Wenn es sich aber nicht um einen Erlebnisbericht handelt, ist zu Recht zu fragen, warum der Text den Weisheitslehrer das Geschehen durch das Fenster schauend verfolgen läßt. Aufgrund der inhaltlichen Ähnlichkeit mit der Marija-Episode des Ḫukkana-Vertrags und Gen 26, 6-11 liegt es nahe, daß es sich auch hier beim Blick aus dem Fenster um ein bewußt eingesetztes literarisches Motiv handelt. Von der Septuaginta wurde es dann allerdings durch das gängigere Motiv der Frau im Fenster ersetzt[32].

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obendrein den Wortwechsel zwischen ihr und dem jungen Mann mithören kann. Vgl. auch H. Ringgren, a.a.O., 125.

32 So lauten die Zeilen 6-7 in der Septuaginta: „Denn vom Fenster aus ihrem Haus zur Straße beugte sie sich hinaus, ob sie etwa unter den unverständigen Kindern einen jungen Mann sähe, dem es an Verstand mangelte."

The Bible, the Hittites, and the Construction of the "Other"

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Attempts to explain the presence of Hittites in the Bible have failed to find sufficient evidence to connect the biblical Hittites unequivocally to the Late Bronze Age Anatolian empire of the Hittites[1]. Those who view the biblical accounts as having historical merit look in particular to the possibility of a mass migration of Luwian-speaking population groups into Syria and Palestine after the collapse of Hittite power[2]. Others have taken a more skeptical approach, viewing the biblical references to Hittites as rhetorical or even as a phonetic coincidence and thus having nothing to do with the Hittites of the Late Bronze Age[3]. A review of the evidence in light of recent advances in understanding the origins of the biblical text, however, opens up a new possibility for unraveling the enigma of the Hittites in the Bible.

The most common context in which a people called "Hittites" appears in the books of the Bible is in the more-or-less standardized lists of nations that inhabited Palestine prior to the settlement of the Israelites[4]. Deuteronomy 20:16-17 best

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1 The arguments presented here are developed fully in my forthcoming book, *Who Were the Hittites?* (Atlanta: SBL). I am grateful to Itamar Singer for making his exhaustive article *The Hittites and the Bible Revisited* available to me prior to its final publication, to Brian B. Schmidt for offering many helpful comments, and to Katie Chaple for her literary expertise. I am pleased for the opportunity to dedicate this article to my friend Silvin Košak.

2 See, e.g., Aharon Kempinski, Hittites in the Bible, What Does Archaeology Say?, BAR 5/4 (1979), 21-45; Benjamin Mazar, The Early Israelite Settlement in the Hill Country, BASOR 241 (1981), 75-85, esp. 79; Nadav Na'aman, The 'Conquest of Canaan' in the Book of Joshua and in History, in: From Nomaadism to Monarchy: Archaeological and Historical Aspects of Early Israel, ed. I. Finkelstein and N. Na'aman (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1994), 240.

3 Itamar Singer, The Hittites and the Bible Revisited, in: I Will Speak the Riddles of Ancient Times: Archaelogical and Historical Studies in Honor of Amihai Mazar on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday, ed. Aren M. Maeir and Pierre de Miroschedji (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 723-756 (who also leaves open the possibility of a migration to explain the Hittite presence in the Bible); John van Seters, The Terms 'Amorite' and 'Hittite' in the Old Testament, VT 22 (1972), 79-80; Harry A. Hoffner, Jr., The Hittites and Hurrians, in: Peoples of Old Testament Times, ed. D.J. Wiseman (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973), 196-228, esp. 214.

4 Five biblical passages mentioning Hittites can be understood as referring to the territories controlled by the Neo-Hittite states of the early first millennium and not to the Late Bronze Age Hittites. These are the references to the kings of the Hittites in 1 Kgs 10:29 and its parallel 2 Chr

exemplifies these lists: "But as for the towns of these peoples that the Lord your God is giving you as an inheritance, you must not let anything that breathes remain alive. You shall annihilate them – the Hittites and the Amorites, the Canaanites and the Perizzites, the Hivites and the Jebusites – just as the Lord your God has commanded."[5]. As Itamar Singer notes, the terminology used in describing the ethnic makeup of Canaan must have had some historical credibility in the eyes of the biblical authors or else they would not have employed it[6]. The trick of course is in identifying the historical setting that the lists are meant to reflect.

The possibility of a northern origin for the "nations" is a theory with a long pedigree[7]. Extra-biblical evidence now confirms the presence of the Hivites in the north during the Late Bronze-Iron Age transition. They are mentioned in a topographical list of Ramses II at Luxor[8] and have been connected with Que (Cilicia) in southern Anatolia based on the phonetic resemblance of the two words (Quwe → *Huwe → Heb. *hiwwî*). The connection is corroborated by a Hieroglyphic Luwian-Phoenician bilingual discovered near Adana, in which the Phoenician *Dnnym* ("Danuna," or "Adana," is another name for Cilicia) is rendered as Luwian *Hiyawa*, from which the Hebrew form probably derives[9].

The Jebusites, according to biblical tradition, inhabited and ruled Jerusalem (Josh 15:63) until David conquered the city (2 Sam 5:6-9; 1 Chr 11:4-9), even giving

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1:17 and in 2 Kgs 7:6; Solomon's Hittite wives in 1 Kgs 11:1; and the land of the Hittites in Josh 1:4 and probably Judg 1:26. These passages will not be treated further here.

5 There are twenty-seven such lists of pre-Israelite nations, ranging from lists of two to lists of twelve; Tomoo Ishida, The Structure and Historical Implications of the Lists of Pre-Israelite Nations, Biblica 60 (1979), 474.

6 Singer, Hittites and the Bible Revisited, 755.

7 For a bibliography see Singer, The Hittites and the Bible Revisited, 735, with notes 66 and 67.

8 *hwt*; see M. Görg, Hiwwiter im 13. Jahrhundert v. Chr., UF 8 (1976), 53-55.

9 George E. Mendenhall, The Tenth Generation: The Origins of the Biblical Tradition (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University), 154. For the Luwian-Phoenician bilingual see Recai Tekoğlu in Ismet Ipek, Kazim Tosun, Recai Tekoğlu and André Lemaire, La bilingue royale louvito-phénicienne de Çineköy, in: Comptes rendus des scéances de l'année 2000 (Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 2000), 981-984; and for commentary see Manfred Hutter, Widerspiegelungen religiöser Vorstellungen der Luwier im Alten Testament, in: Die Außenwirkung des späthethitischen Kulturraumes: Güteraustausch – Kulturkontakt – Kulturtransfer: Akten der zweiten Forschungstagung des Graduiertenkollegs "Anatolien und seine Nachbarn" der Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen (20. bis 22. November 2003), ed. Mirko Novák/Friedhelm Prayon/Anne-Maria Wittke (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2004), 426 with note 4; Singer, Hittites and the Bible Revisited, 735. See also Görg, Hiwwiter im 13. Jahrhundert v. Chr., 53-55, who further demonstrates the northern origins of the Hivites; and Othniel Margalith, The Hivites, ZAW 100 (1988), 60-70, who attempts to equate the Hivites with the Achaeans. According to the Bible, the Hivites inhabited the central and northern portions of the land from Gibeon north to Mt. Hermon (David W. Baker, Hivites, ABD III:234).

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their name as an alternate designation for the city[10]. A king of Jerusalem in the second millennium correspondence from el-Amarna in Egypt bore the Hurrian name Abdu-Hepa, suggesting that the Jebusite ruling class, if not the entire Jebusite population, was Hurrian[11]. "Araunah", the name of the Jebusite who sold the threshing floor to David, also appears to be Hurrian[12]. If the Jebusites, or their ruling elite, were Hurrians, then, like the Hivites, they were ultimately of northern origin[13]. One piece of extra-biblical evidence has come to light, however, that suggests a different identification. A cuneiform letter from Mari refers to an Amorite tribe known as the Yabusi'um, perhaps to be identified with the Jebusites[14]. If either of these affiliations proves true for the Jebusites, they will have formed a segment of the Late Bronze Age population of northern Syria.

The Perizzites are unattested outside of the Bible. Often paired with the Canaanites, it has been suggested that each symbolically embodied a larger body of nations, either the major and minor nations, or, alternatively, Semitic and non-Semitic peoples[15]. The Girgashites appear only occasionally in the biblical lists of nations, but the personal name "Girgiši" (*grgš*) is attested at Ugarit[16]. Attempts to connect the Girgashites with peoples of western Anatolia, although inconclusive, cannot be dismissed outright[17].

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10 Edwin C. Hostetter, Nations Mightier and More Numerous: The Biblical View of Palestine's Pre-Israelite Peoples (North Richland, TX: BIBAL Press, 1995), 77. Cf. ABD III, 653 for the case against identifying Jebus with Jerusalem.

11 Although he was king of Jerusalem, there is no evidence that Abdu-Hepa was a Jebusite. On the Jebusites as Hurrians, see Hoffner, The Hittites and Hurrians, 225.

12 The name of David's scribe, Sheva, has an Egyptian, not a Hurrian, derivation according to David Carr, Writing on the Table of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature (Oxford: Oxford University, 2005), 117.

13 On the Hurrians in Palestine see Hoffner, Hittites and Hurrians, 221-226; Mendenhall, Tenth Generation, 158; John C.L. Gibson, Observations on Some Important Ethnic Terms in the Pentateuch, JNES 20 (1961), 227-229; Ephraim A. Speiser, The Hurrian Participation in the Civilizations of Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine, CHM 1 (1953), 311-327.

14 Edward Lipiński, Itineraria Phoenicia (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 127; Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 502. He rejects the identification of the Jebusites as Hurrian, but suggests that "Yabusi" was the name of an Amorite clan or tribe that had settled in Jerusalem.

15 Ishida, The Lists of Pre-Israelite Nations, 479-480. On the Perizzites, see also Nadav Na'aman, Canaanites and Perizzites, BN 45 (1988), 42-47; Edwin C. Hostetter, Nations Mightier and More Numerous, 80-83.

16 Mendenhall, Tenth Generation, 145. See also the discussion in Hostetter, Nations Mightier and More Numerous, 62-66.

17 F.-M. Abel (Géographie de la Palestine, vol. 1 [Paris: Gabalda, 1933-1938], 325) proposed to connect them with Karkiša, a town in western Anatolia attested in Hittite texts of the thirteenth century BCE, and John Pairman Brown (The Mediterranean Seer and Shamanism, ZAW 93 [1981], 399) to the Gergithians, remnants of the Teucrians (Herodotus 5.122; cf. 7.43), or

The Hittites typically occupy one of the first three positions in the lists, in alternating order with the Amorites and Canaanites. All three appear to represent major population groups, whether political or ethnic, and their interchangeability suggests that they shared a certain parity, at least in the eyes of the biblical authors. In cuneiform literature, the term *amurru* "West" is both a geographical designation for the lands to the west of Mesopotamia as well as an ethnic and cultural designation for the Amorite people who, speaking their own language and worshiping their own gods, lived in the west. Sometime in the fifteenth century BCE, a kingdom of Amurru established itself in the upper Orontes Valley region of Syria (covering some of the territory that would later become Hamath). The competition for control of this vassal kingdom lay at the center of the hostilities between Egypt and the Hittites, leading up to the battle of Qadeš. Once recaptured by Muṇattalli, Amurru remained loyal to the Hittite kings until the collapse of the Hittite Empire at the end of the Bronze Age[18]. In the biblical texts "Amorites" is used primarily as a reference to the pre-Israelite inhabitants of Canaan, and although in the biblical text it may mean different things at different times, it is possible that in the lists of nations it refers to the population of Late Bronze Age Amurru.

Geographically, the term Canaan has also been difficult to pin down. It appears to include, in particular, the cities in northern coastal Palestine, such as Tyre, Arvad, Ṣumur, Byblos, and Sidon, as well as inland Hazor[19]. Territorially, its northern border ended at Amurru, although, at times, it appears to include Ugarit[20]. Nadav Na'aman argues that the term in the Late Bronze Age refers specifically to the entirety of Egypt's Asian province and so was a specific political and geographical entity[21]. Others assert that there was no identifiable land of "Canaan" and the use of the term in antiquity was as ambiguous and imprecise as it is today[22]. Yet, however we understand the label, Canaan, situated roughly along the eastern Mediterranean seaboard, was a major player in the politics and culture of Late Bronze Age Western Asia.

Tjeker, who had settled along the northern coast of Palestine near Dor at the beginning of the Iron Age. See also Hostetter, Nations Mightier and More Numerous, 64-65.

18 See Itamar Singer, A Concise History of Amurru, in: Amurru Akkadian: A Linguistic Study, Vol. II (HSS 41; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), 135-195.

19 Gibson, Some Important Ethnic Terms, 217-220.

20 A.R. Millard, The Canaanites, in: Peoples of Old Testament Times, ed. D.J. Wiseman (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973), 30.

21 Nadav Na'aman, Four Notes on the Size of Late Bronze Age Canaan, BASOR 313 (1999), 31-37, with bibliography.

22 Niels Peter Lemche, The Canaanites and Their Land: The Tradition of the Canaanites (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 52, concludes that "to the scribe of ancient Western Asia "Canaanite" always designated a person who did not belong to the scribe's own society or state, while Canaan was considered to be a country different from his own".

In sum, although the data remain incomplete, the lists arguably reflect to a large extent the ethnic and political make-up of the northern Levant and Syria at the end of the Bronze Age. Thus, the "nations" could have a basis, however attenuated by time, in historical reality for the region north of Palestine in the Late Bronze Age. But how do we then account for the Hittites mentioned elsewhere in the Bible, who were supposedly living in the Judean hill country (Num 13:29; Josh 11:3), and, according to Genesis, were particularly associated with Hebron (Gen 23) and Beersheba (Gen 26:34; 27:46)[23]? The answer may lie the ill-fated struggle of Syria and Palestine against Assyrian aggression.

Following on the conquest of Samaria in 722 BCE, Sargon II of Assyria continued the systematic destruction of the Neo-Hittite kingdoms of northern Syria. Assyrian forces ravaged Hamath in 720 BCE, destroying its citadel and displacing its population with settlers from Assyria[24]. According to 2 Kgs 17:24, the population of Hamath was deported to Samaria, where it continued to worship its own gods beside Yahweh (2 Kgs 17:29-34). One by one, the cities of Syria fell, and with them went the last vestiges of Hittite culture. With the fall of Karkemiš in 717 BCE, the Hittites disappeared from history. Although the term "Hittite" as an ethnicon ceased to carry any political or historical relevence after Sargon II, Assyrian records continued to employ the term *māt Ḫatti* "land of the Hittites" as a geographical designation to refer to northern Syria[25].

Sargon's conquests had a profound impact on the inhabitants of Syria-Palestine. Long dominated by the culturally more-developed north[26], the southern kingdom of Judah now found itself absorbing an inpouring of refugees from Samaria[27]. These exiles brought with them a more cosmopolitan outlook, owing to their greater political and commercial contacts compared with the less urbanized south, and a vigorous literary tradition – a legacy from their Canaanite forebears.

23 The hill country south of Jerusalem in the Late Bronze Age was a very sparsely populated region. Israel Finkelstein, The Rise of Jerusalem and Judah: The Missing Link, in: Jerusalem in Bible and Archaeology: The First Temple Period, ed. Andrew G. Vaughn and Ann E. Killebrew (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 86-87, estimates the population of Jerusalem-controlled territory in the Late Bronze Age at a mere 1500 sedentary people.

24 The Hittite citadel at Hamath remained unoccupied (J.D. Hawkins, Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions, Vol. 1, Parts 1-3, Inscriptions of the Iron Age [Berlin: de Gruyter, 2000], 402), suggesting that the Assyrians did not use the city as a provincial capital.

25 Mordechai Cogan, Locating *māt Ḫatti* in Neo-Assyrian Inscriptions, in: Aharon Kempinski Memorial Volume: Studies in Archaeology and Related Disciplines, ed. E.D. Oren and S. Ahituv (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev Press, 2002), 86-92.

26 See, e.g., Finkelstein, The Rise of Jerusalem and Judah, 81-101.

27 William M. Schniedewind, Jerusalem, the Late Judaean Monarchy, and the Composition of Biblical Texts, in: Jerusalem in Bible and Archaeology: The First Temple Period, ed. Andrew G. Vaughn and Ann E. Killebrew (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature), 375-393.

As part of a pan-Levantine scribal tradition, the inhabitants of Palestine had long been exposed to the great literature of Mesopotamia and Egypt as well as to native traditions reflected for example, in biblical poetry, with its clear affinities to earlier Canaanite poetry[28]. The Amarna archive preserves the correspondence between the Pharaoh and the Bronze Age (Hurrian) rulers of Jerusalem (EA 286-290). Like these earlier kings, David and Solomon too were attributed with having scribes[29]. However, from the twelfth century to the ninth, Israel remained an oral society, in which writing played a limited role, primarily for administrative purposes. The twelfth-century abecedary from Izbet Ṣarṭah, the tenth-century Gezer calendar, a few ostraca from Arad dating to the tenth century, and a handful of monumental inscriptions from the ninth century are among the very few examples of writing from the region in this period, but indicate that scribal training, however limited, was taking place[30]. The Egyptian story of Wenamon describes the responsibilities of the scribe of the ruler of Byblos in the eleventh century BCE as being correspondence and accounting[31]. However, at least from the tenth century, royal scribes also seem to have kept historical registers of some kind, as they were able to recount historical events like Pharaoh Shishak's campaign accurately two hundred years after it occurred (1 Kgs 14:25-30)[32]. The epigraphic and literary evidence for the survival of an educational tradition in northern Palestine support the likelihood that the early Israelite scribal tradition, as well as its administrative infrastructure, drew upon the traditions of the Late Bronze Age Canaanite urban centers[33]. New archaeological investigations are also revealing the extent of continuity in the northern valleys between the Late Bronze Age and the subsequent Iron Age in Palestine[34]. Thus, whether transmitted orally or by means of historical records[35], it is reasonable to assume that the Israelites retained a collective memory of the Hittites and other Late Bronze Age political and ethnic entities through the Iron I and early Iron II periods.

28 See Schniedewind, How the Bible Became a Book (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 47. See also Carr, Writing on the Tablet of the Heart, chapters 3 and 4 on the influence of Mesopotamian and Egyptian scribal systems on Late Bronze Age Palestine.

29 See e.g., Schniedewind, How the Bible Became a Book, 59-60.

30 Schniedewind, How the Bible Became a Book, 61; Carr, Writing on the Tablet of the Heart, 123, 163.

31 B. Mazar, The Early Biblical Period (Jerusalem: Israel Exploation Society, 1986), 133.

32 Schniedewind, How the Bible Became a Book, 19-20.

33 On the continuity of scribal tradition between the Late Bronze and Iron Ages in Israel, see Schniedewind, How the Bible Became a Book, 20, 47-49, 52, 56-57.

34 Finkelstein, The Rise of Jerusalem and Judah, 90.

35 See Carr, Writing on the Tablet of the Heart, 142 for the Deuteronomistic historian's reliance on annalistic materials, perhaps originating in monumental display inscriptions.

Along with these literary traditions, the refugees from Samaria also brought intensified exposure to Assyrian culture and religion. "In the late eighth through seventh centuries the rural Judahite state had two foreign cultures, Samaria and Assyria, thrust upon them."[36]. Sargon's inscriptions – his official rhetoric – referred to the rulers of the Neo-Hittite states, including Karkemiš, Kummuḫ, Gurgum, Melid, Tabal, and Hamath, as "evil Hittites" (*Ḫattê lemnī*)[37]. Embedded in these new influences from the north, therefore, could have been a rhetorical tradition about the Hittites, one drawn from the stylistic literary conventions that characterize the Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions[38].

In the hands of the burgeoning southern scribal institution, northern lore and Assyrian literary convention merged and were turned to a new ideological purpose. The overarching concerns of the passages invoking the lists of nations are the conquest of the nations and the prohibition against intermarriage[39]. The latter also forms the basis for Ezekiel's admonition against Jerusalem. He reminds the city of her origins in the land of the Canaanites – "your father was an Amorite and your mother a Hittite" (Ezek 16:3; cf. Ezek 16:45). Ezekiel is not evoking some dim historical memory of a time when Hittites inhabited the region. The admonition begins with the words, "You are the daughter of your mother, who loathed her husband and her children; and you are the sister of your sisters, who loathed their husbands and their children" (Ezek 16:44-45). This use of kinship terminology to underscore the sinfulness of Jerusalem favors a figurative interpretation rather than the traditional interpretation that the use of "mother" is an historical allusion to a time when Hittites lived in Jerusalem[40]. The anxiety over intermarriage with the nations is also expressed in the Patriarchal narratives (Gen 23; 26:34-35; 27:46)[41], when Esau takes as wives Judith and Basemath, daughters of the Hittites

36 Schniedewind, Jerusalem ... and the Composition of Biblical Texts, 385.

37 van Seters, The Terms Amorite and Hittite, 67; Cogan, Locating *māt Ḫatti*, 89; Hawkins, Hatti, RlA 4, 1972-1975, 154b.

38 See Cogan, Locating *māt Ḫatti*, 86 for the stylistic nature of the Assyrian annals as opposed to archival documents. Notably, among the refugees from the northern kingdom could have been Hamathites, who, according to 2 Kgs 17:24, were deported to Samaria (see also below).

39 For the conquest theme, see e.g., Deut 7:1-4; 20:17; Josh 24:11-12; Exod 3:8; 3:17; 33:2; 34:11; 23:23; Ezra 9:1; for intermarriage, see, e.g., Deut 7:1-4; Ezra 9:1-2. Van Seters (The Terms Amorite and Hittite, 67-72) argues convincingly for the rhetorical nature of the lists of nations, but note that van Seters sees Assyrian influence only in the vagueness of their geographical use of the designations "Hittite" and "Amorite".

40 As argued by van Seters, The Terms Amorite and Hittite, 80. For alternative interpretations see, e.g., Anton Jirku, Eine hethitische Ansiedlung in Jerusalem zur Zeit von El-Amarna, ZDPV 43 (1920), 58-59; N. Wyatt, 'Arauna the Jebusite' and the Throne of David, Studia Theologica 39 (1985), 42.

41 Van Seters, The Terms Amorite and Hittite, 68.

Beeri and Elon respectively, against his parents' wishes (Gen 26:34-35; in Genesis 36:2, Adah is the daughter of Elon, wife of Esau).

In the story of Abraham's purchase of the cave of Machpelah from Ephron the Hittite[42], the seller, Ephron, is willing to turn over the cave without cost, but Abraham insists on paying and thus symbolically legitimizes his residence in the land. This motif is mirrored in the story of David's purchase of the threshing floor in Jerusalem from Araunah the Jebusite (2 Sam 24:24) and the section of the field in Shechem that Jacob purchases from the Hivite Sons of Hamor (Gen 33:19; Josh 24:32)[43]. Neither the ethnicity of the locals, nor the towns in which the purchases occurred, is coincidental. Hebron, Shechem, and Jerusalem were all major centers in the pre-Israelite period, the cooption of which by the Israelites was essential to their foundational story of Israelite origins[44]. The fact that the Patriarchal stories put the Hittites in the region of Hebron (Gen 23) and Beersheba (Gen 26:34; 27:46), that is, in the Judean hill country, the very territory that the lists of nations also identify as the Hittite homeland (Num 13:29, Josh 11:3) is not evidence of their historical and geographical accuracy but of a shared literary patrimony. The two threads of tradition merged and the Hittites became, along with the Jebusites, Hivites, Amorites, and so on, a convenient "Other," imagined as living in the Hill Country for the "newly arrived" Israelites to conquer. The Hittites and their companions offered, in short, a negative counter-identity ("indigenous" peoples) against which a collective Israelite identity could be constructed[45]. Finally, it is regularly noted that all of the "Hittites" in the Patriarchal stories bear Semitic, rather

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42 The idea, suggested half a century ago, that the story of Abraham's purchase of the cave is "permeated with" elements of Late Bronze Age Hittite legal customs has been soundly disproved. See M. Lehmann, Machpelah and Hittite Law, BASOR 129 (1953), 15-18; and the refutation by Gene M. Tucker, The Legal Background of Genesis 23, JBL 85 (1966), 77-84; Hoffner, Some Contributions of Hittitology to Old Testament Study, Tyndale Bulletin 20 (1969), 33-37. But more recently, Raymond Westbrook (Property and the Family in Biblical Law [Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991], 24-35) argues that the story of the purchase of the cave reflects Late Bronze Age customs and therefore its authorship is of considerably greater antiquity than its assignment to a sixth-century Priestly source would allow.

43 See B. Mazar, The Historical Background of the Book of Genesis, JNES 28 (1969), 82; Tucker, The Legal Background, 78; John van Seters, Abraham in History and Tradition (New Haven, CT: Yale University, 1975), 98-99. Na'aman, The 'Conquest of Canaan', 274-277 compares also the Gibeonite story of Joshua 9.

44 See Finkelstein, The Rise of Jerusalem and Judah, 89 with note 47 on the importance of Hebron in the Iron Age.

45 On the Canaanites as "Other" in the Hebrew Bible, see the articles by Robert L. Cohn (Before Israel: The Canaanites as Other in the Biblical Tradition, 74-90) and Peter Machinist (Outsiders or Insiders: The Biblical View of Emergent Israel and Its Contexts, pp. 35-60) in: The Other in Jewish Thought and History: Constructions of Jewish Culture and Identity, ed. L.S. Silberstein and R.L. Cohn (New York: New York University, 1994).

than Anatolian, names[46], but this would hardly be surprising if the Hittites are incorporated into the narrative primarily as a paradigm for the "Other"[47].

The answer to the question whether the Hittites in the Bible can be identified with the Hittites of Late Bronze Age is a firm yes – but not specifically with those living in Anatolia. Rather, the biblical authors were coopting a historical memory of peoples who lived in the Hittite-controlled territories directly to their north who did not qualify already as Canaanite or Amorite (i.e., a citizen of the state of Amurru), whatever their individual ethnic affiliation might be. If the lists of nations were a product of the Northern Kingdom derived from a Canaanite source, then we do not need to seek these ethnicities in the Judean Hills, but rather in northern Palestine and Syria. Although the lists of nations may initially have been compiled while the Neo-Hittite cities were still flourishing, the original compilation probably drew on oral traditions and annalistic records that commemorated the significant role that the Hittites played in the region, particularly in northern Palestine, toward the end of the Bronze Age.

What the lists are not are factual accounts of the ethnic composition of the Palestinian population before the arrival of the Israelites[48]. Only with the influx of refugees from Samaria and the subsequent eruption of literary activity in Jerusalem that accompanied the urbanization of the south in the late-eighth century, did the Hittites "enter" the hill country of Judah. With the Neo-Hittite kingdoms gone and their populations dispersed, the use of the term "Hittite" quickly became, under the influence of Assyrian usage, a rhetorical tool at the hands of Jerusalem-based biblical writers who retained no direct memory of a historical people called Hittites. This literary use was extended beyond the stereotypical lists of nations into the Patriarchal stories and Ezekiel's admonition and explains why the biblical passages assign the Hittite homeland to the Judean Hills, an area that had largely remained unpopulated until Sennacherib's invasion in 701 BCE, but became of central importance in establishing a sense of national self-identity in the late eighth to seventh centuries[49].

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46 E.g., Hoffner, The Hittites and Hurrians, 214.

47 The ethnicity of Uriah the Hittite, husband to Bathsheba, whom David sent to his death (2 Sam 11), requires a separate explanation, for which see Collins, Who Were the Hittites?

48 With Niels Peters Lemche, The Canaanites and Their Land, 84.

49 Schniedewind, Jerusalem ... and the Composition of Biblical Texts, 381-382; Israel Finkelstein, The Archaeology of the Days of Manasseh, in: Scripture and Other Artifacts: Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Honor of Philip J. King, ed. M. Coogan et al. (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1994), 173-175.