

THE CUNEIFORM TABLETS OF KAPPADOKIA

TRANSLATED BY THE EDITOR

WE now have evidence that the cuneiform system of writing was once employed throughout the greater part of the civilised world of the East. The Persians under Darius formed an alphabet out of it, which became the key to the modern decipherment of the cuneiform texts. It had originally been the invention of the primitive Sumerian population of Chaldæa, who spoke an agglutinative language, and from whom it was borrowed by the Semitic Babylonians and Assyrians. In Elam it was used to express the agglutinative dialects of Shushan and Mal-Amir, and in the ninth century before our era it was adopted by the kings of Ararat, who reigned at Van, and whose language seems to have been related to that of the Georgians of to-day. A seal found near Herat in 1842 shows that even as far east as Bactria the cuneiform characters were employed to represent the language of the country, and the inscription of Anu-banini, King of Lulubi, discovered by Sir Henry Rawlinson at Ser-i-pul and lately copied by Mr. de Morgan, tells us that here also the

ancient language of the inhabitants had been embodied in the characters of the cuneiform script. We have learnt from the tablets of Tel el-Amarna that in the century before the Exodus the same system of writing was the common medium of literary intercourse among the various nations who lived between the Tigris and the frontiers of Egypt. Among the correspondence found at Tel el-Amarna is a long letter in the language of Mitanni, the Aram-Naharaim of Scripture, the characters in which it is written being those of the cuneiform syllabary, and the extent to which the syllabary was studied and known in Canaan at the time removes our astonishment at finding that it has been used to express the Phœnician language on two seals now in the collection of M. de Clercq.

The cuneiform system of writing and the Assyrian language had penetrated even to the north-west, to the neighbourhood of the modern Kaisariyeh. The discovery of the cuneiform inscriptions of Kappadokia is due to the sagacity of Mr. Pinches. In 1882 he pointed out the existence of two tablets, one in the British Museum, the other in the Louvre, which were written in a peculiar form of cuneiform script and apparently in an unknown language. They had been obtained from an Armenian dealer in antiquities at Constantinople, and the occurrence of the word *ku-din-a*, "mules," in the one in the British Museum made Mr. Pinches connect it with a tablet from Nineveh in which mention was made of

the transport of these animals from Kusâ in Kappadokia (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, Nov. 1881). The following summer Prof. W. M. Ramsay bought five more tablets of a similar character at Kaisariyeh, upon which I published an article in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology* (Nov. 1883). As, however, I was unable to identify correctly a large number of the characters, I was also unable to decipher the texts, and the conclusions I drew in regard to the language of them were incorrect.

The tablets obtained by Prof. Ramsay are now in the British Museum. Other tablets have since been purchased by Mr. Golénischeff, the University of Philadelphia, and myself, and it is now known that they are found in a place three or four hours distant from Kaisariyeh.

Mr. Golénischeff's collection is a large one, and a comparison of his tablets one with another has opened up the way to their decipherment. Thus he has discovered that the character wrongly identified by Mr. Pinches and myself with the ideograph of "woman" is really the ideograph which means "in the presence of," and that consequently the words which follow it must be the names of witnesses to a deed. He generously placed both his tablets and his discoveries at my disposal three years ago, and I was accordingly able to announce to the Oriental Congress at Stockholm that I could translate some of the tablets, and was further in a position to deter-

mine the age to which they belong and the nature of the dialect in which they are written (*Academy*, Sept. 7, 1889, p. 157). Last winter Mr. Golénisheff published copies of twenty-four tablets belonging to his collection, together with a full and interesting introduction to them, and a list of the characters found in them, under the title: "Vingt-quatre Tablettes cappadociennes de la Collection W. Golénisheff" (St. Petersburg, 1891). In this work he has determined the values of most of the characters, and pointed out the signification of many words.

The tablets are written in an Assyrian dialect. On the phonetic side the dialect displays the peculiarities of the Tel el-Amarna letters from Northern Syria, changing *t* into *d*, *k* into *g*, *p* into *b*. Like them it also employs the old Babylonian *mim-mation*, and substitutes *z* for *ts*. But in certain respects its phonology is peculiar, *yutir*, for instance, appearing as *yutair*, and *itur* as *iduâr*. The vocabulary is mainly Assyrian, but it contains some Aramaic forms, like the proper name *Garia*, "the stranger," and the plural in *-â* (which, however, occurs in only two of the tablets known to me), as well as words which we have hitherto regarded as specifically Hebrew. Among these is *aparnê*, "a chariot" or "litter," which throws light on the *appiryôn* of Canticles iii. 9—the only passage in Semitic literature where it has been otherwise found—and proves that the word is not of Greek origin, as has sometimes been asserted; *ati*, "substance" or "pro-

perty"; *adunu*, "lord"; and *urubatum*, "a pledge," the Hebrew *'êrâbhôn*. But besides these Semitic words, the dialect further presents us with a considerable number of words which have no Semitic etymology, and must therefore have been borrowed from the language of the country from which the tablets come. That the speakers of the dialect were mixed with a foreign population is clear from the evidence of the tablets themselves, as the epithet *garum*, or "stranger," is often attached in them to a name which is usually non-Semitic in character. Thus we read at the beginning of one tablet (G. No. 19): "The mother of the stranger Ganis to the stranger Burus, Khati-zadinniat, says." A duplicate of a contract is also sometimes mentioned as being "written according to the language of the foreigner."

It would seem, accordingly, that the tablets belong to an Assyrian colony which was established in a city of Kappadokia in the midst of a foreign population. Here the usages and customs of Assyria were maintained, such as the use of the Assyrian language and syllabary, the yearly appointment of officers called *limmi*, or "eponyms," after whom time was reckoned, and the employment of proper names, of which the name of Assur formed an element. It was inevitable, however, that the colonists should in course of time become affected by the foreign influences around them, and hence it was that the purity of their pronunciation was lost, and that their language became filled with foreign words. We know from

the Assyrian inscriptions that colonies had been planted in the countries north of Assyria by the Assyrian kings at an early period. Thus Assurnatsir-pal informs us that Shalmaneser I., about 1300 B.C., had settled "Assyrian colonists" near the sources of the Tigris,¹ and that other Assyrian colonists were established in the city of Tuskhan not far from Mount Masius.²

The age of the Kappadokian tablets is, I believe, as early as that of the Tel el-Amarna tablets. We find in both the same archaic formulæ, and the same use of an ideograph by the side of the phonetically-written word which it denotes. As I have already stated, the dialect of the tablets is distinguished by the phonetic peculiarities which belong to the letters from Northern Syria in the Tel el-Amarna collection, and the forms of the characters are similar in the two classes of documents. The employment of the mimation also points to an early date. That Assyria was already in close relations with Khani-rabbat or Melitène in the fifteenth century B.C. we have learnt from the Tel el-Amarna correspondence,³ and the place where the tablets are found may easily have been included within the kingdom of Khani-rabbat. It may be added that one of the tablets belonging to Mr. Golénischeff bears the impress of a seal, upon which are figures in the Hittite style of art as well as the remains of a Hittite character.

¹ *Records of the Past*, New Series, vol. ii. p. 145.

² *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 147. See also p. 160, note 1.

³ *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 62.

The tablets relate for the most part to the loan of money, or the deposit of various objects in the hands of certain persons, and they contain a number of technical terms, the meaning of which is not as yet clear. One of these terms is *khamustu*, "a fifth," of which we also find the plural *khamsatu*, "fifths." A "fifth" was generally deducted from the sum of money lent out at interest, though who was the official to whom it was paid, and why it was paid, are questions to which at present I can return no answer. Besides the *limnu*, or yearly eponym, whose title is always written *limun*, we find mention of the *durdanu*, in Assyrian *turtanu*, or "Tartan" (G. xx. 21); of a Rab-zikitum, or Chief Judge; of a Rab-gimelti, or Chief Magistrate; of a Rab-aladinnim; and of a Rubaum, or "prince."

Most of the deities mentioned in the tablets are Assyrian. Thus we find the names of Assur, Anu, Istar, Bel, Nebo, Nana or Nani, Samas, and Zu. Zu, indeed, who occupies only a subordinate place in the Assyrian pantheon, seems to have been a favourite in Kappadokia, if we may judge from the number of proper names into which his name enters. Thus we have Ena-Zuim, "the eye of Zu," and Zugalía, "Zu is my priest." Another deity was Babu, "the gate," who appears to have been of Aramaic origin. At all events the name is not found in the lists of the Assyrian divinities, while, according to Damascius,¹ the goddess Babia was worshipped at

¹ *Vita Isidori*, 76.

Damascus. The Aramaic name Bur-Addi, corresponding to the Hebrew Ben-Hadad, occurs in one of the tablets (G. ix. 11), and we meet also with that of Bar-'Sibala (G. xviii. 2). Among the Semitic deities mentioned in the tablets, but not worshipped in Assyria, is Basku, "the serpent." Besides the Semitic deities there are, as might be expected, others of foreign origin. One of these is Tarku, whom I had long since maintained to be a Hittite god; a second is Khati, "the Hittite" (?), whose name enters into that of a woman called Khati-zadinniat.

The introduction of Assyrian deities into Kappadokia explains the proper names met with in the Greek inscriptions of Kappadokia and Kilikia, which are obviously derived from the names of Assyrian gods. Thus we have Nanas from Nana, Nineis from Nin, Nenaris from Nannaru. As Nineps is one of the Kilikian names which have thus been handed down to us, it seems probable that the name of the Assyrian god Uras, which is often represented by the two characters *Nin* and *ip*, was really pronounced Nin-ip.

In place of the name of a particular deity we very often have merely the word *il* or *el*, "god." In fact, the simple *il* or *el* seems to recur more frequently than even the name of Assur. We find, for instance, Iqib-il (perhaps "Jacob is god") by the side of Iqib-Istar and Egib-mekhra, Ilu-rabu ("God is great"), Ilu-nada ("God has appointed"),

Asuma-il,¹ Erada-il, Anakh-ili, Sulaba-il, Nur-ki-ili, and El-Anima (perhaps "a god is Anu," like Nani-belim, "Nana is lord"). This preference for the simple *il*—which is also written *el*—may be due to its substitution for the name of some foreign divinity, but it may also indicate the existence among the colonists of a tendency towards monotheism.

The names of several months are mentioned in the tablets. One is Kuzallu (G. iii. 12), which, according to a lexical tablet (*W. A. I.* v. 43, 14), was a name of the month Sivan. As the great cylinder inscription of Tiglath-pileser I. is dated in this month, its name may be regarded as a witness in favour of the early date of the Kappadokian tablet. Another month is Kur-sarani or Akh-saranim (G. iv. 7 ; x. 8), while a third is *arkhu-sazarati*, "the month of sowing" (G. vi. 12, 13), and a fourth is Iyyar-Qamarta (G. ix. 9). Here the word Qamarta seems to be the native name of the Assyrian Iyyar or April, the whole name signifying "the month of the bull Qamarta." A fifth month was that of Napisti-Zuim, the month of "the life of the god Zu" (G. xi. 9).

In the references the letter G. denotes the inscriptions published by Mr. Golénischeff. As the texts are here translated for the first time, while many of the characters have not been previously identified, I have given my readings pretty freely in the notes.

¹ The word *Asuma* seems to mean "share" in an inheritance. See note 6 on No. iv. below. But as it would also correspond to the name of the Hamathite god Ashima (2 Kings xvii. 30), Asuma-il may signify "Asuma is god."

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I¹

One maneh of refined² silver Kura transferred ;³ Iqib-il has (it). He has lent (it) ;⁴ the fifth⁵ belongs to Bil-akh-Asur the son of Gadidi. The month Akh-saranim, the yearly eponym being Ilu-rabu. After 11 fifths he shall pay the capital, but he has not yet paid the one shekel and a half which he registers (as interest) each month upon the maneh. The witnesses are Ilu-nada, Amur-Asur (and) Banaga.⁶

II⁷

Two manehs (and) 10 shekels of silver Asuma-il has transferred ; Zaki[m]-il has (them). After two months he shall repay (them). And he registers⁸ the sum (for interest) as 6 manehs, but he has not yet paid (anything). The manehs (belong) to himself alone.⁹ Half a maneh of

¹ G. No. 4.

² *Zarubam*, the Assyrian *tsarpu*, Hebrew *tsaraph*.

³ *Izir*. Mr. Golénischeff reads *igir*. If this is correct the root will be the same as that of *garu*, "a stranger."

⁴ *Isdu*. I suppose the word to be from the same root as *saduât*, which must signify "a loan" in G. 1, where I read : vi, *siklu ga'spi saduât Asur-ta'âr abil Gimil-Istar irabbe ina ba . . u gamarum Ili-[banî] i-su*, and translate : "Six shekels of silver, the loan of Asur-ta'âr, the son of Gimil-Istar, bring in interest at . . . , and Ili-bani has (them)." In G. 14, 34, however, *isdu* seems to mean "he has taken."

⁵ *Khamustim*. The "fifth" seems to mean an instalment of interest here.

⁶ The reading of this name is not certain.

⁷ G. No. 5.

⁸ *Yusakur*.

⁹ *Edi-su*.

silver of the property¹ he registers on a duplicate,² and the six *remain* (?). The witnesses are Barruwa the son of Nabate, Arzana-mil(?)ku his brother, (and) Anina.

III³

[Twenty] manehs of silver Garia, Asa'su and Mer-esu the prince⁴ have given as a pledge⁵ to Iqib-il. For the 20 manehs of silver Supuna his brother⁶ asks, and the Rab-aladinnim who is the Chief Judge⁷ has effected the transfer by hand⁸ in the month Napisti-Zuim, the yearly eponym being Suma. Ten manehs of silver at harvest-time⁹ he shall pay; 10 manehs of silver at the second¹⁰ harvest he shall pay, and the amount,¹¹ namely, the 20 manehs of Garia, Asa'su and Mer-esu, Supuna his brother shall repay to the brothers; and as for the 20 manehs of silver, they shall weigh¹² them, even the silver, on the head of Garia his brother. The witnesses are the man¹³ who binds¹⁴ their houses and their cities, the Rab-gimeltim¹⁵ (and) Kumri of DINKISA.

¹ Or of "the deposit" (*isati*) which he "holds" (*isu*).

² *Gibil* from *gabâlu*. Other passages show that it cannot mean "beforehand."

³ G. No. 11.

⁴ Perhaps "princes," since in No. 5. 7 *manaum* is the plural "manehs."

⁵ *Urubatim*.

⁶ *Akh-su*, "his brother," is perhaps part of the proper name Supuna-akh-su.

⁷ *Rab-sikitim*, "chief of the laws."

⁸ This I imagine to be the meaning of the phrase *gatatim isdu*, where *gatatim* seems to be a derivative from *gatu*, "hand," rather than its plural. If, however, the latter is its true explanation, the phrase may perhaps signify "has taken the hands." For *isdu* see note 4 to No. i. above.

⁹ *Kharibim*, Heb. *khoreph*.

¹⁰ *Saniutim*.

¹¹ *Anam*. The ideograph of "silver" is added to the word to indicate its signification. Comp. the Hebrew *ôn* (Hos. xii. 9).

¹² Or "pay," *isakulu*.

¹³ *Nisu*.

¹⁴ *Raki's*, used technically of binding by contract.

¹⁵ "The chief of rewards" or "punishments," that is, the Chief Magistrate.

IV¹

To the daughter of [her] father say thus : My daughter is good, and as for me, we have listened to thy letter² which Samas-tabba'i has brought me,³ and I answer thy letter thus : I also send an answer⁴ as follows : As regards the manehs, behold (they are) the interest on the property of our seed ;⁵ three of them for a *nûsbûtim* are fixed ; two-thirds is thy property. I have seen Samas-tabba'i asking for a share in the inheritance,⁶ whom thou hast sent to me,⁷ saying : Behold all the inheritance !⁸ And *iba'si* have not been given. But let thy orders⁹ go, (for) *iba'si* have not been given. To the presence of our brother take it, and he will arrange everything. And the law of thy god¹⁰ . . . thy seat . . . the letter do not give.

V¹¹

To Amur-Samas and Aladinim. To Aladinim say thus : They have numbered¹² the tablet before ASSUR, and I and Padu have devoted¹³ one maneh and a half of silver (written) on thy tablet in *ganis* ;¹⁴ and that it never become (private) property¹⁵ they have bound¹⁶ a shekel of silver in a *case* (?).¹⁷ I have given thy tablet [to Amur-]Samas ; he has taken the "Amur-Samas, thy brother, (is) our

¹ G. No. 15.² *Nasberta-ga.*³ *Ublani.*⁴ *Al[ta] par belam.*⁵ *Sadu ziri-ni.* But it is also possible to read *sa dugiri-ni*, "which thou hast transferred to me."⁶ *Asume rasauin.* *Asume* must have the same root as the Assyrian *usmanu*, "baggage." Compare the name of the Hamathite god Ashima (2 Kings xvii. 30).⁷ *Tastanabarani.*⁸ *Rasiti.*⁹ *Tirti*, the Hebrew *torâh*.¹⁰ *Tirti ila-ga.*¹¹ G. No. 16.¹² *Manu.*¹³ *Nikhrimu*, the Hebrew *khâram*. The word is not met with in the Assyrian inscriptions.¹⁴ This seems to be a word borrowed from the language of Kappadokia, as it can hardly represent an Assyrian *ina kani-su*, "in its establishing," "in perpetuity,"¹⁵ *Ana â· NU· tisam.* The ideograph NU is written by the side of its phonetic representative â. *Tisu* is a derivative from *isu*, "to possess."¹⁶ *Rak'suni.*¹⁷ *Asiki* ; perhaps related to the Hebrew *khâshak*.

brother,"—behold the words of the tablet, which do thou give to Amur-Samas; and also thy tablet (is) evidence¹ for the silver above-mentioned,² the (private) property, (and) the shekel of silver belonging to thy tablet. And the *rest* (?)³ of the (private) property among the seed of my father and among my own seed Amur-Samas shall never take; and also I *add* (?) to the silver the (private) property (described) on thy tablet (and) the deed which I will never violate.⁴

VI⁵

To Iqib-il say thus: Isma-Asur my little one⁶ has lent⁷ the *burnat*,⁸ our property; ⁹ they have not brought (it) back; (and) the *agur*, thy property, they have not brought back; and behold I did not give him¹⁰ (anything) in the whole of *what is sent* (?),¹¹ . . . and thou sendest to me Qama-Asur: he does not make small the eye; ¹² thy orders thou hast taught him,¹³ and thou hast not taken the 6 manehs of silver which Sulaba-il gave me. One maneh of silver which (is) in the *keeping* (?)¹⁴ of Sulaba-il . . .

VII¹⁵

To Khanu[ni]-Nabim, Iqib-il and Asur-malik say thus: My father, my lord, the master¹⁶ left¹⁷ a tablet (of legitimacy) to myself at my birth,¹⁸ and now¹⁹ I hear a letter²⁰ about "the ox of a foreigner"; and I do not

¹ *L[wa]*, as in line 25. It is the Assyrian *liu*, "a papyrus-roll," "a deed."

² *Elata*.

³ *Siaba*; the word occurs again in G. 18, 6.

⁴ *Usamrits*.

⁵ G. No. 17.

⁶ *Zukharu*. See *W. A. I.* ii. 36, 53.

⁷ *Isdu*.

⁸ The determinative shows that some kind of clothing is intended.

⁹ *Ati*, Hebrew *eth*.

¹⁰ *Lâdin-su*.

¹¹ *Sabarim*; *sabartim* occurs in G. 13, 3.

¹² *Isakhur ena*.

¹³ *Tirti-ga durda-su*.

¹⁴ *Khur'sianim*.

¹⁵ G. No. 14.

¹⁶ *Aḏunu*, Hebrew *adon*.

¹⁷ *Etarim*, Hebrew *yether*.

¹⁸ *Ina baniti*.

¹⁹ *Inume*, the *inuma* of the Tel el-Amarna tablets.

²⁰ Literally "a tablet."

send¹ to the city saying : At the [second?] gate the sheep I have . . . , I have *slaughtered* (?);² [to] the city thou dost not send³ [saying :] say :⁴ for the *prey* (?), O my son, thou shalt go⁵ until that day⁶ (whereon) one the master and I went to my father until that day (whereon) I he[ar] that [letter] speaking of "the ox of a stranger"; the sheep . . . and I have gone a long way⁷ and [to] the midst of the [mo]untain I ascended, and thus I am; and the elders have sent, (saying that) I should go, by the hand of Eriti. I have gone a long way to the cities [which] thou gavest me: the tablet about the 4 oxen . . until I shall cause (them) to be given. [And now] [af]ter travelling a long way and bringing (them) I hear that as regards my property (which) Ganis has taken⁸ he will restore (it) to me.

VIII⁹

Eighteen and a half shekels of refined silver Dadia the son of Nani-belim has transferred; Asur-malik the son of Ena-Zuim the son of Zu-galia has (them). After five months he shall repay them, but he has not yet paid one shekel of the same. He shall register a duplicate during the month. (Dated) the month Kuzalli, the yearly eponym being Asur-imesi the sailor.¹⁰ The witnesses are Ena-Asur the son of Erati (and) Garia the son of Gimil-Belim.

IX¹¹

Fourteen shekels of silver Birati has transferred, Asur-rabu holds (them). They have taken the fifth of Asur-malik and Enna-Zuim. After ten fifths he shall repay the money; but he has not yet paid (it). He shall register a

¹ *A'siprim* for *astiprim*.² *Sakhtaku*.³ *Ta'sibir*.⁴ [*Ki*]be-ma.⁵ *Ana salati marṭ talak*,⁶ *Adi yumem anim*.⁷ [*Mu*]rkita, from *araku*. But the word may mean "refuge."⁸ *Isdu*.⁹ G. No. 3.¹⁰ *Malakhum*.¹¹ G. No. 6.

duplicate according to the language of the foreigner.¹ (Dated) the month of sowing,² the yearly eponym being Sagati-Asur. He has made the copy the same day that he arranges the partnership.³ In his *kurumeti*⁴ he writes the sum of silver. Witnessed by Asur-rabu (and) Id(?)sa-Asur.

X⁵

On two manehs of silver, which Istar-namâ has given on mortgage⁶ to Asur-rabu, they have taken half a maneh of silver as the fifth of Asur-bel-amatim. The silver and its *voucher* (?)⁷ Erada-il has taken; ⁸ Ili-bani has weighed it, and Asur-rabu returns (it)⁹ to Ili-bani, Erada-il keeps¹⁰ it. The witnesses are Asur-malik, Gullaba (and)

XI¹¹

One maneh of *unrefined* (?)¹² silver, in the presence of the brother of Ganis, Sarkhunu has transferred; Anakh-ili holds (it). They have taken the fifth of Asur-malik the son of Zu-galia. (Dated) the month Akh-sarani. After a month he shall repay [the money]. The witnesses are Dumana the foreigner, Dubduba, (and) Rakima(?)-ibri. His house, his furniture¹³ and his *gurru* I inspect.¹⁴

¹ *Kima amat garim gibil yuzakur.* The statement is important.

² *Arkhi sa zaratim.*

³ *Nada suwa LAL wa' yume-su kharanam itaraiz.* The ideograph LAL is added to its phonetic equivalent *suwa*. In the Babylonian contract-tablets *kharran* is used in the sense of a "partnership."

⁴ This word seems to mean "an account-book" in this passage. In Assyrian *kurumatu* seems to mean "food."

⁵ G. No. 8.

⁶ *Khabuluni*, the Hebrew *khâdhal*.

⁷ *Gibati*, apparently the Assyrian *qibati* or *qibiti*, from *qabû*, "to speak."
⁸ *Elki*.

⁹ Or "gives it up" (*iduar*).

¹⁰ *Yubakh*, Assyrian *pakhu*, "to close."

¹¹ G. No. 10.

¹² I imagine this to be the signification of the word *likhi*, which would thus correspond to the Hebrew *lakh*.

¹³ *Asat*.

¹⁴ *Adagal*. I suspect that *gurru* is the Assyrian *kiru*, the "garden" or "plantation" attached to a house.

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