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HITTITE AND MITANNIAN ELEMENTS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

IN an interesting article recently published in the *Journal Asiatique* (ccix 1) M. Autran has pointed out the existence in both Hebrew and Greek, not only of substantives, but also of verbs, which have the same origin and are alike borrowed from Asia Minor. Not only words like that denoting 'wine' (*yayin*, *oïnos*, Hittite *uinis*) but verbs like אָנַר, ἀγείρω; נָטַל, θάλλω; כָּרַר, κείρω; שָׁבַן, σκηγή, admit of no scientific etymology in either Semitic or Indo-European and must be regarded as loan-words from Asianic languages. What happened in Neo-Hebrew, where Greek verbs were adopted and Hebraized, had already happened in earlier centuries.

I have already noted in the *J. T. S.* xxii 87, p. 267, some examples of borrowing on the part of Hebrew from the Hittite language. *Kohen* is the Moscho-Hittite *kuanis*, Lydian *καυειν*, Karian *κων, κοαν*. Araunah the Jebusite is the Hittite *araunis*, 'the freeman' or 'noble', and in the name of Bath-Sheba (further transformed into Bath-Sheva' in 1 Chr. iii 5) we must see the name of the Mitannian and Hittite goddess Kheba. Sheba', 'oath', and still less Sheva' has little sense in such a compound, any more than *bosheth* in a name like Mephi-bosheth, and both owe their origin to a desire to transform the name of a heathen deity into a Hebrew word of similar sound.

But I can go further than I could in 1921, and therewith throw some interesting light on the history of Jerusalem and its inhabitants in the Davidic era. The king of Uru-Salim or Jerusalem, whose letters form part of the Tel el-Amarna correspondence, was Puti- (or Buti-) Kheba, 'the Servant of Kheba'. The name, however, was not confined to men; there were no genders in Mitannian and, as Gustavs has shewn, Puti-Kheba was also a female name, like Tadu-Kheba, 'Favourite of Kheba', which was a male name as well as that of a daughter of the Mitannian King Dusratta. Kheba, Khebê, 'the queen of heaven', was a Mitannian goddess and was especially worshipped at Aleppo, where the Mitannian language was spoken, but she had been borrowed by the Hittites and become among them the patron deity of Kizzuwadna (the district of Kumana, N.E. of Aleppo) as well as of Khubisna (Kybistra), Tuwanuwa (Tyana), and Uda (Hydê).

In Puti-Kheba or Buti-Kheba I see the Hebraized Bath-Sheba, whose husband was Uriyah the Hittite, where the analogy of the Hebraized Aranyah, for Araunah (2 Sam. xxiv 18), would point to an original Uranah or Urianah. Urana is clearly the Hittite military title

auriyas, also written *uriyas*, *uras*, and *uranis*, 'a captain of the body-guard' (*KUB* xiii p. 2. 13), whence *uriyakhta* 'he was captain' (*KUB* xix p. 3. 7). Connected words are *auwariyas* and *auriyalus* 'body-guard', 'police' (*KUB* xiii p. 7. 22; v p. 52. 16).¹ According to 2 Sam. xi 3 the mother of Bath-Sheba was Eli'am, but 1 Chron. iii 5 corrects this into 'Ammiel, in which we may see a Hebraized form of the Hittite *ammiel*, 'mine own', or, less probably, of the name Ammalis) 'belonging to the Mother-goddess'. The suffix *-l* was common in Hittite as in other Asianic languages.

Araunah and Uriyah are stated to be Hittites (if we accept the common view that the Jebusites were of Hittite origin). On the other hand Puti-Kheba was a Mitannian name and the enemies of Puti-Kheba in the Tel el-Amarna tablets were the Khabiri. The Khabiri, or Khabiriyas as the Hittites called them, constituted part of the body-guard of the Hittite kings and at Boghaz Keui, we are told, there were 1,200 of them, the other half of the royal body-guard consisting of the Lulakhi, the Leleges, probably, of Greek tradition. The Khabiri had been introduced into Asia Minor from Babylonia along with other elements of Babylonian civilization; we first hear of them as forming the body-guard of the Elamite prince Rim-Sin whose capital was Larsa and who exercised sovereignty over both Babylonia and the later Assyria (2050 B.C.) In Elam the name survived under the form of Khabirâ.

The Khabiri play a prominent part in the letters of Puti-Kheba and in southern Palestine were to the loyal supporters of the Egyptian empire what the Amorites and the native Hittite troops were in the north. As we hear of them elsewhere in the Tel el-Amarna age only in connexion with the Hittites we may regard them as a sort of irregular Hittite advanced guard. This view is supported by the name of *sagasi* or 'executioners' frequently given to them. The body-guards of the Asianic princes in later days preserved the title, the name Astralias given to them signifying 'executioners' who carried out 'the murderous' orders of their paymasters (Hesyehius *s. v.* Τράλλεις²). The Τράλλεις, or mercenary horse and foot, are mentioned in an inscription of Eumenes I (*Jahrb. d. kgl. Preuss. Kunstsaml.* ix p. 82).

I think, therefore, it is safe to conclude that Hittites as well as Mitanni-ans were settled in Jerusalem and its neighbourhood in the Tel el-Amarna age. Now Ezekiel tells us (xvi 3) that 'the shaping and nativity' of Jerusalem was 'of the land of the Canaanite', but that its 'father was the Amorite and (its) mother a Hittite'. In other words, while the fortress-city of Uru-Salim or Jerusalem was in the

¹ The proper name *Urani* is already found in the Cappadocian tablets (2300 B.C.).

² See also *s. v.* 'Αστραλίαν· τὸν Θράκα· Ἀνδοί.

land of Canaan—Kinakhkhi in the Tel el-Amarna and Hittite texts—its inhabitants were primarily Amorites and secondarily Hittites, since the father preceded the mother.

In *Ancient Egypt* (Sept. 1924) I have pointed out that Amurrû, the Babylonian original of אַמֶּרִי, Amorite, is a Semitized form of the Sumerian Murrû (the short initial vowel being due to the pronunciation Mwürrû), the name by which the population west and north-west of Babylonia was known to the Babylonians. An important Sumerian text published by Professor Langdon states that the pre-Sumerian population of Babylonia itself was Murrian¹, and this is confirmed by archaeological discovery in both Babylonia and Assyria. In Assyria the earliest recorded rulers of Assur bear Mitannian (or, as I should prefer to write, Subaraean) names, and the Mitannian king Dusratta, in his letter to the Pharaoh, gives Murrû-khe and Murwu-khe, 'the land of Murrû', as the native equivalent of the Assyrian Mitanni.

Similarly in the Hittite texts Murri and Mur-las correspond to 'Mitanni' and 'Mitannian'. (Cp. the Biblical Moriah and Môreh, Gen. xii 6.) In accordance with this, most of the names of the Amorite princes found in the cuneiform inscriptions are Mitannian, and on the Egyptian monuments the Amorites are depicted as a blond race with blue eyes and fair hair, in contradistinction to the 'black-headed' Sumerians and dark-haired Semites. That is to say they came originally from Asia Minor or the Caucasus.²

Puti-Kheba of Jerusalem, with his Mitannian name, was thus a representative of the Biblical Amorite. The Hittite had not yet occupied Jerusalem, and as there is no mention of the Jebusite in the Tel el-Amarna texts we may conclude that in the Jebusites we must see the Hittites who subsequently established themselves there. Puti-Kheba's letters indicate that the Khabiri were already threatening the city and in the Khabiri, as we now know, we have to see the Hittite mer-

¹ Lugal-banda, the Sumerian king of Dêr, east of the Tigris, came to the help of the (Sumerian) king of Erech with the result that 'Sumer and Akkad expelled entirely the abominable Amorite' (*Kengi Uri nigin-ba Murrû senazu khu-mu-si*; Langdon 'Weld-Blundell Collection in the Ashmolean Museum' i p. 5, *Legend of Lugal-banda* ii 12-13).

² In one of the Hittite historical texts (Bo. 2361. 9-12) Murri (MAT URU *Mur-ri*) and Amurra (MAT URU *A-mur-ra*) are explicitly identified: 'When my grandfather Subbiluliuwas marched into the country of Murri, he smote the whole of the Murri-men, and established his frontier on the farther side of Kinza (Kadesh on the Orontes) and Amurra.' The Hittite proper name Mur-si-lis corresponds in formation to names like Khattu-si-lis, Qui-si-lis, etc., and signifies 'the Murrian'. I believe we have a reminiscence of it in the name of the city Marlos, Greek Mallos, since the city of Muru or Murri mentioned in the Assyrian texts was on the coast of south-eastern Cilicia.

cenaries. Ezekiel's statement is thus proved to be in exact agreement with the most recent archaeological discovery.

The combination of Mitannian and Hittite created the Jerusalemite. The latter name occurs in the Egyptian papyrus which describes the conspiracy against Ramses III (1195 B.C.). Here 'the Jerusalemite' (Pa-Yari-salama) is named among the conspirators by the side of (the Hittite) Garpus, Yûnini the Libyan, Pa-Khar ('the Palestinian'), Pa-Lamnanî ('the Lebanonian'), Pa-Alasiaî ('the Cyprian'), Pa-Luka ('the Lycian'), and 'the Negro' (Phinehas). We must therefore expect to find Mitannian as well as Hittite names and words in the Old Testament. It was not only at Jerusalem that Hittite and Mitannian were mixed together. The Tel el-Amarna letters have shewn that Hittite settlers and officials were spread throughout Palestine from one end of the country to the other. In the words of the book of Genesis, Heth was the second son of Canaan.

Hittite infiltration in Canaan goes back to an early period. Damascus and the Beka' (Dammaskhu-nas and Bikuwiyas) had been conquered by Telibinus I about 1700 B.C., nearly two centuries after the capture of Babylon and the overthrow of the Babylonian empire¹ of Ammurapi by Mursilis I in 1875 B.C., and an official of Amenemhat I, the Egyptian Pharaoh of the Twelfth Dynasty, already refers to a Hittite settlement in the extreme south of Palestine. In the early astrological texts of Babylonia the Hittites take their place by the side of the Amorites. The Subaraean or Mitannian languages, on the other hand, extended from Arbakha or Arpakha, the modern Kerkuk, on the eastern side of the Tigris to Aleppo and the Hittite frontier in the north-west. Just as in later days the Assyrian kings call Syria and Palestine 'the land of the Hittites', so the earlier scribes of Babylonia include them in 'the land of the Amurrû'. 'The Amorite was then in the land', as well as the Hittite.

The burial-place of Machpelah, we are told, was bought by Abraham from Ephron the Hittite, the son of Zohar who 'dwelt among the children of Heth' (Gen. xxiii 10). Zohar (זָוָר) is the Zukharu of the Assyro-Cappadocian tablets and signified the 'boy' or agent of the Babylonian and Assyrian 'merchants' (*sakhiri*) settled at Kanês on the Halys. The shekels (Ass. *siqli*) paid by Abraham were those which, as in Cappadocia, passed 'current with the merchant' (*obér liš-sokhêr*), and it is noticeable that the Biblical writer (in *vs.* 16, 17) repeats the technical language of the contract tablets found at Kanês (Kara Eyuk) and Kerkuk. The position of Zohar, at Mamre, it will be observed, was precisely that of the Zukharu among the native population of Kanês.

¹ *BKT* ii 1. 44.

In 'Ephron the Hittite' we ought to have a Hittite name. In names like Tudkhaliyas (Tid'al) or Markhasi (Mer'ash) Hittite *kh* corresponds to the Semitic *y* (*ghain*), and if the first letter of 'Ephron is *ghain* rather than 'ain we must assume that its equivalent in Hittite is the same. *Khipparas* in the Hittite Code of Laws signifies 'freeholder', while *khappar* is a 'freehold' (*KUB* xiii p. 15. 65, 66) and the verb *khappara-uwar* means 'to lay claim to', and hence 'acquire (a freehold)'.¹ Ephron, 'the Freeholder', was thus absolute master of the property which he sold to Abraham, who, though a 'foreigner' like the Assyro-Babylonians at Kanes, was nevertheless, like certain of them, also an official of the Babylonian king. He was, we learn, not only a *gér* (*v.* 4) but also a *nēsi' elohim*, the Babylonian *nisik ilāni. Ilāni*, the common title of the Babylonian monarchs of the Ammurapi dynasty, planted itself so firmly in Canaan that as late as the Tel el-Amarna age it is the usual title applied to the Egyptian Pharaohs who had taken the place of the Babylonian kings.

Between the Hittite *khipparas* and the name of the Khabiri there was no connexion except that every Khabiriyas was also a *khipparas*. But it is quite possible that later generations, in the age when Khabiri were encamped at Hebron, may have fancied that such was the case. In Hittite no difference was made, at all events in writing, between *bi* and *pi*. And it is not impossible that Mamra, the earlier name of Hebron, may have been of Hittite origin. It was certainly not Semitic, but I know of no similar name in Asia Minor. The word *marmaras* with the possible signification of 'herbage' or 'crops' occurs in the Legend of Telibinus (*KUB* xvii p. 11. 12) and Mama was the Mother-goddess of Asia Minor. I still adhere to my old conviction that the name of Hebron was derived from that of the Khabiri, whose name was borrowed from Western Semitic and meant 'auxiliaries' in Assyrian. The Tel el-Amarna tablets indicate that there was a settlement of them (Khabiri-ki) in the neighbourhood of Hebron, and there was another Hebron in the north of Israel (Joshua xix 28). The native population of Hebron-Mamra were the Anakim who called the city Kirjath-Arba' (Joshua xiv 15). The Mitannian equivalent of Kirjath-Arba' would have been 'Arba-khi,² the old name of the modern

¹ Friedrich (*Staatsverträge des Hatti-Reiches* p. 92) prefers the signification of 'trader', 'artisan', for *khipparas*, and his view is supported by a passage in an astrological tablet, where the verb in the Assyrian phrase 'the father will sell his son for silver' is rendered by *khapra[izzi]*. But the Legal Code seems to leave no doubt that the term was used technically for the native artisan or foreign merchant to whom land was assigned in virtue of his calling. It is expressly stated that the sale of 'his son, his field, and his vineyard' was illegal. Unfortunately the meaning of the ideographic equivalent of *khipparas* is unknown.

² Sometimes written Arba'-kha 'four fish', in rebus fashion in Assyrian.

Kerkuk. The Hebrew 'Anaq is the Assyrian Unqi, the name given by the Hittites to the plain or valley of Antioch (now the 'Umq), and is merely the Hittite form of the Semitic 'emeq 'valley'.¹ The Valley of Hebron is mentioned by Thothmes III in his Palestine Geographical List; the Anakim, in fact, would have been simply 'the Lowlanders'. As such they are named on the Egyptian potsherds of the Eleventh Dynasty recently published by Sethe (*Achtung feindlicher Fürsten, Völker und Dinge auf altägyptischen Tongesäßscherben*) where three of their princes are referred to, 'Am (עם), Abi-Mamu (אבי־ממו), and 'Ak(e)m (עכם), all of which names are Semitic, the second being compounded with the name of the Asianic goddess Mama. In Assyrian, however, Mama was a god, Mamatu being the goddess.

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¹ The country is called Amka in the Tel el-Amarna texts. In the Syrian Geographical List of Thothmes III the name is written Amiqu (No. 308).