RECENT HITTITE DISCOVERIES.

By Col. C. R. Conder, LL.D.

Pending the full publication of the great discovery, by Dr. H. Winckler, of tablets which were excavated at Boghaz-Ken, the ancient Pterium, on the borders of Cappadocia and Pontus, east of the river Halys, it seems necessary to be cautious as to the evidence that they will afford about the Hittite language. The recovery of the seal of a Hittite king, with native and cuneiform characters, has proved that Dr. W. Wright was right when he attributed these characters—usually called "Hittite"—to that race; but all the letters so far translated are in the Babylonian language. The recovery of some three centuries of Hittite political
correspondence has been due to the fortunate use of the Babylonian
tongue by Hittite kings corresponding with the Kassites of
Babylon.

It seems also necessary, in the absence of inscriptions, to be
cautious in attributing to the Hittites the fine remains of a temple
portico discovered by Prof. Garstang. They much resemble those
at Samala (of the same age) which are accompanied by Aramaic
texts in alphabetic characters; this site (Zinjirli) being not far off to
the south.

Various cuneiform texts from the Hittite country, dating
probably as early as the time of the Amarna correspondence, have
been published; but they appear to be entirely Semitic. The most
important of these are as follows:—

I. The Aleppo Text.

This is partly translated by Dr. Sayce (Proc. Bib. Arch. Soc.,
March, 1907), and he regards it as very old. It appears to be
capable of further translation as a Semitic text, a letter like those
in the correspondence of 'Ammurabi. The words in capitals are
ideograms of Akkadian origin, as in other Babylonian texts.

Obverse.

(1) NU GUM (ELUM ?) u baa biya umma (2) Utta tima arka sa
alu šimiq (3) KI ili ustar RIM ašiqa (4) AN IZ nasir
â (li ?) elum (5) AN NAN su IZ nasir â AN-GIR-SE
(6) NIN-SAKH dumpu . . . . (7) GUZA ana abbi temu sa
AN SE ZI (8) illiel belatu SE nuus TUM SE (9) milim
usse sa SIB ali Kaska su-GUR (10) dumuti â UD I-KAM
sulum (11) 2½ IZGIIZ û 2½ narapau. (12) . . . . nasir û
alacu (li ?) a-li SE-ni (13) . . . . MES . . . . . . (14) . . .
ANT'AUS keme racašanum (15) alacu sa mušeru AN KA-TUK
(16) AN ustimii us-GUR (17) alacu sibiit subaat abiil (18) AN
kirbannum â AN kinam viiu (19) GAL 32 appau (20)
linuwu sari-ussumu (21) AN UD IZ . . . isiri ummi (22) SE
AN MARTU rab (23) tuba AN abbi GUM IZMAR GIDDA
(24) matimu sa raas pau. (25) sa AN UD šil šabbiim (26) alacu
MU Pase iriz UD (27) alacu khitru AN-ri ītiliya.

Reverse.

(28) 6 IZSE sa arras ina sum abbi (29) izussa-maa (30) laliya
alu Da . . biil APIN SE (31) senna pani za . . ara GIDDA
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(32) SE izanu sa Humammiim ū akh (33) su 31 GUR SE rabi SIB bit-ilu sa (34) IZ istida atu DUR bāhab ME-NU (35) abu ū IZ-ŠAR sa DUR rab bāhab ME (36) IZ-ŠAR ga-narūnūz (37) IZ-ŠAR sa tisse amilum abu KHARRAN ME (38) abu ū IZ-ŠAR sa DUR-KI-ME (39) GUM . . . hum PATESI

(40) AN khatil-nu-st (41) ni . . . GANPI edin TE (42) ittaizmu-naa ina (43) IZ-ŠAR sa tissaab ibbiswar likhi (44) apaa sa saru GI-nu iti asar (45) illu izut ana zaar SE AN MAR-TU

(46) akhatiā kharraat (47) ili SE kit iliel AN-BI edinu (48) alcu babis likhi tishantu ukka katu (49) sate 33 appaa SE tisnadi (50) sesani sarru sabiin (51) SIB bit AN-UD ina sum abbi . . . (52) SIB saab ana biša (53) TU PA GUD gasa sa arakh usut (54) ussa AN MARTU baanitu sarru šu-ur (55) ana abu-ni Samas-salix yatUM gabi ZAB-SAL (56) AN KA-TUK našir IZ-ŠAR (57) nabi AN-su SAL AN MARTU (58) uswani tissin su-GUR.

EDGE.

(59) Paar-ma milim tisbi ana ZAB šabi aTUM TIS ana sa AN-GI sa AN GI-tim (60) nadanim sa pariikh sum ma.

The following translation may be suggested:

OBVERSE.

"Chief of the elum and of my gates thus: The land of the city Simig is untilled. I have caused the restoration of the shrine, the mound (that) I take. The God who protects and . . . The God NAN who protects, and the God of corn, the Holy Lord prospering . . . have given the throne to my father. In that the God who is the spirit of corn has caused failure we have caused possessors of corn to bring down corn. Plenty is made available that the chief of the Kaska has restored. What was wasted, on the first day of peace, had been remitted or 2½ fold restoring. (12) . . . and to go to our corn city . . . . . . let . . .

1 This word is doubtful as to the first syllable.
2 Mentioned by Dusrunna (Tell Amarna texts: 27, Berlin, lines 94, 95) apparently in Armenia.
3 IZ may be a causative prefix as in Akkadian, or else for "wood."
4 Doubtful ši.
5 Usse, from iw'e, "to free."
6 The Kaska are well-known as a tribe in or near N. Syria.
Antaus obey our league to go (as the God of all things has ordered, the God (who) being obeyed has delivered) to go to seven places that I possess. God will strengthen the unfortunate and lowly. Thirty two gal in all may fill for us their habitations. The Sun God being ... it will be ample for the people. The corn of the West is abundant. Good (is) the God of my father. Men of a distant abode bring (it) to the land that is needy. Them the Sun God sent soldiers to march, the year that Pase fled, now they have been free to go, the deity being with me."

REVERSE.

"Six (talents?) of corn for agriculture will be ordered in my father's name, searching the city Da ... which possessed a heap of corn the year before (sending it out?) far off: corn for food of Humamim and his brother—thirty one gur of corn they brought the chief of the temple, which a document shows. He desired our fortress and the plantation of the great fortress: the plantation (of fruit?) he has coveted the plantation—as one may hear—he has desired, the canal the man has desired, and the plantation of our place the official ... lum the priest of God granted us. (4) ... the enclosure he gave to take. It has been decreed for us, for the plantation, that you shall return (one may say it is good news?) also that it remained a possession of our land, a place one preserves. To send abroad the corn of the West to my brethren he grudged: to him corn and wine to drink they gave. To go out let him say you will go to the law: for thee,

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1 Perhaps some particular kind called "corn of the God of the West"—literally "corn of the God of the West (is) much," or perhaps (rabì) "they have brought up corn from the west."

2 Pase is known as a Chaldean region near the mouth of the Euphrates.

3 Arras, Arab. aras, "to cultivate."

4 Laliya, Arab. lahal, "to search."

5 Literally "city the place of gates."

6 IZ-SAR, "garden" (Sayce), "plantation" (Pinches).

7 Gana, perhaps Arab. jami, "fruit."

8 Ritz, Arab. riz, "to want what another possesses."

9 Literally "way of water."

10 Khatil, Arab. ātāl.

11 Ittaizmu, from īzm, Arab. āzm, "to confirm."

12 Khatrat, Arab. ūlār.
he has brought thirty three (talents?) in all of corn (that) you will store. The king has sent me soldiers. The chief of the temple of the Sun God in the name of my father . . . the chief who returns to the valley, has mowed him a talent of fodder, hay for a month. The king has sent away Martubanitu (or Martu-banda). To our father, Samas-sakir brings down the collection of Zabsal. The God possessing all things, guarding the plantation, he has proclaimed his god: the Lady of the West helping me, thou shalt have rest (and) restoration.

EDGE.

"This explanation is enough. Satisfaction for the soldiers that I bring down, also for what the (priest?) of the local god has given liberally of his produce."

Thus rendered it appears that the subject of the letter is a land settlement after a war, and the supply of corn to a region devastated by the Kaska, who appear to have been a tribe connected with the Hittites.

II. The Yuzgat Text.

This has been partly translated by Dr. Pinches (Asiatic Society Monographs, Vol. XI), who has kindly sent me a copy. He states (p. 9) that he has not considered it justifiable to attempt a (full) translation, but the following attempt is based on the supposition that it is entirely in Semitic speech:—

Obverse.

(1) . . . mi . . . (2) . . . tu el TUR-MES-ka . . . . (3) . . . . se AN Tessubas ana NIN . . . . (4) . . . . nu äraad mutateid . . . . (5) . . . TUR-MES-ya summa OUM isma-na AN za . . . . (6) . . . us wus-na-na AN zanaan uappa šari is (tu?) . . . . . (7) . . raad TUR-MES-ka-ma insaga iniya iki kha . . . . (8) UD neekhu magnti-nu UD-u idaar khoatnu (tu) (9) Khaakkkhima AS rabis šaru āanti ana SIS-su TAR ina KI izzi (10) KHAR-SAK-MES asu idaar IZ-SAR-ZUN neelu NU-tu el (11) dår-su laasse-MES khal-is gataru NU US liistiinu IB . . .

1 Tissnadi, apparently from nadu, "to put."
2 Usut, Arab. wasa, "to shave."
3 Literally "herb of cattle."
4 A region near Syria already known.
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(12) NUU-ZUN AN-UN-KUR-MES GUD-ZUN LU-ZUN

(13) TUR-MES KAR taasma KHAL-KI US . . . tiinnuzi summa ina . . .

(14) NU-ma astaanguna TU URUD nuuzziya ANZA kharzi

(15) NU sa vul tiinnuzi maaamna titasar-ma AN

(16) Apa sapa ID AN Tessubas teidu kiima ID kisad

(17) ASI Khaakhkhima AS attissi-anii isse teizzi

(18) Kii azziiikkatani akma US kiitta-ni (19) gabbu àaddin-ma UD UKU vul mat idki GUM siplu GUM SIB IZ . . .

(20) apaa sa UD nee tiinnu UD AN Tessub sa vul saakkii.

(21) AN Tessubas AN Sansi biieiti iddinaa AN UD UKU va teid . . .

(22) Pair AN UD UKU sa AN KHI ES maalzina AN vul u emiya

(23) AN Tessub sa teizzimu ára AN-ma ID khaanda vul u emiya

(24) (mi) esaá amme celtu eigg ina niees ao anta

(25) (mi) esaá maabí KHAAR aktauu AN ZAGAGA AN bieteú

(26) (mi) esaá AN UD UKU u atenu AN ZAGAGA AN Khaakhkhima AS izbad

(27) gal-á AN UD UKU AN khalzi istin apunnaa tiinuzi

(28) gal-á raas giimra ina iasnu apunna Khaakhkhima AS izbad

(29) (i)dina AN telibinu Khalzi istin apaa ina á TURya

(30) ikkis kharas ZI teribií áa KUlna ai khaldiinna

(31) iazbatu takbiru lux ari-nu apunna Khaakhkhima AS kharzi.

(32) . . . AN subi asa AN AN MAKH khalzi istin summa da bie akinu

(33) bieya-imma. Akir MUME abie el DUB-bab ina Khaakhkhima

(34) ina Khaakhkhima AS AN Tessub niteizzina 10,000 bis saatti

(35) NU sikhu maantees akir MUME kiini GAL-RI

(36) . . . nammma. Kharsi MUME ankha sa ammili ina SIS-MES-su

(37) MUKH-anni ikiní MUME apwus Khaakhkhima AS ul izbad

(38) . . . apwus khalza IS AN Tessubas Khaakhkhimi (39) (iz) zi Kiissira ina miííí GAL-RI ya anda damein

(40) . . . ya damein PIS summa amau-ussa NIN-MES-ussu-ZUN (US?)

(41) . . . SI-ZUN mi-taalle edar-si.

(42) . . . Rimmuni TAR ina KI izzia uttia MAR-MES ina maas(i)

(43) . . . saanne Kassi Khati-mi

(44) NIN-MES uskhu usnud

REVERSE.

(1) . . . tana IS AN ENZUNA sieiudu (2) . . . uar KAGAL asbi nissii idii GUM SUGI SAL (SUGI)

(3) . . . ilzi wugga
SAL ANNA-ANNA ina eesmi (4) . . . sa liitu akkhati saad vul daakhirhum zakurta (5) . . . akkhati napa daakhirhum ANMES AN-UD daar neizza AN (6) . . . suukhka akkhuun ai ismit khala ina mimil khatla (7) . . . na IS garakka ina naas sa AN Seir tiikhuun GU KHAIR izzi.

(8) . . . es ina udduar vul maat akkhuur niin-ma UKU naa sa AN (9) AN telihum sama eda niikki naaakkies ZI uga AN-MES (10) Ma-akkhita AN mugam An-UD sa teizzi AN-MES ina udduar khata id . . . (11) (i)na azmi samaa umaa AN MAKH NU maan AN-UD US-taaru eliu (12) . . . tiliga IX alpaa u manmil GUM MASDU moottalu upaa.

The remainder of the text (ll. 13–49) contains a list of offerings, as explained by Dr. Pinches. For the translation of uncommon words in this letter, the Arabic seems specially useful, as well as Hebrew and Aramaic. The first six lines are too broken to be treated, but the words “God Tessubas,” and “my sons” (or “my young men”), are certain; from l. 7 the meaning seems clearer—

“(At the) coming of thy sons my eyes overflowed, that . . . now they have confirmed our expectation. This day is restored the affinity of the right ruler altogether. I awaited the king, he has sent a chief instead. He explored the mountains: he went round the woods. The chiefs were roused behind him. The devourers strove fearfully, no man may repeat . . .

“The chiefs of the Lord of lands give oxen, sheep, dogs, and flocks. The sons of the region you call Khalki, the . . . people, you have wasted, when . . . I have installed a chief there. A talent of copper is my spoil. I laid waste eagerly the chief whose sustenance you have not wasted. This was ordered. God also has confirmed power—the God Tessubas—you know how the right ruler has entirely won power. I saved myself; you sent help. As I remind myself

1 This was the name of Rimmon, in Mitanni, and among the Hittites, and it is mentioned in an Assyrian list of Gods.
2 ilzi or ilazi appears frequently in these letters apparently as a pronoun, like Hebrew hallaza, Arab. alldkhn.
3 Khaakhhima is a very unusual word, but perhaps to be compared with Khakkham, still an official title.
4 LIKKUZUN, “dogs,” according to Dr. Pinches: perhaps to guard the flocks.
I was anxious. Every man was faithful to me. I was granted this on the day that the people did not crush the land. The lowly, the noble . . . also that a day of meeting to-day the God Tessub grants, who has not forgotten.

Both the God Tessubas and the God Shamash have granted the prayers. The God who is the light of the people, the same you know, glorifying him who (is) a God of goodness, our nourisher, is not this God my fear? Tessub, the God you glorify (lo?), this God, his power being adverse, is not that my fear? The helper of the people rising from the dust, in prosperity I never left: the helper of the strong of heart I clave to—the God Zagaga, God of prayers, the helper, the light of the people; he has come to us: the god Zagaga has granted a right ruler: the redeemer, the God of the people, the God of deliverance, has strengthed whenever you lay waste—the redeemer of all the needy from of old—when he granted the right ruler. God has given our requests, he has confirmed deliverance. Also, by choice of my son, will be given peace of spirit (and) rest. Never will it desert our land, or our times, it will endure, or we mistake, when the right ruler (is) zealous.

I . . . the God of the shrine a divine sacrifice. The great God of deliverance strengthened (when none prayed?) this my prayer. I have engraved tablets. I pray in the tablets for the ruler, for the right ruler, 'O God Tessub be we sent ten thousand victories1 a year'! The chief they overthrew being set up, I have engraved tablets establishing superiority, . . . I sought engravers of tablets whom—men from his brethren—he gathered before me. I made tablets (what) the right ruler granted not, I made . . . effective, when the God Tessub had ordered the ruler. I laid down what was right for my possession of superiority: the abolition of my . . . abolition of service when I desired it. His chiefs (each?) . . . having been sworn, he arranged it.

The chief . . . Rimmoni that you sent instead has consented. The young men in the place . . . . the Kassites the Khati, who . . . . . the lords that they overthrew I helped . . . .

1 biṣ, Arab. biṣ, "to be strong in war."
Our . . . when they made the Feast of the Moon . . . bearing the shrines (before?) the gate they feasted. The prophet, the prophetess . . . . this. I honoured the goddesses with a sin offering . . . . . . . of a friendly race he has testified: the memory of a friendly . . . . that he removed, God has hated. The Sun God returns—God be praised . . . . He remitted not wrath, being sick, in as much as they have sinned . . . when the land was in sickness that the Corn God sent, being angry of heart.

In returning . . . he slew no longer the offspring of the people that God has nourished. God has heard our requests. The grievous spirit of God attacked (and) multiplied afflictions. Being made friends, God is reconciled—the Sun God whom you glorify—on return . . . . fear. In affliction he has heard. Thus this his servant has made a feast for the great God, the nourisher, the Sun God. He has brought nine oxen. The whole of the peasantry we have sworn to be faithful.”

This letter may probably be to a Hittite suzerain, by an ally who had received help against some foe. It is couched in the usual strain of piety, and concludes with the list of presents to a temple.

III. The Bogaz-Kevi Texts.

A.

An interesting passage is given without translation in Dr. Winckler’s report, Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient. Gesellschaft, Dec., 1907, p. 19, note 3).


The words being thus divided, the passage appears to read entirely in the Babylonian language.

“"My father Mursilis became mighty when he conquered them.
My elder brother Mutallis he placed on the throne of his
father. I was brought low there before my brother. As he caused a supplicant to be slain they murmured. My brother disregarding the chiefs every day, the land of the city of iniquity was agitated; at this he was wroth. My bondage\(^1\) grieved me. The land of the city of wickedness sent us a request. It was examined fairly,\(^2\) being put off.\(^3\) Aktessubas the son of Zidaa conjointly followed\(^4\) my bondage: they murmured. My lady Istar (was) a protection. He invoked (her) angry at heart. My brother was wroth. Him—Mutallis—he seized. A Prince (for long time?)\(^5\) I (gladden?) the people."

This appears to describe and justify a revolution which placed Khattusil, the Hittite contemporary of Rameses II, on the throne of his elder brother Muttalis. The latter is represented as a tyrant. He is known to have made war with Egypt, breaking the treaty made by his father. In another passage Khattusil is said to have acceded on the death of his brother.

B.

An astronomical tablet has been published by Dr. A. Jeremias, from a copy by Dr. Winckler (see Journal Roy. Asiatic Soc., 1909, pp. 274–6). This also seems to be in Babylonian speech.

(1) Sunkruta-na ina sunu annaru biennu-ilzi (2) VII Kashi arnu-ilzi nammaru tuuriya (3) tuuriya VII GAN-MAS khanus ki idzi (4) maakhkhaan maru arkha laa ilzi NU ina IV musu (5) aantiid arruba-ilzi nammaru (6) ina bit GUM ZU AN-DA bie khuda-ilzi (7) NU khala-sunnu azzikkar-zi NU sinti-na ina UD III-KAM (8) biennua-ilzi VII Kaspi arnu-ilzi (9) ina VII musu-na biennu-ilzi II-su VII Kaspi (10) arnu-ilzi tuuriya-ilzi nammaru (11) masiya AN KI NU kassi kassi enuma ina VII GAN-ZUN (12) anda biennies ki idzi maakhkhaan maru arkha (13) laa ilzi nutu GAN ina arsu-ilzi nammaru (14) I UB-na uzukhrin UD-DU-a arkha yada-ilzi (15) II UB-na sekar ittimula-immiya ilzi (16) maru arkha ada ilzi nammaru izniid (17) saraukhu ittiya ilzi nekhruus mekhar ma (18) tuuriya ilzi nutu I Kasha biennu-issaan (19) bienna I maakhkhaan maru

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1 \(DUR\) has the meaning *markatu,* "bondage," "chaining."
2 *Khatiran,* cp. Arab. *jaran,* "just."
3 *Maatmu,* Arab. *atm,* "delay."
4 *Kisit,* Arab. *kisa.*
5 *MU-KAN,* perhaps "for years," or "yearly."
arkha laa ilzi (20) naru ina NU aatarabaalilzi (21) nammaru ina bit GUM ZU AN-DA hie khuda-ilzi (22) NU mi AN KHU-u maandaan uzunkhriin UDDU-a (23) innudu ina uar labiri dan azzikkar-zi.

The notice of "hours" (kasbi) and of the "moon" (arkha) shows clearly what is the subject.

"To behold the sight in heaven that they have observed, I looked at its appearance 14 hours, transit by transit, seven observations. As the small crescent\(^1\) of the moon was low, I failed not to watch for the appearance of this star\(^2\) for four nights, in the house of the diviner.\(^3\) He has requested this information about the star. I record here their progress. On the third day this star of fate they have perceived, which I saw for 14 hours. In seven nights both saw it a second time: fourteen hours I saw this, this transit. The appearance of a sign of the God of Earth—a very brilliant star—in seven observations, observably larger\(^4\) as the small crescent of the moon came forth, which was not the light of the observation seen in that place. In one direction one recognized this when the moon was waning (or setting); in a second direction the sight of both failed: the moonlight at this time of observation it extinguished. They have concluded\(^5\) with me that it (is) an omen of the future, this transit of light for two hours they observed, observing clearly the small crescent of the moon: this was not the light in this star. I watched for this star, this appearance, in the house of the diviner. He has requested this information of the star, of which the King's God is the giver. When setting, I record (or remember) none of old more brilliant in light."

This may perhaps refer to the early observation of a brilliant temporary star, such as astronomers have often observed.

C.

A short tablet, published by M. E. Chantre (Mission en Cappadoce, p. 51), has also been recognized as astrological.

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1. \textit{Maakkkhaan} is perhaps explained by Arab. akhniya, "a bow."
2. \textit{NU}, Arab. nu, "a rising star."
4. \textit{Anda}, from \\textit{nudu}, "large."
5. \textit{Saraakku}, Arab. sarah.
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(1) **II SI-ya . . . (2) RI itba (a) (3) a KHA iti MUS . . .
(4) yanu (5) BIL AB ina na . . . (6) issi ara KHAL
(7) BIL-ru AB ina (8) MUL-MES atidu (9) ina mamilla
(10) BIL-ru AB AS-ti (11) etu bie (12) enuma AB GIG.

This is rendered difficult by being very briefly written with many ideograms. It seems to mean:—

“My eyes marked the rising of . . . . I announce that no one . . . the Goddess. The revolution of the month in her . . . I see complete. The revolution of the month I recognize from stars, in fulness of revolution of the month. The omens already demanding, behold the month is dark (or evil).”

This seems to mean that the new month is to be regarded as fixed by stars, though no one has seen the new moon; and that the omens are bad, because the moon was hidden.

D.

A still shorter astronomical report from the same collection (p. 55).

(1) lisurru (2) XXX-ta naru TUK-KHAL (2) ina bit-ți (NAB?)
(3) NU idi (4) uzazu.

“Let them begin the thirty (days) The day of completion in the house of light one has not known to declare.”

This seems to refer also to the fixation of the new month.

E.

Other fragmentary texts (fifteen in all), published by Dr. Sayce (Journal Roy. Asiatic Soc., 1897, p. 919, seq.; 1898, p. 985, seq.; 1899, p. 963, seq.) are mostly too much broken to read consecutively. Nearly all of them seem to be religious, and they include lists of offerings and sacrifices.

In M. Chantre’s collection (Mission en Cappadoce, 1898, No. 2, pp. 49, 50) one text is in two parallel columns, and may turn out to be a bilingual in Hittite and Babylonian. It is possibly a letter about “Mursil the Hittite”—father of Khattusil—but the left-hand column, on obverse and reverse, is unfortunately almost entirely broken away. It seems to be in Akkadian, and to present parallels to the Babylonian of the right-hand columns.