

monuments. Apart from their extensive collections of art and archaeological remains, our museums acquired documents and archives written in various languages and types of writing. A primary duty of our specialists at present is the publication of the documents. We hope that the scientific and artistic research movement begun by Atatürk will continue to develop in an increasing rate to a level where the past will be clarified to the extent that he desired.

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IVORY IN HITTITE TEXTS

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It is with great pleasure that I accept the kind invitation of the Rector of Ankara University, Professor Dr. Taksin Özgüç, to contribute to the Jubilee Volume commemorating the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Turkish Republic.

To be among the first group of Western scholars appointed to the newly founded Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi was a privilege and a great opportunity for me. It was the founder of modern Turkey, Kemal Atatürk, who created this Faculty and in it, as part of his program, a chair of Hittitology; and the enthusiasm which he instilled in his people and especially in its youth made the teaching of those ancient languages and civilizations an exciting experience. The following lines are meant as a token of my gratitude for those years. In selecting a subject I chose a theme which, while based on textual evidence, may be of some interest also to archaeologists, especially in view of the beautiful ivory works excavated in recent years by our Turkish colleagues.

The normal writing of the word for "ivory" is by ideogram: KA×UD. AM.SI or, with the Sumerian reading of KA×UD meaning "tooth", ZÚ.AM.SI "tooth of the elephant". Its Akkadian name is *šinni piri* of the same literal meaning. This Akkadian term was borrowed into Hurrian, where the adjective *šiniperuhhi* "made of ivory" in the Mitanni letter was recognized by the first decipherers of that language¹. In Hittite, however, the Akkadian term or its Hurrian form never occur in syllabic writing in the material available to date. If we may believe the Ras Shamra trilingual, there was a Hittite word *lahpa-* meaning "ivory"². Actually the Akkadian column of this text and its Sumerian

¹ Literature quoted by J. Friedrich, Heth. Wörterb., S. 324 s.v.

² RS 25.421 obv. 28 (Ugaritica V, text No. 169, pp. 313, 315, 444, 773-777): *ma-ku-ut* KA×UD = *la-aḥ-pa-aš(-ma-aš) ku-ra-ak-ki-iš* "a pillar(?) of ivory". Laroche, p. 777, connects the word with Greek *eléphas, éléphantos* "ivory". From Hittite texts he quotes KUB XXXVI 25 i 4 (RHA 82, 73 = Textes mythologiques, p. 187) where the word, with marker, can hardly mean "ivory". For the doubtful *la-aḥ-ma/ba?-an-du-uš* KUB II 13 ii 35 quoted by him in n. 4 cf. *la-aḥ-ma/ba?-aš* KBo XVII 43 rev. 5.

prototype have only "tooth", omitting AM.SI "elephant", but "tooth" as material can, in the Near East, be hardly anything but ivory. In fact the simple ZÚ "tooth" for "ivory" occurs not only in Babylonia but also in Boğazköy.³

The texts say almost nothing about the sources of ivory. In the so-called First Arzawa Letter, King Amenhotep III lists among his gifts (VBoT 1, 36 ff.):

3 GIŠGU.ZA GIŠESI šar-pa PA-NA[-AS-SU GUŠKI]N.GAR.RA
10 GIŠGU.ZA ŠA GIŠESI IŠ-TU ZÚ.AM[.SI] U-UḪ-ḪU-UZ "Three chairs of ebony, upholstered (?), [their] fro[nt gol]d-covered; ten chairs of ebony, incrustated with ivory."

Although the provenience of objects is often registered in the inventory texts, no such indication is so far preserved for ivory. The fact that KUB XLII 11 obverse mentions Mišri several times as the origin of other items (i 7; 12 f.; ii 8; 17; 20), while suggestive for the 8 ZÚ.AM.SI of ii 6, is no proof. But the fact that the counted objects here (as also in KUB XL 95 ii 11) are simply "elephant teeth", i. e., tusks, is in favor of the assumption that they, too, came from Egypt, i. e., ultimately from Africa. While thus the Arzawa letter and probably also KUB XLII 11 point to Africa as source of supply, no certain mention is found in the Boğazköy texts, so far at least, of Syrian ivory, except possibly KUB XLII 34, 17, where we read: [.]x URUḪal-pa GIŠESI ZÚ SI IŠ-T[U] "(an object from) Ḫalpa, of ebony, inlaid with ivory, fro[m . . .]"; here the city indicates the origin of the object but not necessarily also that of the ivory used for its decoration.

However, the texts distinguish two colors of ivory: "white" and "red". Objects made of ZÚ.AM.SI BABBAR and ZÚ.AM.SI SA₅ are listed in KUB XLII 32 and 75 (both texts in detail below). Whether this refers to natural coloring or to artificial dye or paint I do not know⁴.

Turning to the use of ivory, here are some of the objects said to be made of it:

1. Combs:

1 [GIŠ]GA.ZUM ZÚ.AM.SI, KBo XVIII 181 rev. 29;

³ KUB XLII 12, 5; 7. Ibid. Nr. 34 (passim) and Nr. 46, 5 f. write ZÚ SI, which cannot be repeated omission of AM but must be simple ZÚ followed by SI "filled, inlaid"; cf. SBo I, p. 40 n. 160a.

⁴ KUB XLII 12, 5: [. . . .]x 3 ZÚ BABBAR could mean "three white teeth", in which case the color would be that of the tusks, but the break also allows for a restoration like "[x objects of such and such material and] three of white ivory".

6 TA-PAL GA.ZUM Z[Ú.AM.SI] "six sets", KUB XLII 33, 8;
 1 GA.ZUM ZÚ, KUB XLII 12, 7;
 1-NU-TIM GIŠGA.ZUM *mān šA GIŠTÚG mān šA ZÚ.AM.SI* "one set of
 combs, either of boxwood or of ivory", KUB XXIX 4 i 26.

2. Combs for wool:

[x] GA.ZUM.SÍG ZÚ.AM.SI BABBAR, KUB XLII 75 obv. 1 (see below);
 4 GA.ZUM.SÍG ŠÀ 2 ZÚ.AM.SI 2 GIŠTÚG "two of ivory, two of boxwood",
 ibid. rev. 6;
 1 GA.ZUM.SÍG ZÚ.AM.SI BA[BBAR], KUB XLII 32, 1.
 Cf. also: 15 GIŠGA.ZUM ZÚ SI SÍG "fifteen combs inlaid with ivory, (for)
 wool" KUB XLII 34, 7.

3. Hair clasps or pins⁵:

[x] GI-RI-ZU ZÚ.AM.SI [...], KUB XLII 75 rev. 2.

4. A different tool of toiletry (spatula?):

1-NUTIM GIŠmanapnalla *mān šA GIŠTÚG mān šA ZÚ.AM.SI* "one
 set of *m.*, either of boxwood or of ivory" KUB XXIX 4 i 27.

5. Images or figurines:

1-EN ÁMUŠEN ZÚ.AM.SI 2 AŠ-RA GUŠKIN.GAR.RA "one eagle of
 ivory, in two places covered with gold" KUB XII 1 iv 6;

UMMA ḥ[é-pa-SUM 1 U]R.MAḥ ZÚ.AM.SI-wa [iyanzi] "Thus said
 Ḥepapiya: 'They shall make one lion of ivory'..." KUB XV 5 iii 48 (vow,
 prompted by a dream⁶).

Ivory was also used as inlay:

GÙB-la-za ŠU-za A-RI-TUM K[Ù.BABBAR] ÁMUŠEN ZÚ.AM.SI
 SI UR.MAḥ ZÚ.AM.SI SI ḥar[-zi] (a divine figure) "holds in his left hand
 a shield of silver, an eagle inlaid with ivory, and a lion inlaid with ivory"
 KUB XXXVIII 3 ii 12 f⁷.

KUB XLII 34 gives a list of objects that are ZÚ SI, literally "filled with
 tooth", i. e., inlaid with ivory. Among them are seventeen images (ALAM,

⁵ CAD, s.v. *kirissu*. A. Goetze, JCS X 37: "pin" or "needle", quoted in HW, I. Erg., p. 31. AHw gives "Schminkspachtel".

⁶ Cf. A. L. Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams* (Transactions of the Amer. Philos. Soc., N.S. 46, 1956) p. 193.

⁷ Or "a silver shield inlaid with an ivory eagle and inlaid with an ivory lion", as L. Rost interprets this passage, MIO VIII (1961) 184. One might then even take the "eagle" and "lion" as collective singulars for the plural. But one wonders why, if this were meant, SI appears twice.

line 8), the wool combs mentioned above (7), objects of unknown meaning (*I-EN kupaš*, 5; *I-NU ħarnašalla*, 6, probably a container, see below); the name of the object is lost in lines 15 and 17; one of these is from *Ḫalpa* (as mentioned above), made of ebony and inlaid with ivory.

6. Musical instruments:

I-NUTIM *GIŠḫuḫupal mān šA GIŠTÚG mān šA ZÚ.AM.SI* "one set of *ḫ*-drums, either of boxwood or of ivory" KUB XXIX 4 i 24 f.

7. Furniture:

I-EN *GIŠŠÚ.A ZÚ.AM.SI* "one chair of ivory" KUB XLII 81, 3;

I *GIŠBANŠUR ZÚ.AM.SI* [...] "one table of ivory" or, if there was [SI] in the break, "[inlaid with] ivory" Bo 840 obv. 7;

I *GIŠNÁ ZÚ.AM.SI 4 GÎR UR.MAḪ GUŠKIN.GAR.RA* "one bed of ivory, (its) four lion feet covered with gold" KBo XVIII 175 v 13 f.

4 *GIŠBANŠUR 9 GÎR ZÚ.A[M.SI ...] 9 GÎR GIŠESI 4 1/2 Ú 2 ŠU.SI*

GÎD.DA "four tables, nine (of their) feet (made of) iv[ory ...], nine (of their) feet (made of) ebony, four and one-half cubits two inches long" KUB XLII 37, 8 f. (did two of the four tables have five legs each, or how else does one account for two times nine feet? Or is "9" scribal error for "8"?)⁸.

Here also belongs the ebony chair with ivory inlay mentioned above from among the gifts to the king of Arzawa.

8. Other:

[.. *KA*] *P-PU ZÚ.AM.SI* [...] ⁹, KBo XVIII 152, 2.

Various objects made of, or covered with, gold may have "heads" (tips, ends) of ivory: *ŠÀ.BA 7 SAG-ZU ZÚ.AM.SI* "among them seven whose heads are ivory" KUB XII 1 iv 29.

The inventory KUB XLII 32 contains items which can be translated literally but whose real nature eludes us: *GAM tiyannaš* "(something) of putting down" and *piran petummaš* "(something) of carrying in front". Whether these gerunds are used to specify the use of objects mentioned earlier or whether

⁸ More furniture feet are mentioned in lines 4 and 6 and in KBo XVIII 186 l.e. 7.

⁹ [*KA*] *P-PU* restored after line 6. For this word see CAD, *kappu* B "bowl (usually of metal)" and AHw *kappu(m)* II "Hand(fläche)", mng. 5) "handförmige Schale" [where *kappani* should be deleted, being the Hitt. word for cumin!]. In lines 3-5 and 7 the names of objects made of ivory are lost.

they themselves are the full names of objects is not clear because of the lacunae in the text. It reads (col.i):

- 1' [.] SA₅ 1 GA.ZUM.SÍG ZÚ.AM.SI BA[BBAR]
 2' [. ZÚ].AM.SI BABBAR
 3' [. S]A₅ 3 GAM *ti-an-na-aš* ZÚ.AM.SI BABBAR
 4' [. . . GAM *ti-an-na*]-aš ^{NA4}ZA.GÎN
 5' [. . . GAM *ti-an-n*]-a-aš ZÚ.AM.SI SA₅
 6' [. . . GAM *ti-an-n*]-a-aš ZÚ.AM.SI *pa-ra-aš-šu-a-an-za*
 7' [. . . *pí-ra-an p*]-é-e-tum-ma-aš ZÚ.AM.SI SA₅
 8' [.]x ZÚ.AM.SI BABBAR
 9' [.]x ZÚ.AM.SI ^{GIŠ}ESI *ti-an-ta*
 10' [.]x *x-tuḫ-ḫa-an* ZABAR
 1' [. of] red [ivory], one wool comb of white ivory;
 2' [.] of white ivory;
 3' [. of] red [ivory], three 'of putting down', of white ivory;
 4' [. . . 'of putt]ing [down'], of lapislazuli;
 5' [. . . 'of putt]ing [down'], of red ivory;
 6' [. . . 'of putt]ing [down'], of ivory, . . . -ed;
 7' [. . .] 'of carrying [in front'], of red ivory;
 8' [.] of white ivory;
 9' [.] of ivory set (in) ebony;
 10' [.] . . . of bronze.

A similar list is in KUB XLII 75 obverse:

- 1 [x] GA.ZUM.SÍG ZÚ.AM.SI BABBAR 1 GAD.KA x SA LUGAL EZ [EN?]
 2 [I] GAD.DAM SA₅ 6 NUNUZ-kán *an-da*
 3 1 *pí-ra-an pé-e-du-ma-aš eḫ-li-pa-ak-ki-ya-aš*
 4 1 *pí-ra-an pé-e-du-ma-aš* ZÚ.AM.SI SA₅
 5 1 GAM-an *ti-ya-wa-aš* ^{NA4}AŠ.NU₁₁.GAL
 6 2-e-ma GAM-an *ti-ya-wa-aš eḫ-li-pa-ki-ya-aš*
 7 ŠÀ ^{GIŠ}har-na-ša-al-la-aš ZÚ.AM.SI ^{GIŠ}ESI.GAR.RA GAR-ri
 1 [x] wool comb(s) of white ivory; one lip-cloth of the king (for a) fes[tival] (?);
 2 [one] red legging, thereon six 'eggs' (beads),
 3 one 'of carrying in front', of *eḫlipaki*-stone,
 4 one 'of carrying in front', of red ivory,
 5 one 'of putting down', of alabaster,

6 but two 'of putting down' of *ehlipaki*-stone;

7 they are lying inside *harnašalla*-containers of ivory encrusted with ebony.

Here the five (!) items of lines 3-6 could describe the six (!) beads of line 2 (despite the faulty arithmetic), but still I am unable to imagine what could be meant by such descriptions¹⁰.

That *harnašalla*- is a container follows from line 7. A container made of ivory is likely to be a small box or pyxis. But *h.* is not the only one. Another container is written with an ideogram that looks like GIŠUM.MIŠ¹¹. As a container it occurs in KUB XLII 10 rev. 9 (last line of main text): ŠÀ GIŠ'UM.MIŠ' GAL ŠU [. . .] "inside a large U., hand [of PN]". It also occurs on the reverse of KUB XLII 75, from which we quoted line 2 for *kirissu* and line 6 for wool combs. The text reads:

1' [Š]À GIŠ'UM.MIŠ' [. . .

2' [x] GI-RI-ZU ZÚ.AM.SI x [. . .

3' [x] GIŠ'UM.MIŠ' ZÚ.AM.SI BABBAR x [. . .

4' 6 GIŠ^{pal}-š^u-u-wa-an-za ŠÀ 1 GIŠ'UM.MIŠ' [. . .

5' wa-al-la-ya-aš ki-it-ta-ri

6' 4 GA.ZUM.SÍG ŠÀ 2 ZÚ.AM.SI 2 GIŠTÚG

7' ŠÀ GIŠGAN-ĤA-AN KÙ.BABBAR

8' ŠU.NIGÍN 7 GIŠ'UM.MIŠ' ZÚ.AM<SI>

9' QA-DU GIŠESI TUR GUŠKIN MAŠ-LU

(end of tablet)

¹⁰ Other examples of these terms: 7 *GAM-an ti-ya-u-wa-aš* KUB XII 1 iv 8; 166 *GAM-an ti- . . .* KUB XLII 33, 11 at the beginning of a paragraph; 1 *kat-ta-an ti-ya-an-na-aš 1 pi-ra-an pé-e-d[u- . . .]* KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by 5 i 24; the second term appears as 1-*EN pi-ra-an pé-e-du-na-aš* (sic! with *na*!) ŠA NA₄ in 4 i 18; 7 *pi-ra-an pé[- . . .]* KUB XLII 37, 13. According to XLII 33 and XXIX 4 these terms are themselves names of objects rather than descriptive gerunds. A coaster (Untersatz) and small tray (Präsentierteller), respectively?

¹¹ In IBoT I 31 obv. 19 the second sign resembles a DU (GUB), hence A. Goetze's rendering GIŠGUB.ALAL, JCS X (1956) 34. The same form occurs KBo XVIII 176 v 3, but neither of these is a real DU, and all other examples can only be UM or DUB, especially the form with internal small verticals, KUB XLII 84, 15. The third sign has in all examples the form Forrer 184, *miš* (which rarely stands for PISÁN, ALAL), never the fuller forms of PISÁN, Forrer 218. 'UM.MIŠ' is an arbitrary rendering; 'DUB.MIŠ' would also be possible.

This shows that the 'U.' can be of ivory (lines 3 and 8), beside being of silver (IBoT I 31 obv. 19). Since KUB XLII 10 rev. 9 has shown it to be a container, one may in line 4 f. of our text combine ŠÀ I GIŠ'U.' ... *kittari* "lies in one 'U.'" (despite the different use of ŠÀ with numeral in line 6). Cf. KUB XLII 84, 15:

I GIŠ'UM.MIŠ' ŠÀ-ŠU x [...] "one 'U.', in it (there is) [...]"

The word read *GANHAN(NU)* (line 7) looks Akkadian and might be the same as *gangannu* "potstand" (CAD; AHw: *kankannu*). It can itself be of ivory: I *CAN-ĦA-AN-NU* ZÚ.AM.SI KBo XVIII 176 i 8; other occurrences: *ibidem* v 5; KUB XLII 84, 9.

KUB XLII 70 lists the following:

- 1 I-NU tar-ša-at-te-na ZÚ.AM.SI [...]
- 2 19 SIG₄ TUR ZÚ.AM.SI [...]
- 3 [x x] x-za-al-lu ZÚ.AM.SI [...]

Here only line 2, "nineteen small bricks of ivory", can be translated, the other two terms being unknown. But what are small bricks or brick-shaped objects of ivory used for? Are they votive models of bricks? Or gaming stones?¹²

In summary we find that the texts attest about all the uses of ivory one expects by analogy of other times and areas, but of which not all are archaeologically attested for the Hittite empire. Furthermore the texts add the distinction between "white" and "red" ivory.

¹² Is [... Š]A AM. SI ZÚ KUB XXXIX 23, 5 (HTR 94) Hittite word order, "of the elephant the tooth"? Unclear KUB XLII 61 obv. 13: SAL-u-wa-aš(?) ZÚ.AM.SI. Broken context: KBo XVIII 180 rev. 4; KUB XLII 37, 12ff.