THE LANGUAGE OF THE KASSITES

BY THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES

In the monograph by Professor Sayce and myself, The Tablet from Yuzgat in the Liverpool Institute of Archeology (I believe the document is now in the Louvre), which forms vol. xi of the Asiatic Society Monographs (see pp. 15-19), I discussed the possibility of Kassite being a language more or less akin to Hittite. In dealing with this question, I made use of the well-known tablet discovered by the late Hormuzd Rassam in 1882, and published in transcription by Professor Fried. Delitzsch in his Die Sprache der Kossäer (Leipzig, 1884). To all appearance this important inscription has never been printed in the original character, and as its appearance is held to be desirable, I now place before the British public the copy which I made in 1882 or 1883.

The British Museum being at present closed owing to the War, I have not had an opportunity of revising the text, but as it agrees in the main with Delitzsch's transcription and the notes thereon, it cannot be very far from correct. No attempt has been made to keep the proportions of the original, but my copies would have been better if they had been drawn somewhat broader. The obverse, which is broken at the beginning, originally had 27 lines, as the summation (48) in the remains of the only colophon-line preserved shows (48 and 1 colophon-line = 49; total lines on the reverse, 22; 22 from 49 = 27). The colophon originally consisted of at least two lines, but the fracture which has deprived us of lines 1 and 2 of the obverse has destroyed almost all the colophon except

OBVERSE

1		
2		
3. ši	îlu Sin	the Moon-god.
4. sa - ah	^{îlu} Šamaš	the Sun-god.
5. šu-ri-ia - aš	^{îlu} Šamaš	the Sun-god.
6. ub-ri-ia - aš	^{îlu} Addu, Rammānu	the Wind-god.
7. hu - ut - ha ¹	^{îlu} Addu, Rammānu	the Wind-god.
8. ma - rat - taš	^{îlu} En-urta	the War-god.
9. gi - dir	îlu En-urta	the War-god.
10. ha - la	^{îltu} Gu - la	goddess Gula.
11. ka - mul - la	^{îlu} E - a	the god Éa.
12. šu - ga - ab	^{îlu} Nergal	the Plague-god.
13. šu - ga - mu - na	^{îlu} Nergal ^{îlu} Nusku	the Plague-god,
		the Light-god.
14. dur	^{îlu} Nergal	the Plague-god.
15. šu - gur - ra	^{îlu} Šu-mali-ia	the god Šumaliya.
16. mi - ri - zi - ir	^{îltu} Bêltu	the goddess Beltis.
17. ba - aš - hu	i - lu	god.
18. da - ka - aš	ka - ka - bu	star.
19. da - gil - gi	šamu-u	heaven.
20. i - lu - lu	šamu-u	heaven.
21. zi - in - bi - na	zi - na	
22. mi - ri - ia - aš	êr - și - tum	earth.
23. tu - ru - uh - na	ša - a - ru	wind.
24. ya - an - zi	šar - ru	king.
25. nu - la	šar - ru	king.
26. ma - li	a - wi - [lu]	man.
27. me - li	ar - [du]	servant.

¹ Or hulahha.

82-q-18, - . Obv.

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REVERSE

28. ku - uk - la	an - du	
29. aš - lu - lu	pap - pu - u	young slave.
30. na - aš - pu	ni - i - šu	spirit.
31. ma - ar - hu	qaq - qa - du	head.
32. ha - me - ru	še - e - pu	foot.
33. sa - ri - pu	še - e - pu	foot.
34. ya - šu	ma - a - tum	country.
35. aš - rak	mu - du - u	wise one.
36. šir	qa - aš - tu	bow.
37. e - me	a - șu - u	to come forth, grow.
38. na - zi	șil - lum	protection.
39. ka - daš - man	tu - kul - tum	help.
40. ša - ga - rak - ti	nap - ša - ru	redemption.
41. nim - gi - ra - ab	e - țe - rum	to hold, protect.
42. u - zi - ib	e - țe - rum	do.
43. haš - mar	ka - su - su	
44. si - im - maš	li - da - nu	offspring.
45. ša - ri - bu	tu - ul - lu - u	to hang up.
46. šim - di	na - da - nu	to give.
47. ki	ki - di - nu	ordinance.
48. ni	kit - tu	justice.
49. Arba'a samnet .	, an :	a
48 (lines)		

82-9-18,- Rev.

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Though many vocabularies from the ruin-mounds of Babylonia and Assyria exist, none of them, it may safely be said, are exactly like this. The object of the others was the explanation of the Sumerian language, which had been bound up for thousands of years with the Semitic tongue of Babylonia, and had, therefore, become a necessity to enable the thousands of religious and historical inscriptions to be interpreted. The object of the present list, however, was simply to supply such information as would enable the names of the Kassite dynasty, which ruled over Babylonia from about 1570-1075 B.C., to be understood, at least in part. The number of the Kassite rulers between those two dates, however, was rather large, and it is clear that all the names contained therein were not dealt with, even though we subtract from the thirty-six kings constituting the dynasty those who bore Semitic names. It seems probable, therefore, that the compiler confined himself to the few names contained in the list which gives the names of the kings of Babylonia with their Semitic renderings, supplemented by a few others. This text, which is printed in the fifth volume of the Cuneiform Inscriptions of W. Asia, pl. 44, is as follows:

		Col., 1	
23.	Ku-ur-gal-zu	Ri-'-i-bi-ši-i	Be my shepherd.
24.	Sim-maš-ši-pak	Li-dan-îlu Marduk	Child of Merodach.
25.	U-lam-bur-ya-aš	Li-dan-bêl-mâtäti	Child of the Lord of the lands.
26.	Na-zi-muru-taš	Şil-îlu En-urta	Protection of En-urta.
27.	Me-li-ši-pak	Awil-îlu Marduk	Man of Merodach.
28.	Bur-na-bur-ya-aš	Ki-din-bêl-mâtāti	Ordinance of the Lord of the lands.
29.	Ka-daš-man-đ. En-lil	Tukul-ti-îlu En-lil	My trust is Enlil.
		Col. IV	
33.	U-lam-har-be	Li-dan-îlu En-lil	Child of Enlil.
34.	Me-li-ha-li	Awil-îltu Gu-la	Man of Gula.
35.	Me-li-šu-mu	Awil-îlu Šu-qa-mu-na	Man of Šuqamuna.1

¹ According to the Kassite vocabulary, this is a compound name, possibly to be decomposed as Šuqa (Šuqab) and Muna. It is explained as equivalent to the Babylonian Nergal and Nusku, p. 102, 13.

36.	Me-li-d. Ši-bar-ru	Awil-îlu Ši-i-ma-li-ia	Man of Šîmalia.
37.	Me-li - sab	Awil-[îlu Šamaš]	Man of the Sun-god.
38.	Nim-gi-ra-bi	E - țe - ru	Protect.
39.	Nim-gi-ra-bi-sah	E-te-ru-[îlu Šamaš]	Protect, (0) Sun-god.
40.	Nim-gi-ra-bi-bur-ia-aš	E-ṭe-[ru-bêl-mâtāti]	Protect, (O) Lord of the lands.
41.	Ka-daš-man-bur-ia-aš	Tukul[-ti-bêl-mâtăti]	My trust is the Lord of the lands.
42.	Ka-daš-man - sah	Tukul[-ti-îlu Šama]š	My trust is the Sungod.
43.	Na - zi - ši - pak	[Şil - îlu]Marduk	Protection of Merodach.
44.	Na-zi-bur-ya-aš	[Ṣil - bêl -]mâtāti	Protection of the Lord of the lands.

Here comes a division-line, followed by a line of cuneiform script ending with the word $qab\hat{u}$, "he" or "they speak". I conjecture that the line read somewhat as follows: Annuuti šarrāni ša Kaššū qabū, "These are the kings who are called Kassite." It is also probable that column iv, which begins on the reverse, beneath the point on the obverse where column i ends, was intended to continue it, just as column iii—the right-hand column of the reverse—always continues column ii, the right-hand column of the obverse. Nevertheless, the colophon was evidently at the end of the left-hand column of the reverse—the fourth column of the tablet.

The text which I published in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology for May, 1884, has, in chronological order, the following additional names:—

Gandaš (or Gaddaš),	16 years.
Agum-ši, his son,	22 years.
Kaštilyaši,	22 years.
Ušši (or Duši), his son,	8 years.
Adu-me(?)-taš	
Ur zi-u-maš	

Further Kassite names occur in the following list of rulers given in part according to Hilprecht in *Old Babylonian Inscriptions chiefly from Niffer*, Philadelphia, 1893, p. 37, with corrections made by myself several years ago at the request of Professor Lehmann-Haupt,

and confirming at least one very acute conjecture which he had made:—

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Addu-mušėšir (Sem.)
                                             1442-1422 (abt. 20 years).

 Kadaš-man-Sin<sup>1</sup>

                                             1422-1408 (abt. 15 years).
15. Kudur-Turgu
                                             1408-1393 (abt. 15 years).
16. Šagarakti-buriaš, his son
                                             1393-1373 (abt. 20 years).
17. Kuri-galzu I, son of Kadašman-harbe
                                             1373-1348 (abt. 25 years).
                                             1348-1343 (abt. 5 years).
18. Kara-indaš
19. Burna-buriaš, 2 son of Kuri-galzu I
                                             1343-1318 (abt. 25 years).
20. Kara-hardaš, son of Kara-indaš
                                             1318-1308 (abt. 10 years).
21. Nazi-bugaš 3 (usurper)
                                             1308-1307 (abt. 1 year).
22. Kuri-galzu II, son of Burna-buriaš
                                             1307-1284 (nearly 23 years).
23. Nazi-Maruttaš, 4 his son
                                             1284-1258 (26 years).
24. Kadaš-man-Turgu,5 his son
                                             1258-1241 (17 years).
25. Kadaš-man-buriaš,6 his son
                                             1241-1239 ( 2 years).
26. Kudur-, . .-ti
                                             1239-1233 ( 6 years).
27. Šagarak-ti-Šuriaš
                                             1233-1220 (13 years).
28. Kaštilyašu, his son
                                             1220-1211 ( 9 years).
29. Bêl-šum-iddina I (Semitic)
                                             1211-1209 (1\frac{1}{2} \text{ years}).
30. Kadaš-man-harbe 7
                                             1209-1208 (1\frac{1}{2} years).
31. Addu-šum-iddina (Semitic)
                                             1208-1202 ( 6 years).
32. Addu-šum-uşur (Semitic)
                                             1202-1172 (30 years).
33. Meli-Šipak, his son
                                             1172-1157 (15 years).
34. Marduk-âbla-iddina (Semitic), his son 1157-1144 (13 years).
35. Zagaga-šum-iddina (Semitic)
                                             1144-1143 ( 1 year).
36. Bêl-šum-iddina II (Semitic).
                                             1143-1140 ( 3 years).
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The very gradual Babylonianizing of these Kassite rulers will be noticed. This was doubtless due to the gradual loss of the "land of Kaššů" by the dynasty here given. Bêl-šum-iddina (his name may also be read Bêl-nadin-šumi) seems to have been attacked by an Elamite king bearing the Kassite name of Kidin-Hutrudaš. The Kassites, therefore, finding that they were becoming as it were vassals of Babylonia, had, at an early date, placed another ruler on the throne, and that ruler had apparently become king of Elam also. In connexion

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<sup>1</sup> No. 14, "my trust is the Moon-god."
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² No. 19, "ordinance of the Lord of the world," i.e. Hadad.

³ No. 21, "protection is Bugaš."

⁴ No. 23, "protection is En-urta."

⁵ No. 24, "my trust is Turgu."

⁶ No. 25, "my trust is the Lord of the lands," i.e. Hadad.

⁷ No. 30, "my trust is Enlil."

⁸ No. 33, "man of Merodach."

with this, it is to be noted that Kudur-..-ti has a name of which the first part may be Elamite.

To the above names must be added those of the inscription of a king named Agum, or Agu-kak-rime, who is apparently described by the (?Kassite) words urši gurumaš. He was "of the pure seed of the god Šuqamunu", and describes himself, also, as descendant of Abi-gu-.... Notwithstanding the reluctance of the Germans to take up my reading of May, 1884, I am inclined to think that I was then right in reading u-maš as guru-maš, and in this case we ought to read the name of the sixth ruler of the dynasty as Urzi-gurumaš, the seventh being Agum or Agu-kak-rime.

How long Agum reigned we do not know, but his eight-column inscription, preserved to us owing to the orders of the Assyrian king Aššur-banî-âpli, "the great and noble Asnapper," shows that he was an energetic ruler, and possibly a great conqueror. He calls himself king of the Kassites and the Akkadians (Semitic Babylonians), king of the wide land of Babylon (possibly meaning the vast extent of territory covered by that city and the province belonging thereto), colonizer of Ašnunnak, "a wide-spread people," king of the padan (plain) and the alman, king of Gutium (Media), nišė saklati, "a foolish people," according to German Assyriologists. Finally, he was the king ruling over the four regions, and the favourite of the great gods. The inscription giving these details refers to the restoration of the temple of Belus at Babylon effected by Agum, or executed by his orders.

Comparatively few Kassite names are found in the Kassite letters published by Radau (Letters to Kassite Kings from the Temple-Archives of Nippur, Philadelphia, 1908), but there may be some which have assumed a

 $^{^1}$ Elsewhere Šuqamuna or Šugamuna — see pp. 102 (l. 13 of transcription), 106 (l. 35 and note), 110, and 114.

Semitic form, and are therefore unrecognizable. Among the more certain are the following:—

Hašma.
Haš-mar.
Hu[dibti]l, father of Abb[utt]anita (Mitannian).
Meli-Šipak, "man of Merodach."
Meli-Šuqamuna, "man of Šuqamuna."
Nazi-Enlil, "protection is Enlil."
Nimgi-šar-îli, "Nimgi is king of the gods."
Sirišaš or Siridaš.
Tâdu, in Mâr (or Mârat)-tâdu, "child of Tâdu."
Udašaš, in Mâr-Udašaš, "son of Udašaš."
Usub-Šipak, "protect (?), (O) Merodach," in Mâr-Usub-Šipak.

The following Kassite names are given by Professor A. T. Clay in the fifteenth volume of the Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, under the title Documents from the Temple-Archives of Nippur, dated in the reign of Kassite Kings:—

Šimdi-Šipak, "give, (O) Merodach." Šimdi ¹-Šugab, "give, (O) Šugab." Šimdi-Šuqamuna, "give, (O) Šuqamuna." Šindi ²-Buriaš, "give, (O) Lord of the lands." Šindi ²-Ubriaš, "give, (O) Wind-god." Tunamiš.

NAMES WITH A BABYLONIAN ELEMENT

(a) Kassite noun or verb and Babylonian divine name

Burra-Gu-silim, "Ordinance of Gu-silim."

Burra - Ištar, "Ordinance of Ištar."

Burra-Ištar-Agade, "Ordinance of Ištar of Agade" (Akkad).

Burra - Rammānu, "Ordinance of Hadad" (=Burra-buriaš).

Meni - Enlil, better, perhaps, Meli-Enlil, "Enlil's man" (= Meli-Harbe).

Nazi-Bêl, "Bel is protection." Šindi-Bêl, "Give, (O) Bel." (b) Babylonian noun or verb and Kassite divine name

Êriba - Šuqamuna, "Augment, (O) Šuqamuna."

Izkur-Šuqamuna, "Šuqamuna has recorded."

Kidin - Šuqamuna, "Ordinance of Šuqamuna" (= Burra - Šuqamuna).

Nûr - Šuqamuna, "Light of Šuqamuna."

Širišti-Šuqamuna, "Šuqamuna's root."

Šuqamuna - êriš, "Šuqamuna planteth."

¹ Also given as Šindi.

² Also given as Šimdi.

NAMES WITH A KNOWN AND UNKNOWN ELEMENT

Albadi-Sah. Burra-Alban, "Ordinance of Kunundi-Buriaš. Alban."

Burra-Sali (-Sani). Nakim-Sah.

Burra-Śigme (-Śigmi). Burra-Suhizabil.

Dimahdi-Uraš (dingir IB). Gab-martaš.

Guzarzar-Bugaš, Gazalzar-

Bugaš.1

Hašma-Harbe. Hašmar-Galdu. Humurbia-Sah. Ippa-Buriaš.

Karak-Sah. Kilamdi-Šugab. Kilan-Ubriaš.

Kilandi-Ubriaš. Kubšia-Sah.

Kunindi-Bugaš.

Kurîad-Sah.

Manudi (or Mabaddi)-Buriaš.

Nibia-Sah. Pakki-Sah. Qa-Sugab. Šad-barhu. Sibbar-Sah. Šibbar-Šugab. Šubani-Sah. Taramdi-Sah.

Tiamma-Harbe. Tililim-Sah (or Tiliši-Sah).

Uddi-Sah. Ugišia-Sah. Uspi (Usbi)-Sah. Uzubšia-Sah.

OTHER NAMES

Agissi-ša, or simply Agissi. Kašvau. Agi-teru, or Agitešub. Kilamdaku.

Agizzi. Kil-teru, or Kil-tešub. Algizzi, Kurîad-Sah. Altukkuri. Limmegag(k).

Alzibu. Meli.

Ariaenni. Miraš (or Mirarum). Ariamma. Nagim-Sah.

Nan-teru, or Nan-tešub. Ari-kirme.

Ari-parni. Nibiyâ-Sah. Ari-teru (or Ari-tesub). Niraš.

Bar(?)ši-nimgir (or Kub(?)ši-Radbaš, or Radbarum.

Šad-barku. nimgir). Burra-harbe, "Ordinance of Sad-dirme.

Enlil." Sil-teru, or Sil-tešub. Dašper- . . Šindi-Bêl, "Give, (O) Bêl." En-urta-yabaš. Širišti (or Semitic?).

Hadi-mišaš. Suigig. Haš-mâbu. Suraš.

Hašme-teru, or Hašme-tešub. Taramdi-Sah. Humar-, or Humurbia-Sab. Teššu.

Tiya(m)ma-Harbe. Hut-teru or Hut-tešub.

Turari-teru (or Turari-tešub). Ikukku. Umbi. Kaššî.

¹ Written Ganizar-Bugaš.

Umbi-teru, or Umbi-tešub. Urhi-teru, or Urhi-tešub.

Metilyašu (fem.), or Mitliašu (fem.).

One of the most important inscriptions for some of the languages with which the Assyrians were acquainted, is K. 2100, which, however, does not give many Kassite words. It is a list of gods, ending with the various foreign words for "god", and is, on that account, of considerable interest. This list tells us that the word for Hadad or Rimmon in Kassite (kaššû) was Buriaš, which the Kassite list now published tells us was pronounced also Ubrias, and the list of king's names with renderings into Assyrian translates by "the lord of the lands". The word for "god" in the same inscription (rev., l. 12) is given as mashu, though both my copy and Fried. Delitzsch's transcription of the same word in the Kassite vocabulary found by Rassam make it to be bašhu. The confusion arises from the likeness between the ba and ma in late Babylonian inscriptions.

The following is a list of words, probably Kassite, alphabetically arranged:-

Agissi. Agi-tešub.

Agizzi. Agu.

albadi.

alban.

algizzi.

Ari, followed by parni, kirme, or Tešub.

Ariamma. Arianni.

ašlulu, young slave. ašrak, wise man.

Barsi in Barsi-nimgir.

bašhu, god. Bugaš.

bur, lord. burna (burra), ordinance.

buzarzar, buzalzar.

dagilgi, heaven. dakaš, star. Dur, Tur, Nergal.

Eme, to go forth.

Gab in Gab-martaš. Gidar, the god En-urta. Gurumaš.

Hadi in Hadi-misah.

Hala, the goddess Gula.

hameru, foot.

Harbe, the god Enlil. Hardaš.

Haš-mâbu. hašmar.

Hulahha, Hadad, Rimmon. Humar- or Humurbia-Sah.

hut in Hut-tešub.

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Iaš or yaš, earth. Ikukku. ilulu, heaven. indaš. ippi.

Kadaš, trust.
Kamullu, the god Ea.
kara.
karak.
Kaššî, Kaššû, the Kassite god.
kasyau.
ki-..., ordinance.
Kilamdaku.
Kilamdi.
Kilandi.
Kilandi.
Kilandi.
Kilandi.
Kuludi.
Kuludi.
Kuludi.
Kuludi.
Kuludi.
Kuludi.
Kunindi, Kunundi.
kurîad in Kurîad-saḥ.

Limmegag (or -gak).

Mali, man.
Manudi (or Mabaddi).
Marattaš, the god En-urta.
mašhu, head.
meli, servant.
miriaš, the earth.
Mirizir, Beltis.
Murutaš, the god En-urta.

Nagim in Nagim-Saḥ.
našbu, man.
Nan in Nan-tešub.
nazi, protection.
nibia.
nimgi.
nimgirab(i), protect.
ni- . . , righteousness.
niraš.
nula, king.

Pakki.

Qa in Qa-Šugab.

šad in Šad-dirme. Šagarak, trust. Sah, Šamaš, the sun-god. sali. saripu, foot šaripu, to hang up. Šî-barra, the god Šî-malia. siggar in Siggar-Šugab. sigme. šimdi, šindi, to give. simmaš, offspring. Šipak, Merodach. šir, bow. Sirisas. širišti. Šubani in Šubani-Sah. Šugab, Nergal. Šugurra, the god Šu-malia (see Ši-barra = Šî-malia). Suhisabil. Šuigig. Suqamuna, Nergal and Nusku.

Taramdi-sah.
teššu.
tîa(m)ma in Tîa(m)ma-harbe.
tiliaš.
tilišu in Tilišu-sah.
Tunami(š).
Turgu, the god Enlil.
turuhna, wind.

Ubriaš, Buriaš, Hadad. udašaš. uddi in Uddi-sah. ugišia in Ugišia-sah. ulam, child. Umbi in Umbi-tešub. Urbi in Urbi-tešub. ursi. uzab, protect. Uzubšia in Uzubšia-sah.

As it is clear that Kassite names have considerable analogy with those of Babylonia and Assyria, it is just possible that the Semitic and Semitic Cossean names of this period will help in their interpretation. Thus we have $\hat{E}riba$ -Šuqamuna, "Suqamuna has augmented"; Nur-Šuqamuna, "light of Nergal and Nusku"; Širišti-Šipak, -Šuqamuna, "root(?) of Merodach," "of Nergal and Nusku"; Taklaku-ana-Kamullamuni, "I trust to $\hat{E}a$ (and Damkina?)"; and several others; but we have not enough data to allow of the Kassite synonyms being recognized. That progress will ultimately be made in this study, however, there can be but little doubt. Excavations in Hittite cities have enabled a gratifying amount of material bearing upon the Hittite wedge-written inscriptions to be found—in all probability the same success awaits the excavator in the ruin-mounds of the land of Kaššu and the neighbouring state of Yašubi-gallu mentioned by Sennacherib.