the survival of both copies of this treaty is a proof of the importance that was assigned to it by the two parties.

In the first part of the treaty the contracting parties are identified, and mention is made of the former treaties between the two nations. For permanent peace it was decided that "the great prince of the Hittites shall never invade the land of Egypt to carry anything away thence; and the great king of Egypt shall never invade the land of the Hittites to carry anything away thence forever."** It is added that the former treaties of Sapalul and Maurusar must remain binding and will be fulfilled. After many other details of agreement

* dated variously, -by Sayce, 1280 B.C., by Davis, 1327 B.C.; by Breasted and Garstang about 1271; etc.

** for a translation of the entire treaty see Sayce, The Hittites, pp. 40-51.

--union against aggression, treatment of slaves and fugitives, etc.-- the treaty closes with a solemn oath, and the thousand gods of the Hittites and the thousand gods of the Egyptians are called upon as witnesses to the treaty and guardians of its inviolability. "These words which are on this silver tablet for the land of Cheta and the land of Egypt,--whoso shall not keep them, him the thousand gods of the land of Cheta and the thousand gods of the land of Egypt shall afflict, together with his house, his land, and his servants. But whoso shall keep these words, be he Hittite or be he Egyptian, and shall not neglect them, on him the thousand gods of the land of Cheta and the thousand gods of the land of Egypt shall bestow health and long life, together with his offspring, his land, and his servants." The conditions of the treaty show that the "great king of the Hittites" was treated on equal terms with the "great king of Egypt", and that even Ramses the Great had to acknowledge the power of the Hittites. The treaty was sealed by the marriage of the Pharaoh to the daughter of the Hittite king. As the words of the treaty indicate, the document was engraved on a silver plate, both the reverse and the obverse being beaten into relief. In the center of the obverse was a representation of the god Sutekh embracing the Hittite king, while a line of hieroglyphics was inscribed around him. The silver plate was of rectangular shape, with a ring at the top by which it could be suspended from the wall.

An interesting observation is made by Sayce*at this point.

* Ibid. 33.

The continuous campaigns of Egypt and the Hittites across Palestine simply devastated the land, and many of the inhabitants fled to the coast cities and island fortresses like Tyre. Immediately after the death of Ramses the Great the Israelites appealed to his successor Merneptah for freedom from oppression and were soon after miraculously delivered by the hand of God from the Egyptian yoke. When they came forty years later, they did not meet the opposition of large Hittite armies there, because the Hittites were now at peace; on the other hand, the native tribes had not yet recovered sufficiently from the ravages of the Hittite-Egyptian wars to withstand them successfully. When Joshua led the Israelites into Palestine, he found there a disunited powerless people and a country exhausted from wars and not prepared to resist new invaders. They may serve to explain why the Canaanites offered so little resistance to the invading Hebrews. *

The treaty between Ramses and Khattusil seems to have been honored as long as the Hittites retained their power. But although the evidence of discoveries at Bethshean, Schechem,

* This assumption can be held only if the date of the Exodus from Egypt is set after 1300 B.C. O.C. Whitehead, quoted in the "Encyclopedia of Classified Dates", fixes the date of the Exodus at 1320 B.C.; Mariette places the Exodus at 1280 and the entry into Canaan at 1240; Davis in the "Bible Dictionary" makes it one year before the Mariette's time. But Usher is much earlier, fixing the Exodus at 1491 B.C. and the entry into Canaan at 1451. If Usher is correct, then of course the assumption of Sayce cannot be maintained; but if the Exodus came later, the point of Sayce is well taken.

Jerusalem, and Gerar indicates that the Hittites controlled Palestine, their absolute dominion lasted only a short time due to the press of invasions from the north.

About 1200 B.C. tribes of Indo-Europeans crossed over into Asia Minor and slowly began to drive back the Hittite borders. After a long struggle the Hittite capital at Boghaz Keui had to be surrendered to the invaders. The Dardani of Troy, once the allies of the Hittites, fell before the Greeks, and their city was taken in the Trojan war, immortalized in the Iliad.* The movement continued to sweep on, and the Hittites were forced by the pressure to retreat to the south. They were no longer a united nation under one head, and therefore could not present a unified and solid front. Cowley finds a further reason for the transfer of Hittite power to the south in the development of trade with Mesopotamia, which therefore made the center at Carchemish more valuable than the old capital. It is at the destruction of the palace at Boghaz Keui about 1200 B.C. that the Hittite records, which have been so useful to modern investigators, come to an end.

One of the chief invading tribes was that of the Moschians (the Moschians of classical geography, and the Mushka of the Assyrian monuments) who established a second Hittite empire on the ruins of the old, and rebuilt the city of Boghaz Keui as their capital renaming it Pteria.** The Moschians have been identified with the Phrygians. It was the Moscho-Hittites who

* Garstang: "Hittite Empire", p.10.

** According to Herodotus(1,76), this city fell about 550 B.C. before Croesus of Lydia(Garstang, "Land of the Hittites", 197)

left most, if not all, of the hieroglyphic texts, and this accounts for the fact that the Hittite cuneiform and hieroglyphic languages are not exactly the same. It is significant also that the later portraits of Hittites at Carchemish and elsewhere are of a different style from the earlier representations. They are of an Armanoid type, similar to the modern Armenians. Webster thinks that it is to these Moscho-Hittites that the modern Turks trace their spiritual and in part their racial lineage.*

The most active centers of Hittite influence were now in the north of Syria, and included such cities as Hamath, Malatia, Carchemish, Marash, and others. These were the homes of the Hittite kings whose fame in war was echoed in the historical books of the Old Testament. In the tenth century before Christ the Phrygians seem to have withdrawn before the reviving power of the Hittites, who to some extent recovered their power and influence, as well as their independence. But although alliances are on record between neighboring Hittite states, there was no able leader to reunite them into an empire. When the Muschki, or Moschians, gathered their strength, they appeared again, this time pressing down to the Euphrates and Syria. Together with the steady influx of Arameans they threatened to wipe out completely the old Hittite stock.

From the middle of the ninth century the struggle of weakened Hittites against the growing power of Assyria was renewed, and it was this that led them eventually to their doom. Again

* stated in painting a background for his biography, The Turkey of Ataturk, P. 7.

and again expeditions were sent out against them by the Assyrian rulers, who claim in their annals to have conquered Hittite centers and demanded tribute. But the Hittites were always able to throw off the Assyrian yoke. From the Vatican manuscript of the Septuagint we learn that the correct translation of the mysterious "land of the Tahtim-hodshi" of 2 Sam. 24,6 is really the "land of the Hittites of Kadesh"*, and from this we conclude that even at the time of David the Hittites still controlled that city. Hamath too was still in Hittite hands, and its king, Toi, was anxious to make a treaty with David.** In the south of Palestine there were Hittites living in the mountains along with the Amorites. They had inhabited that place for many years; we know from Scripture that both the Amorites and the Hittites shared in the foundation of Jerusalem.*** We remember further that Uriah the Hittite was one of the chief officers of David, and his wife, Bathsheba, was not only the mother of Solomon, but also the distant ancestress of Christ.

But although the Hittites at that time still maintained their identity, it was not to be for long. Late in the 8th century before Christ, Sargon II, successor to Shalmaneser II, adopted a plan against them which Nebuchadnezzar later used against Palestine, namely, that of transporting large numbers of Hittites from the cities which he captured and replacing them with Assyrian colonists, so that one by one the Hittite

* Sayce, Higher Crit., p. 143.
 ** 2 Chron. 8,9.
 *** Ezek. 16,3. Perhaps those commentators are more correct, however, who interpret this passage in a spiritual sense.

centers on the frontiers were absorbed. In 717 B.C. Sargon dealt the death blow on the Hittites when he took Carchemish, and from that time on the Hittite power is definitely at an end. Although Sargon's successor, Nebuchadnezzar II (604-563), still used the name Khatti for Syria, the Hittites had by this time disappeared entirely from the map. The Hittites were a nation of the past.

The Holy Scriptures are continually being attacked on the basis of alleged unhistorical statements made by the holy writers. The fall of the walls of Jericho before Joshua's invading Israelites has been discredited as impossible, yet the archaeologists spade has uncovered ancient walls on that site which could have assumed their present position in no other way than that described in Joshua 6. The darkness that attended the Lord's death on Good Friday has been declared an impossible phenomenon, and yet writers of the day, even in Italy and Egypt, recorded an unnatural darkness that cast a gloom over their countries on the eventful day. And now once more the veracity of Scripture has been vindicated by the reconstruction of the Hittite Empire.

The evidence that has been brought forth reveals to us a nation that rose from an insignificant tribe to a mighty empire, and then declined as quickly as it has risen. Its people possessed an advanced stone age culture, according to ^{Donald F.} Daniel Webster*, and engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry; they built their houses and boats. But although they were an agricultural and trade people, their soldiers presented

* Op. cit., p.242.

an army of warriors that was justly feared by all their foes.

In spite of all that has come to light during the past half century, however, there still are many gaps in the story which we would like to see filled. The dates assigned to events still remain deductions, and the events themselves cannot be described with certainty. While the accuracy of Scripture has been maintained, the significant statement of Prof. Garstang remains true, "We are convinced that the tale is not yet told." *

* "Hittite Empire", p. 335.

Bibliography

- John Garstang Land of the Hittites
 London, 1910.
- John Garstang The Hittite Empire
 London, 1930.
- John Garstang The Foundations of Bible History
 New York, 1931.
- A. E. Cowley The Hittites
 London, 1920.
- George Cormack Egypt in Asia
 London, 1908.
- A. H. Sayce Races of the Old Testament
 London, 1925.
- A. H. Sayce Higher Criticism and the Verdict
 of the Monuments
 London, 1894.
- Ira M. Price The Monuments and the Old Testament
 Philadelphia, 1925.
- George Hæmpl Mediterranean Studies, Vol. III
 Stanford U. Press, 1931.
- Morris Jastrow Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria
 Philadelphia, 1915.
- W. Lansdall Wardle Israel and Babylon
 London, 1925.
- Donald E. Webster The Turkey of Ataturk
 Philadelphia, 1939.
- George A. Barton Archaeology and the Bible
 Philadelphia, 1937.
- J. H. Breasted History of the Ancient Egyptians
 New York, 1908.
- Chas. Marston New Bible Evidences
 New York, 1935.
- John D. Davis Dictionary of the Bible
 Westminster Press, Philadelphia, 1934.
- Little, Chas. E. Encyclopedia of Classified Dates
- Evangelical Quarterly, Vol. II (1930)
- Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. XI.
(Edition 1937)

Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. II
London, 1924.

American Journal of Archaeology, Vol. XXXVI, 2 (1932)

Chronology

- ca. 2700 B.C. Hittites first mentioned at time of Sargon of Akkad.
- 2300 " Established in Asia Minor, with capital at Kanesh, near Boghaz Keui.
- 2050 " Reign of Dudhkaliyas, possibly the Tidal of Gen. 14.
- 1960 " Pithanas enlarges Hittite holdings.
- 1930 " Anittas, his son and successor, pushes the Assyrians out of Asia Minor.
- 1924 " Hittites overthrow Samsuditana of Babylon.
- 1600 " Thotmes reports that the Hittites are still beyond Syria and Palestine.
- 1470 and 1463 B.C. Hittite power growing, but paying tribute to Egypt.
- 1450 B.C. Hittite power consolidated at Boghaz Keui.
- 1385 " Syria absorbed by the Hittites under the warrior-king Subbululiuma.
- 1375 " Tell-el-Amarna established by Amenhotep IV.
- 1330 " Building of lower palace at Boghaz Keui where the tablets were found by Winckler.
- 1287 " Battle of Kadesh.
- 1271 " Treaty between Hattusil and Ramses II.
- 1200 " Boghaz Keui falls to invaders.
- 1000 " Revival of Hittite city states.
- 717 " Fall of Carchemish.

