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.

Tahsin ÖZGÜÇ

IVORY IN HITTITE TEXTS

HANS G. GÜTERBOCK

It is with great pleasure that I accept the kind invitation of the Rector of Ankara University, Professor Dr. Tahsin 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”, ZÜ.AM.SI “tooth of the elephant”. Its Akkadian name is šinnī piṭä of the same literal meaning. This Akkadian term was borrowed into Hurrian, where the adjective šinipušiš “made of ivory” in the Mitanni letter was recognized by the first decipherers of that language

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

2 RS 25.421 obv. 28 (Ugaritic V, text Na. 169, pp. 315, 315, 444, 773. 777): ma-ab-ur KA × UD = la-ab-pa-ur(mo-ar) ku-la-ak-hi-išt “a pillar(!) of ivory”. Laroche, p. 777, connects the word with Greek ἐλέφαντας, ἐλέφαντος “ivory”. From Hittite texts he quotes KUB XXXVI 25 i 4 (KBA 62, 73 = Textes mythologiques, p. 187) where the word, with marker, can hardly mean “ivory”. For the doubtful la-ab-ma/ja-post pe KUB II 13 i 32 quoted by him in n. 4 cf. la-ab-ma/ja-post 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 ZU "tooth" for "ivory" occurs not only in Babylonia but also in Boğazköy.  

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 GISUZA GISESI šar-pa PA-NA[[-AS-SU GUŞKI][N.GARRA]

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 (17; 12 f.; ii 8; 17; 20), while suggestive for the ZU 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 GIS GISESI GISU ZU AM.SI IS-TU[U,.....] "[an object from] Halpa, 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 ZU AM.SI BABBAR and ZU AM.SI ŠA₄ 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 know.  

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

1. Combs:

1 GISUZA ZU AM.SI, KBo XVIII 181 rev. 29;

6 TA-PAL GA.ZUM Z[U AM.SI] "six sets", KUB XLII 33, 8;
1 GA.ZUM ZU, KUB XLII 12, 7;
1-NU-TIM GIS GA.ZUM män ŠA GIS-TUG män ŠA ZU AM.SI "one set of combs, either of boxwood or of ivory", KUB XXIX 4 i 26.

2. Combs for wool:

[x] GA.ZUM ŠI ZU AM.SI BABBAR, KUB XLII 75 obv. 1 (see below);
3 GA.ZUM ŠI ZU AM.SI GIS TUG "two of ivory, two of boxwood", ibid. rev. 6;
1 GA.ZUM ŠI ZU AM.SI BA [BABBAR], KUB XLII 32, 1.
Cf. also: 15 GIS GA.ZUM ZU AM.SI GIS "fifteen combs inlaid with ivory, (for) wool", KUB XLII 34, 7.

3. Hair clasp or pins:

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

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

1-NU-TEGIS ZU AM.SI 2 AŞ-RA GUŞKI GARRA "one eagle of ivory, in two places covered with gold" KUB XII 1 iv 6;
UMMA [HI-PA-SUM] I UR MAH ZU AM.SI 3 [IYAN]-I "Thus said ḫepapiya: 'They shall make one lion of ivory'..." KUB XV 5 i 48 (vow, prompted by a dream).  

Ivory was also used as inlay:

GU-BU-la ŠU-XU A-RI-TIM K[UB] BABBAR] AMUSEN ZU AM.SI SI UR MAH ZU AM.SI SI har [-er] [a divine figure] "holds in his left hand a shield of silver, an eagle inlaid with ivory, and a lion inlaid with ivory" KUB XXXIII 3 ii 12 f.  

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

5 CAD, s.v. šičasu. A. Goetze, JCS X 37: "pin" or "needle", quoted in HW, I. Erg., p. 31.
6 AHw gives "Schminkspachtel".
7 Or a "silver shield inlaid with an ivory eagle and inlaid with an ivory lion", as L. Root 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 kupāš, 5; I-NU barmašalla, 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 GĪŠŠAḪUPAL mān ŠA GĪŠTŪG mān ŠA ZŪ.AM.SI “one set of ḫ-drum, either of boxwood or of ivory” KUB XXIX 4 i 24 f.

7. Furniture:

I-EN GĪŠŠŪ.A ZŪ.AM.SI “one chair of ivory” KUB XLII 81, 3;

GĪŠBANSUR ZŪ.AM.SI […] “one table of ivory” or, if there was [SI] in the break, “[inlaid with] ivory” Bo 840 obv. 7;

GĪŠNÁ ZŪ.AM.SI 4 GĪR UMRAḪ GĪŠKIN.GAR.RA “one bed of ivory, (its) four lion feet covered with gold” KBo XVIII 175 v 13 f.

GĪŠBANSUR 9 GĪR ZŪ.A [M.SI …] 9 GĪR GĪŠESI 4 1/2 Û 2 SUL.SI

GĪD.DA “four tables, nine (of their) feet (made of) ivory …”, 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”?).

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 ZŪ.AM.[S1 …], KBo XVIII 152, 2.

Various objects made of, or covered with, gold may have “heads” (tips, ends) of ivory: ŠABA 7 SAG-ZU ZŪ.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 tīyanas “‘(something) of putting down’” and piran petumma “‘(something) of carrying in front’”. Whether these gerunds are used to specify the use of objects mentioned earlier or whether they themselves are the full names of objects is not clear because of the lacunae in the text. It reads (col.1):

1' [...] SÂ 1 GA.ZUM.SI ZŪ.AM.SI BA[BBAR]
2' [...] ZŪ.AM.SI BABBAR
3' [...] SÂ 3 GAM tī-an-na-aš ZŪ.AM.SI BABBAR
4' [...] GAM tī-an-na-aš SÂ ZĀ.GĪN
5' [...] GAM tī-an-na-aš ZŪ.AM.SI SÂ
6' [...] GAM tī-an-na-aš ZŪ.AM.SI pa-ra-aš-su-an-za
7' [...] pēra-an [p]ē-sūm-ma-aš ZŪ.AM.SI SÂ
8' [...] x ZŪ.AM.SI BABBAR
9' [...] x ZŪ.AM.SI GĪŠESI tī-an-ta
10' [...] x x-tuš-ha-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 putting down’, of lapialzuli;
5' [...] ‘of putting down’, of red ivory;
6' [...] ‘of putting down’, of ivory, …;
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.SI ZŪ.AM.SI BABBAR I GAD.KA × SÂ LUGAL EZ[EN?]
2 [I] GAD.DAM SÂ 6 NUNUZ-kdn an-da
3 1 pēra-an pē-e-du-ma-aš eḫ-lī-pa-ki-ya-aš
4 1 pēra-an pē-e-du-ma-aš ZŪ.AM.SI SÂ
5 1 GAM-an tī-ya-u-aš SÂ.[N].UH.GAL
6 2-eva GAM-an tī-ya-u-aš eḫ-lī-pa-ki-ya-aš
7 SÂ GĪŠAR-na-ša-ala-aš ZŪ.AM.SI GĪŠESI.GAR.RA GARR
1 [x] wool comb(s) of white ivory; one lip-cloth of the king (for a fest[ival] (?):
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,

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

* [KA]P-PU restored after line 6. For this word see CAD, kappu B “howl (usually of metal)” and AHW kappu(m) II “Hand(fliche)”, mang. 5) “handförmige Schale” (where kappou should be deleted, being the Hitt. word for cameo!). In lines 3-5 and 7 the names of objects made of ivory are lost.
6 but two of putting down' of ekhipaki-stone;
7 they are lying inside harnasalla-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 descriptions 10.

That harnasalla-is a container box from line 7. A container made of ivory is likely to be a small box or pyxis. But ḫ is not the only one. Another container is written with an ideogram that looks like GISUM,MIS 11. As a container it occurs in KUB XLII 10 rev. 9 (last line of main text): ȘÀ GISUM,MIS, MIS' GAL ȘU [. . . .] “inside a large U, hand [of PN]”. It also occurs on the reverse of KUB XLII 75, from which we quoted line 2 for kirissa and line 6 for wool combs. The text reads:

1' [ȘÀ] GISUM,MIS 11 [. . . .]
2' [x] GARI-I-ZU ZÜ,AM.SI x [. . . .]
3' [x] GISUM,MIS' ZÜ,AM.SI BABBAR x [. . . .]
4' 6 GIS-pal-šu-a-aa-an-za ȘÀ 1 GISUM,MIS 11 [. . . .]
5' sea-la-la-ya-aš ki-im-tari
6' 4 GA.ZUM,SIG ȘÀ 2 ZÜ,AM.SI 2 GIS'TUG
7' ȘÀ GİSCAN-HA-AN KÜ,UBBARR
8' SUNIGIN 7 GISUM,MIS' ZÜ,AM <[SI]>
9' QA-DU GİSESI TUR GUSKIN MAS-LU

(end of tablet)

10 Other examples of these terms: 7 CAME an ti-ya-a-a-an-aš KUB XII 1 iv 8; 166 CAME an [t[. . . .] KUB XLII 33, 11 at the beginning of a paragraph; 1 bat-an ti-ya-a-an-aš 1 pis-an pis-a-d-u-. . . . ] KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by S 1 24; the second term appears as I-EN pis-an pis-a-d-u-. . . . ] KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by S 1 24; the second term appears as I-EN pis-an pis-a-d-u-. . . . ] KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by S 1 24; the second term appears as I-EN pis-an pis-a-d-u-. . . . ] KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by S 1 24; the second term appears as I-EN pis-an pis-a-d-u-. . . . ] KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by S 1 24; the second term appears as I-EN pis-an pis-a-d-u-. . . . ] KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by S 1 24; the second term appears as I-EN pis-an pis-a-d-u-. . . . ] KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by S 1 24; the second term appears as I-EN pis-an pis-a-d-u-. . . . ] KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by S 1 24; the second term appears as I-EN pis-an pis-a-d-u-. . . . ] KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by S 1 24; the second term appears as I-EN pis-an pis-a-d-u-. . . . ] KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by S 1 24; the second term appears as I-EN pis-an pis-a-d-u-. . . . ] KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by S 1 24; the second term appears as I-EN pis-an pis-a-d-u-. . . . ] KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by S 1 24; the second term appears as I-EN pis-an pis-a-d-u-. . . . ] KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by S 1 24; the second term appears as I-EN pis-an pis-a-d-u-. . . . ] KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by S 1 24; the second term appears as I-EN pis-an pis-a-d-u-. . . . ] KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by S 1 24; the second term appears as I-EN pis-an pis-a-d-u-. . . . ] KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by S 1 24; the second term appears as I-EN pis-an pis-a-d-u-. . . . ] KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by S 1 24; the second term appears as I-EN pis-an pis-a-d-u-. . . . ] KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by S 1 24; the second term appears as I-EN pis-an pis-a-d-u-. . . . ] KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by S 1 24; the second term appears as I-EN pis-an pis-a-d-u-. . . . ] KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by S 1 24; the second term appears as I-EN pis-an pis-a-d-u-. . . . ] KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by S 1 24; the second term appears as I-EN pis-an pis-a-d-u-. . . . ] KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by S 1 24; the second term appears as I-EN pis-an pis-a-d-u-. . . . ] KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by S 1 24; the second term appears as I-EN pis-an pis-a-d-u-. . . . ] KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by S 1 24; the second term appears as I-EN pis-an pis-a-d-u-. . . . ] KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by S 1 24; the second term appears as I-EN pis-an pis-a-d-u-. . . . ] KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by S 1 24; the second term appears as I-EN pis-an pis-a-d-u-. . . . ] KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by S 1 24; the second term appears as I-EN pis-an pis-a-d-u-. . . . ] KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by S 1 24; the second term appears as I-EN pis-an pis-a-d-u-. . . . ] KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by S 1 24; the second term appears as I-EN pis-an pis-a-d-u-. . . . ] KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by S 1 24; the second term appears as I-EN pis-an pis-a-d-u-. . . . ] KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by S 1 24; the second term appears as I-EN pis-an pis-a-d-u-. . . . ] KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by S 1 24; the second term appears as I-EN pis-an pis-a-d-u-. . . . ] KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by S 1 24; the second term appears as I-EN pis-an pis-a-d-u-. . . . ] KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by S 1 24; the second term appears as I-EN pis-an pis-a-d-u-. . . . ] KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by S 1 24; the second term appears as I-EN pis-an pis-a-d-u-. . . . ] KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by S 1 24; the second term appears as I-EN pis-an pis-a-d-u-. . . . ] KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by S 1 24; the second term appears as I-EN pis-an pis-a-d-u-. . . . ] KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by S 1 24; the second term appears as I-EN pis-an pis-a-d-u-. . . . ] KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by S 1 24; the second term appears as I-EN pis-an pis-a-d-u-. . . . ] KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by S 1 24; the second term appears as I-EN pis-an pis-a-d-u-. . . . ] KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by S 1 24; the second term appears as I-EN pis-an pis-a-d-u-. . . . ] KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by S 1 24; the second term appears as I-EN pis-an pis-a-d-u-. . . . ] KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by S 1 24; the second term appears as I-EN pis-an pis-a-d-u-. . . . ] KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by S 1 24; the second term appears as I-EN pis-an pis-a-d-u-. . . . ] KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by S 1 24; the second term appears as I-EN pis-an pis-a-d-u-. . . . ] KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by S 1 24; the second term appears as I-

11 In IBor 1 31 obv. 19 the second sign resembles a DU (GUB), hence A. Goetze's rendering GISUB,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, 13. The third sign has in all examples the form FORER 184, mû (which rarely stands for PIŠAN, ALAL), never the fuller forms of PIŠAN, ALAL, in any arbitrary rendering; DUB,MIS would also be possible.

12 In [. . . .] ȘÀ AM.SI ȘÀ ZÚ KUB XXXIX 23, 5 (IFTR 94) Hittite word order, “of the elephant the tooth”?. Unclear KUB XLII 61 obv. 13; SAL-a-a-a-a-û ZÜ,AM.SI. Broken contexts: KBo XVIII 186 rev. 4; KUB XLII 37, 12ff.