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ORDINARY MEETING.*

The Rev. Prebendary R. THORNTON, D.D., Vice-President,
in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed, and the following Elections were announced :—

MEMBER :—Rev. F. Wallis, M.A., Fellow and Dean of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.

ASSOCIATES :—General Warren Walker, R.E., Bath ; Professor H. H. Freer, M.S., M.A., United States ; Professor W. H. Norton, M.A., United States.

HON. COR. MEMBER :—Rev. A. H. Sayce, M.A., LL.D., Deputy Professor of Comparative Philology at Oxford University.

The following paper was then read by the Author :—

ON THE CANAANITES. By Major C. R. CONDER,
D.C.L., R.E.

THERE are two methods of critical study of the Bible, one of which is old, and the other new. The first is the literary or exegetic method, the second is the historical or comparative method. These methods are not of necessity antagonistic, but as a rule they have been separately pursued, the one mainly in the study in Europe, the other mainly in the field in the East. It is, of course, evident that the ignorant explorer may do harm rather than good. If he does not take pains to study the necessary languages, to understand the alphabets, and the hieroglyphs which he may be likely to find, to provide himself with historical, ethnological, and scientific data from the best sources, he may easily fall into errors due to enthusiasm, and retard rather than advance knowledge.

But it is equally true that the library student may arrive at false results through want of acquaintance with the East, and with the facts of archæological research. And no one

* May 20, 1889

who has read even a little of modern critical literature, with a knowledge of Oriental life and language, obtained by living for a time in the East, can fail to observe that this is an error into which men of great learning continually fall. The most minute research must fail to find the truth when the data relied upon are incorrect, and at the present time what is wanted in Biblical study is not new theory, but new and properly understood fact.

The basis of the comparative method was laid by the great discoveries of Layard at Nineveh, and by the decipherment of the inscriptions of Egypt and of Western Asia; yet the results, especially those of cuneiform research as carefully discussed by Schrader, only serve to carry back our independent knowledge of Hebrew history to the times of the Hebrew monarchy. This, of course, we should expect, because from the Bible itself we learn that not till long after the death of Solomon did the power of Assyria begin to extend westwards, through Phœnicia and down into Palestine.

The Egyptian records of relations with Syria trace back much earlier,—to 1600 B.C.,—but they are not in the form of annals, and the information has to be very carefully sifted out, as was first done by Chabas and Mariette, who have been followed by many other scholars.

In addition to these, the new Tel el-Amarna tablets appear to be about to give us very important new facts as to the western spread of Babylonian power in the sixteenth century B.C.

There remains a third department of research, namely, that into the monuments of Syria and Palestine, including Hebrew and Phœnician texts, and the hieroglyphics found in northern Syria and Asia Minor, to which the present paper is chiefly devoted.

As regards the Hebrew and Phœnician inscriptions, it may be noted in passing that, few as they are, their evidence is of the highest importance. From the Phœnician texts we obtain ideas as to history and mythology fully in accord with the Old Testament accounts. We get the name of Hiram, the names of some of the Canaanite gods mentioned in the Bible, and the names of months identical with those used by the Hebrews before the Captivity. This last is specially important. The old Hebrew month names (at least in some cases) were not the same used after the Captivity. The former names were apparently the same used by the Phœnicians, the latter names those used by the Assyrians. Thus when we find the old names used, we have a fair argument that the Hebrew writer

who employs them lived and wrote before the time of the Captivity.

As regards Hebrew inscriptions, we have at present only one; and of this it was my good fortune to send the first accurate copy home to England. This is the celebrated Siloam inscription, accidentally discovered in 1881. It contains no history and no personal names, but it is nevertheless evidence of the civilisation of Jerusalem as early as the time of Hezekiah; evidence of the language then used by the Hebrews; evidence that it was possible in the eighth century B.C. for the Hebrew prophets and historians to write in an alphabet exactly the same (as to sounds) as that in which the Old Testament is written, and in the same pure Hebrew tongue. It is also evidence (though this cannot here be explained in detail) that the Hebrews had long been accustomed to use this alphabet, and could write in Solomon's time, and perhaps as early as 1500 B.C.

But the subject now to be considered is even more interesting. It is the investigation of the language and customs of Palestine before the time of the Hebrew invasion under Joshua. It is the attempt to call back to life the mixed tribes of Canaan among whom Abraham wandered, and whose cities the spies from the desert found to be "walled up to heaven"; who had idols and idol-altars, which Israel destroyed, and who are represented in the Old Testament as belonging to another race, not Semitic, but akin to some of the inhabitants of Chaldea and Phœnicia.

The materials for this study are very authentic, and, though fragmentary, they are contemporary, and, rightly understood, they are conclusive. They consist—first, in the names of towns in Palestine and Syria; second, in the names of Syrian chiefs with whom the Egyptians came in contact; third, in the names of Syrian chiefs encountered by the Assyrians; fourth, in the hieroglyphic texts of Syria and Asia Minor; fifth, in the non-Semitic element in Phœnicia; sixth, in the engraved signets and amulets of Phœnicia and Asia Minor, as compared with those of Chaldea. All these materials yield important results, but only when they are treated by a comparative method, and on the basis of the supposition,—which is clearly pointed out in Genesis,—that there was in Palestine from the earliest period a non-Semitic as well as a Semitic population,—that is to say, a population speaking a language, possessing a physiognomy, a religion, and customs quite distinct from those of the group of nations called Semitic, by which we understand the Hebrews, the Arabs, and the Assyrians.

No scholar has ever supposed that the Exodus took place as early as 1600 B.C.; in fact, Brugsch and others have carried it down very much later, although their proposed date rests, I think, on the most rickety foundation. Consequently, when we treat of the Karnak lists we are treating of Palestine before Joshua, and of a population that is not Hebrew.

When we come to the time of Rameses II., we are treating, I believe, of Palestine in the days of the Judges, though Egyptologists would question this result of a special study of the chronology.

We find, then, from the Karnak lists and from the account of the victories of Rameses II. that there were two races and two languages in Palestine and in Syria. The nomenclature towards the south is mainly Semitic, towards the north it is chiefly non-Semitic. The Old Testament says the same. The children of Lot, of Esau, of Ishmael, of Keturah, remained in Syria when Israel went down into Egypt; but the sons of Heth were sons of Ham, a race distinct from that of the children of Shem.

This Semitic race in Palestine spoke a language like Hebrew, or like the Phœnician of the monuments, or the Moabite of the Moabite Stone. Their features on the monuments tell us the same, and from the town names of the Karnak lists we see that they adored the gods mentioned in the Bible as those of the Canaanites. Yet more. They adored Jehovah, and the sacred name was known at least in 900 B.C. from Nineveh to the Mediterranean, and from Hamath to Ascalon. I have been attacked for making this remark, which does not agree with Wellhausen's idea that Jehovah was a tribal God of the family of Moses; but it seems to have escaped the notice of the critic that this statement did not originate with me, but with the careful Schrader, who traces the divine name from Assyria to Philistia, and finds it in the titles of the kings of Hamath. The Old Testament certainly does not represent the family of Moses, or even of Abraham, as the only adorers of Jehovah. Balaam, from Pethor, was not a Hebrew, and in the earliest chapters of Genesis we read "then [long before Abraham] began men to call on the name of Jehovah" (Gen. iv. 26).

Leaving, however, the consideration of this Semitic population in Palestine, I wish more particularly to draw attention to the non-Semitic race in Palestine and in Syria, to whose affinities I have given much attention of late.

The northern part of the list of towns conquered by Thothmes III. in Syria contains many names which are not

Semitic, and apparently not Aryan. No one, as far as I know, has made any serious effort to translate them. Professor Sayce believed that Georgian might furnish the key, but though he has studied Georgian, as have Mr. Hyde Clarke, Mr. Bertin, and others, the Georgian vocabularies have not been found to throw any light on the subject. I have also inspected these vocabularies with the same result. Georgian is a modern language which, according to Brosset, who has written the best grammar, is a mixed language. Many of its common words are Mongolic, and its grammar is Turanian, but a great many Iranian words are mixed up in its vocabulary, just as in Turkish words from Persian and Arabic are mixed with the real old Turkic words,—as in fact is found generally in such languages as Armenian, Assyrian, and even to a small extent in Hebrew.*

The Hittites, as represented on the monuments at Karnak, have, however, long been recognised by Dr. Birch, Mr. H. G. Tomkins, and myself, as being of Mongolian type. They wear pig-tails in some cases, and the facial lines are almost exactly those of the Kirghiz of Central Asia. This impression of their racial affinity is very generally accepted, and it follows that the Turanian languages are those in which we must look for the key to the Hittite nomenclature.

We have two ancient Turanian languages in Western Asia, the Akkadian,—with its dialect called Sumerian,—traceable back to between 2000 and 3000 B.C., and the Medic, traceable to about 500 B.C. These languages, though not the same, have the same grammar, and to a great extent the same vocabulary. Dr. Oppert has compared the Medic mainly with Turkic languages, though Ugric and Finnic languages also present, as he allows, many identities; and even in Chinese some Medic words remain almost unchanged. The Akkadian (although many words are only doubtfully deciphered) is comparable with the same living languages. About 200 words known in modern Turkish are known almost

* Very little is as yet known about the languages of the Caucasus even by the Russians, who are most advanced in the study. Max Müller and Dr. Isaac Taylor have classed them as Turanian. The only one with a literature is the Georgian. Notes in the Academy (July 21st and August 18th) show how little is known, but the Royal Geographical Society of Scotland (vol. iv. No. 6) has published an excellent summary of information. There are three groups of Caucasian languages:—(1) The Abaz-Circassian of the West Caucasus, including twenty dialects; (2) the Lesghian, including fifteen tribes of Daghestan; and (3) the Cartvelian, including Georgian and three other tongues. The best authority on Georgian (Brosset) points out the existence of Iranian words in the language,

unchanged in Akkadian. It is natural, therefore, to look to these two languages to help us with Hittite, and I may say that in this view I am supported by Mr. Bertin, a good Akkadian scholar; and that Mr. Pinches also believes an Akkadian-speaking people to have lived near Carchemish, in Northern Syria.

I have carefully compared together not only the Medic and Akkadian, but also the vocabularies of the oldest Turkic dialects, of the Ugric and Finnic languages, of the Etruscan and of Buriat (the oldest Mongol dialect), and Cantonese (the most archaic Chinese dialect);* and after about two years of such study, I find that the nomenclature of the Hittites is most easily explained on a Turkic-Ugric basis. It is that of a language akin to Akkadian and Medic, and chiefly illustrated by the Turkic dialects of ancient Bactria,—the very region where already, in the second century A.D., we find the Khitai noticed by Ptolemy as an important tribe. These Khitai, of whose language Mr. Howarth has collected the remains, and who became famous under Prester John, and gave their name to Cathay, were a Mongolic people, and their vocabulary contains words which occur also in Akkadian.

I would here give a list of some of the more remarkable translations of the town names in Syria, as known in 1600 B.C. These begin at No. 120, Karnak lists, and go down to No. 282, but out of these some may be Semitic, and a good many are mutilated.

The list has been investigated by Rev. H. G. Tomkins geographically, and the ordinary transliteration is here followed:—

No. 120, *Pil-tau* (now Baldeh) from *pil*, “hill” and *ta*, “mountain” or “high.” The first is widely spread and

* The following list of books may be useful to other students, as they are easily obtainable. I have read them all.

F. Lenormant, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens.*

E. de Chossat, *Répertoire Sumérien.*

O. Böhlingk, *Über die Sprache der Jakuten.*

H. Vambéry, *Wörterbuch der Turko-Tartarischen Sprachen.*

O. Donner, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Finnisch Ugrischen Sprachen.*

G. Bertin, *Languages of the Cuneiform Inscriptions.*

J. Oppert, *Le Peuple et la Langue des Mèdes.*

J. Chalmers, *English and Cantonese Dictionary.*

M. Brosset, *Eléments de la Langue Georgienne.*

M. A. Castren, *Versuch einer Burjatischen Sprachlehre.*

I. Taylor, *Etruscan Researches.*

I must also express my thanks to Dr. Isaac Taylor for advising me in the choice of the Finnic, Tartar, and Mongolian vocabularies.

occurs in the Etruscan *falæ* and common Ugric and Mongol *pel*, *pal*, *boldek* for "hill." The second is a common suffix to mountain names, as *ta*, *ti*, *to*.

No. 121, *Aai* (now *Kefr Aya*), "the mound" or "house." Akkadian *E*, Medic *E*, Susian *Ua*, Turkic *ev*, "house."

No. 125, *Turmanna* (now Turmanin) from the common Turkic *tur*, "abode," and *man*, "an elder" (Akkadian *man*, "king") with the suffix *na*, "of," for the genitive (as in so many Turanian languages), "the chief's camp."

No. 134, *Ara* probably "river" (Akkadian *ari*, "to flow"), as in the Jacut *üräk*, "stream," and Hungarian *ar*, "flood."

No. 140, *Kharka*,* "the mountain", as in the Medic *kurkha*, Lap. *kor*, Akkadian *kur*, Cheremiss *korok*.

No. 146, *Aunpili*, "mountain town", from *un* (Akkadian *unu*), "a town"; Turkic *in*, *unneh*; "dwelling," and *pil*, "hill" (see above No. 120) with the adjective ending *i*.

No. 148, *Aunuka*, "the great city"; compare the last and the Akkadian *unug*, "city."†

No. 153, *Suka*, probably from *suk*, a swamp or pool in Akkadian; the Buriat Mongol preserves it as *sokoi*, "a morass."

No. 155, *Sutekh-bek*.‡ The first word in the name of the god Sutekh, and this, like Nos. 125, 146, gives an indication of grammar, the genitive preceding. *Bek* is probably a word for "fortress" or "shrine." It is known in the form *bukti*; in the Malamir texts, and in the Uigur we find *bekük*, "fortress," from the root which in Turkish occurs as *pek*, "strong," and in Mongolian as *bökö*. Probably also the town *Mabog*, in Syria, may mean "shrine" (or fortress) of Ma,—the earth goddess Maia, from Ma, "earth."

No. 158, *Ninuren anata*. This should be a crucial case of translation. *Nin* is a well-known word for "chief" in Akkadian, and also for "lady." The gender is not distinguished. In Turkic language we have *nene*, "mother" (the Akkadian *nana*). There are many towns in Asia Minor, of which the names end in *anda* or *anata* (Akkadian *anda*, "on high"), from *an* (Turkic *on*), "high," and *ta*, the locative suffix in Akkadian, and in the Turkic and Mongolian languages. *Uren* appears to

* Otherwise read *Khalukka*, i.e., "the great city."

† Apparently *Un-uk*, "great town," from *un* as above, and *uk* (compare Mongol *ije*), "great."

‡ According to Chabas this should be read *set*, but he also compares *Suduk*, the Phœnician mythical hero (*Voyage d'un Égyptien*, p. 315).

be the Chagataish *urun* or *orun* for a "seat," "throne," "place" (Akkadian *ur*, "foundation"). *Ana* appears to mean "high," as in Akkadian. *Ta* is the suffix, which often stands for a case, such as the dative or locative. Thus we obtain "chief's seat on the height," probably from some city on a height.

No. 169, *Aurnir*, probably from *ur uru*, "city," as in Akkadian, and *nir*, "chief," as in Akkadian, or perhaps *aul nir* from *aul*, a "village" or settlement,—a well-known Tartar word.

No. 170, *Khata aai* "House of Khata," perhaps of Hittites.

No. 184, *Anau benu*. No. 226, *Ata bana*. No. 248, *Shesh ban*. In these names *ban* cannot be a Semitic word, because it would then precede the nouns by which it is qualified. It is probably the Turanian word for a "shrine" or "abode," which is found also in the Etruscan *Phanu*—whence *fanum* and "fane." The words *Anau Ata* and *Shesh* appear to be names of deities. *Anna*, "the sky god," and *Ata*, a well-known Phrygian deity (*Atys*).

No. 185, *Khatuma*. Probably "abode of Hittites"; *Ma* meaning "home" or "region."

No. 212, *Gainab* probably from *gan*, "Enclosure" (Turkish *jan* "wall") and *ab*, "abode," as in Akkadian and in some Turkic dialects.

No. 219, *Naapi*, probably from *nap* for "light" or "deity," known in Akkadian and Medic, and in the Hungarian *nap* for the sun.

No. 228, *Atakar*. *Kar* is a well-known Turanian word for "town," and *Ata* may refer either to the god *Ata* or to the Turkic word *Ata* for a "chief" or "father," which probably explains the god's name. It occurs in the Akkadian *adda* or *ad* for "father."

No. 270, *Karchemish* is sometimes rendered "fortress of Chemosh," which would be a Semitic construction. The Egyptian is *Karka-masha*, in which the second word seems to have the adjective termination. The first is perhaps the Turanian *kerek* for "fortress," and *masha* may be connected with the word *mas* "soldiers," or *bas*, "chief."

No. 280, *Padra* or *Pederi*, the Biblical Pethor (in Assyrian annals mentioned as being called *Pitru* by the people of the West) perhaps from *bat*, "to surround," whence the Akkadian *bat*, "fortress," Uigur *bit*, "castle." The latter part would be from *ir*, *ür* Turkic and Ugric for "stream," "river," in the adjectival form. Pethor was a town beside a river, and would thus mean "water fort."

No. 284, *Nepiriuriu*. This is a remarkable word (see No. 219, *Naapi*). *Nap*, for "deity," is common to Akkadian, Medic, and Susian, and occurs apparently in the genitive as *napir*, "divine," at Malamir, as also in Susian *napiruri*, "divine." Taking the final *u* to be the Turkic *üi*, "abode," as in Altaic (Akkadian *E*, Susian *ua*) we find that the word means "divine abode."

No. 286, *Atatama*. The first element as before, Nos. 226, 228. *Tama* is a word still much in use in Central Asia, meaning a covered building. It applies to the bazaars of Tashkent, for instance. It seems to be Aryan as well as Turkic and connected with the Sanskrit *dama* for "building" (cf. the Latin *domus*). In Akkadian also *tami* occurs for some kind of building. The name *Atatama* seems therefore to mean "chief's house" or House of Ata,—the Syrian deity,—see Nos. 226, 228 and 281 (*Aat liten*).

No. 296, *Papab* . . . This is a curious, mutilated name, evidently not Semitic. *Ab* means "abode" (see No. 212). *Pap* is the familiar "papa," which in Turkish means a father, but which was the name of a deity. The Phrygians worshipped *Papa*, the Scythians called *Jupiter Papæus*, the Etruscans had a god called *Puphluns* (*luns* meaning "god"), and the name of the Akkadian deity, *Pap Sukal*, is perhaps connected, as is possibly the Cyprian *Paphos*. *Papab* would then mean "abode of the father god." Compare No. 253, *Papaa*, "house of *Papa*" (Akkadian and Medic *E*, "house").

No. 311, *Khalbu* (Aleppo). The first part may mean either "city," as in the Medic and Susian *khal*, or "great" (Akkadian *gal*, Susian *khal*, Turkish *jahin*). *Bu* would seem to mean a lake or swamp, or may simply mean "high," "great," as in Turkic. The neighbourhood of Aleppo, especially to the west, is remarkable for its lakes and marshes.

No. 312, *Piauner*. This is a strange word, perhaps to be compared with the Turkic *pinar* for a "spring."

No. 318, *Aaripenekha* or *Aalipenekha*. This may be Semitic, "city of the Phœnicians." The word *Fenekh*, for the Phœnicians, which occurs in Egyptian texts, does not, however, appear to be itself Semitic, and is perhaps to be regarded as coming from the Turanian root *pin*, "to settle," with the personal affix *kh*, the *Fenekh* being the "settlers." Taken as Turanian, *Aaripenekha* still means Phœnician city, the first word (*eri* or *uru* in Akkadian) being of Turanian origin, and the second having the adjective ending in *a*.

No. 347, *Tamākur*. Perhaps "mountain of the building,"

from *kur*, "mountain," which occurs in Akkadian and is widely spread, and *tama* (see No. 286).

These are only selections showing how the names in Northern Syria, which yield no meaning as Semitic words, may be analysed by aid of ancient and modern Turkic languages. I may remark in passing that the same key often unlocks the old classic nomenclature of Asia Minor, when not translatable by aid of Greek. Thus the "speech of Lycaonia," mentioned by St. Paul, was probably only a dialect of the same language spoken by the Hittites.

From these geographical lists we recover, I believe, the following Hittite words:—

<i>Pil</i> or <i>Pal</i> , "hill."	<i>Ari</i> , "river."
<i>Ai</i> , "mound" or "house."	<i>Buk</i> , "shrine" or "fort."
<i>Ban</i> , "shrine."	<i>Tuk</i> , "building."
<i>Tur</i> , "camp."	<i>Tar</i> , "river" or "valley."
<i>Ab</i> , "house," "abode."	<i>Tep</i> , "hill."*
<i>Zakar</i> , "monument."	<i>Khal</i> , "town" (or "great")
<i>Khar</i> , "high."	<i>Gan</i> , "enclosure."
<i>Kar</i> , "fortress."	<i>Nin</i> , "chief" (or "lady.")
<i>Aun</i> , "city."	<i>Ser</i> , "height."
<i>Aul</i> or <i>Aur</i> , "town" or "camp."	<i>Tama</i> , "building."
<i>Kur</i> , "mountain."	<i>Shar</i> , "wood."
<i>Tsat</i> , "mountain."	<i>Mur</i> , "town."†
<i>Nat</i> , "mountain."?	<i>Ta</i> , "height."
<i>Ma</i> , "earth," "home."	<i>Pap</i> , "father."
<i>Ata</i> , "chief" or "father."	<i>Ler</i> or <i>Lel</i> , "chief."‡
<i>Khat</i> , "Hittite."	<i>Kep</i> , ? "hill."
<i>Nir</i> , "ruler."	<i>Suk</i> , "swamp."
<i>Sak</i> , "top," "head." §	<i>Shaua</i> , "stream."?
<i>Su</i> , "stream."	<i>Ret</i> (? <i>Lat</i>) "hill"?
<i>Akar</i> , "field."	<i>Bu</i> ?, "lake," "pool" (or "high.")
<i>Nap</i> , "sun," "god."	<i>Bet</i> , "fortress."
<i>Kat</i> , "house," "place." ¶	<i>Tsen</i> ? "plain," "desert."

* No. 187, *Tep-kenna*, "hill enclosed."

† In Mongolian we have *muren*, "river," probably the Turkic *ur*, "to flow," Khitan *murū*.

‡ Akkadian *lala* ("dominateur," Lenormant), Hunnic *luli*, still used in India for a village chief. The Etruscan *lar*, "chief."

§ In No. 156, Amarsaki ("round top").

|| No. 264, *Akar-Shaua*. Akkadian and Etruscan *Aker*.

¶ In No. 249, *Katasha*. Medic *Kat*, "place." The word is also Aryan for cot, cottage, &c., unless this be Semitic (for Kadesh).

We have also the genitive *na*, the adjective *a* and *i*, and the dative or locative *ta*, while the grammatical structure of the names is that of the Turanian languages. More than forty Hittite words are thus, I believe, recoverable from town names.

We may next turn to the names of the Hittite chiefs known to the Egyptians, which are to be analysed, I believe, as follows, taking the names from Chabas' list, which shows the original hieroglyphics:—

(1) *Tartesepeu* contains the well-known word *esebu*, "chief," as in Akkadian, preceded by *tar-t*. *Tar* or *tur* is a Turkic word for chief, and the *t* may be a case ending. It frequently is incorporated in names of the present class.

(2) *Peis* appears to be the Turkic *bis* or *pis*, for a leader or chief, which is perhaps the Akkadian *pis*, rendered "hero."

(3) *Kalbatus* gives us an adjective, prefixed as usual in the Turkic languages, namely, *khal*, *kal* or *gal*, "great"; also known in Akkadian (*gal*) and in Susian (*khal*). *Batus* is apparently the Turkic *batis* for a prince or chief. The adjective in living Turanian speech precedes the noun in most languages. In Medic and Akkadian it usually follows, but in the older of these tongues,—the Akkadian,—there are exceptions (see Lenormant, *Magic*, p. 285), just as in Medic and Akkadian there are certainly two positions for the genitive.

(4) *Samaritas*. The ending *tas* appears to be connected with the Akkadian *tassi*, *tis*, and *tassak*, meaning a warrior or a king, according to Lenormant, and with the Turkic *tös*, "to rule" or "direct." The first part is less evident, perhaps from *zum*, "to destroy," *sumar*, "to throw down," or perhaps from the Turkic *som*, "strong."

(5) *Titar*, probably the Akkadian *ditar*, "judge." In Chinese *ti* means "judge." The name may be read, however, *tisetar*. (See Nos. 1 and 4.)

(6) *Khalep-sar*, "ruler of Aleppo." The word *sar* occurs in Akkadian, and in Turkic languages it is well known as *tsar* for a ruler. This name, therefore, like No. 3, gives a valuable indication of the grammar of the language. If the words were Semitic, we should have *sar kheleb*, and could not possibly have *kheleb sar*.

(7) *Tarkatasas*. The first word is a very widely-spread term for chief, occurring all over Asia Minor and in Etruria in the forms *tarkon* and *tarku*, or *tarkan* and *tarka*. It seems clearly to be the Turkic *tarkhan* or *torgan*, a word for the chief of a tribe, found also in the old Mongol dialect called Buriat as *darga* or *dargo*. *Tasas* appears to be as in No. 4,

but with a final "s," which also occurs in Akkadian and in many other dialects of Western Asia as the end of personal names.

(8) *Lab sunna*. The first word is common in Turkic languages, meaning "good," "brave," "hero," &c. *Sun* may be the Akkadian *sun* for "battle," or perhaps the Medic *sanu*, Turkish *san*—"noble," "powerful," so that the meaning would be "hero of battle," the final *na* being the genitive sign common in all these languages.

(9) *Kamais* suggests the name of Chemosh, which is possibly non-Semitic. Gesenius thought it meant "subduer," which agrees with the Turanian root *kam* or *gam*, "to bend," here found with the personal ending in "s." Possibly, however, the word comes from the Akkadian *Kam* (also a Turkic word) "priest."

(10) *Tarkan nas*. The first part is as in No. 7, a common Turkic word. *Nas* may be compared with the Susian *nazi*, the Akkadian *nazi* or *nis* for "king," which was also used in Hebrew, probably as a loan word.

(11) *Matz rima* or *Mas lima*. This is obscure, though we have *mash*, "soldier," in Akkadian, and *mas* as a form of *bas*, "chief," in Turkic languages. *Lim* in Akkadian is said to mean "front," so that the name may signify a "leader."

(12) *To tar*. The second part, *tar*, we have seen to mean "chief" (No. 1). The first part may be compared with *ta*, "powerful," "high," "great," in some Turanian languages, as, for instance, in Susian, a dialect of Medic, and in Chinese. This is probably the meaning of the name of T'au or T'ai (*Tou* or *Toi*), King of Hamath in David's time, according to the Bible, for which, as a Semitic word, only the meaning "wandering" is obtainable.

(13) *Tsuatsasi* or *Tuatase*. This may mean "strong master," from the Turkic *tot*, *tat*, meaning "strong," and the common Turanian *as*, *asi*, "master," but in Ugric speech we have *susi* for "wolf" (Donner, i. p. 177), and many Altaic tribes claimed descent from wolves. A tribe of Zuzim is mentioned in Assyrian records.

(14) *Khetasar*, "Lord of the Hittites." See what is said of No. 6.

(15) *Maura sar*. See the preceding. Perhaps the first part stands for *murru*, "city."

(16) *Sapa lala*. The word *lala* has already been mentioned as meaning "chief." *Sap* is less evident. It was the name of a Chaldæan deity, and is probably the Philistine *Saph*. There are several roots to which it might be referred.

(17) *Mautenar*.

From this inspection we see that the same key which explains the geographical names also explains the personal names of the Hittites. They appear to be appellations rather than names, just as the Persians or the Chinese took special names when succeeding to the throne. Compare also the title Pharaoh in Egypt.

Four kings of the Hittites are mentioned in cuneiform records. Taking the transliteration given by Schrader, we find them to be—

(18) *Irkhulin* or *Irkhulini*, King of Hamath. This is probably the Turkic *er*, "man," and *khalin*, "strong," "big." It thus answers to the Akkadian *irkalla* or *urugal*, "hero," the Etruscan *erle*, the Greek Herakles, and Latin Hercules, names for which no Aryan etymology is found.

(19) *Sangar*, King of Karchemish. Perhaps from the Turkic *san*, *sang*, "noble," Medic *sanu*, "powerful," an adjective preceding the noun *ar* or *er*, "man"—"the nobleman." The termination of nouns in *r* is common in Akkadian and in Turkic dialects.

(20) *Pisiris*. This appears to come from the Turkic root *pis* or *bis*, whence *bajar* or *bisir*, "a rich man," "the great," or "wealthy."

(21) *Iniel*, probably, is to be compared with the Turkic *yinil*, meaning "victorious."

This sort of investigation may be carried into the languages of all the non-Semitic, non-Aryan tribes defeated by the Assyrians, between Media and Syria, with the same results. Professor Sayce has already pointed out that the nomenclature is of the same character found in Syria, but he has not attempted to compare with living languages.

We, therefore, have, in addition to our previous words, the following Hittite terms:—

<i>Tar</i> , "chief."	<i>Tarka</i> , <i>Tarkan</i> , "chief."
<i>Esebu</i> , "prince."	<i>Pis</i> , "leader."
<i>Kal</i> , "great."	<i>Batus</i> , "chief."
<i>Tas</i> , "leader" (?).	<i>Titar</i> , "judge."
<i>Sar</i> , "lord."	<i>Lab</i> , "bravo."
<i>Nas</i> , "king."	<i>San</i> , "noble."
<i>Pisir</i> , "magnate."	<i>Iniel</i> , "victorious."

This gives us sixty words in all, in addition to grammatical particles,—words, let us remember, of the Canaanite language almost as early as the days of Abraham.

This result fully agrees with the Old Testament account of the sons of Ham. The names Anak, Ephron, Mamre, and

others belonging to Hittite chiefs, Agag among Amalekites, Goliath, Akish, Phicol, and others, among Philistines, do not appear to be Semitic words; but,—which is even more interesting,—there are many words in Hebrew (fifty or sixty, at least) which seem to be borrowed from the old Turanian languages, just as the Assyrian borrows from Akkadian, showing us probably a Turanian element in Palestine as well as in Chaldea. The same is to be noticed in Phœnician, where the names of many of the gods which scholars have been unable to explain are clearly referable to the same Turanian origin.*

Since then we have clear evidence of a Turanian population in Syria and in Asia Minor, we may apply these languages of the Turkic stock to the interpretation of the ancient hieroglyphic texts in those countries which are neither cuneiform nor Egyptian in character. These hieroglyphics have been found on five stones at Hamath, and at Aleppo, on monuments from various other parts of Asia Minor and Syria, on a bowl from Babylon, and on seals from various places.

Comparative tables from these sources, which I have drawn up, show that this hieroglyphic system consisted of about 120 characters, of which a certain number, about 50 in all, are very common and often repeated, and the rest more rare. It cannot therefore be an alphabet with which we have to deal; it must be a system like other hieroglyphic systems, in which the pictures represent words or syllables.

Now it is generally agreed among those who have studied the subject, that the syllabary of Western Asia, which was deciphered by George Smith, represents the later forms of the hieroglyphics with which we have to deal, and as this syllabary includes 54 sounds, and nearly 60 emblems, we should be able from it to recover sounds for half the emblems of the old, so-called, Hittite hieroglyphics.

It appeared to me, in the first place, necessary to try whether these sounds could be applied to the languages which we have already discussed. Secondly, to analyse carefully the combinations of these sounds; and, thirdly, to compare the forms of the hieroglyphs with those in other systems, such as the oldest Chinese, the oldest cuneiform, and the Egyptian. This has been a work of much labour and of long time, but the result shows that it was worth research. As regards the sounds, taking them from the syllabary, we obtain the common grammatical forms of Turkic languages; *li* for the adjective, *a* for the participle, *ek* for the person, *mek* for

* For details see my paper on the pre-Semitic element in Phœnicia, *Archæological Review*, April, 1888.

the verb, *me* for the plural,—as in Akkadian and Medic, *mu*; *na*, *su* for the three pronouns, *ka*, *ta*, *sa*, *na* for the case endings. We find the arrangement of the sentences to be in “packets,” as in agglutinative speech; and the vertical arrangement of the words is exactly the same as in the oldest Akkadian texts.

The comparison with other hieroglyphic systems gives us the probable meaning of many of the emblems, such as the star for deity (as in Egyptian, and Akkadian cuneiform); the foot for come and for the passive voice (as in cuneiform); the legs for “run,” as in Chinese, Egyptian, and cuneiform; the hand grasping for “take,” as in cuneiform, and Egyptian and Chinese; the hand raised for another verb, as in cuneiform; the hand to the mouth for supplication, as in Egyptian. While using these comparisons to assist in understanding the Hittite, I do not mean to say that Hittite is the same as either of the other systems. The differences are very great, and the grammatical signs are quite different, excepting that a series of strokes represents the plural in Egyptian and cuneiform as well as in Hittite. At the same time, I see no impossibility in Chinese, cuneiform, and perhaps Egyptian, having all originated in an old Asiatic picture writing of a very primitive character, to which in some respects (such as the absence of determinatives, of included emblems and of compounds) the Hittite seems probably to approximate nearest.

The translations which (tentative though they are) I have proposed for some of the texts, not only depend on this detailed examination of every emblem, but are also in accordance with the grammatical structure of the ancient Turanian languages. There is, as far as I know, nothing arbitrary in the value which I have assigned to any emblem; in each case the proposal rests on comparative evidence. Out of the 120 emblems, I have, I believe, recovered the sound in 50 cases; and the meaning in about 30 more; while, to the 60 words already mentioned as recovered from the monuments as Hittite words, we may add about 50 more, the sound of which is recovered from the hieroglyphic texts, giving us more than 100 Hittite words in all.

As regards the method of reading, it is exactly the same as in the early Akkadian texts. The syllables of each word stand in a vertical column in the line, or when the word is a long one it may occupy two columns. The only difference is that in Akkadian all the lines read from right to left, but in Hittite, as a rule, as in early Greek texts, the alternate lines read from left to right. I have appended to this paper a list of Hittite emblems in two plates. In the first the sound is,

I believe, recoverable, but in the second plate it is only possible (in thirty cases), to judge the meaning by comparison with the use of similar emblems in other hieroglyphic systems.

As regards the subjects of the various texts, I have only to say that I approached the question with an open mind; and, indeed, much hoped to find them to be historical, yet the probabilities are all the other way. I therefore now believe the texts to be religious and not historical, and this has indeed been already admitted in some cases. Thus the sculptures described by Perrot in Cappadocia clearly represent deities. At Ibreez, on the south side of Asia Minor, a monument with such inscription represents a person adoring a gigantic figure with bull-horned head. The bowl from Babylon, no doubt like many other bowls of later date from the same district, has a charm written upon it, and the reason in other cases for supposing the subjects to be non-historical is the frequent appearance of what have been recognised by Dr. Sayce and by others to be names of deities. In Akkadian we have no early historic texts; those which are known are either invocations of deities, or records of gifts to temples, and we have numerous Akkadian magic texts on cuneiform bricks, but no annals. Historic texts belong to the Semitic period, at least 1000 years later than the period under consideration.

In Egypt, in like manner, the religious literature of the monuments is enormous as compared with the fewer and later historical materials. In Etruria, our information as to the language is derived from tomb texts and from ex votos on little figures like those still hung in Roman Catholic churches. In Greece we have many such dedications, and generally speaking the idea of monumental records of history is not a primitive idea. The earliest effort of savages are directed in great measure to the production of written talismans.

The difficulty of reading the Hittite is greatly decreased by the discovery of the character of the language spoken by the non-Semitic population. As long, however, as we have no bi-linguals, great doubts must exist in the details. Cuneiform is as yet the only character read first without bi-linguals, because in Persian cuneiform the characters are comparatively few, and the treatment of the cypher was thus easier. But no ancient language has been ever understood save by comparison with other languages, and no other method can be anything but arbitrary and unconvincing. In Hittite, as I have shown, we have some 50 out of 120 sounds. We have the position of the emblem to consider,—that is, in other

words, its cypher value,—and we have the comparison of picture value with that of the same emblem in other systems. The texts read in lines alternately from right to left, and left to right, and the words read *vertically* in syllables in the line. These are for the most part accepted facts, and furnish a fair basis for decipherment.

There is in existence a short bi-lingual of six syllables, as pointed out in 1880 by Professor Sayce. It has been called a forgery, but this is a very usual cry when anything hard to decipher is found. Forgers do not invent; they only copy; and when this silver boss with bi-lingual was found the Hittite system was still unknown. The bi-lingual has on it the Assyrian legend, *Tarku timme sar mat Erme*, "Tarkutimme king of the land Erme," according to Mr. Pinches' translation.

The six hieroglyphics may be discussed as follows, according to my decipherment:—

(1) A deer's head. In Akkadian we have *dara* and *darag* for the "deer," Assyrian *turakhu*; but *turakhu* does not seem to be a Semitic word for any species of deer, and is probably (as is so often the case in Assyrian) a loan word from Akkadian, perhaps to be connected with *turgun*, "swift," in Buriat Mongol. It is hardly necessary to remark that this word Tarku is that which has already been explained in treating of the names of Tarkatasas and Tarkannas.

(2) The second emblem, somewhat like a conch shell, should have the value *timme* or *dim*. I find that the shape is almost exactly the same as that of the original emblem in Akkadian cuneiform, which has the value *dim*.

(3) A high cone or conical cap, such as is worn by the Cappadocian deities. Professor Sayce sees in this the emblem for "king," and has compared its shape with that of the Cypriote syllable *ko*. *Ko* then should mean king, and so it does in Medic, according to Norris and Lenormant, and in Akkadian, according to Lenormant, Bertin and Pinches. In Turkic speech *ege* means "a lord," and in Manchu Tartar *chu* has the same meaning.*

(4) A double cone. Professor Sayce saw in this the

* In the Akkadian syllabaries the emblem commonly used with the sound *cu* is compared with the Assyrian *bilu*, "a lord," and *rubu*, "a prince" (see Sayce's *Assyrian Grammar*, No. 462). In Akkadian the same emblem has also the sounds, *Khun* (the Turkic *Kan* or *Khan*, "Prince"), and *dur* or *tur* (Turkic *tore*, "chief"). The word *koza* or *kocha* for "lord" or "chief" (Akkadian *kusa*, "chief") used in several Turkic dialects is apparently from the same root.

emblem of country, and this is probable, because it is very like the emblems used for country or mountain in Egyptian in the earliest cuneiform and in Chinese. I also found this emblem to be exactly like the Cypriote syllable *mi* or *me*. Now in Akkadian *ma* means "country," according to Lenormant, Delitzsch, Bertin, and Pinches; and besides this the word *ma*, *me*, or *mu*, means "earth," "land," "home," in several yet living Turanian languages.

(5) Would stand evidently for *er*, but the meaning of the sign is doubtful pictorially.

(6) A series of four strokes. It must have the value *me*, which in Medic, and in Akkadian too, is the plural. Now in Egypt three strokes stand for the plural, and in cuneiform the plural sign seems originally to have been a series of strokes. We thus obtain a very valuable sign to aid us in deciphering other Hittite texts.

The hieroglyphs therefore read :—

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Tarku -	dim -	ku -	ma -	Er -	me.
Tarku -	dim	king	land	Er -	me.

Tarkudim is probably a personal name, like the later Tarkondimotos, as Professor Sayce has pointed out.

The fact that the bi-lingual can be read by aid of the Turanian languages is a very strong argument in favour of the correctness of the system, but it is not stronger than that afforded by the recovery of 100 words (as already explained), because no amount of ingenuity could lead to such a result were the language not really that supposed.

We may now turn attention to the seals and cylinders from Asia Minor and elsewhere which belong to the same civilisation. These cylinders are supposed to have been worn as charms, as were also the seal-rings, and they generally present mythological subjects, winged figures, bull-headed genii, hawk-headed, ram-headed, lion-headed gods, and demons represented as mythical monsters. The first thing which is noted in looking at the dozen seals and cylinders recovered as yet in Asia Minor is that in character they are exactly like the Akkadian cylinders brought from Babylonia, and we now see why, since the race and civilisation were the same or very closely similar.

A seal has been published which I also find to throw much light on the Hittite, though it has only three emblems upon it. The first is a star, beneath this a lozenge, and beneath this an eagle. The star is the old cuneiform for "god" (*an*),

the lozenge is the old cuneiform for "sun" (*ut* or *tam*), and we have here the name of a god, which is a dissyllable beginning probably *Tam*. This suggests the name *Tam-zi* or *Tam-ez*, which was the Akkadian form of *Tammuz*, and the eagle should be *zi* or *ez*. In Assyrian mythology we find that *Zi* was the name of a deity who took the form of a bird, and in Turkic speech *is* means to fly or flutter. Here, then, we have the name of *Tammuz* on a seal; but it is yet more interesting to find this same group,—the sign for deity, the sun, and the eagle beneath,—frequent on the Hittite texts; for we thus learn that *Tammuz*, mentioned as a Canaanite idol in the Bible, and well known to be the Phœnician *Adonis*, was worshipped by the Hittites and by the Akkadians as well.

It would take too long to diverge on the subject of these seal cylinders, concerning which I have written a detailed paper.* On many of them there are emblems,—apparently the names of the deities represented,—which are clearly the same found on the Hittite texts. One of these is the goat's head (*tar* or *tarku*), and another is the bird (*zi*). We know that there was an Asia Minor deity called *Tar* or *Tarku*, and we know of a deity called *Zi*, and here we find them represented on cylinders from Asia Minor, on which also we find gods whose emblems are the ass, the lion, the dove, &c., &c.

There is one other point to be considered. The Egyptians sometimes classed all the inhabitants of Northern Syria as *Kheta* or Hittites. The Assyrians spoke, down to 700 B.C., even of the Philistine city of *Ashdod* as a "city of the Hittites." They must have been a very important tribe, and we should expect the name to have survived late. Now I find that it did so survive to the thirteenth century A.D., and that there are perhaps still a few Hittites living. Not only so, but they are a Mongolian people with a language akin to Mongol and Turkic dialects. The Mongols still apply the name *Khitai* to the Chinese, and it is this which originates the familiar mediæval term *Cathay*. There were *Khitai* living in Northern Mongolia, near Lake *Baikal*, and known to the early Chinese geographers. There were other *Khitai* living in the very centre of *Turkestan*, even as early as the days of the geographer *Ptolemy*. They became a famous people under their early chiefs, and under *Prester John*. They invaded *China*, and brought with them a considerable civilisation, including the arts of drawing and writing. Their power at

* Quarterly Statement, Palestine Exploration Fund, Oct., 1888.

one time extended over all the regions north of the Oxus, and was only destroyed by Genghiz Khan and the Mongols from further north. In these Khitai I believe we see an eastern division of the same people known to the Egyptians and Assyrians as *Kheta* or *Khatti*, and called *Heth* in the Bible. At the present day a few survivors still remain of the once powerful Khitai both in the region near Lake Baikal, and in Turkestan south of the Chu River. In Asia Minor and Syria the Turkic and Turkoman population, though historically known to have been often recruited from Bactria, still presents to us, as of old, the Turanian population side by side with the Semitic and the Aryan.

I would say a few words (in confirmation of my results) concerning the old languages of Lydia and Caria in Asia Minor. These must, as we have seen, have been akin to the Hittite language (as is indeed very generally allowed), and a few words have been preserved for us by classic writers as follows:—

Carian Words.

(1) *Kos*, a sheep. In Turkish *kozi* is a "lamb"; in Buriat Mongol *kozi* is a "ram." In the language of the Kirghiz, *koi* is "sheep," which in Turkish is *koyun*; Hungarian, *kos*, "ram."

(2) *Taba*, a rock. In Ziririanian (a Ugric language) *düb* is a "ridge," and in Turkish languages *tapa*, *tepe*, means a "knoll," or "mound," or "hill."

(3) *Gela*, king. Apparently from the Turkic root *kal*, "to be great" (Akkadian *gal*), whence comes the Tartar *khalga*, a "lord."

(4) *Soua*, a tomb. This has been compared, by Dr. Isaac Taylor, with the Etruscan *su* or *suthi*, which appears to mean a tomb, Etruscan being a language of the same type.

(5) *Glous*, a robber. This seems to be explained by the Mongol (Buriat) root *kulu*, "to steal."

(6) *Ala*, a horse. Compare the Hungarian *lo*, "horse," and Chinese *lu*, "donkey." In Turkic languages (which avoid the *l*) it becomes *at*, "horse," and the Carian is here nearer to the Ugric speech.

(7) *Tumnia*, a rod. Apparently from the common Turanian root *tum*, *tub*, "to strike."

(8) *Kakkabē*, "a horse's head," from *kak*, or *sak*, a word of Finnic speech for "top" or "head" (as in Akkadian *sak*, "head") and *kabe*, apparently the Ugric *hebo*, akin to the Greek word for a horse.

To this list a great many other words might be added, derived, as in the case of the Hittite names given already, from the known personal and geographical names of the region; but it is safer to confine ourselves to words of known meaning. The Carian *Kalabotes* compares with the Hittite *galbatus*, and *Gugos* with the Lydian *Gygēs* and the Biblical *Gog*; while the Carian alphabet contains letters recognised as derived from the old Syrian hieroglyphics.

Lydian Words.

Many words so-called by the classical writers appear to be Aryan, but some which cannot be so explained are clearly of the same stamp with the Carian.

(1) *Lailas*, a tyrant. This has already been found in the Hittite name lists as *lel*, and in Akkadian as *lala*, "ruler." Hunnic *luli*, "chief."

(2) *Targanon*, a branch. This is best explained, perhaps, by the Esthonian *targan*, "to sprout out."

(3) *Sardin*, a year. Compare the Medic *sarak*, "time," and the Turkish *sal* for "year." In Mongolian *sara* means "a month."

(4) *Mōus*, "the earth." Compare the Hungarian *mezo* and Esthonian *meisa*, "earth," "land."

There is a great deal more evidence of the same kind which can be produced showing that the old speech of Asia Minor, like the Etruscan, the Akkadian, and the Medic is to be explained by aid of Tartar and Ugric languages of the present day, but the clear cases here given may perhaps be considered sufficient demonstration. In vain have scholars attempted, by aid of Aryan and Semitic languages, to explain words which are so clearly Turanian.*

In conclusion, I would say a few words as to the civilisation of the dominant Canaanites of Turanian race, comparing the results obtained from the monuments with the Old Testament. From the monuments we know—

- (1) The Hittites lived in walled towns.
- (2) They had carved representations of the gods.
- (3) They adored Tammuz, and Ashtoreth, and Set.
- (4) They could write on stone and on metal.

* Medic has long been known to be nearest to Turkic speech (as Dr. Oppert discovered). Akkadian was thought by Lenormant to be nearer the Finnic, but Dr. Hommel is clearly correct in placing it nearer to Turkic and Mongolian.

- (5) They had chariots and horses.
- (6) They married out of their own tribe.
- (7) They entered into alliance with Egypt.
- (8) They were of Turanian race, and probably, therefore, not circumcised, as that is not a common Turanian custom.
- (9) They had riches of gold, silver, and bronze.

From the Bible, on the other hand, we learn—

- (1) The Canaanites lived in cities “walled up to heaven.”
- (2) They made likenesses of idols, which Israel was to destroy, and no such sculptures have been found between Dan and Beersheba, though they occur in Phœnicia and Northern Syria.
- (3) The Canaanites adored Tammuz and Ashtoreth.
- (4) Letters are mentioned in David’s time, and writing in the time of Moses, but nothing, as far as I know, about Canaanite literature, except that some think Kirjath Sepher means “Book town.”
- (5) The Canaanites had horses, and chariots of iron. Note that the Canaanite chariots are said by Thothmes III. to have been plated with silver, as were Roman chariots.
- (6) Esau married Hittite wives, David and Solomon did the same, so did Rameses II.
- (7) Egypt was the enemy of Israel, and Israel was the enemy of the Canaanites.
- (8) The Canaanites were sons of Ham, and they were uncircumcised.
- (9) Great riches are mentioned as found by the Hebrews when they attacked the Canaanites.

This comparison of the Bible and the monuments is capable of being greatly extended, but the present paper has already extended far enough.

To sum up, we have seen, 1st, that the monumental nomenclature of the Hittite country and of the Hittite chiefs is Tartar; 2nd, that the sounds of the Hittite language on the Syrian monuments are Tartar; 3rd, that the only known bi-lingual gives a Tartar-Ugric language; 4th, that the old languages of Caria and Lydia are Tartar-Ugric; 5th, that the Hittite language and art and hieroglyphic characters compare with the Medic and the Akkadian; 6th, that the subject of most (and I believe of all) the known Hittite texts is religious or magical; 7th, that all these facts agree with the Old Testament accounts of the Canaanites.

I think this subject is not only one of the newest, but one

of the most important archæological subjects that have of late been studied. It opens to us a new chapter in history, not a "forgotten empire," but the diffusion of a race known to all the ancients, and of languages equally familiar, though till lately not recognised because the comparative method had not been sufficiently applied.

PLATE 1.

Hittite.		Cypriote.	Hittite.	Cypriote.	Hittite.	Cypriote.	
1		 <i>an</i>	18		 <i>po</i>	35	  <i>ya, a</i>
2		 <i>en</i>	19		 <i>pu</i>	36	  <i>ye</i>
3		 <i>u</i>	20		 <i>le</i>	37	  <i>sa</i>
4		 <i>u</i>	21		 <i>lo, h</i>	38	  <i>se</i>
5		 <i>ka</i>	22		 <i>lu</i>	39	  <i>si</i>
6		 <i>ke</i>	23		 <i>ra</i>	40	  <i>su</i>
7		 <i>ke</i>	24		 <i>re</i>	41	  <i>zo</i>
8		 <i>ka</i>	25		 <i>re</i>	42	  <i>no?</i>
9		 <i>ko</i>	26		 <i>ri</i>	43	  <i>vo</i>
10		 <i>ku</i>	27		 <i>ma</i>	44	  <i>u, o</i>
11		 <i>ta</i>	28		 <i>ma</i>	45	  <i>u?</i>
12		 <i>te</i>	29		 <i>me</i>	46	 <i>me</i>
13		 <i>ti</i>	30		 <i>me, mi</i>	47	 <i>dim</i>
14		 <i>to</i>	31		 <i>mo</i>	48	 <i>dar</i>
15		 <i>pa</i>	32		 <i>ne</i>	49	 <i>er</i>
16		 <i>pe</i>	33		 <i>ni</i>	50	 <i>zi?</i>
17	 <i>pi, th</i>	34		 <i>mu, no</i>	51	 <i>du?</i>	

NOTES IN EXPLANATION OF THE PLATES.

PLATE I.

Hittite Emblems of known Sound.

No. 1. A star. Cypriote *a*, *an*. Compare cuneiform and Egyptian star, for "deity"; Akkadian and Etruscan *an*, "god"; Turkish *ana*, "saint."

No. 2. A throne. Compare cuneiform throne for *enu*, "lord"; Cypriote *e*, *en*.

No. 3. A fleur-de-lis. Cypriote *u*, appears to be used phonetically.

No. 4. A crook. Cypriote *u*, appears to be phonetic.

No. 5. Cypriote *ka*, used phonetically as a case suffix; Akkadian *ku*, Mongol *aha*, Jacut *gha*, post-position of ablative case.

No. 6. Cypriote *ke*, used phonetically, prefixed and affixed; Akkadian and Turkic *k* for personal affix and prefix.

No. 7. Apparently a key. Cypriote *ke*. Compare the cuneiform emblem *ik*, "to open," used, apparently, as a phonetic equivalent to the last.

No. 8. Apparently a crook. Cypriote *ka*, used as a prefix phonetically. Akkadian *ga*, Jacut *cha*, exclamation.

No. 9. A tiara. Cypriote *ko*; Akkadian *ku*, "prince"; Manchu *chu*, "lord."

No. 10. Another tiara, apparently a variant of No. 9.

No. 11. Hand and stick. Cypriote *ta*, apparently a causative prefix, like the Egyptian determinative; Chinese *ta*, "beat."

No. 12. An herb. Cypriote *te*, Akkadian *ti*, "live"; Turkish *it*, "sprout"; *ot*, "herb"; used, perhaps, as a phonetic.

No. 13. Apparently an arrow. Cypriote *ti*, used phonetically as prefix and suffix. Compare Medic prefix *id*, Akkadian and Etruscan suffix *ta* and *eth*.

No. 14. The hand grasping. Cypriote *to*. Compare the Egyptian cuneiform and Chinese signs for "touch," "take," "have." Akkadian *tu* "have."

No. 15. Apparently a branch. Cypriote *pa*. Compare Akkadian *pa*, "stick" (Lenormant).

No. 16. A vase. Cypriote *pe*, used phonetically. Akkadian *bi*, a cup.

No. 17. A suffix, probably of case. May be the Cypriote *pi*, or Carian *th*. It resembles the Chinese sign for division.

No. 18. A crook (the reversed way to No. 8 in all cases). Cypriote *po*; Tartar *boy*, "bend"; used, apparently, as a phonetic, perhaps for the demonstrative (Turkish *bu*, "this").

No. 19. Apparently a flower. Cypriote *pu*. Compare the Akkadian emblem *pa*, apparently a flower. Akkadian *pu*, "long"; Tartar *boy*, "long," "growth," "grass"; Hungarian *fu*, "herb." Perhaps used as a phonetic.

No. 20. Bull's head. Cypriote *le*, Akkadian *le* or *lu*, "bull."

No. 21. A cross. Cypriote *lo*, Carian *h*.

No. 22. A yoke. Cypriote *lo* and *le*; Akkadian *lu*, "yoke." Used phonetically for the adjective suffix (Turkish *lu* and *li*).

No. 23. A very common luck-mark. Cypriote *ra*. Found in Phœnicia, &c., as well as in Hittite.

No. 24. Probably represents rain. Compare the Egyptian, Akkadian, and Chinese emblems for "rain," "storm," "darkness." Perhaps used phonetically. Cypriote *re*. See Akkadian *ri*, "flow"; Turkic *ir*, *ur*, "flow."

No. 25 seems to represent drops of water equivalent to the last. Only known once. Cypriote *re*.

No. 26. Possibly the "fire-stick." Cypriote *ri*. Occurs as the name of a deity. Akkadian *ri*, "bright," the name of a deity.

No. 27. *Ma* in Cypriote. Perhaps a crown.

No. 28. *Ma* or *gon* in Cypriote. A hand with sceptre.

No. 29. *Me* in Cypriote. A much conventionalised emblem, used phonetically as a verb suffix. Akkadian *me*, "be." Turkish *am*, *em*, "existing."

No. 30. Two mountains. Cypriote *me* or *mi*. The emblem for "country." See what is said in the text of this paper.

No. 31 resembles the cuneiform sign for "female." Used apparently for the first pronoun. Cypriote *mo*. Akkadian *mu*. Common to many Turanian languages for "I," "me," "my."

No. 32. Cypriote *ne*. Used phonetically as prefix and suffix for the third pronoun and genitive, as in many Turkic languages, and in Akkadian, Medic, &c. This is the commonest Hittite sign, and its identification is very important.

No. 33. *Ni* in Cypriote. This is the hieratic form of the emblem usually beginning Hittite texts at Hamath. Medic *na*, "say"; Akkadian *en*, "prayer"; Jacut *un*, "ask."

No. 34. This is the sign of opposition in cuneiform, in Chinese, and in Egyptian. Cypriote *mu* or *no* (*nu*, "not").

No. 35. A pot. Cypriote *a* or *ya*. Compare the Ak-

kadian *a*, "water." It is used in some cases phonetically for the participle, as in Akkadian, &c.

No. 36. A snake. Perhaps the Cypriote *ye*.

No. 37. Apparently a sickle. Cypriote *sa*. Compare the Tartar *sa, se*, "knife." It is used phonetically as a suffix, perhaps the Akkadian *sa*, "with" or "in."

No. 38. The open hand. Cypriote *se*. Akkadian *sa*, "give." Tartar *saa*, "take."

No. 39. Supposed to be the emblem of deity,—a prefix; probably the Cypriote *si*. Perhaps a conventionalised eye (Akkadian *si*, Medic *siya*, "to see"). Compare the common Turanian *es* or *is*, for a deity.

No. 40. Perhaps the Cypriote *su*. Only occurs four times.

No. 41. Resembles the cuneiform and Chinese emblem for "breath," "wind," "spirit." Cypriote *zo* or *ze*. Occurs as the name of a god. Akkadian *zi*, "spirit."

No. 42. A prefix. The Cypriote emblem has the sound *no* or *os*. Probably the second pronoun, as in Akkadian, &c.

No. 43. Used as a verb root. Perhaps the Cypriote *vo*. It seems to mean "word" or "speak." Akkadian *gu* and *mu* (or *vu*).

No. 44. Resembles the Chinese cuneiform and Egyptian emblem for heaven. Akkadian *u*. It may be compared with the Carian letter *u* or *o*.

No. 45. The Lycian *u* resembles this sign, which is apparently phonetic, and perhaps a conjunction (Akkadian *u*, Turkish *u*). In Lycian, such a sign is used also as a stop.

No. 46 has the value *me* on the bi-lingual. See what has been said in the text of this paper. It seems to be the plural, as in other systems.

No. 47. *Dim* on the bi-lingual. Resembles the cuneiform emblem *dim*.

No. 48. The deer's head. *Tar* or *tarku* on the bi-lingual. See what is said in the text.

No. 49. *Er* on the bi-lingual. Apparently a phonetic in other texts with the value *ra*, as in the Akkadian and Medic particle "to."

No. 50. An eagle. Appears to have the sound *zi*, as explained in the text.

No. 51. The foot, used, evidently, as a verb, and resembles the cuneiform *du*. Probably may be sounded as in Akkadian and used for the passive (*du*, "come" or "become").

PLATE 2.

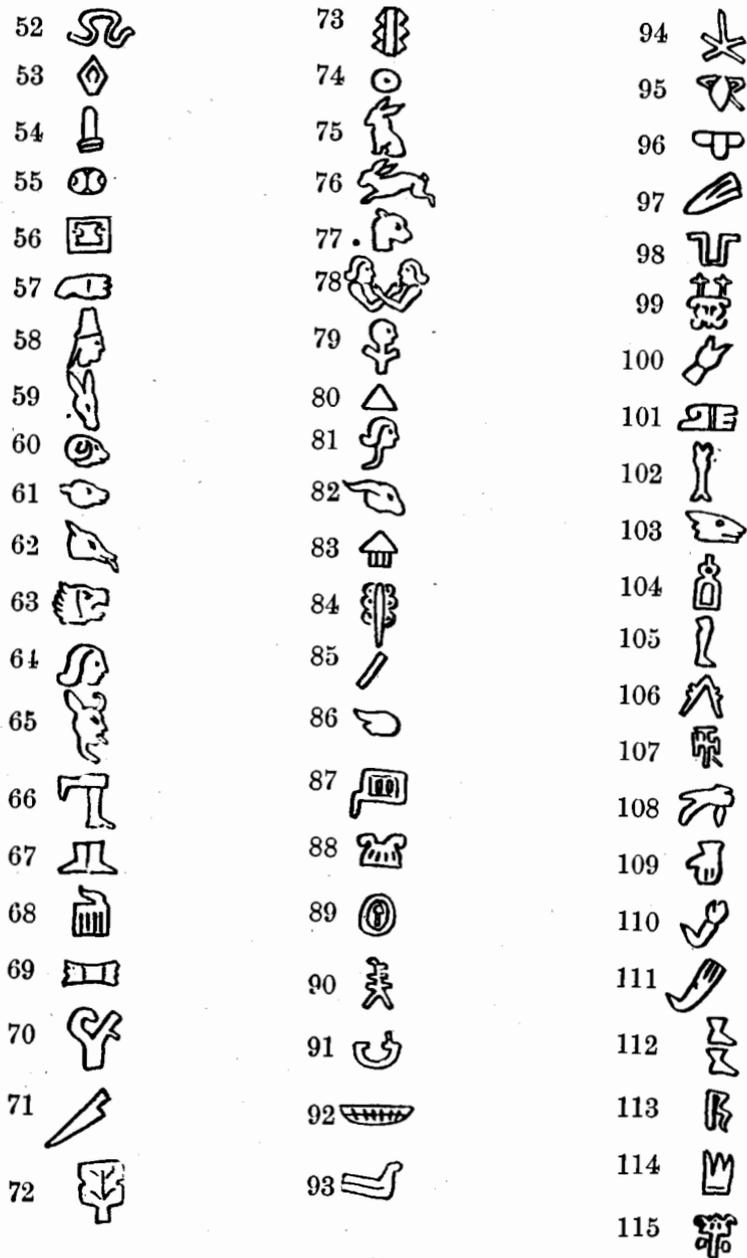


PLATE II.

Hittite Emblems of uncertain Sound.

- No. 52. A serpent. Occurs in the name of a god.
 No. 53. Perhaps a monument. It recalls the Cypriote *ro*.
 No. 54. Apparently a monument.
 No. 55. Probably the sun (*ud* or *tam*) as explained in the text.
 No. 56. Apparently a house.
 No. 57. Perhaps the sole of the foot.
 No. 58. A king's head with a pig-tail.
 No. 59. A donkey's head. Probably the god Set.
 No. 60. A ram's head. Probably with the sound *gug* or or *guch* and the meaning "fierce" "mighty."
 No. 61. A sheep's head. Probably *lu* or *udu*.
 No. 62. A dog or fox head. Only occurs once.
 No. 63. A lion's head. Only on seals.
 No. 64. The human head. Probably *sak*, and appears to be a phonetic.
 No. 65. A demon's head. Used specially in a text which seems to be a magic charm. (Jerabis, No. 3.)
 No. 66. Two legs. Resembles the cuneiform *dhu*, and means probably "go" or "run."
 No. 67. Two feet. Probably "stand"; or "send," as in Chinese.
 No. 68. Apparently an altar. This is a somewhat common sign, perhaps a phonetic.
 No. 69. Perhaps a bundle or roll.
 No. 70. Perhaps a tree branch or horns; seems to be phonetic. There is a similar Cypriote emblem but of doubtful sound.
 No. 71. Apparently a knife or sword; perhaps *pal*.
 No. 72. Apparently a tree.
 No. 73. Apparently the sacred artificial tree of Asshur.
 No. 74. A circle. Compare the cuneiform *sa*, "middle."
 No. 75. A deity. Only occurs once.
 No. 76. A hare. Only occurs once.
 No. 77. A camel's head. Only occurs once.
 No. 78. Twins. As in Egyptian.
 No. 79. Resembles the Chinese emblem for "small." Occurs once in a sentence, which seems to read "cause to become small."
 No. 80. A pyramid or triangle. Perhaps a phonetic.
 No. 81. A head, perhaps only a variant of No. 43.

- No. 82. Seems to be a wild bull's head.
 No. 83. Perhaps a variant of No. 80. Only occurs once.
 No. 84. Apparently a kind of thyrus. Only found twice.
 No. 85. A sign dividing clauses and words.
 No. 86. Perhaps a flame.
 No. 87. Not frequent: of unknown value.
 No. 88. Ditto ditto.
 No. 89. Ditto ditto.
 No. 90. Ditto ditto.
 No. 91. Apparently a ship, like the cuneiform *ma*. Appears only on seals.
 No. 92. Only once found on the Babylonian bowl, and seems to represent the inscribed bowl itself.
 No. 93. Of unknown value and rare.
 No. 94. Ditto ditto.
 No. 95. Ditto ditto.
 No. 96. Ditto ditto.
 No. 97. Ditto ditto.
 No. 98. Ditto ditto.
 No. 99. Ditto ditto.
 No. 100. Ditto ditto.
 No. 101. Ditto ditto.
 No. 102. Ditto ditto.
 No. 103. Ditto ditto.
 No. 104. Only once found, appears to mean "tablet."
 No. 105. Only once. Value unknown.
 No. 106. Perhaps a variant of No. 47.
 No. 107. Only once. Value unknown.
 No. 108. Occurs on one text (Jerabis, No. 2) may mean "slay," with the sound *be* or *bat*, but may, perhaps, be used phonetically.
 No. 109. Apparently a hand or glove, pointing downwards. Possibly *tu* or *dun* for "down."
 No. 110. A commoner emblem. Perhaps for a verb.
 No. 111. Distinct from the last on the same text. It resembles the cuneiform *da*.
 No. 112. One of the few reduplications. It occurs also in cuneiform with the sound *du-du*, "cause to go," or "cause to become," "establish."
 No. 113. May be a variant of No. 25.
 No. 114. Only once found on a much-worn text (J. iii.).
 No. 115. Only once found. Compare No. 88.

This list will, I believe, be found to include all the Hittite emblems distinctly decipherable as yet known. The detailed

discussion of the values will be found in the *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statements* for 1888, and in *Altaic Hieroglyphs*, second edition, where also a full reply is given to such criticisms of detail as have been yet published. The values are often supported by consideration of the words formed by the combinations of these monosyllabic emblems, which may be roughly divided into two classes—1st, the large emblems which are ideograms; 2nd, the smaller attached emblems which appear to be phonetics. A few doubtful and indistinct emblems on the monuments are omitted from the two lists here given.

If this system be the true one it will evidently apply equally well to the longest and shortest texts alike.

At the Karabel Pass there is a figure with an inscription consisting only of seven emblems. This I find reads well. (See Wright's *Empire of the Hittites*, plate xviii.)

Id-dip-pu-Zi-an i-gu.

“The monument Zi-an, called” (invokes). Zi-an “the spirit of heaven” is frequently invoked in Akkadian litanies. The figure accompanying the text is that of a bowman with tiara like the figures of male deities discovered at Pterium in Cappadocia.

LIST OF ONE HUNDRED HITTITE WORDS.

THE comparison of these words with those of the Akkadian, Medic, Susian, Etruscan, and living Tartar and Ugrian languages has, in many cases, been given in the text. It will be found in detail in a paper read before the British Association (Section H), 1888, which is to be published in the journal of the Anthropological Institute.

<i>A</i> , water.	<i>Khi, Hi</i> , good, bless.
<i>A</i> , participial affix.	<i>Keti</i> , with.
<i>Ab</i> , abode.	<i>Ku</i> , king.
<i>Ai</i> , mound (?).	<i>Kur</i> , mountain.
<i>Aka</i> , prince.	<i>Lab</i> , brave.
<i>Aker</i> , field.	<i>Le, Lu</i> , bull.
<i>Amar</i> , circle (?).	<i>Li, Lu</i> , adjective affix.
<i>An</i> , god.	<i>Lel</i> , chief.
<i>Ar</i> , man.	<i>Me</i> , country.
<i>Ari</i> , river.	<i>Man</i> , chief.
<i>Arna</i> , ravine.	<i>Mas</i> , soldier (?).
<i>Ata</i> , chief, father.	<i>Mc</i> , be.
<i>Atr</i> , hall.	<i>Meke</i> , verbal affix.
<i>Aun</i> , city.	<i>Meti</i> , ditto.
<i>Aul</i> , camp.	<i>Me</i> , plural.
<i>Ban</i> , shrine (?).	<i>Mo, I, me, my</i> .
<i>Be?</i> slay.	<i>Mur</i> , city.
<i>Bek</i> , fortress.	<i>Nap</i> , sun.
<i>Bu?</i> pool.	<i>Napiriuri</i> , divine.
<i>E</i> , house.	<i>Nazi</i> , prince.
<i>Enu</i> , Lord.	<i>Ne</i> , he, of.
<i>En</i> , prayer.	<i>Neke</i> , belonging to.
<i>Essebu</i> , prince.	<i>Neli</i> , he of.
<i>Issi</i> , master.	<i>No</i> , not.
<i>Ga</i> , oh.	<i>Pakh</i> , chief (?).
<i>Ga</i> , adjective affix.	<i>Pap</i> , father, a deity.
<i>Ka</i> , ablative.	<i>Pet</i> , fortress.
<i>Kal</i> , great.	<i>Peis</i> , chief.
<i>Kan</i> , enclosure.	<i>Pe</i> , vase.
<i>Kan</i> , this.	<i>Perg</i> , fortress.
<i>Kar</i> , fortress.	<i>Pil</i> , hill.
<i>Keb</i> , hillock.	<i>Pu</i> , herb.
<i>Khal</i> , city.	<i>Ra</i> , power (?).
<i>Khat</i> , Hittite.	<i>Re</i> , flow.

List of Hittite Words (*continued*).

<i>Ri</i> , bright (a deity).	<i>Tarku</i> , chief.
<i>Sa</i> , knife.	<i>Tas</i> , leader?
<i>Sa</i> , with, in.	<i>Te</i> , <i>Tel</i> , <i>Tene</i> , live, life.
<i>San</i> , noble.	<i>Tep</i> , hill.
<i>Sap</i> , warrior?	<i>Ti</i> , shoot.
<i>Sar</i> , chief.	<i>Ti</i> , case affix.
<i>Se</i> , give.	<i>Tisa</i> , personal affix.
<i>Si</i> , eye, see.	<i>Teke</i> , only?
<i>Su</i> , river.	<i>Tur</i> , camp.
<i>Suk</i> , swamp.	<i>U</i> , sky.
<i>Ta</i> , power, beat.	<i>U</i> , and.
<i>Tak</i> , stone.	<i>Vo gu</i> , word, say.
<i>Tam</i> , sun.	<i>Zakar</i> , monument.
<i>Tami</i> , building.	<i>Zi</i> , spirit.
<i>Tan</i> , causative auxiliary.	<i>No</i> , thou (?).
<i>Tar</i> , <i>Tur</i> , chief.	<i>Nonake</i> , thine.

The AUTHOR.—There are one or two words I would add that have occurred to me since I wrote this paper. It has been devoted to the sons of Ham, with some reference, also, to the small group of Semitic people,—the sons of Shem ; but the Bible speaks of a third race, viz., that of Japheth. Now, I believe, that the 10th chapter of Genesis will be found, both from a geographical and also from an ethnological point of view, to be fully supported by our monumental discoveries. The Semitic races are known to have lived in Palestine and Arabia, and the Hamitic races are known, from the 10th chapter of Genesis, to have lived from an early date in Palestine, and the third race (Japheth) occupied Asia Minor. These people were, apparently, a fair race, for it is known that “Japheth” means *bright, light, or fair*. Now, it is known from the monuments of Lake Van, from the oldest monuments of the 9th century B.C., that there was an early race, probably Aryan (speaking a language of a type entirely different from that of the Semitic languages, or of those that we have been considering to-night), which occupied nearly the whole of Asia Minor and gradually displaced the old population. They spoke an inflectional language, a dialect akin, perhaps, to Armenian. Therefore, in these groups we have, I believe, monumental remains of the three branches of Shem, Ham, and Japheth ; but though these groups of language are so entirely distinct, it is gradually becoming known that they all may prove finally to have a common origin. Within the last two years Dr. Isaac Taylor has discovered the identity of the Aryan and Turanian roots,—the Aryan languages being about 40 and the West Turanian languages 100. Against these there are only eight Semitic languages. Though at the present time no connexion has been traced between the Semitic languages and the other two families, it is undoubted that the Semitic type is an Asiatic type, and I believe in process of time the origin of these three groups of language will be reduced to one common language, and the three very distinct species of race which we call in Biblical terms Shem, Ham, and Japheth, will be reduced to a common ancestor. I believe that to be a pure result of science without any reference to the opinions or beliefs of those who have studied the subject (applause).

The CHAIRMAN (Rev. Preb. Robinson Thornton, D.D., V.P.).—I am sure we must all feel indebted to Major Conder for his very

interesting paper,* which we shall now have an opportunity of discussing.

Rev. G. F. HERRICK, D.D.—May I ask the Author of the paper one question? Can he tell us whether the very remarkable inscription on the native rock in the town of Boghaz Keui, in Asia Minor, has been read, or whether any light has been thrown upon it? It is amongst the Hittite remains, so-called, that have been carefully preserved. In Asia Minor also, there is an inscription in large letters, 10 inches long, on a natural rock, at an angle of about 45 degrees, and extending something like 30 feet. I am not aware that this inscription has ever been read, and am exceedingly anxious to ascertain if any effort has been made, and, if so, with what success. I was told on the spot that a company of Frenchmen had taken impressions of the whole, but the result has never been published, so far as I am aware. I ought to mention, perhaps, that the language I have most used during the last 30 years, has been the Turkish.

The AUTHOR.—Boghaz Keui is well known as being one of the most important sites in Asia Minor; but I do not think that I know exactly where the second inscription is; probably it might be Lycian or Phrygian. At Boghaz Keui, though the monuments are known to be very important, it is not known, so far as my reading goes, that there are any inscriptions which are legible; and though there are eleven lines of inscription, it is said by Perrot and others who have visited the place that they are hopelessly ruined, and that it is useless to copy them. If other inscriptions could be obtained from this place, they would be very important, because the number of Hittite inscriptions that we possess is very small. I do not know whether Dr. Herrick is referring to a place as far south as Sinjirli?

Rev. Dr. HERRICK.—Not quite.

The AUTHOR.—There have been some very important discoveries made there, which, unfortunately, have not come to England. I believe, if Sir Charles Wilson's offer had been accepted, they would have been here, but unfortunately they have gone to Berlin,

* Among the many letters received referring to Major Conder's paper, one from Professor A. Hamilton Charteris, of Edinburgh University, may here be quoted. Writing from Wildbad, on May 19, he says:—"I follow Major Conder's work with great interest, and I trust he will be spared to lay all Biblical students under even greater obligations than he has already done."

They are in good hands there, but we cannot at present get any information about them; I believe they are being read by German scholars of the first calibre, and they are said to contain bilinguals in the Hittite language; they are not, however, written in Hittite script, but in cuneiform. If they should prove to be in the Hittite language, we shall have the means of testing the results we have got by the assistance of bilinguals of considerable length, which would be an important gain in the study of the subject, but I much doubt if the Hittites ever used the cuneiform script.

Mr. W. ST. C. BOSCAWEN, F.R.Hist.Soc.—I have listened with very great interest to Major Conder's paper. The subject of Hittite civilisation is one that is daily increasing in importance. It has almost, as it were, sprung upon us. A few years ago the few inscriptions we had from Hamath appeared to be connected with hardly anything we knew; but following the discoveries of Prof. Sayce, we now know that these monuments bore a close relation to those of Cyprus and Asia Minor, and that a lost chapter of Oriental history is about to be restored. Major Conder has been able to tell us a great deal on the subject to-night. I have devoted some considerable study to the question, and I have visited one or two of the principal sites where monuments are to be found; but I think, as yet, we are a considerable way from obtaining an accurate key to the inscriptions. Those inscriptions, which have gone to Berlin, I believe, are very important indeed. I saw a few days ago, in a letter, a short account of two of the inscriptions; and, if they are what they appear to be, they exactly agree with what I maintained some few years ago would be the case,—that we should find that the language of these inscriptions was connected with a language which is already partly known to us, which has been read but not deciphered,—I mean the ciphers which appear on the tablets from Cappadocia. I believe Mr. Pinches, who is here this evening, was the first to discover some of those inscriptions, and his discoveries have been supplemented by Mr. Ramsey, who has found other tablets. With regard to comparing the Turanian and Hittite languages, I think we must hesitate before we come to a conclusion, for the case based on the Turanian language is not, to my mind, a strong one. I remember a learned doctor, whose name has been quoted more than once to-night, viz., Dr. Oppert, giving a description of that often-used word "Turanian." He said it was the philologists' "waste-paper basket," and when you had a language with which you

could do nothing you assigned it to the Turanian. You cannot take language as a test of race. Major Conder knows better than I do that in examining these monuments you find clear evidence of more than one race of people. One remarkable point I noticed on examining the monuments of Karchemish, and especially one which I wish could be brought to this country: it is a large slab on which two male figures are represented standing on the back of a couchant lion, and the figures we see there have quite a clear and certainly not a Turanian type of face. They have long beards, their hair is looped up in Assyrian style, or curled, and the type of nose is straight, and not a small snub-nose, nor are the eyes small, as were those of the Turanian people. On the monuments of Boghaz Keui and other towns of Asia Minor you have again this same type of face. There is another record of the Hittites which seems clearly to indicate a mixed character. If they were Turanian, as Major Conder states, it is curious to notice that the *Beni-Heth*, with whom Abraham deals at Hebron, were apparently Semites. They were conversant with the Semitic tongue, and conducted their transactions according to the system of commerce instituted by the Babylonians, which was more Semitic in origin than Akkadian. In the Tel el-Amarna tablets, the general term for the South Palestinian tribes, including the Hittites, is *Khabiri*, "the allies," which would hardly be used were they one homogeneous whole. I think another point to be noticed is that the study of the Hittite monuments, though not followed much as yet, has been, principally from an archaeological point of view, and work in that direction is mainly due to the French authors, MM. Perrot and Guillaume and M. Babelon, who have published works of great interest, and had put forward facts that I put forward in 1880 in the study of the Hittite monuments, dividing them into three periods. The Hittites occupy very much the position of the Phœnicians, though they have not the high commercial instinct of the Phœnician people. They were a people with a certain degree of civilisation, who, coming in contact with nations more civilised than themselves, borrowed and adopted the customs, forms of art, and forms of religion from those with whom they came in contact. Understanding this, if you take the Hittite monuments and inscriptions, you find they can be divided into three periods. First, underlying the whole, is what I may call the native period. Then we have a period represented by later monuments, showing influence of the Assyrian court, and we have in addition to that, monuments which show a clear influence of

contact with Egypt. Now these three periods are almost historical in their character, for, as far as the monuments go, they (both Assyrian and Egyptian) tend to show that the influx of the Hittite people was not from East to West, but from West to East. In the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser I. you find the Hittites mentioned as coming down from the mountains in the neighbourhood of Marash, and in the inscriptions of Rameses II. we find the Hittites in the regions of the Southern Taurus, and in the district of the borders of the Gulf of Antioch. There is another point I would direct Major Conder's attention to, because I think he would find in it, as I have found, a very valuable means of information, viz., the Vannic inscriptions. If he compares those earlier names on the Vannic inscriptions with those in the Hittite lists they will show some very striking resemblances. These are not merely casual, and I cannot agree with him that there is any trace whatever in the language of the Vannic inscriptions of an Aryan tongue. Wherever the Aryans were at that time, they were certainly not in that country, and even at a later period, if they were in the country, they were certainly not in a position to influence the language of the people in the eighth and ninth century B.C., which we find in the inscriptions of the earlier Vannic kings. These inscriptions have been read with not, perhaps, perfect certainty, by Professor Sayce, but the reading gives a fair sequence of sense, which is more than I can say of other renderings I have yet seen of Vannic inscriptions. We know the period to which these inscriptions belong and the important gap in history which they fill up. Now comes a question with regard to these Vannic people. We know that the Vannic records of that period fill up the period between the fall of the early Assyrian empire (the period of weakness after the time of the early Assyrian empire) until the reigns of Assur-nazir-pal and Shalmanesar III. They belong to the time when Assyria had all her work to do to conquer the tribes that spread in the neighbourhood of Khabour and the banks of the Euphrates. They fought with the Hittites, we know, because the name of the Hittites is found more than once in the inscriptions. They conquered the Hittites, but afterwards entered into a close alliance with them, and if you examine the few remains we have from Van of the rest of the period, there seems to be little doubt that we do find a kindred race in these pre-Aryans to the tribes in the regions of Marash, and the northern regions of the Hittite country. Now, I said just now, that there was more than

one race embodied in the Hittite people. If you look at the monuments you find traces of that, and if you require existing traces of the Hittite people, you need not go to Bactria or the regions of Central Asia. If you travel into the regions of Marash, and between the western mountains of Armenia and the Taurus range, you will find men there working as muleteers, and if you take them and stand them, as I have done, alongside a Hittite sculpture, you will see that they might have stood as models for the Hittite race! With regard to their connexion with Babylonia, I do not see that that can be borne out as yet. There was certainly a Turanian population in Babylonia. Our knowledge of the Akkadian language is gradually increasing, but I notice that out of the list of words which Major Conder has given, there are many which I do not see my way to accept at present; in my own mind, their connexion with Babylonia is not proven. Then there is a point to which I would refer as carrying the subject considerably further,—I mean as connecting them with the alphabet of Asia Minor,—with the Cypriote; and here I would say just as the monuments may be divided into three periods, so the inscriptions may be divided again into two periods and two distinct classes of writings. The author, no doubt, noticed that on comparing the inscriptions from Karchemish, with those of Hamath, that the Hamath inscriptions are much simpler and contain much less of a pictorial character than those of Karchemish. Other inscriptions that have come from Hamath and from Aleppo (which I believe are now utterly destroyed), also belong to the same class, and other inscriptions situated in the region bordering on the Orontes Valley, and on the shores of the Lake of Antioch. Passing round the Lake, or Gulf of Antioch, and following one of the great roads which lead from Phœnicia into Asia Minor, we come to another inscription of Ibreez. This is more pictorial, but not so much as the inscriptions from Marash; and if you wish to compare the so-called Asia Minor alphabet with the Hittite form, you will find that you must do so in the inscriptions of this region, and no doubt it is in this district, in the line of the great commercial road, that the simplification of the characters takes place, and that, therefore, the inscriptions from Hamath, and in that region, are certainly of a later period than those from Karchemish. Now, if we follow this commercial road, and pass from Karchemish through Marash, and so on to the shores of the Ægean, we find a larger and more pictorial form of writing; so it seems to me that Professor Sayce was right when he suggested that

it is in the mountain regions of the Taurus and the Western Armenian Mountains that we are to find the cradle of the Hittite people. There is one other point in respect of which I cannot agree with Major Conder, and that is in comparing the pictorial form of these inscriptions with those in Egyptian, and with those in Assyrian. Wherever you can compare these forms, they are simply the result of the same force which gave rise to writing amongst all nations. Man's desire to record objects and events around him I take to be simply a pictorial or graphic instinct which he so often exercises. We might just as well turn to the Mexican, Central American, and Chinese, and connect them on that ground. One other point before I conclude, and that is as to the great stress,—and far too high stress,—that has been placed on the Elamite civilisation. We all know, at the present time, that Elamite civilisation is comparatively late. There is no record of Elamite inscriptions older than the time of Sargon II., the conqueror of Samaria, and it is difficult to compare their language with such old forms as the inscription. Still, I think, although the paper has not solved the question, it has made very great progress towards doing so. As to the solution of the problem of the common origin of language, I am afraid it will be a long time before we shall ever come to that ground. We know that a few years ago, many German writers, and German writers of considerable note, endeavoured to show that there was a connexion between the Aryan and Semitic languages. Then, again, we have others who, like Professor Isaac Taylor, have attempted to connect the Turanian and Aryan languages, and to find a common parentage for them on the ground of similarity of sound or meaning; but we have to deal with the grammar and the expression of thought of the people, and it will be a very long time yet before we ever reach the solution of that question. We know only one way to reach it, and the result will astonish people, because we shall have to go back into antiquity (we are, year by year, going back further and further), but we shall have to go back into antiquity so far as to make that which we have already attained its mere childhood.

Mr. THEOPHILUS PINCHES (British Museum).—I have, of course, as Mr. Boscawen has done, to express my appreciation of Major Conder's paper. It is a most excellent paper, and I have listened to it with the greatest pleasure. Of course, there are so many questions connected with these ancient people and their language, that it is difficult, sometimes, to come to a conclusion on any specific

point. I have not studied particularly the Hittite side of the question. I have only been interested in Major Conder's researches with regard to the language, in so far as they are connected with the Akkadian, and lately, I must say, that my ideas, such as I have formed, have been rather disturbed by the discovery, of these Tel el-Amarna tablets. As Major Conder remarks, I was of opinion that a language very much like Akkadian, existed in what may be called the country of the Hittites, near Karchemish, at a very early period, and I gave my reasons for it. The principal reason was that among the curious-shaped objects found at Sippara, the interesting ancient Sepharvaim, there is an inscription of a king named, I believe, Ilu-shaba, the son of Tukulti-Mer. Now Ilu-shaba is apparently Semitic;* and Tukulti-Mer may be regarded as a hybrid, the first element being Semitic (Assyrian or Babylonian), and the second Akkadian, in which language Mer is the equivalent of Rimmon or Hadad. This inscription seemed to indicate that it is very probable that they at least knew Akkadian, though it may not have been their native language. But the tablets from Tel el-Amarna imply that Assyrian was not the native tongue of the place, and that it was a language known not only in Assyria and Babylonia, but also in all the country to the westward, and even in Egypt. Assyrian was, in fact, the language of diplomacy, and the people who used it were obliged to know a certain amount of Akkadian as well. Of course there is a possibility† that the language of the Hittites is allied to the Akkadian, and I do not wish to depreciate the value of any comparisons that have been made. I think they are most valuable. I may state that some time ago, in order to test the trustworthiness of the comparisons made between the Akkadian and Turanian tongues, I thought I would compare Akkadian with something not Turanian. I compared, therefore, certain words with words of similar form in the languages of the Aryan group, and found some very remarkable likenesses, but I do not lay stress on that. I did not publish the results of my studies,—it was simply a test to satisfy myself. Therefore, I am inclined to think, that the Turanian hypothesis cannot be said to be proved. With regard to the question of duality of race in the countries occupied by the

* Unless, indeed, we are to read *Dingir garaba* son of *Gishku-Mer*, the probable pronunciation of these names if non-Semitic.

† And even great probability.

Hittites, I regard that as exceedingly probable. It is a remarkable thing, and worthy of some notice, that Semitic populations seem to have been more monotheistic in their ideas than the non-Semitic. In my opinion (and I have a great many arguments in support of this), the Babylonians of the earlier period were, practically, monotheists, plurality of deities during the Akkadian period and later being due to Akkadian influence. Probably, if we could trace this farther westward of Babylonia and Assyria, we might come to some conclusion on the subject.

As to the comparisons which Major Conder has made, I think some of the explanations of the Akkadian words are antiquated. The word for "Hero," for instance, is not *tas*, but *ur** [p. 43, No. 4]. The word *lala*, in the note at p. 42, I do not recognise P. 45 No. 18, the word *urugal*, "hero," I do not agree with. *Urugal* means *Hades*. It may be owing to a misprint; as there is another word which means something like *hero*, and that is *ushugal*, or *ushumgal*. These are but little discrepancies that I have pointed out, and do not affect the whole question. Major Conder's paper is really an excellent one, and I am very glad to have heard it read. I hope he will continue his studies, and I have no doubt that, if he does so on the same lines, he will arrive at something.

REV. F. A. WALKER, D.D., F.L.S.—I only rise for the purpose of obtaining information on a particular point referred to by Mr. Boscawen. I understood him to say that traces of the ancient Hittites were to be found at Marash and between the mountains of Western Armenia and the Taurus range; and I would ask him if he considers that the Cappadocians are descendants of the Hittites. The Cappadocians are people who, down to the present day, have always preserved their nationality and peculiar dialect; but, I am sorry to add, that they have a very bad reputation for robbery and violence.

MR. BOSCAWEN.—No doubt the old province of Cappadocia extended much nearer to the Euphrates than that we are familiar with in the time of St. Paul; but Major Conder agrees with me, I believe (and he has travelled in that district and about the neighbourhood), that the people there are of a very peculiar, short, powerful type, and very much like the soldiers represented on the Hittite monuments; and I think it stands to reason that those people should retain traces of the old race. All kinds of invasions that have swept across Assyria have come across this region. The old

* Or, better, *ur-sag*, rendered in Assyrian by *karradu*, warrior, and *idlu*, "hero." Another word of nearly equivalent meaning is *ushumgal* "the great one" (i.e., "the unique," "peerless").

people held out against the Romans and Greeks, and even to this day their successors are mighty troublesome to the Turks, and they have retained the old type: so much have they retained their independence and warlike character, that I dare say some of you remember that in 1879 there was considerable trouble and disturbance raised in Parliament about the massacres that took place in the neighbourhood. They are very good representatives of the Hittite people,—they were just that class of powerful mountain people. A work by M. Perrot has just been published which contains a summary of the question from an archæological point of view, which brings some interesting facts forward with regard to the Cappadocians, and which I think would be worth studying.

REV. F. A. WALKER, D.D.—At Cassaba Dorghuda railway station, 58 miles from Smyrna, along the line to Sardis and Philadelphia, I saw several Cappadocians, with very distinct physiognomy and dress, the characteristics of both of which seem to have been preserved through past centuries.

MR. BOSCAWEN.—I know that those I came in contact with carried arms; but they were not much used. A great deal has been said at different times about the high boot. It is a curved up boot,—simply the boot of a mountaineer, which generally gets a curved toe; but in the sculptures on the rocks and other representations of Hittite soldiers you see these men with high boots, with their legs bandaged round, and carrying a short dirk and girdle, and wearing a cap almost the same as the people in that district now wear.

THE AUTHOR.—I should have been disappointed if, after coming up and offering battle on the subject of the Hittites, I had not met with competent scholars, and this evening I have been more fortunate than I remember ever being before, in having two such authorities to criticise my paper. Mr. Boscawen is very well known as a student of this particular subject, and Mr. Pinches is probably the safest authority we possess in England on the Akkadian language. But it is still more satisfactory to my mind, that Mr. Boscawen should have devoted himself to endeavouring to prove my thesis. In the first place, he tells us that the Cappadocians bear a very strong resemblance to the people represented on the Hittite monuments. I was prepared to hear this, and knew it, to a certain extent, before; but he has not told us to what race these inhabitants of the regions of the Taurus belong. From what we have been told by Sir Charles Wilson, it appears that the basis of that population in Asia Minor is an ancient Turkic population. I have seen

numbers of peasants on the coasts of Asia Minor who were, to all appearance, of the Mongolian type, and the nomenclature of the country to a great extent is pure Turkish. Therefore, while these Cappadocian and Marash people resemble the Hittites, it is evident, as far as I can gather, that if any pure race exists at the present day, they must be a Turkic people. I cannot agree that the Hittites are represented in the Bible as of the Semitic race. But the fact of the matter is, I think, Mr. Boscawen has hardly grasped what has been said by authorities on ethnology with regard to the physical type of the Mongolians. It is true that the extreme Mongolian type, as we have it among the Chinese and some of the northern Mongolians, presents itself to us in snub-noses and Chinese features; but I am assured by ethnologists and anthropologists that this is not the normal Mongolian type, and we have photographic representations of such races with large, and in some cases, aquiline noses, though they are not supposed to be anything but Tartars. With regard to beards, some of these Mongolian people are bearded, and I once thought they could not be Tartars; but I was put right by an authority on Mongolian types, who told me that although their beards grow very late in life, and though at the age of thirty they are a beardless people, still in a later period of life their beards grow to a considerable length, and very thick. There are, also, pictures taken from photographs representing elderly Tartars in the regions of the Oxus, with large beards. As to the Vannic language, the Vannic inscriptions have, to a great extent, been read, though only partly deciphered, by Professor Sayce and by others. The reason is that they are written to a great extent pictorially, and not written in syllables.

Mr. BOSCAWEN.—The verbs are written phonetically.

The AUTHOR.—The verbs are written phonetically. It thus becomes necessary to study these verbs, to get the character of the language and the grammatical structure of the language, and from those together to form an estimate of the language, and Dr. Mordtmann describes it as an Aryan language akin to modern Armenian. This Professor Sayce denied. I have studied the subject, and there are strong reasons for supposing it to be an Aryan inflectional language. If it is an Aryan inflectional language, it is almost impossible to suppose that it could be applied to a hieroglyphic writing, in which the pictorial form is preserved in almost the original shape. Such symbols belong to agglutinative, not to inflectional speech, and to the Hittite language. There are at least forty

known Vannic words which occur also in Aryan languages, especially in Armenian and ancient Persian. Nor is the grammar of the Vannic unlike that of these languages. I have studied the names of Vannic kings mentioned by Mr. Boscawen, but do not find them to resemble the Hittite names; rather do they resemble Persian names, and this people used the Aryan word *baga*, for "God." Mr. Boscawen follows Professor Sayce in suggesting this comparison with Vannic, but after considerable study I have come to a different result. When I used the word "Turanian," I wished to use the word in an historical sense; I am aware it is vaguely used by different people, but it has been used lately in the sense in which it was originally used by philologists. I find there is a prejudice against this word, and I have often used the word "Altaic" as being better than "Turanian." But if "Altaic" is objected to, I would explain that what I mean is a language of the character of Turkish and Mongolian. As regards a higher civilisation being borrowed by the Hittites, I regard that as being, as yet, unproved. There are so few Hittite monuments that it is impossible to divide them into three periods, or any other number. As regards the Vannic kings, they fought with the Hittites, but I am not aware that there are any monuments which state that they entered into an alliance with them, and I stand corrected if such monuments exist. In regard to the Elamite language, inscriptions have been found at Bihistun of a date not later than the sixth century, B.C., but I have already shown in a large number of cases that words in this language can be compared with Akkadian. Now, I know that it is often unsafe to talk about Akkadian, for this reason, that not only do I not know all about it, but I think even Mr. Pinches, great authority as he is, would say that he did not know all that was to be known about Akkadian; the fact being that though he is able to read the inscriptions, he is, in many cases, not sure what the sound of certain words should be. Perhaps he may be right in saying that the Akkadian and Aryan words are sometimes the same, though the grammar is not. But I do not rely on dead languages alone, because that is not safe, as a method, by itself. If I find that a word on the monuments is traceable through a large group of living languages, I feel safer than if I rely on the Akkadian alone. No doubt the word *Lel* for "chief" in Akkadian may be doubtful, but it is a wide-spread Turanian word, even still in use among the non-Aryan people in Northern India, as *lāla*. The word *Tarku* in the Turanian languages, exists down to the present day. It does not exist in the Aryan languages

or the Semitic with which I am acquainted. I also venture to remind Mr. Pinches and Mr. Boscawen that my system of comparison does not depend solely on the comparison of nouns, but on a detailed study of the grammar of the Hittite texts, which is a safer guide than vocabulary alone. As regards the cuneiform letters sent to Egypt, an interpreter was sent with them, which, if they were understood all over Western Asia, perhaps would hardly have been necessary. I have nothing further to add except with regard to the study of ideographs. The study of ideographs, of course, is quite a distinct study from that of sounds or of grammar. If I found that a certain Hittite ideograph only compared with an ideograph in one other system, I should not attach great importance to it; but when I find that one and the same emblem is used in Egyptian, in Cuneiform, and in the oldest Chinese to which we have access, it seems to me a fair presumption that ideographs of similar form may have been used with a similar meaning in Hittite. It may be that they were all independently invented; but it may also be that these resemblances are due to a common origin. Whichever be the true reason, we may, I think, obtain some idea of the value of Hittite emblems, by seeing what their ideographic value is in other systems. There is no doubt, I think, that the Vannic emblems are partly phonetic and partly ideographic, but I have not been able to find that they have anything to do with the civilisation of Western Asia. I thank those who have taken the trouble to come here to give us the benefit of their opinions on the subject, and I think if they themselves were to take the subject up, and take the common emblems which we have in the Hittite, and trace them through all the inscriptions, as I have done, they would probably find they would be able to further the question more than I can claim to have done with my elementary knowledge (applause).

The CHAIRMAN.—I think it is not necessary for me to trouble you with any remarks. Some have occurred to me upon curious specimens of Hittite work, but at this period of the evening I will not trouble you with any of them. I can only convey to the author of the paper the thanks of all present for his very interesting paper, and to those who have joined in the discussion, which has been a satisfactory one, I think, because of the little differences of opinion that have arisen, and which have brought out a vast amount of learning. I hope all our papers will be as successful.

The Meeting was then adjourned.

REMARKS ON THE FOREGOING PAPER.

CANON ISAAC TAYLOR, LL.D., writes :—

“ Though not convinced by Major Conder’s arguments, which leave room for criticism, the solution of the problem which he has proposed seems to me on *a priori* grounds more probable than any other which has been suggested.”

PROFESSOR G. W. LEITNER, D.C.L., D.O.L., says :—

“ I am not well enough to come to your meeting to-night ; but I hope that it will be as numerous and influentially attended as Major Conder’s paper deserves. I think that his communication is not only highly suggestive, but also most instructive. I have read it with attention, but it obviously requires careful study, and this I am unable to give at present. The connexion between the Hittites and the Khitai seems to be probable. In 1884 a paper by Professor Campbell, on a supposed Hittite inscription found at Attock, was published by me in the English Journal of the Angumani-i-Punjab Society, and my present report on the Hunza language brings to light a number of linguistic and quasi-prehistoric remnants which may throw light on the indigenous Zuechi and the conquering Khitai, and which I will submit to the Institute.”

Mr. G. BERTIN, M.R.A.S., forwards the following, remarking that it “ will be seen that he agrees with Major Conder on the main points of his paper.” He says :—

“ There can be now little doubt of the existence of a non-Semitic population in Syria in early times ; the fact was suspected, but it is only lately that it has been demonstrated, and Major Conder has done much for that. If I do not agree with all the derivations given by the author, I acknowledge that a great many are plausible. The difficulty with the so-called Hittite texts is that we have no bi-lingual inscriptions, for I still doubt the

genuineness of the *boss*, first, because no one ever saw the original ; second, the Assyrian characters cut round it are of various periods, and some altogether incorrect. The middle inscription is, perhaps, genuine, but the Assyrian inscription is the work of a forger ill acquainted with the language and the syllabary of Assyria, and who took the inscription for an Egyptian one, and wrote what he thought would be the name of Tirhaka. The attention I have given to the chronology of Babylonia enables me to state now that the Akkadian or Turanian invasion of Western Asia took place about 7,000 B.C. This population spread all over Babylonia, Syria, and part of Asia Minor, but everywhere they never formed but a minority. This explains how they were so completely absorbed and disappeared. In Babylonia, in 3,800 B.C., the Semites had taken the power ; Akkadian was then but a learned language, and was studied only as Latin is among us. The "Hittite" language and writing may have been preserved among a Semitic population in the same way as Latin was preserved till a few years ago as the official language of Hungary, and was spoken in Parliament. In spite of all that has been said, I still believe that the Shepherd kings were of a Semitic-speaking tribe. For we must not forget that Semitic and Turanian, as well as Aryan, are philological terms, and not ethnological. Populations of two different ethnological groups may speak the same language. It may be also noticed that racial characteristics are the result of many influences, and that new races may be so formed. For instance, the Babylonians, the Assyrians, and the Jews, who are all called Semitic, are ethnologically quite distinct, and the offshoots of different mixtures. The study which Major Conder has taken up has opened up a new field for the historian, and the philologist ; if, however, he has made a few mistakes, or in some cases has been over bold, we must nevertheless applaud his efforts as one of the first in this new path."

FURTHER REPLY BY THE AUTHOR.

I AVAIL myself of the opportunity to add a few words on the remarks made on my paper by scholars unable to be present when it was read. Before doing so, I would mention that, whilst the discussion has been in the press, one of Mr. Boscawen's hopes has been falsified by further discovery. He compares the Hittite with "a language which is already partly known to us on the tablets of Cappadocia." Unfortunately this language was not known, for as Dr. Sayce has now stated in the *Academy*, it proves to be only an Assyrian dialect,—Semitic,—and thus, as is now generally admitted by all real students of the subject, nowise connected with Hittite. When Mr. Boscawen spoke, he apparently expected the Cappadocian texts to tell a very different story. Dr. Sayce and others now claim to possess cuneiform texts in a "Hittite" dialect; but until they can read these, and show that they are Hittite, the case of the Cappadocian should teach us caution. At the present moment we have not a shred of evidence that cuneiform characters were ever used in Syria, or in Asia Minor proper, or by any but the Assyrians, Babylonians, and races immediately under their influence. The Hittites and the Turanians of Asia Minor had a native script, and as early as the ninth century the Aramaic alphabet was used in Asia Minor, as we know from very recent discovery.

Dr. Taylor's reasons for giving his adhesion are no doubt independent: the fact remains that the conclusions of my paper are accepted by a good Turanian scholar. I owe much to his kindness in aiding my researches in Turanian languages, and I venture to think if he has time to study the details of my work that he will find the development of the grammar and vocabulary more securely based than he perhaps may think without such study.

Mr. G. Bertin is also a valuable ally to whose aid in studying Akkadian I am deeply indebted. He stands second to no scholar in England in special study of that language. I do not share his suspicions as to the genuineness of the bi-lingual boss, nor am I convinced of the very early dates given by some other modern scholars, as well as by himself, for Akkadian civilisation. I do not doubt that if specialists take up the study of Hittite, on the principles which seem now to meet with very general approval, they will far outstrip my first attempts, especially if more Hittite

remains are discovered. Such is the fate all beginners encounter, and one which I announced for my own work when I published "Altaic Hieroglyphs" in 1887; but I also feel assured that when such scholars attempt the detailed examination of the combinations of emblems, which I carried out before forming an opinion as to the language, they will recognise that the work was not done hastily or in an arbitrary manner, but was a natural result of special examination, and that many of my translations will be maintained. As yet, I have met with only fragmentary criticisms of minor details.
