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ART. V.—"THE EMPIRE OF THE HITTITES."

The Empire of the Hittites. By WILLIAM WRIGHT, B.A., D.D. With Decipherment of Hittite Inscriptions by Professor SAYCE; Hittite Map by Sir C. WILSON and Captain CONDER, R.E.; and Hittite Inscriptions by W. H. RYLANDS, F.S.A. London: J. Nisbet and Co.

IT is difficult for any student of ancient Oriental history to-day to transport himself back in imagination to the standpoint of the last generation, and to realize the actual state of our knowledge, or rather of our ignorance, less than fifty years ago.

At the end of the last century the discovery of the Rosetta Stone, and the labours of Champollion and others, opened to us the door of the archives of Egypt. Up to that time, though travellers had gazed for centuries on the sculptured granite and the painted frescoes that lined the banks of the Nile, these had all been dumb; and little more was known of that empire with a story of 3,000 years, than had been preserved in the second book of Herodotus. Now, century after century rapidly gave up their secrets; and it may with truth be said, that of no nation of antiquity have we such full contemporary records, regal, political, social, religious, and domestic, as of Egypt. Among these voluminous materials for history are copious accounts of the many campaigns of the Pharaohs, in which necessarily are frequent allusions to the nations and races with which Egypt was brought into collision. Of these none stand out more prominently, none are spoken of with more respect as powerful rivals, than the Kheta. From time to time, from B.C. 2084 to B.C. 717, *i.e.*, during a period of over thirteen centuries, we find allusions to the Kheta. But not yet was the full significance of these allusions recognised.

Another and a yet more startling exhumation of buried history was accomplished when, fifty years later, Layard, Rawlinson, Botta and Oppert brought to light the inscribed bricks and cylinders of Assyria and Chaldea, and the genius of George Smith almost completed the work they began, and handed to us the key which has unlocked the registers of mankind as they were known to the first organized society after the Flood, carrying us in their gathered traditions almost to the Fall and the Creation.

Again, in the records of wars and campaigns we come across frequent though not very full allusions to a hostile nation on the north-west of the Assyrian Empire—the Khatte. It was impossible to doubt the identity of these *Khatte* with the

Kheta of Egyptian monuments, and the Hittite (𐎲𐎠𐎫) *Khitti* of the Sacred Record.

Still, the importance of these allusions to the Hittites, their bearing on the elucidation of Scripture history, or the fact that we were on the threshold of the resuscitation into a place in the world's history of an empire buried and forgotten for ages, but which had been the rival of the greatest civilized powers for 1,300 years, was never dreamed of. How little this was suspected may be seen by a reference to Sir G. Grove's article on the Hittites, in Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," written little more than twenty years ago.

The story of the revelation of the Hittite Empire is told us in the volume before us, by Dr. Wright, who, first in the field of discovery on the spot, and first to guess the import of his own discoveries, is well entitled to set forth the progress of research in the Hittite field. Just as Sir Walter Elliot and Prof. Dawson, by the discovery of a few inscribed plates of copper in the neighbourhood of the Godavery, have been able to restore to its place in the history of India a dynasty and a kingdom—the Chalukyas—which existed for 800 years up to the period of the Mohammedan conquest, so Dr. Wright, by means of four inscribed stones in the city of Hamath, was the pioneer in tracing the history, the extent, and the literature of the Hittite race.

The first chapter of the volume gives a spirited description of Dr. Wright's fortunate efforts to secure the inscribed stones of Hamath, which he had intuitively perceived to be Hittite. Noticed seventy years ago by Burckhardt, yet they were forgotten till 1870, when Mr. J. A. Johnson and Rev. S. Jessup, an American Missionary, rediscovered them. But these gentlemen failed, owing to the fanatic suspicion of the inhabitants, who valued the stones as gifted with miraculous healing power, to make copies of the unknown characters which covered them. There remained but four stones in all, built into different edifices in the city. They were afterwards seen by Messrs. Drake and Palmer and by Captain Burton, none of whom succeeded in obtaining accurate copies, until in 1872 Dr. Wright, invited to accompany Subhi Pasha, the Governor of Syria, and the founder of the Constantinople Museum, on a visit of state from Damascus to Hamah, succeeded not only in taking accurate casts of the inscriptions, but in having the originals secured to be deposited in the Imperial Museum, at the very moment when an angry mob was about to destroy them, lest the *giaour* should lay hands on them.

Dr. Wright thus describes the situation: "I saw, now, that a crisis was reached. For hundreds, perhaps thousands of years these mute inscriptions had waited for some one to hear

their story. Egyptian, Assyrian, Greek, Seleucidæ, Roman, Saracen, Crusader, and Turk, had passed them by as unworthy of even a passing notice; and now that travellers from the Isles of the Seas, eager to learn their secrets, had arrived, their voice was about to be hushed for ever. A greater calamity than that of the Moabite Stone tragedy was imminent. A mighty empire was about to claim its rightful position among the great nations of the ancient world, and a few fanatics were about to push it back into the outer darkness to which classic history had assigned it." (P. 8.)

Dr. Wright's energy was rewarded; and while the originals were secured by the Pasha's soldiery for the Museum of Constantinople, duplicate casts were taken, which are now in the British Museum, and in the collection of the Palestine Exploration Fund. It is interesting to note how at that time, when not a single Oriental scholar was prepared to admit the fact, now universally conceded, that these strange and uncouth carvings were the work of the Hittite people, not a shadow of doubt ever crossed the mind of Dr. Wright. As he observes, 'The attempt to reinstate the Hittite Empire among the ancient monarchies of the world is a hazardous venture; but my authority for doing so is abundant, and I have endeavoured to lay it fully in outline before the reader.' Yet to this day there is scarcely a figure on the stones of Hamath which the Orientalist can interpret. How then, it may be asked, do we know them to be Hittite? Since 1872, inscribed stones identical in character have been found in regions far apart, and which enable us to trace the heretofore unguessed extent of the Hittite Empire.

It may be well to preface our review of Hittite history by a short *résumé* of the sculptures brought to our knowledge up to the present time. In the same year (1872) that Dr. Wright secured the Hamath inscription, the late Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake discovered and published the facsimile of an inscription at Aleppo. This stone was most unfortunately soon afterwards utterly destroyed by the fanatical Moslems, lest it should be removed like those of Hamath; all these stones being by them believed to possess miraculous healing powers—some for ophthalmia, others for lumbago, and another for spinal complaints. But by far the largest and most important find has been at Jerablus, or Jerabis (I have always heard the former pronunciation from the Arabs on the spot)—the ancient Carchemish, the Hittite capital, the Hierapolis of the Greeks. These were first discovered by the late G. Smith; and since his death excavations have been conducted there under the auspices of the British Museum. Five inscriptions are now deposited in the British Museum, and a fragment of another is

in the possession of Mr. Rassam. But by far the most important and lengthy of the Carchemish sculptures on enormous slabs of basalt have not yet been moved. I saw and examined them three years ago, but had no means of taking copies.

Far to the north again, on the wall of the Castle of Marash, is a sculptured lion, on which there is a Hittite inscription, not yet copied or at least known in this country. This inscription I was allowed to examine without molestation; and as the old fortress is now used as a Turkish barrack, there can be no difficulty in securing a cast. I also saw in the village of Barin, in the Ansairiyeh mountains, no less than three inscriptions in basalt, built into the modern hovels, all of which I could have secured from the Sheikh for a trifling sum had I had the means of transport, since the inhabitants attach no value to them. I also noted small fragments of inscriptions in three other villages east of the Euphrates, and mention them here in the hope of directing the attention of future travellers to the possible archæological riches of this region. Sir H. Layard, in 1851, discovered eight seals in the Record Chamber of Sennacherib's Palace at Kouyunjik, bearing Hittite inscriptions, now in the British Museum; and eighteen more collected in Asia Minor, are now in the possession of M. Schlumberger of Paris, and figured by Dr. Wright. But the greatest stride in advance, as to the extent of the Hittite Empire, has been the discovery of the Hittite origin of many monuments in Asia Minor, some known in the days of Homer, or mentioned by Herodotus.

On the rocks at Boghaz Keui, probably the ancient Pterium, on the east bank of the Halys, on the high-road from Sardis to Armenia, are many Hittite monuments, among them female deities, with mural crowns. The mural crown seems to have been a special Hittite invention, and from it we may infer the Hittite origin of the decoration of the Ephesian Artemis. Some of the deities are represented as standing upon animals, pointing to a derivation from early Babylonian rather than Assyrian art. At Eyuk, in the same district, are other sculptures of the same character, in immense number, all of black basalt like the other Hittite monuments. They are described at length by Van Lennep in 1870, who, of course, never suspected their origin, and was perplexed by the differences both from Egyptian and Assyrian art. Besides them, others are met with at Ghiaour-Kalissi, in Phrygia, near Frahtin, and on the summit of one of the mountains of the Bulgar Dag, in Lycaonia, a locality of special significance.

Again, the famous Niobe, as it is called, of Mount Sipylus, the origin of which was forgotten in the days of Homer, is evidently of the same type, and has Hittite characters. But

for some reasons the most interesting Hittite monuments in Asia Minor are those of Karabel, near Sardis, only twenty-five miles inland from Smyrna. They are mentioned by Herodotus, who imagined them to be figures of Sesostris or Rameses II., but states that the natives of Ionia could give no account of them. Professor Sayce has finally settled their origin beyond controversy, by the discovery of Hittite hieroglyphics on the breast of one of them—characters the duplicates of which may be seen on the slabs of Hamath and Carchemish. Other Hittite monuments have been discovered in the pass that leads through the Taurid range north of Marash, and which connects the Hittite capital with the district of the Halys.

One more Hittite monument may be mentioned—the bas-relief of a king built into the castle wall of Birajik above Carchemish, on the Euphrates, and now in the British Museum; and very recently, a long inscription has been discovered at Tyana in Cappadocia.

To those who have had the reviewer's good fortune to have seen almost all the known Hittite sculptures, it seems impossible to mistake them either for Egyptian or Assyrian. The peculiarity which first catches the eye in all the figures invariably is that the feet are shod with boots with pointed toes turned upwards, or with tip-tilted sandals, with bandages and fastenings exactly like those still worn by the peasantry of the Taurid. Professor Sayce observes: "The Hittite sculptures further show that they did not belong to a Semitic race. Their features and physical type are those of a northern people, and their northern origin is confirmed by their use of boots, which is at least as old as their writing, since the boot is one of the commonest of the Hittite hieroglyphics. The boots are always represented with turned-up toes, like the mountaineers of Asia Minor and Greece at the present day."

Yet the Hittite sculpture was in some degree imitative. It appears to be modelled on the bas-reliefs of Nineveh, or rather the gems of ancient Babylonia, and like them represents human figures and other objects in relief upon stone. But it has a peculiar roundness and thickness; the limbs of the figures are short and thick, and there is little attempt made to delineate the muscles. A modification of the winged solar disk of Assyria is not unusual; and at Eyuk we find a representation of a double-headed eagle, which seems a prototype of the Seljukian eagle of later days, and which was carried by the Crusaders to the German States. At the same place, the two sphinxes first noticed by Van Lennep, and examined by Professor Sayce, though modelled after the Egyptian type, differ widely from that type, and the mode in which the feet are represented resembles that of the prehistoric statue of

Niobe, more properly Cybele, on Mount Sipylos, now assigned to the Hittites. The Hittite sculptures are all in relief, never incised, suggesting that the earliest inscriptions were not upon stone, but indented upon the plates of metal. Professor Sayce, in support of this his view, reminds us that the Hittite treaty with Rameses II. of Egypt was engraved on a plate of silver. The only known exception to this mode of sculpture is the inscription at Tyana (Wright's "Hittite Empire," p. 153), which is incised and not in relief.

The records thus brought to light indicate an empire extending in times almost prehistoric from the Euphrates across Syria to the borders of Phœnicia (and we know that Carchemish on the Euphrates and Hamath on the Orontes were the two Hittite capitals), and thence pervading Asia Minor from Tarsus to Smyrna, and northwards to the coasts of the Black Sea. The identity of the type of art and of the hieroglyphic characters everywhere, prove that all the monuments here passed in review were the work of one people; and that people, to have erected these monuments, must have been the dominant race of that period.

But we have not yet discovered the key which is to disclose to us the tale of these mysterious records, though Professor Sayce appears to be on the high-road to the solution:

Scholars had long been perplexed by a number of alphabets which existed in the different districts of Asia Minor. They were neither Greek nor Phœnician, but they were supposed to come from the same stock as the Greek. "We may now be quite sure," says Mr. C. T. Newton, "that there were in Asia Minor several alphabets derived in the main from the same source as the Greek." And Dr. Isaac Taylor recognises five distinct alphabets: the Lycian, the Carian, the Cappadocian, the Phrygian, and the Pamphylian; to which, he thinks, may be added three more: the Lydian, the Mysian, and the Cilician.

Some of these alphabets were related to each other and to the Greek, in a manner to be accounted for only by the supposition of a common but unknown parentage. Characters which were supposed by some to be "fantastic and arbitrary" forms of Greek, vagaries of copyists, have now been shown to be lineal descendants of an ancient and important script.

Inscriptions found by Mr. Hamilton Long in Cyprus supplied the key to the mysterious characters in the alphabets of Asia Minor, and proved to be distantly related even to the whorls discovered by Dr. Schliemann in the lower stratum of Hissarlik. "It was manifest," says Dr. Isaac Taylor, "not only that writing was practised in the Troad before the introduction of either the Phœnician or the Greek alphabet, but that the non-Hellenic characters in the Lycian, Carian, and Cappadocian alphabets, as well as the Cypriote syllabics, were all derived from a common source—a syllabic writing, evidently of immense antiquity, which prevailed throughout the whole of Asia Minor."

This important discovery carried the investigation further back, and the question to be solved was, What was the parent stem from which at a very remote period these various scripts had sprung? This question is fully answered by the existence throughout Asia Minor of numerous

inscriptions similar to those which I copied at Hamath, and pronounced Hittite, in 1872.

"These monuments," says Dr. Isaac Taylor, "are those of a people who have been identified with the Hittites of the Old Testament, the Kheta of the Egyptian monuments, the Khattai of the Assyrian records, and the *Kήτιοι* of Homer ('Od.,' xi. 521). They were one of the most powerful peoples of the primeval world, their empire extending from the frontier of Egypt to the shores of the *Ægean*, and, like the Babylonians and the Egyptians, they possessed a culture, an art, and a script peculiar to themselves, and plainly of indigenous origin." (I. Taylor, "The Alphabet," ii., pp. 115, 120; Wright's "Hittites," pp. 69, 70.)

The late G. Smith was satisfied that the real connexion between the traditions of Babylonia and Palestine would never be cleared till the literature of the intervening Syrian people was recovered. The first step towards this consummation has been the discovery at Idalia in Cyprus of a Cypriote and Phœnician inscription. This showed the Cypriote syllabary to be no arbitrary invention, but the survival of an extremely ancient script, which must have prevailed in Cyprus prior to the introduction of alphabetic writing. The non-Hellenic characters in the Lycian, Carian, and Cappadocian alphabets show close affinity with the Cypriote, and are plainly derived from a common stock. Now the Cypriote syllabary, thus fortunately discovered, has no recognisable affinities with the graphic system of the Greeks, Phœnicians, Egyptians, or Assyrians. The analogy of other scripts made it probable that it was the ultimate survival of some extremely ancient mode of picture-writing. Dr. Wright and Professor Sayce set to work to compare the two, and have shown an identity or the closest similarity between eight of the Cypriote characters and those of Hamath, and the identifications have been endorsed by Dr. I. Taylor (p. 169). These learned Orientalists had a further key in what is called the silver boss of Tarkondêmos, of the history and hieroglyphics of which Dr. Wright gives a most interesting and lucid account (pp. 154-167). About twenty years ago a convex silver plate, something in appearance like the skin of a small half-orange, was offered to the British Museum, but declined on suspicion of its being a forgery. Fortunately, however, an electrotpe was made and preserved. The original, which had been in Constantinople, is, it is feared, now lost; but M. Lenormant had there taken a cast which exactly corresponds with the British Museum electrotpe. It consists of a central figure of a Hittite warrior, with Hittite hieroglyphics before and behind him, the whole encircled by a legend in cuneiform. This latter Professor Sayce has no difficulty in reading, "Tarrik-timme, King of the country of Ermé;" and, from the form of the cuneiform characters, he attributes them to the age of Sargon, of whom a

stêlê has been found in Cyprus. This would place the inscription at the latest period of the Hittites. Tarkondêmos is the name of a Cilician king given by Plutarch. The identification of the country over which the king of this inscription ruled is more difficult, and is as yet only a matter of conjecture (p. 159). But the identification of every one of the characters by Professor Sayce appears to be indisputable and conclusive (*"Trans. Bibl. Arch.,"* vii., p. 297, quoted at length by Dr. Wright, pp. 158-167). It is far too long to be reproduced here, but we can only wish success to Dr. Wright, Professor Sayce, and Dr. I. Taylor in their undertaking, feeling assured that after such a commencement they will soon present to us the hieroglyphics of the Hittites as intelligible as the monuments of Egypt or the records of Assyria.

We have thus reviewed our knowledge of the Hittites and the extent of their empire, as set forth by Dr. Wright from their own monuments. The learned author, however, before entering on the inscriptions, has collected in his second and third chapters the allusions to the Hittites in the Egyptian and Assyrian annals. We have preferred in this review to continue the story of the inscriptions to their partial decipherment before entering on the historical allusions. The earliest adduced by Dr. Wright is a monument of the first Pharaoh of the twelfth dynasty, *i.e.*, somewhere between B.C. 2084 and 2047, recording Hittite towns and palaces destroyed on the border of Egypt. With this he couples the contention of Marietta Bey, the late learned director of the Boulac Museum, that one of the Hyksos dynasties was Hittite. We know, too, that Tanais or Zoan was the capital of the Hyksos dynasty. What new light is now cast on what appeared before to be a superfluous parenthesis in Numb. xiii. 22, "Now Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt"! "The reference seems to indicate the order in which the Hittites consolidated their power. The van of Northern invasion had reached Hebron, and made a lodgment there, before it swept over the border into the land of Goshen. Supposing that the Hittites possessed the throne of Egypt, we can more easily understand how their settlements would extend up to and over the Egyptian border" (p. 100).

We next find, after the expulsion of the Hyksos and Hittites, Thothmes I., in the middle of the seventeenth century B.C., beginning a campaign against them, which, according to Brugsch was carried on for nearly five hundred years by successive Pharaohs—especially by Thothmes III., who ascended the throne about B.C. 1600. The walls of Karnak tell how "the Hittite King of Kadesh had gathered together the kings and their peoples from the water of Egypt to the river-land of

Mesopotamia, and they obeyed him as their chief." Then follows the account of the march, of the council of war, of the great battle of Megiddo on the Kishon, the defeat of the enemy, and the siege of Megiddo, which was evidently unsuccessful; but among the spoil are 924 chariots, and the chariot of the Hittite King plated with gold. A fourth campaign was directed against Carchemish, and a fifth against Kadesh on the Orontes. In the sixth campaign Kadesh was taken.

Thothmes III., in the thirty-third year of his reign, wages another war in Mesopotamia, and takes tribute of the Hittites, and in his ninth campaign again takes Kadesh. Still, the Hittite power was not broken, and fifty years after the death of Thothmes, Rameses I. made a treaty with Saplet the Hittite King. We find subsequent wars, probably border inroads, till Rameses II. fought the great battle of Kadesh, celebrated by Pentaur, an Egyptian poet, in the oldest heroic poem in the world. Dr. Wright gives us an interesting epitome of this poem, and also in full the treaty of peace which closed the war, after which Rameses married the daughter of the Hittite King. It is manifest, from the equal terms of the alliance, that Rameses had by no means broken his rival's power. Professor Sayce has called attention to the fact that the Hittites in the Karnak pictures are represented, as in their own sculptures, with boots turned up at the toes.

Dr. Wright suggests that as Rameses II. was the Pharaoh of the oppression, it may have been the daughter of this Hittite princess who saved the infant Moses. After this we find the Hittites mentioned as rivals, and even invaders of Egypt, down to the reign of Rameses III., perhaps B.C. 1180. Thus for more than a thousand years the Hittites were the rivals of Egypt in peace and war.

Nor were they meanwhile less formidable on the Eastern frontier. In the Assyrian astronomical tablets, from the library of Assurbanipal, we read: "The King of the Hittites lives, and on the throne seizes." And again: "The King of a foreign country (or the King of the Hittites) plunders, and on the throne seizes." Professor Sayce does not venture to assign an exact date to these tablets, but the latest date usually assigned is B.C. 2000. This was before the existence of the kingdom of Assyria. He also thinks that, at the period of the nineteenth dynasty in Egypt, the Empire of Mesopotamia had been replaced by that of the Hittites, who, when we come down to the era of Tiglath-Pileser I., B.C. 1130, were still paramount from the Euphrates to the Lebanon. From one of his inscriptions we learn that this King had repeated campaigns against the Hittites, or Kheta, on both sides of the Euphrates, and made them for a time his tributaries.

But the struggle continued for four hundred years longer. Assur-Nasir-Pal, B.C. 883-858, seems by his records to have broken up the Hittite confederacy, and to have reduced city after city to submission and tribute. His son Shalmaneser carried on constant warfare, and the record proceeds with weary iteration through thirty campaigns, in which the same cities had to be yearly subdued. Dr. Wright with much force accounts for this persistent resistance by the great reserve strength of the Hittite nation in Asia Minor, out of the reach of either Egypt or Assyria. One hundred years later we still find the record of continued conflict, till B.C. 717. Sargon brought the long struggle to a close by the final capture of Carchemish.

We have briefly summarized the records collected by Mr. Wright from Egypt and Assyria. Let us now revert to the fact that before these discoveries the only knowledge we had of the Hittites was from the Old Testament. The nation had disappeared as a nationality before Greek literature arose, and was forgotten when Herodotus wrote. So little was known, that the casual reference to the Hittites in Scripture has been used by living writers within the last few years as an argument against the historical accuracy of the Bible. Now the first allusion to the Hittites in Scripture is in Gen. x. 15, where Heth is said to be the son of Canaan. This distinctly states their non-Semitic origin. All critics are agreed in this. Sir G. Grove calls them a Hamitic race. The great mass of their names are non-Semitic. In this Brugsch and Sayce agree ("Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.," vii. 251). When Hittite names are compounded with Semitic, grammatical suffixes are invariably affixed, not prefixed, as Kheta-sira, King of the Hittites; not like Melchizedek, King of Peace. Sayce, by their language, traces them to the north, near the Caspian; and both he and Captain Conder remark that the features on the sculptures are those of a Northern or Turanian race. With this, too, agrees their dress, and the shaven heads and pig-tails with which they are depicted on Egyptian monuments.

The nation is first mentioned Gen. xv. 20, where the land of the Hittites and others from the river of Egypt to the river Euphrates is promised to Abram. This event is placed by Usher about B.C. 1913. We have already seen that it is just about this period, according to the best computation, that Sargon's astrological tablets speak of the Hittites as threatening Babylon in the north.

Fifty years later, Abraham purchases a burying-place from the Hittites of Hebron (Gen. xxiii.). The existence of a Hittite colony at Hebron has been already explained by the fact of this being an important natural station on the way to Egypt,

when the nation was actually ruling at Zoan; and we have seen they had settlements, as told by the record of Amenembat, on the border of Egypt. The transaction with Abraham points to a people "industrious and commercial in times of peace, as well as skilful and valiant in times of war." But at the period of the Exodus, we find not the Hittites, but the sons of Anak, in possession of Hebron, while the Hittites are in the mountains. The Egyptian monuments explain the change. Between the time of Abraham and Joshua had been the battle of Kadesh, and the campaigns of Thothmes III., who had captured the Hittite cities, and broken their power on the southern frontier. Debir likewise had become an Anakim fortress, and had changed its name from Kirjath-sepher, *i.e.*, Booktown, which it bore during the Hittite occupation—another illustration of the civilized and literary character of that people. But before the migration to Egypt, Abraham's family continued on friendly terms with them as neighbours. Esau took Hittite wives. These have Semitic names; but in Gen. xxxvi. 2, Bashemath is called Adah; Judith, Aholibamah; and Beer, Anah; which Dr. Wright suggests are doubtless the old Hittite names, though they, living among Semitic people, adopted in addition Semitic names.

Of Hittite names, an exceptional number are preserved. On the walls of Karnak, Thothmes gives a catalogue of one hundred and nineteen conquered cities. First on the list is Kadesh on the Orontes. On this list, Brugsch, quoted by Dr. Wright, remarks (p. 102): "What gives the highest value to this catalogue is the indisputable fact that more than three hundred years before the entrance of the Israelites into the land of Canaan, a great confederacy of tribes of a common race existed in Palestine under petty kings, who dwelt in the very same towns and fortresses which for the most part, in later times, fell by conquest into the hands of the Jewish immigrants. Among them the King of Kadesh, on the Orontes, in the land of the Amorites, as the inscriptions expressly testify, played the first part, for the kings and their people, from the water of Egypt to the land of Naharaim (*i.e.*, Mesopotamia), obeyed him as their chief leader." Accordingly we find the first place always given to the Hittites in the enumeration of the Canaanites in the Pentateuch; the Canaanites doubtless including all the Hamitic races of the land.

From the expression used in Joshua i. 4, it would seem that the Hittites were then settled chiefly in the north. And here Dr. Wright draws attention to the statement of Manetho, that the Hyksos, on withdrawing from Egypt, retired to Jerusalem, as explaining the reproach uttered by Ezekiel against Jeru-

salem: "Thy father was an Amorite, and thy mother an Hittite," Ezek. xvi. 3 (p. 111).

We are also able to follow the Hittites on their slow withdrawal north, from a very incidental reference in the Book of Judges. The man by whose assistance the Israelites effected their entrance into Luz, or Bethel, "went into the land of the Hittites, and built a city, and called the name thereof Luz. Through the exploration of the Palestine Exploration Fund, we now know that this city stood near the sources of the Jordan, in the great fertile plain of Merom, which was the land of the Hittites in the time of Joshua" (p. 112).

Then came the great battle of Merom. Hitherto, after the victory of Bethhoron, Joshua had attacked the cities of the south and centre singly. Now Jabin, King of Hazor, thoroughly alarmed, gathers the whole Hittite confederacy from the north, 'much people, even as the sand that is upon the sea shore in multitude, with horses and chariots very many' (Josh. xi. 4).

It was the supreme and united effort of the doomed people. They were there in their strength, the disciplined hosts of the Hittites. In the Egyptian hieroglyphics their well-ordered armies form a striking contrast to the Canaanitish crowds. The beardless light-red Hittites, on horse and foot, march in battle array with well-drilled precision; but they were specially distinguished by their chariots, each of which carried three warriors. In the battle-song of Pentaur, Rameses II. seems to have taken little note of any branch of the Hittite army except that of the chariots. Twice he refers to the 2,500 pairs of horses by which Pharaoh was surrounded. "They stood three men on each chariot, and they were assembled in one spot, the best heroes of the army of Kheta, well appointed with all weapons for the fight." Such was the army which secured from the proudest and most boastful of the Pharaohs a formal treaty and dynastic alliance. Such the chisel of the sculptor and the brush of the painter portrayed them on abiding stone, and such was the chief force of that mighty host by the waters of Merom on which Joshua fell suddenly, and by a great overthrow became possessor of the Land of Promise from Mount Halak on the south to Baal-gad on the north (Josh. xi. 17) (p. 114).

Never, after the crushing defeat of Merom, does the Hittite confederacy appear to have combined against the chosen people. From this time Kadesh on the Orontes was the southern limit of their empire. But we find frequent reference to individual Hittites. David counted their warriors among his mighty men, as Abimelech and Uriah. Bathsheba, granddaughter of Ahitophel, mother of Solomon, and ancestress of our Lord, was wife of Uriah, and probably of the same race herself. Solomon, too, had Hittite wives.

When David extended his frontier to the Euphrates, amongst other booty he took from Hadadezer 1,000 chariots and 700 horsemen, showing that in the plains of the north the nation still retained that military arm. Toi, King of Hamath, prob-

ably the chief potentate of the nation, submitted as a tributary. Hamath was on the northern limits of David's kingdom, which embraced Kadesh, as is proved by Joab's answer, where the words given in the Authorised Version as Tahtum-Hodshi ought to be rendered *Kadesh of the Hittites*. Though tributary to Solomon, as to his father, we see that the northern Hittites were not incorporated into his empire for their internal administration, since by his merchants Solomon supplied them with chariots and horses at a fixed price (1 Kings x. 29). The last allusion to the nation is in 2 Kings vii. 6, wherein we are told the Syrians fled panic-stricken from the siege of Samaria, on hearing the noise of chariots and horses, saying "The King of Israel hath hired against us the King of the Hittites." It is well worth noting that the most contemptuous criticism has been cast on this passage, as showing the writer's ignorance of the times. "No Hittite kings can have compared in power with the King of Judah, the real and near ally, who is not named at all." "Nor is there a single mark of acquaintance with contemporaneous history!" Now, what are the real facts? Professor Sayce has pointed out that this period, about B.C. 892, the Hittites were a formidable power in Northern Syria, and that Assul-Nasir-Pal, B.C. 883-858, King of Assyria, was continually waging war against them, and their chariots and horses are repeatedly referred to in his records. It is the modern critics, not the Bible writers, who were really ignorant of the times.

As Dr. Wright sums up his disquisitions on this part of the subject: 'The Hittites, who appear for the first time in the inscriptions of Sargon I., King of Aganè, circa 1900 B.C., disappear from history in the inscriptions of Sargon, B.C. 717. They were a people before Abraham went forth from Ur of the Chaldees, and they only yielded to the arms of Assyria after Israel had been swept from Samaria. During the history of the chosen people, from the time of Abraham to the captivity, the Hittites are often referred to in the Bible. These references have been discredited by professed assailants and by weak apologists of the historic accuracy of the Bible. We have examined the contemporary records of Babylon, Assyria, and Egypt, and we find not only material evidences which create a probability in favour of the authenticity of the sacred narrative, but side lights, which shine so clearly on the incidents that unbelief is impossible' (p. 128).

We have endeavoured to give a brief sketch of the material which Dr. Wright has brought together, as the groundwork of what must soon follow—a history of the Hittite Empire. This only awaits the completion of Professor Sayce's investigations. The nation has passed away, leaving not a wreck on the ocean of time to enoble it. It has left, however, these newly discovered

evidences of its prowess, its arts, its culture, and its civilization. We cannot yet say how far any of these have flowed into new channels, or moulded and affected any subsequent peoples, or whether its works perished with it. One thing we do know, that with all that the Hittites possessed in advance of their less cultured contemporaries, their religion, which seems to have been in no wise endemic, but appropriated from the worst features of Babylonian, Phœnician, and latterly Egyptian idolatry, included the most immoral and licentious cult of Astaroth and Baal worship, and brought down on them the vengeance of heaven. To us by far the most important results of the researches set forth in this volume, and for which all Christendom owes a debt to Dr. Wright, is the proof from Egyptian and Assyrian records, and from Hittite monuments, that in every single instance in which the nation is mentioned in Scripture, we have now contemporary and incontrovertible side-evidence from independent authorities, of the perfect harmony of every allusion in Holy Writ with the existing condition of the political world at that period.

H. B. TRISTRAM.



ART. VI.—"NATURAL LAW IN THE SPIRITUAL WORLD."

IT is an ungracious task to attempt a criticism of any effort made by one who manifestly desires to maintain the truth, or to say one word to discourage the enthusiasm with which such an effort has been received by the Christian world. But we know that error is never so dangerous as when it is floated, if I may so speak, by truth. There are many statements made which, if they stood alone, would startle the Christian reader; but which, if found in the midst of a great deal of admirable matter, attract but little attention, and are allowed to pass without discussion.

I believe this to be the case with that exceedingly interesting book, "Natural Law in the Spiritual World." I am not in the least surprised at the enthusiasm with which that book has been received. It is written in a most agreeable style. It contains a discussion of one of the most engrossing subjects of the day—viz., the connection between Science and Christianity; and it abounds in most interesting and profitable illustrations, derived from the analogy of scientific theory with spiritual life. In the chapter on "Biogenesis," the writer makes most powerful use of the truth established by science, that life cannot be produced except from life. And in the six chapters