



## Collective Punishment of the Family in light of Hittite Texts

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### ABSTRACT

#### [AR]

اتسم المجتمع الحيثي بوضع القوانين والتشريعات من أجل تحقيق العدالة والاستقرار داخل المجتمع، ومن البديهي أن تطبق العقوبة على مرتكب الجرم فقط سواء أكان فرد أو مجموعة، ولكن الغريب في الأمر أنه كانت تمتد العقوبة إلى عائلته، وهو ما يمكن أن يتم تسميته بالعقوبة الجماعية، واختلفت العناصر المستهدفة للعقوبة الجماعية في المملكة الحيثية وفقاً لمرتكب فعل الجرم، فإذا كان الجاني متمثلاً في الملك فلا يعاقب وحده وإنما يعاقب المجتمع ككل، وكذلك تعاقب المدينة بجرم حاكمها، وتعاقب الأسرة إذا كان الجاني هو الأب، وغالباً كان العقاب الجماعي للمجتمع والمدينة متمثل في الغضب الإلهي، بينما تنوعت العقوبات الجماعية على الأسرة متمثلة في عقوبات إلهية وقضائية، وسيركز البحث فقط على العقوبة الجماعية الواقعة على العائلة بمزيد من التحليل والتفصيل، حيث لم تنص القوانين الحيثية على هذه العقوبة باستثناء مادة واحدة فقط، بينما فرضت هذه العقوبة من قبل الملوك من خلال مراسيم وتعليمات موجهة إلى خدم وموظفي القصر، وكذلك إلى مسؤولي المعبد، ولهذا الأمر ستقوم الباحثة بتحليل النصوص المتعلقة بموضوع البحث لتحديد الجرائم التي تطبق عليها العقوبة، وكذلك على كيفية تطبيقها والهدف منها.

**الكلمات المفتاحية:** الحيثيون- الغضب الإلهي- الجرائم- العقوبات- الأسرة- المجتمع

[EN]Hittite society was characterized by the establishment of laws and regulations designed to ensure justice and stability within the community. Punishment was expected to be imposed solely on the individual responsible for the crime, whether an individual or a group. However, the strange aspect is that the punishment often extended to the perpetrator's family, which can be described as collective punishment. The targeted elements of collective punishment in the Hittite kingdom varied according to the person committing the crime. If the offender was the king, he was not punished alone, but the entire community would be punished. Similarly, a city would be punished for the crimes of its ruler, and a family would be punished if the offender was the father. The collective punishment of a society or city was often represented in divine wrath. In contrast, collective punishments imposed on families varied, including both divine and judicial penalties. This study will concentrate mainly on the collective punishment of families, providing a detailed analysis. Notably, Hittite laws did not stipulate this punishment, except for one only article. However, such penalties were enforced by kings through decrees and directives issued to palace officials, temple authorities, and other functionaries. Therefore, this paper will analyze relevant texts to delineate the offenses subject to collective punishment, the methods of enforcement, and the underlying objectives of these measures.

**Keywords:** Hittites - Divine Wrath - Offenses - Punishments - Family – Society.

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## INTRODUCTION

In Hittite society, the legislator viewed punishment as compensation for the harm inflicted.<sup>1</sup>

In Hittite society, collective punishment was applied to all family members. In the ancient Near East, the family was seen as an extension of a man's identity, with children sharing the same mind and traits as their father. In some cases, punishment was applied to everyone, not only eliminating the "perpetrator" but also destroying all family members to prevent evil from spreading and affecting others.<sup>2</sup>

According to TIGAY, the concept of collective retribution aligns with the idea of family solidarity, as the individual was not viewed as the fundamental social unit, but rather the family as an integrated whole. The individuals were not seen as separate entities but were closely linked to their relatives, including past and future generations. As descendants inherit the blessings and good fortune of their ancestors, they are equally affected by their misfortunes and the resulting punishment.<sup>3</sup> Consequently, collective punishment is imposed on a social group, typically the family or household, rather than the individual alone.<sup>4</sup>

The Hittite state's practice of collective punishment stemmed from its tribal roots and customs, which were justified by the belief that the wrathful gods would exact vengeance not only on the perpetrator but also on their entire family.<sup>5</sup> According to this belief, the crime incited divine anger, and only the shedding of multiple lives could appease this wrath.<sup>6</sup>

Collective punishment, however, was not limited to divine retribution; it also encompassed human anger. As evidenced in the Hittite texts, anger was often associated with power dynamics and was closely tied to specific individuals and relationships. Examples include: the anger of the gods toward humans, the king's anger toward his subjects, and the master's anger toward his servant. Thus, anger could be a matter of both divine and human concern. This is further evidenced by the use of the verb "kartimmiya"<sup>7</sup> to describe both human and divine anger.

<sup>1</sup>-TAŞ, I.& DINLER, V.: «Hittite Criminal Law in the Light of Modern Paradigms. Searching for the Traces of Modern-Day Criminal Law in the Past.», In: *AJNES*, IX, N°.1, 2015, 76.

<sup>2</sup>-WIDMER, M.: Moses, God, and the Dynamics of Intercessory Prayer, A Study of Exodus 32-34 and Numbers 13-14, (FAT 2. Reihe 8), Tübingen, 2004, 194.

<sup>3</sup>-TIGAY, J. H.: *דברים*, Deuteronomy (The JPS Torah Commentary), New York, 1996, 436., WIDMER, M.: Moses, God, and the Dynamics, 194.

<sup>4</sup>-WEBB, W. J.& OESTE, G. O.: Bloody, Brutal, and Barbaric? Wrestling with Troubling War Texts, Westmont, Illinois, 2019. 44.

<sup>5</sup>-TETLOW, E. M.: Women, Crime, and Punishment in Ancient Law and Society: Volume 1: The Ancient Near East, New York&London, 2004, 198.

<sup>6</sup>-TETLOW, Women, Crime, and Punishment, 196.

<sup>7</sup>-VANSEVEREN, S.: «Hittite kartim(m)iye/a-: réflexions sur le vocabulaire de la colère en hittite.», In: Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Hittitology (Warsaw, 5-9 September 2011), edited by Piotr Taracha & Magdalena Kapelusz, 995-1015, Warsaw, 2014.

Furthermore, the verb "lēlaniya" is also documented in Hittite laws and the myths of the gods, referring to a state of uncontrollable anger, whether divine or human<sup>8</sup>

## 1. Types of Collective Punishments

Collective punishment was linked only to the individual who committed the crime. Through analyzing and studying historical texts, it was found that collective punishment by the god ! would be imposed on the entire society if the king committed an evil action. Similarly, punishments would be inflicted on a specific city if its ruler was responsible for the crime. In contrast, the punishment would extend to the entire family if the father was the offender.

The research will briefly address examples of these punishments but will focus primarily on the collective punishment imposed on the family as a whole, offering more detailed analysis and in-depth examination of this specific aspect.

### 1.1. Collective Punishment on Society

During the reign of Šuppiluliuma I (1350–1322 BCE), a plague struck Hatti, decimating its population for over two decades. Both the king and his eldest son, Arnuwanda II (1322–1321 BCE), died of the plague, 's ili IIšas referenced in Mur<sup>9</sup> "Plague Prayer" (CTH 378.II).<sup>10</sup>

**"O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady! O gods, my lords! What is this [you have done]? You have allowed a plague into Hatti, so that Hatti has been badly oppressed [by the plague. People kept dying] at the time of my father, at the time of my brother, and now since I have become priest of the gods, they keep on dying [in my time]. For twenty years now people have been dying [in great numbers] in Hatti. Hatti [has been very badly damaged] by the plague".<sup>11</sup>**

Although Mursili II himself was not guilty, he accepted that the burden of the crimes and negligence of his ancestors in offering sacrifices had fallen upon him. He believed that he alone was capable of taking action to rid the land of the devastating plague. The Plague Prayer of King Muršili II poignantly reflects the despair of the afflicted king:

According to the plague prayer of King "Muršili II," the discovery of ancient tablets revealed that the cause of divine punishment was attributed to the negligence of kings in offering sacrifices to the river Malā (Euphrates) and to King Shuppiluliuma I's breach of the Kurustama treaty established between the

<sup>8</sup>-VANSEVEREN, S.: "Anger and Hatred in Hittite Texts", In: The Routledge Handbook of Emotions in the Ancient Near East, edited by KAREN SONIK & ULRIKE STEINERT, 642-660, London & New York, 2023, 648.

<sup>9</sup>-SINGER, I.: Hittite Prayers, Atlanta, Georgia, 2002, 47.

<sup>10</sup>-KUERT, A., The Ancient Near East c. 3000-330 BC, New York, 1995, 376; GOETZE, A.: «Plague Prayers of Mursilis!», In: ANET, edited by JAMES B. PRITCHARD, New Jersey, 1969, 394, [1]; SINGER, I.: Hittite Prayers, Atlanta, Georgia, 2002, 56, No. 10, [6: 1-6]; KUB XIV 8.

<sup>11</sup>-KUERT, A., The Ancient Near East c. 3000-330 BC, 275; WEBB, W, J. & OESTE, G, O, Bloody, Brutal, and Barbaric?, 50.

Egyptians and the Hittites. This was further exacerbated by incursions into the territory of "Amka"<sup>12</sup> and the capture of Egyptian prisoners brought to Hatti.<sup>13</sup>

Although Muršili II himself was not culpable, he accepted that the burden of his predecessors' offenses and their neglect in performing the necessary sacrifices rested upon him. He felt solely responsible for taking action to free the land from the terrifying plague. The plague prayer poignantly captures the despair of the beleaguered king:<sup>14</sup>

**"Hattian Storm-god, my lord, (and) ye gods, my lords! It is only too true that man is sinful. My father sinned and transgressed against the word of the Hattian Storm-god, my lord. But I have not sinned in any respect. It is only too true, however, that the father's sin falls upon the son. So, my father's sin has fallen upon me".**<sup>15</sup>

The Hittite king appeals to the gods so that the punishment is limited to the offender, rather than imposing it on the entire community:

**"Whoever is a cause of rage and anger to the gods, and whoever is not respectful to the gods, let not the good ones perish with the evil ones. Whether it is a single town, a single house, or a single person, O gods, destroy only that one!"**<sup>16</sup>

A parallel situation is reflected in King Muwatalli's prayer to the Storm God (CTH 382), when Kizzuwadna<sup>17</sup> suffered from drought as a result of the neglect of its religious practices and the mismanagement of its wealth, along with that of the god, which occurred during his father's reign:

**"...If some single town, or some single house does wrong, take vengeance for it, O god, on that single town, or on that single house, and [destroy] it. But do not take vengeance for it on the land. May the Storm-god, my lord, [regard] the land with conciliatory eyes [again]"**<sup>18</sup>

<sup>12</sup>-Amqa/ Amki: Late Bronze Age country located in the Bika' valley of central Syria, on the frontier of Egyptian subject territory. It became embroiled in the contests between Egypt and Hatti for the control of states to which both kingdoms laid claim, notably the kingdoms of Amurru and Qadesh., BRYCE, T.: The routledge handbook of the peoples and places of Ancient Western Asia. The Near East from the early Bronze age to the fall of the Persian empire, London& New York, 2009, 38.

<sup>13</sup>-MALAMAT, A.: «Doctrines of Causality in Hittite and Biblical Historiography: A Parallel», VT, 5, 1955, 2; SINGER, Hittite Prayers, 48.

<sup>14</sup>-KUHRT, A., The Ancient Near East c. 3000-330 BC, 275; WEBB, W, J.& OESTE, G, O, Bloody, Brutal, and Barbaric?, 50.

<sup>15</sup>-GOETZE, «Plague Prayers of MursilisI», 395, (9 )

<sup>16</sup>-SINGER, Hittite Prayers, 53, No. 8, [10: A ii 61-67 [54'-60']; GOETZE, «Plague Prayers of MursilisI», 396, [b].

<sup>17</sup>-Late Bronze Age country and kingdom in southern Anatolia. The territory it occupied was of considerable strategic importance, since through it passed major routes linking Anatolia with the states of northern Syria. First attested in the reign of the Hittite king Telipinu (1525-1500), Kizzuwadna was probably established as an independent kingdom during the upheavals which afflicted the Hittite world in the reign of Telipinu's predecessor-but-one Ammuna., BRYCE, T.: The routledge handbook of the peoples and places, 392 .

<sup>18</sup>-SINGER, Hittite Prayers, 82&84, No. 19, [6: obv. 32-39]

It is clear from the above that the king was responsible for the collective punishment in the form of divine wrath upon the society. The Hittite king was considered the primary intermediary between the people and the gods.<sup>19</sup> Therefore, any negligence in his duties toward the gods, as well as the king's violation of oaths or treaties, would result in divine anger.

### 2.1. Collective Punishment on the City.

The Hittite king established vassal treaties with subordinate rulers, who were obligated to take an oath before numerous gods to uphold the provisions of the treaty. The primary aim of these agreements was to maintain the cohesion of the Hittite Empire. However, some Hittite vassals were willing to risk the wrath of the gods and the military might of the Hittite armies in their pursuit of independence. For instance, a passage from a treaty between King Šuppiluliuma I and the 20 Mitanni king Shattiwaza illustrates that the intended target of punishment was the city itself, rather than the individual perpetrator.

**"If you, Prince Shattiwaza and you Hurrians do not observe the words of this treaty, the gods, lords of the oath, shall destroy you [and] you Hurrians, together with your land, your wives, and your possessions. They will draw you out like malt from its husk. As one does not get a plant from the midst of . . . so you, together with any other wife whom you might take (in place of my daughter), and you Hurrians, together with your wives, your sons, and you land, shall thus have no progeny. And these gods, who are lords of the oath, shall allot you poverty and destitution..."**<sup>21</sup>

### 3.1. Collective Punishment of the Family.

Numerous offenses were subject to collective punishment that extended to both the offender and their family. This encompassed serious crimes such as murder, sorcery, and the desecration of sacred sites, as well as lesser infractions, including the use of inappropriate materials in the production of shoes or garments for the king, or simply provoking the king or master. The punishment for such crimes often involved the execution of the perpetrator, along with their spouse, children, other relatives, and servants.<sup>22</sup>

The following section provides a more detailed and analytical discussion of the cases in which collective punishment was applied:

#### 3.1.1: Sorcery:

The penalty for such practices was death. During the Old Hittite period, the king imposed the death penalty on all men who practiced sorcery in the capital,<sup>23</sup>

<sup>19</sup>-HOFFNER, H, A.: « The royal cult in Hatti », In: Text, Artifact, and Image: Revealing ancient Israelite Religion, edited by Beckman, G. & LEWIS, T., 132-151, Providence, 2006, 145.

<sup>20</sup>-REICHARDT, K, M.: «Linguistic structures of Hittite and Luvian curse formulae», PhD Thesis, The University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1998, 22-23.

<sup>21</sup>-BECKMAN, G.: Hittite Diplomatic text, Atlanta, 1996, 43-44, No.6A, [15 : A rev. 58-69]; CTH 51.

<sup>22</sup>-TETLOW, Women, Crime, and Punishment, 198-199.

<sup>23</sup>-HOBSON, G, T.: «Punitive Expulsion in the Ancient Near East», In: *Journal for Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical Law*, 17, 2011, 29.

including members of the royal family. Moreover, all relatives of the sorcerer who did not report the offense to the authorities were also subject to punishment.<sup>24</sup>

This is evident in Article 50 of the decree of Telipinu (1525–1500): **"Regarding cases of sorcery in Hattusa: keep cleaning up (i.e., investigating and punishing) instances. Whoever in the royal family practises sorcery seize him and deliver him to the king's court. But it will go badly for that man (C adds: and for his household) who does not deliver him"**.<sup>25</sup>

If Hittite laws did not explicitly stipulate the execution of sorcerers, it can be inferred that the trials presented before the royal court (DI.KUD LUGAL) were generally serious enough to warrant the death penalty.<sup>26</sup>

During the period of the Hittite Empire, the severity of punishment was often determined by the social status of both the offender and the victim.<sup>27</sup>

Arma-Tarhunta employed various strategies to undermine Hattušili before the king, one of which included practicing sorcery against him, as indicated in the decree of apology:<sup>28</sup>

**"They found witchcraft on Armatarhunta, with his wife (and) his sons, and they charged him with it. He had filled Samuha, the city of my goddess, with witch[craf]t, so the goddess, My Lady, made him succumb to me. And with his property, his wife (and) his son my brother turned him over to me and my brother said to me: "Šippaziti (is) not involved)." So, because my brother had made me triumph over [Arma]tarhunta through the process, I did not fall back into further evil against him, and [be]cause Armatarhunta was a blood relative of mine, (and because) moreover, he was an old man, he provoked (feelings of) pity in me [a]nd I let him go.**

<sup>24</sup>-HAASE, R.: «The Hittite Kingdom», In: A History of Ancient Near Eastern Law, edited by RAYMOND WESTBROOK, Hdo, 1, Leiden-Boston, 2003, 651; TETLOW, Women, Crime, and Punishment, 199.

<sup>25</sup>- ROTH, M, T.: Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor. 2nd ed. Atlanta, 1997, 237-238.

<sup>26</sup>-MARTINO, S.: «Death Penalty in the Hittite Documentation», In: Strafe und Strafrecht in den Antiken Welten: Unter Berücksichtigung von Todesstrafe, Hinrichtung und peinlicher Befragung, edited by ROLLINGER, R, M. LANG, M., & BARTA, H, 191-202, Wiesbaden, 2012, 197; ARCHI, A.: "Le 'leggi ittite' e il diritto processuale", In: I diritti del mondo cuneiforme (Mesopotamia e regioni adiacenti, ea. 2500-500 a.C.), edited by LIVERANI, M & MORA, C, 273-292, Pavia- Italia, 2008, 284.

<sup>27</sup>- TETLOW, Women, Crime, and Punishment, 217.

<sup>28</sup>- It was a formal speech or giving an explanation to reply and rebut the charges, the primary sense today often refers to a plea for forgiveness for a wrong act. However his text ends with the meaning of his text, which was excavated in a magazine of Temple I in Hattusa. It appeared to be an edict or a hymn in favor of his personal deity Ištar of Šamuha., BLASWEILER, J.: «Tarhuntassa, city of king Muwattalli II and the Stormgod of Piḫaššašši.», In: Arnheim (nl), 2014, 27.

Sippaziti, to[o], his [son], I let go.' I did not harm them in any way. Armatarhunta's [wi]fe and his (other) son, however, I sent to Alašiya." <sup>29</sup>

Arma-Tarhunta, along with his wife and son, was convicted in a palace trial and sentenced to imprisonment. However, "Ḫattušili" subsequently released him at the king's request, recognizing his status as an elderly man and a relative. The king restored half of his possessions and exiled him to Alašiya<sup>30</sup> (the country and kingdom in the eastern Mediterranean region, generally identified with the island of Cyprus).<sup>31</sup>

This case underscores the perception of sorcery as a grave offense, not only of a political nature but also as a significant threat to societal well-being. Sorcery <sup>32</sup> was regarded as a practice that could provoke divine anger and contaminate the surrounding environment, with repercussions that might extend to the offender's family, household, or even the entire city. When the offender occupied a position of prominence, such as that of a king, the potential consequences were amplified. Thus, divine retribution could manifest collectively, resulting in afflictions such as drought, plague, or military defeat impacting the community as a whole. <sup>33</sup>

Hittite law applied collective punishment under certain circumstances, specifically in cases where an individual disobeyed a decree issued by the king; in such instances, "his house" (meaning his entire family) would be destroyed.<sup>34</sup>

## 2. Crimes against Royal Authority:

### 2.1 .Rejection of the King's Decree:

Crimes against the king encompassed acts such as treason, rebellion, disobedience to orders, and perjury, as well as corruption among royal officials. The king possessed the discretionary power to impose penalties for these offenses. Treason typically entailed severe consequences, including execution and the confiscation of the traitor's property. In some cases, the punishment could extend to the execution of the traitor's family.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>29</sup>-CTH 81.F; Otten, Die Apologie Hattusilis III. Das Bild der -Überlieferung, Studien zu den Boğazkoy-Texten, Heft 24, Wiesbaden 1981, 18; HOUT, T, P.: «Apology of Hattusili III (1.77)», In: COS, 1, Leiden. Boston, 2003, 202; ALEXANDROV, B.& SIDELTSEV, A.: «Hittite Āššweni», RA, 103, 2009, 62; HOBSON, Punitive Expulsion, 29.

<sup>30</sup>-WESTBROOK, R.: «Personal Exile in the Ancient Near East», JAOS, 128, N°. 2, 2008, 320; BLASWEILER, J.: «Hattusa: sacred places near Büyükkaya, Ambarlikaya and the Budaközü. », Arnhem, 4, 2013, 46.

<sup>31</sup>-BRYCE, T.: The routledge handbook of the peoples and places, 24.

<sup>32</sup>- HOBSON, Punitive Expulsion, 29.

<sup>33</sup>-WESTBROOK, R.: «The Character of Ancient Near Eastern Law», In: A History of Ancient Near Eastern Law, edited by RAYMOND WESTBROOK, Hdo, 1, 1-92, Leiden-Boston, 2003, 76.

<sup>34</sup>-WELCH, J, W., «Judicial Punishments: Types and Rationals», In: The Legal Cases in the Book of Mormon, edited by WELCH, J, W., 335-381, Provo, UT , 2008, 367, not. 104; HAASE, In: A History of Ancient Near Eastern Law, 651.

<sup>35</sup>-WESTBROOK, In: A History of Ancient Near Eastern Law, 76.

Hittite law stipulated collective punishment under specific circumstances. For example, if a man repudiated a decree issued by the king, the consequence would extend to the destruction of his "household," thereby implicating the entirety of their family.<sup>36</sup>

This is evident in Article 173 of the Hittite laws, which states: "**If anyone conests (the judgment of) the king's court, his house shall be made a ruin. If anyone contests (the judgment of) the court of a dignitary, they shall cut off his head. If a slave rises a gains this owner, he shall be put into an earthen vessel**".<sup>37</sup>

The article presents three scenarios, with only one directly relevant to this study. Nonetheless, all cases pertain to challenges to authority, whether it is that of the king, disobedience to an individual of high rank, or a slave defying his master. The consequence for such challenges is consistently death. Specifically, the challenge to the king's authority through refusal to comply with his decree results not only in the death of the offending individual but also in the collective punishment of their entire family, ensuring the complete cessation of their lineage and rendering their home a ruin. In contrast, the latter two scenarios result in the death of the offender alone, with no repercussions for their family or descendants.<sup>38</sup>

## 2.2. Negligence in Royal Palace Duties:

Certain Hittite texts, such as CTH 265, which may date back to the reign of King Tudḫaliya I (1450–1420 BCE) or Arnuwanda I, emphasize the significance of attending to all matters concerning the king. In this text, the king directly addresses his servants, including threats directed at the royal kitchen staff, compelling them to undergo the river ordeal to determine their guilt. Any negligence in court duties could result in the execution of the negligent party along with their spouse and children.<sup>39</sup>

The imposition of the death penalty on the families of negligent servants can be interpreted as a divine act, given that all offenders had sworn allegiance to the king in the name of the deity. the kitchen staff had to take a preventive and public monthly oath "to the soul of the king", by reciting in front of the Sun deity a formula that implies the loss of one's life in the event of perjury. In cases where there is merely suspicion of disloyalty, the accused must undergo the river ordeal,

<sup>36</sup>-WELCH, J. W., «Judicial Punishments: Types and Rationals», In: The Legal Cases in the Book of Mormon, edited by WELCH, J. W., 335-381, Provo, UT, 2008, 367, not. 104; HAASE, In: A History of Ancient Near Eastern Law, 651.

<sup>37</sup>-HOFFNER, H. A.: The Laws of the Hittites, *PhD Thesis*, Brandeis University, 1963, 109, (173); ROTH, Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor, 234, (173a-173b).

<sup>38</sup>- HAASE, In: A History of Ancient Near Eastern Law, 651.

<sup>39</sup>-MILLER, J. L.: Royal Hittite instructions and related administrative texts, Atlanta, 2013, 79; DADDI, F. P.: «Palace Servants and their Obligations», *Orientalia*, 73, N°. 4, 2004, 454-455; HAASE, In: A History of Ancient Near Eastern Law, 651; TETLOW, Women, Crime, and Punishment, 196; TAŞ, I. & DINLER, V.: «Hittite Criminal Law in the Light of Modern Paradigms.», 84.

indicating that it is the deity who ultimately determines their culpability. And the king wants all his personnel to know this is not a light, simple threat, but a serious prospect for them.<sup>40</sup>

**"On a day when (my) temper gets the best of (me), the king, and I call all of you kitchen personnel, and I put you through the river(ordeal), then he who is (thereby shown to be) innocent, he is a servant of the king, while he who is (shown to be) guilty, I, the king, will have no need of him. They (i.e. the gods) will allot him an evil fate, together with his wife (and) his sons".<sup>41</sup>**

Not only was the kitchen staff punished for negligence, but specific instructions were also directed at leather workers and the master craftsmen. The fundamental rule required royal shoemakers to use only bullhide sourced from the royal kitchen, while leather workers and the craftsmen's trainer were to use bullhide and ram hide from the same source. If anyone took materials outside of this rule and informed the king, they would not be punished, as such products, even if unsuitable for the king, could still be used as gifts for a foreign ruler or servant. However, if the king was not informed and the worker was caught, the punishment would be execution for the offender, his wife, and children.<sup>42</sup> This is clearly indicated in the text:

**"Furthermore, you who are shoemakers and who make the king's shoes: You shall always take cowhide from the kitchen, you shall take no other; he who does take another, though, and afterwards it becomes known, to him and his descendents they will allot an evil fate".**

**"Furthermore, you who are leather workers of the coachmen-facility, of the warehouse and (of) the overseer of 10 coachmen, you who produce the step-coach of the king; you shall always take cowhide (and) ram's hide from the kitchen. You shall take no other. If, however, you do take another, but you report it to the king, then it is no offense on your part. I, the king, will send it to a foreigner, instead, or I will give it to a servant. If you conceal (it), though, and afterwards it becomes known, then they will allot you together with your wives (and) your sons an evil fate".<sup>43</sup>**

Therefore, negligence in serving the king is regarded as a serious offense that warrants punishment for the offender and his family, meaning that the wife and daughters may share in the punishment or be penalized in lieu of the offender. There was no collective or indirect punishment for men when their wives or mothers committed offenses. Such practices were rooted in patriarchal principles and the unquestioned authority of men.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>40</sup>-MILGROM, J.: «The Shared Custody of the Tabernacle and a Hittite Analogy», *JAOS*, 90, N°. 2, 1970, 209 not. 35; DADDI, F, P.: «Palace Servants and their Obligations», 455.

<sup>41</sup>-GOETZE, A.: «Instructions for Palace Personnel to Insure the King's Purity», In: *ANET*, edited by JAMES B. PRITCHARD, New Jersey, 1969, 207; MILLER, Royal Hittite instructions, No. 2, 81 [7: 14-19].

<sup>42</sup>-MILLER, Royal Hittite instructions, 79; TETLOW, Women, Crime, and Punishment, 196; HAASE, In: A History of Ancient Near Eastern Law, 651.

<sup>43</sup>-GOETZE, In: *ANET*, 207; MILLER, Royal Hittite instructions, No.2, 83 [9&12: 3-20].

<sup>44</sup>-TETLOW, Women, Crime, and Punishment, 202.

### 3.2. Acts of Malice and Treason against the King:

King Telepinu established certain rules and principles to organize governance, particularly regarding the punishment of a king's son in the event of a crime.

In contrast, non-royal men faced a range of penalties, including exile and execution, which also extended to their families. The concept of collective punishment for the offender's family is evident in a specific military text dating back to the Middle Hittite period (1500-1400 BCE), which includes the following:

45

**"And now they lead a blind and deaf woman past in front of them and you speak to them thus: "Behold! A blind and deaf woman. Whoever inflicts evil on the king and queen may the oaths seize him and may they make him, a man, a woman and may they make him blind like a blind person and deaf like a deaf person and may they (pluck him) out from the middle of his clan along with his wives and children and destroy him completely as a person"**<sup>46</sup>.

The text illustrates the stages of torture experienced by those who commit acts of malice against the king. These stages include physical punishments, such as blinding the individual and rendering them deaf, as well as psychological penalties, such as stripping them of their masculinity, thereby degrading and destroying them as human beings. This process is further compounded by uprooting them from their community and exiling them along with their family.<sup>47</sup>

CTH 251, which likely dates back to the reigns of Tudḫaliya I and Arnuwanda I, addresses the obligations and warnings issued to recruits and military leaders. It cautions against accepting bribes or deserting the army,<sup>48</sup> as well as committing any harm against royal authority. The punishment for such offenses is execution, extending even to the perpetrator's descendants, as evident in the following passage:

**"[...] I bring [away, and I [...] it/them, [...] and there I have them swear an oath, [...], but whoever concocts , [evil] to/for the king, though, [...] then I[et] these [oath deities] grab him, [and] let them "**<sup>49</sup>.

The same punishment is applied to anyone who harbors an individual committing evil against the king.

**"[Further, ju]st as you, yourselves, [...] Ḫat[tusa], [so mus]t [you], the whole of Ḫattusa, [protect] the person of My Majest[y]! [And] you mu[st] desire life for [My Majes]ty! [... no on]e concoct [evil ...]. [...] the king [t]akes, [and ...] anoints for the**

<sup>45</sup>-CTH 427.

<sup>46</sup>-REICHARDT, Linguistic structures of Hittite, 92; COLLINS, B, J.: «The first soldiers Oath (1.66)», In: COS, 1, Leiden& Boston, 2003, 166 [10].

<sup>47</sup>- REICHARDT, Linguistic structures of Hittite, 92.

<sup>48</sup>- MILLER, Royal Hittite instructions, 171.

<sup>49</sup> - MILLER, Royal Hittite instructions, 171-172,, NO. 12, CTH 251, [4: 10-11].

kingship, you [and thereafter y]ou[r sons and] your [grandsons] must [recognize] him! And [whoever] learns of anyone [at all] who [co]nco[cts evil] against hi[m], he [must] se[ize] him and deno[un]ce him! [Whoever] hides [h]im, though, let th[ese oath deit]ies grab him, [and le]t them destroy [him alo]ng with his wife and his sons!"<sup>50</sup>

Treason was classified as one of the most heinous crimes, resulting in severe punishments for both the individual and his family. This is particularly true for members of the military, regardless of their rank, as they are entrusted with the defense of the nation. Any act of betrayal or disobedience to the sovereign's orders is considered a grave dishonor and exposes the homeland to external threats. The collective punishment inflicted upon traitors is evident in the following excerpt:

"[Furthermore], whoever is appealing regarding the e[nem]y, and [even s]peaks thus: "Maybe this war will be lost," and he [(even s)]peaks thus: "I hope that this [war does [no(t e)]scalate!" [Then] let these oath deities grab him, and let them destroy [him along with his wife] and his sons!"<sup>51</sup>

The Hittite king warned against disobedience to his orders, stating that it would result in collective punishment for the offender's family. This is clearly illustrated in the following passage:

" My Majesty, [...s] will let [al]l [...] live, and for my part [...]. [And] wh[at ev]er matter I] p[lace] in your hands, may [... defend/preserve it]! H[e wh]o does not protect it, though, [let these oath deities gr]a[b him, and let them] destr[oy h]im along with his wife and his sons!"<sup>52</sup>

### 3.3. Disputes in the Royal Court:

Collective punishment was not limited to officials and servants but also extended to the royal court. While in most cases only the individual was punished, often through exile, there is one instance where collective punishment was applied despite the exact nature of the crime being unclear. It is likely, however, that the offense posed a threat to the Hittite throne and the king's authority. This case involved the punishment of Queen Danuhepa her children, and her entourage.

The fate of Danuhepa has been a subject of debate, with scholars disagreeing on whether she was killed or exiled. This disagreement stems from the interpretation of the Hittite verb *ḫar-ga-aš*, which means "to destroy, annihilate, kill," but can also mean "to fall." The latter interpretation aligns with the discovery of her name on some seals of Muršili III, suggesting she was still alive. Proponents of this view

<sup>50</sup>- MILLER, Royal Hittite instructions, 172-173, N<sup>o</sup>. 12, CTH 251, [13: 62-70].

<sup>51</sup>-MILLER, Royal Hittite instructions, 172-173, N<sup>o</sup>. 12, CTH 251, [10: 46-48].

<sup>52</sup>- MILLER, Royal Hittite instructions, 172-173, N<sup>o</sup>. 12, CTH 251, [12: 59-61].

argue that if *ḥar-ga-aš* meant "annihilation", it would have applied to her entourage, who were indeed killed.<sup>53</sup>

For reasons that remain unclear, king Muwattalli II (1295 - 1272 BCE), brought legal charges against Queen Danuhepa, resulting in her expulsion from the palace alongside her children and entire entourage. Her significance is evident in the subsequent efforts of Hattusa's kings to distance themselves from her mistreatment.<sup>54</sup> This is evidenced by the prayer of King Hattušili III (1267 - 1237 BCE) to the Sun Goddess of Arinna, wherein he seeks to absolve himself of any culpability regarding her alleged mistreatment.

**"When it came to pass that the case against Danuhepa, your priestess, took place in the palace, [how he curtailed the power of] Danuhepa until she was ruined together with her sons and all her men, lords and subordinates, that which was inside the soul of the goddess, my lady, nobody knew, namely, whether the ruination of Danuhepa was the wish of the Sun-goddess of Arinna, [my lady], or whether it was not her wish. In any case, I was not involved in that matter of the ruination of Danuhepa's son" .<sup>55</sup>**

### 3. Harboring Military Deserters and Traitors:

Collective punishment was enforced on those who harbored deserters from military service, regardless of their rank or position. Instead of protecting or concealing deserters, they were required to denounce them. This principle is clearly illustrated in the text CTH 251, which outlines the consequences for those who fail to report military deserters.

**"Whoever [runs] from a crucial [(ca)mp]align, thou[(gh)], whether My Majesty, and the army are [...] in e[nemy] land, but they have already found the enemy, [he w(ho)] runs from the army, or [his] first officer lets him [get away], then they shall surely die! Whoever hide[s] him, rather than [denou]nce him, whether he's a clan chief or even if he's a commander, then let [(these o)]ath gods [(gr)a]b him, and let Them destroy] him along with his wife and his sons!"<sup>56</sup>**

In another text CTH 268, dating back to the reign of King Tudhaliya I or Arnuwanda I, a stern warning is issued to military commanders. The text cautions them against providing shelter or assistance to anyone rebelling against royal

<sup>53</sup>- BLASWEILER, J.: «The downfall of Danuhepa, the Tawananna-widow», *Arnhem(n1)* , 3, 2016, 3.

<sup>54</sup>-SINGER, I.: «Danhēpa and Kurunta», *the Calm before the Storm, Selected writings of Itamar Singer on the late Bronze Age in Anatolia and the Levant*, 635-646, Atlanta, 2011, 642.

<sup>55</sup>-SINGER, I.: *Hittite Prayers*, No. 21, 98, CTH 383 [4 (i 16'-ii 22)].SINGER, *Danhēpa and Kurunta*, 639.

<sup>56</sup>-MILLER, *Royal Hittite instructions*, 170-171, N<sup>o</sup>. 12, CTH 251, [6: 21-27]; REICHARDT, *Linguistic structures of Hittite*, 28.

authority, declaring that the penalty for this crime is death, which extends to the whole family of the offender."

"If he [pres]ents to [yo]u this kind of [...], though, or if yo[u ...] he does [...], or [...] a matter of revolt, [...]you hear (of it), and if in that w[ay ...] you [do not de]nounce [him], and he [...] (to) you,) (and) if y[ou] do not seize him immediately, and you (even) support the [ma]n, then may (these) oat[h deities ...] utterly destroy you [alon]g with your wives (and) your sons, [and let them] eradi[cate] your names and your seed from the [dark ea]rth".<sup>57</sup>

#### 4. Breach of Oath:

The Hittites regarded oaths as a powerful entity that imposed penalties on those who violated them. The priest would pour wine onto the ground as a symbol of the blood of soldiers who broke their oath of loyalty. This act involved the priest mixing the wine with water, as evidenced in the following excerpt KUB 43.38:

"[Th]en he pours water into the wine and says [the following]: 'Just as this water [has mixed] with the wine, may now this oath and sick[ness] mix with your bodies [in the same way]".<sup>58</sup>

Furthermore, the "Gods of the Oath" were invoked to apprehend those who violated their oaths, resulting in the forfeiture of their lives along with those of their wives and children. This is illustrated in a passage related to the soldiers' <sup>59</sup> oath from the period of the Hittite Empire (1400–1208 BCE):

"[Just as you have] extinguished the torches,...], may he [who transgresses] these wo[rds be extinguished [in the same way along with] his [progeny,] his house, his wife [...] ...".<sup>60</sup>

#### 5. A slave causes his master's anger:

Collective punishment, an uncommon form of retribution, is typically associated with crimes against gods and kings. However, there is a specific instance <sup>61</sup> involving slaves. If the relationship between a master and his servant is harmonious, the master's spirit remains at ease. Conversely, if the servant angers his master in any way, he may face punishment in the form of beatings or execution, along with his entire family.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>57</sup>-MILLER, Royal Hittite instructions, 240-241, N<sup>o</sup>. 18, CTH 268, [8 ii: 2-10].

<sup>58</sup>- FEDER, Y.: «The Mechanics of Retribution in Hittite, Mesopotamian and Ancient Israelite Sources», JANER, 10, 2010, 125.

<sup>59</sup>-WEBB, W, J.& OESTE, G, O., Bloody, Brutal, and Barbaric?, 50, not.13.

<sup>60</sup>-COLLINS, B, J.: «The Second soldiers Oath (1.67)», In: COS, 1, Leiden& Boston, 2003, 167 [7].

<sup>61</sup>-WESTBROOK, In: A History of Ancient Near Eastern Law, 77.

<sup>62</sup>-VANSEVEREN, ", In: The Routledge Handbook of Emotions in the Ancient Near East, 650; WEBB, W, J.& OESTE, G, O., Bloody, Brutal, and Barbaric?, 50.

**"if a slave causes his master's anger, they will either kill him or they will injure him at his nose, his eyes (or) his ears; or [they will seize] him, his wife, his children, his brother, his sister, his in-laws, his kin whether it be a male slave or a slave-girl. They may (either) impose the extreme penalty, (or) they may do to him nothing at all. If ever he is to die, he will not die alone; his kin will accompany him".<sup>63</sup>**

In addition to the previously mentioned punishments, a servant who rebels against his master was sentenced to confinement in a clay vessel, which caused significant distress and may lead to death if the vessel was sealed or buried. This principle is evident in Article 173 of Hittite law: **"If anyone contests (the judgment of) the king's court, his house shall be made a ruin . If anyone contests (th e judgment of) the court of a dignitary , they shall cut off his head. If a slave rises a gain s this owner, he shall be put in to an earthen vessel"**.<sup>64</sup> However, collective punishment, including the execution of the slave and their family, was not always imposed, as it could represent a significant economic loss for the slave owner.<sup>65</sup>

#### **6. Insulting the Gods and Desecrating Sanctuaries:**

Offenses against the gods can be classified as sins, encompassing acts such as blasphemy and desecration of sacred sites. Desecration took many forms, all of <sup>66</sup> . which were punishable by death. Theft from a temple, for instance, was considered a grave offense as the stolen object was considered property of the deity. Such crimes were believed to pollute the sanctuary, which could only be purified through bloodshed, preferably that of the perpetrator. Consequently, the Hittites <sup>67</sup> were meticulous in fulfilling the needs and desires of their numerous deities, fearing that failure to do so would incur divine wrath. <sup>68</sup> If someone deity, not only would the offender be punished, but his entire family, servants, and livestock would also suffer divine retribution. Crimes against the gods, whether <sup>69</sup> intentional or accidental, were considered among the most serious offenses due to

<sup>63</sup>-MILGROM, J.: «The Concept of Ma'al in the Bible and the Ancient near East», *JAOS*, 96, No. 2 , 1976, 246; KRAŠOVEC, J.: Reward, punishment and forgiveness, *The Thinking and Beliefs of Ancient Israel in the Light of Greek and Modern Views*, Leiden, 1999, 118; GOETZE, A.: «Instructions for Temple Officials», In: *ANET*, edited by by JAMES B. PRITCHARD, 207-210, New Jersey, 1969, 207-208 [2: 20-24]; McMAHON, G.: «Instructions to Priests and Temple Officials (1.83)», In: *COS*, 1, 217-221, Leiden. Boston, 2003, 217-218 [2 i: 14-33]; MILLER, Royal Hittite instructions, 249-251, N<sup>o</sup>. 20, CTH 264, [2&3: 21-38]; MILGROM, «The Shared Custody of the Tabernacle and a Hittite Analogy», 209.

<sup>64</sup>-HOFFNER, *The Laws of the Hittites*, 109, (173); ROTH, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*, 234, (173a-173b).

<sup>65</sup>-TETLOW, *Women, Crime, and Punishment*, 186.

<sup>66</sup>-WESTBROOK, In: *A History of Ancient Near Eastern Law*, 76.

<sup>67</sup>- TETLOW, *Women, Crime, and Punishment*, 199.

<sup>68</sup>-MILLER, *Royal Hittite instructions*, 244.

<sup>69</sup>-VANSEVEREN, ", In: *The Routledge Handbook of Emotions in the Ancient Near East*, 650; WEBB, W, J.& OESTE, G, O., *Bloody, Brutal, and Barbaric?*, 50.

the potential consequences for the entire community. This is evident in the <sup>70</sup> instructions given to temple officials:

**"If then, on the other hand, anyone arouses the anger of a god, does the god take revenge on him alone ? Does he not take revenge on his wife, his children, his descendants, his kin, his slaves, and slave-girls, his cattle (and) sheep together with his crop and will utterly destroy him ? Be very reverent indeed to the word of a god!"**.<sup>71</sup>

The offenses committed against the deities varied widely, with penalties imposed on the offender and their family, often resulting in execution. Notably, if someone withheld essential offerings such as bread, beer, or wine from the gods, he would face particularly severe consequences.

**"Keep all of the bread, beer, (and) wine up in the temple. Let no one omit the thick bread or thin bread of the god. And let no one pour out beer (or) wine off the top of the cup. Render it all to the god. Then speak (this) word for yourselves before the god: "Whoever took from your divine bread (or) libation vessel, may the god my lord pursue him. May he seize his house from bottom to top."**.<sup>72</sup>

Moreover, the refusal of temple officials to celebrate the periodic festivals at the designated times will result in punishment that extends to their families.<sup>73</sup>

**"Moreover, you who are the temple personnel: if you do not celebrate the festivals at festival time, (e.g.,) you perform the spring festival [i] nautu[mn], bu[t] then you celebrate the autumn festival i[n] the spring; or when the p[ro]per time to celebrate a festival has arrived, and the one who is to perform it either comes to you priests, anoint[ed] ones, motherdeity priestesses and te[mple] personnel, and he grabs your knees (crying): "The harvest is before me;" or a dowry or a journey or some other matter, (or he says): "Stand behind me! Let me take care of this matter in the meantime, and as soon as I have taken care of this matter, I will perform the festival as such." In no case shall you act according to the man's wishes! He shall not make you feel sorry for him. And do not accept payment (in a matter concerning) the will of the deities! The man will make you feel sorry for him, so that you accept payment; but the deities will avenge (it) upon you some day. They will most malevolently**

<sup>70</sup>- BRYCE, T.: Life and society in the Hittite, 43.

<sup>71</sup>-MILGROM, «The Concept of Ma'al in the Bible», 246; KRAŠOVEC, Reward, punishment and forgiveness, 118; GOETZE, A.: «Instructions for Temple Officials», In: ANET, 208[3]; McMAHON, G.: «Instructions to Priests and Temple Officials (1.83)», In: COS, 1, , 217-218 [2 i: 14-33]; MILLER, Royal Hittite instructions, 249-251, N<sup>o</sup>. 20, CTH 264, [2&3: 21-38]; MILGROM, «The Shared Custody of the Tabernacle and a Hittite Analogy», 209; SCHNITTJER, G, E.: «Individual versus Collective Retribution in the Chronicler's Ideology of Exile», JBTS, 4, N<sup>o</sup>.1, 2019, 116, not. 16.

<sup>72</sup>-GOETZE, A.: «Instructions for Temple Officials», In: ANET, 208, [6 i: 60-65]; McMAHON, G.: «Instructions to Priests and Temple Officials (1.83)», In: COS, 1, 218, [6 i: 60-66]; MILLER, Royal Hittite instructions, 250-251, N<sup>o</sup>. 20, CTH 264, [6 i: 60-66].

<sup>73</sup>-MILLER, Royal Hittite instructions, 245.

**confront you yourselves, your wives, your sons (and) your servants. You should act exclusively for the will of the deities."**<sup>74</sup>

Any shepherd who appropriates a young or fattened animal for personal or familial use shall face execution, along with his wife and children. Despite the <sup>75</sup> exclusion of temple officials' wives and daughters from temple rituals due to concerns about ritual purity, these women can still be executed if a family member brings home a portion of a sacrificial animal. Consequently, the lives of these women remain precariously unsafe.<sup>76</sup>

**"Further: You who are the gods' cowherds (and) the gods' shepherds, if there is a rite for any god at the time of bearing young and you are supposed to have ready for him either a calf, a lamb, a kid or choice animals, do not delay them! Have them ready at the right time; do not let the gods wait for them. Before a man eats of the young animals, bring it promptly to the gods. Or if there is a "festival of the cup" for any god, (even) while they repair the cup, do not allow it to lapse; celebrate it for him. If you do not bring the young animals promptly to the gods, but eat first of them yourselves or send them to your superiors, but it afterward becomes known, it is considered a capital sin for you. If it does not become known—at whatever time you will bring them, you will bring them before the god with these words: "If we have given this young animal to ourselves first, or have given it to our superiors, or to our wives, our children or to anyone else, we have offended the gods' feelings." Then you will drink dry the rhyton of the god of life. If you are found innocent, (it is due to) your patron god; but if you are found guilty, you will perish together with your wives (and) your children".**<sup>77</sup>

If a temple caretaker took a fattened young animal for himself and replaced it with an a lesser animal for the deity, the penalty would be death, along with the execution of his wife and children.<sup>78</sup>

**"Furthermore: If you select at some point a selection (of the animals and they drive them to the deities, your lords, then the cowherds and the shepherds shall go along with the selection. And just as they were selected from the corral (and) from the pen, so they shall bring them in to the deities. Following (the selection) they shall not exchange them along the way. But if along the way some cowherd or shepherd commits fraud, and he exchanges a fattened cow or a fattened sheep, and he accepts payment (for it), or he kills it and they consume it, and they replace it with an emaciated animal, and it becomes known, then it is a capital offense for you. They have taken the savory share of the deities themselves. But if it does not become**

<sup>74</sup>-GOETZE, A.: «Instructions for Temple Officials», In: ANET, 208-209 [9: 35-55]; McMAHON, G.: «Instructions to Priests and Temple Officials (1.83)», In: COS, 1, 219, [9 ii: 52-70]; MILLER, Royal Hittite instructions, 254-257, NO. 20, CTH 264, [9 i: 52-70].

<sup>75</sup>-TETLOW, Women, Crime, and Punishment, 197.

<sup>76</sup>-TETLOW, Women, Crime, and Punishment, 197.

<sup>77</sup>-GOETZE, A.: «Instructions for Temple Officials», In: ANET, 210, [18: 35-55]; McMAHON, G.: «Instructions to Priests and Temple Officials (1.83)», In: COS, 1, 221, [18 iv: 34-55]; MILLER, Royal Hittite instructions, 263-265, NO. 20, CTH 264, [18 i: 34-55].

<sup>78</sup>- WEBB, W, J.& OESTE, G, O., Bloody, Brutal, and Barbaric?, 49.

known (who has done it), then whenever they arrive, they shall take the rhyton of the deity itself down from the alt<(ar)>, and they shall proclaim as follows: If we have snatched for ourselves the savory share from the very mouth of the deities, and claimed it for ourselves, or we have sold it for ourselves, or we have exchanged it and taken payment for ourselves, and replaced it with an emaciated one, then may you, o deity, continually haunt us, along with our wives and our sons on account of your own share"!".<sup>79</sup>

Neglecting the service of the deity could result in execution; similar to how this is misleading -then poorly executed duties that causes the destruction of a temple by fire would lead to the same penalty.

**"Further: In the matter of fire be very careful. If (there is) a festival (going on) in the temple, guard the fire well. When night falls, however, extinguish well with water any fire that remains on the hearth. If, however, (there is) in the matter of fire some (burning?) dry wood here and there: Whoever is to extinguish it, even if only the temple in which (this) sin occurs is destroyed, while HattuSa and the king's goods are not destroyed, he who commits this sin will perish along with his descendants. Of those in the temple none will be left living. They will perish together with their descendants. Be extremely careful concerning the matter of fire".**<sup>80</sup>

Therefore, it is evident from the above that Hittite deities did not only punish the perpetrator alone but also all members of his family. In contrast, judicial authorities would execute only the criminal, excluding their family unless the gods condemned them (through torture or divine revelation).<sup>81</sup>

## 7- The Role of Treteries in Imposing Collective Punishment:

In Hittite society, collective punishment was imposed by both the king and the gods. It is evident that certain treaty provisions enforced collective punishment on families in specific cases. A clear example can be found in the Ugarit archives, where a treaty between King Hattusili III and King Niqmepa (1313–1260 BCE) (PUR IV-17.130) was discovered. At that time, Ugarit was under Hittite sovereignty. The treaty indicates that traders from Ura acted as intermediaries, facilitating the transfer of goods from Ugarit to Hatti. These traders were likely commercial agents for the Hittite king and were active in various business dealings within Ugarit, causing financial distress in the city as they dominated trade.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>79</sup>-GOETZE, A.: «Instructions for Temple Officials», In: ANET, 210, [19: 56-77]; McMAHON, G.: «Instructions to Priests and Temple Officials (1.83)», In: COS, 1, 221, [19 iv: 56-77]; MILLER, Royal Hittite instructions, 264-265, N<sup>o</sup>. 20, CTH 264, [19 i: 56-77].

<sup>80</sup>-MILLER, Royal Hittite instructions, 258-259, NO. 20, CTH 264, [13 i: 44-54]; GOETZE, A.: «Instructions for Temple Officials», In: ANET, 209, [13: 45-50]; McMAHON, G.: «Instructions to Priests and Temple Officials (1.83)», In: COS, 1, 220, [13 iii: 49-54].

<sup>81</sup>-MILGROM, «The Concept of Ma'al in the Bible», 246

<sup>82</sup>-HALAYQA, I, K.: «The Demise of Ugarit in the Light of its Connections with Ḫatti», UF, 42, 2010, 306; PUR IV, 102.

The treaty granted commercial privileges to Ura's traders, allowing them to claim any Ugaritian debtor and his family in the event of an inability to repay debts.<sup>83</sup>

**"If men of Ugarit owe silver to men of Ura and are not able to pay it off, the king of the land of Ugarit must turn over that man, together with his wife and his sons, to the men of Ura, the merchants. But the men of Ura, the merchants, shall not claim houses or fields of the king of the land of Ugarit".<sup>84</sup>**

The power of Ura's merchants over the people of Ugarit and their families may be the main reason for the frequent murders committed against them."<sup>85</sup>

### CONCLUSION

This study underscores the Hittite kings' strong commitment to upholding justice within their society. Through the establishment of laws and regulations aimed at fostering equality among social groups, as well as royal decrees directed at palace and temple officials, the Hittites sought to ensure adherence to both royal and divine authority. Notably, Hittite law generally avoided imposing collective punishment on innocent individuals unrelated to the crime, demonstrating the precision and fairness of the legal system.

The research confirms that collective punishment was primarily reserved for offenses against the king and the gods, reflecting the paramount importance of devotion and respect for these authorities. Such offenses were believed to harm the community, leading to punishment extended to both the offender and their family, based on the notion that wrongdoing could spread from the individual to their kin. Execution was a common form of collective punishment, typically executed under divine guidance, particularly when an individual failed in their duty to serve the king. Breaking the oath of loyalty taken by officials was deemed a serious crime, warranting divine retribution.

Furthermore, the analysis indicates that collective punishment predominantly targeted male offenders, as the head of the household was held accountable for the actions of the entire family, which reinforced the secondary status of other family members. Overall, this study reveals the complexities of Hittite legal practices and their underlying social hierarchies.

The collective punishments imposed on families varied, including Execution and expelled.

<sup>83</sup>-HALAYQA, I, K.: «The Demise of Ugarit », 306.

<sup>84</sup>-BECKMAN, G.: Hittite Diplomatic text, 162-163, No. 32, [2: A 5-37)]; PUR IV, 105, [17.130:25-34]

<sup>85</sup>-RAINEY, A, F.: «Business Agents at Ugarit», IEJ, 13, N<sup>o</sup>. 4, 1963, 320.

**:Table showins the Collective punishment of Hittite family APPENDIX:**

<b>Collective punishment on society</b>		
<b>Crime of the King</b>	<b>Punishment</b>	<b>Reference</b>
Negligence in the Service of the God + Violation of Treaties and Oath Breaking	Divine Wrath upon the Entire Community	CTH 378.II - Prayer of the Plague by King Muršili II
<b>Collective punishment on the city</b>		
<b>Crime of the Ruler</b>	<b>Punishment</b>	<b>Reference</b>
Negligence in the Service of the God + Violation of Treaties and Oath Breaking	Divine Wrath upon the City and Its People	CTH 382 + CTH 51
<b>Collective Punishment on the Family</b>		
<b>Crime of the Father/Husband</b>	<b>Punishment</b>	<b>Reference</b>
<b>Crimes Against Royal Authority</b>		
Witchcraft	Execution of the sorcerer and their family	Decree of Telipinu, Clause 50 + CTH 81.F
Refusal of a Ruling Issued by the Royal Court of Justice	The offender's house becomes a heap of rubble, meaning they will be killed along with his family	Article 173 of Hittite Law
If Royal Kitchen Staff Anger the King	They are subjected to the River Ordeal; if found guilty, they and their wives and children will be executed	CTH 265
Using Royal Shoemakers and Leather Trainers Without Notification to the King	Execution of the offender, his wife, and children	CTH 265
Warning Soldiers Against Causing Any Harm to the King or Queen	The offender is made blind and deaf, expelled from their kin, and their wives and children are executed	CTH 427
Committing an Evil Act Against the King	Execution of the offender and their family by order of the Oath Gods	CTH 251

Treason and Disobedience to the King's Orders	Execution of the offender and their family by order of the Oath Gods	CTH 251
Rebellion and Threat to the Hittite Throne	May result in punishment for the offender and their family	CTH 383
Housing Deserters from Battle and Those Who Commit Evil Against the King	Execution of the offender and their family by order of the Oath Gods	CTH 251
Warning Army Leaders Against Harboring Rebels Against Royal Authority and Aiding Them	The offender and their entire family will face execution	CTH 268
If a Person Breaks an Oath	The "Oath Gods" are summoned to punish the oath-breaker, taking their life along with that of their wives and children (they will face execution along with their family by divine command)	COS, 1, 167 [7]
<b>Crimes against the Gods</b>		
Provoking the Anger of the God by Temple Officials	The deity avenges against the offender's wife, children, descendants, relatives, servants, cattle, sheep, and crops	CTH 264, [2&3: 21-38]
Preventing Bread, Beer, or Wine from Reaching the Gods	The household of the offender bears responsibility for this crime	CTH 264, [6 i: 60-66].
Failure of Temple Officials to Celebrate Scheduled Festivals	The punishment extends to the offender's family	CTH 264, [9 i: 52-72].
If a Temple Shepherd Takes a Young or Fat Animal for Himself, His Superiors, or His Family	The shepherd, along with his wife and children, is executed	CTH 264, [18 i: 34-55].

If a Temple Shepherd Takes a Fat Young Animal for Himself and Substitutes it with an Inferior Animal for the God	The punishment is execution, along with the death of the wife and children	CTH 264, [19 i: 56-75].
Neglect by Temple Officials in Serving the God, Leading to the Destruction of the Temple by Fire	Execution of the offender along with their descendants	COS, 1, 221 [13 iii: 49-54].
<b>Other Crimes</b>		
Provoking the Anger of the Master by a Servant	The servant is beaten and executed, along with his entire family	CTH 264, [2&3: 21-38]
Failure of an "Ugaritian" Individual to Repay Debt to an "Ura" Merchant	The merchant takes the debtor and their family	PUR IV, 105, [17.130:25-34]

**ABBREVIATIONS:****AJNES:** Aramazd Armenia Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Armenia.**AnAr:** Anadolu Araştırmaları Anatolian Research, Istanbul University Press.**AnatStu:** Anatolian Studies, British Institute at Ankara.**ANET:** Ancient Near Eastern Texts, Relating to the Old Testament, edited by JAMES B. PRITCHARD, New Jersey, 1969.**AS:** Anatolian Studies, Cambridge University Press.**COS:** The Context of Scripture, edited by WILLIAM W. HALLO, Leiden. Boston.**CTH:** LAROCHE, EMMANUEL, Catalogue des Textes Hittites, Paris: Klincksieck, 1971.**IEJ:** Israel Exploration Journal, Israel Exploration Society.**IJHR:** International Journal of Historical Researches, Berlin.**JANER:** Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions, Brill, Leiden/the Netherlands.**JAOS:** Journal of the American Oriental Society, New Haven.**JBL:** Journal of Biblical Literature, Atlanta.**J B T S:** Journal of Biblical and Theological Studies.**JCS:** Journal of Cuneiform Studies Baltimore: New Haven.**KUB:** Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi, Berlin.**ORIENTALIA:** Orientalia, Rome, 1932.**PUR:** Palais royal d'Ugarit.**PRU 5:** VIROLLEAUD, C., Textes en cunéiformes alphabétiques des archives sud, sud-ouest et du petit palais, (MRS 11, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, Klincksieck 1965).**RA:** Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale, Paris.**UF:** Ugarit-Forschungen, Münster/Westfalen.**VT:** Vetus Testamentum, Brill, Leiden/the Netherlands.**BIBLIOGRAPHY:**-ALEXANDROV, B. & SIDELTSEV, A.: « Hittite Āššweni », **RA**, 103, 2009, 59-84.

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