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JOURNAL OF
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HONORARY CORRESPONDING MEMBER :—Rev. J. L. Challis, M.A., Stone, Aylesbury.

Also the presentation to the Library of the following works :—

Proceedings of the Royal Society.	<i>From the same.</i>
” Dublin Society.	”
” Colonial Institute.	”
” Royal Institution.	”
” Geographical Society.	”
” United Service Institution.	”
” Geological Society.	”
” Royal Society of Canada.	”
” Canadian Institute.	”
” United States Geological Survey.	”
” Geographical Survey.	”
” American Geographical Society.	”
” Philosophical Society.	”
” Newport Natural History Society.	”

The Life of the Earl Shaftesbury.

American Antiquarian. Rev. Stephen D. Peet.

The following paper was then read by the author :—

THE EMPIRE OF THE HITTITES. By the REV.
WILLIAM WRIGHT, D.D.

ONLY a few years ago the Ancient Empires of the world were all arranged in beautiful order. Like a piece of perfect mosaic, skilfully fitted and compactly welded together, they filled the whole historic area. The work was not the mere result of a fortuitous concurrence of historical atoms, but the deliberate finding of thousands of honest labourers who had explored alike the broad fields and byways of secular history. Historians differed as to detail, but they were generally agreed as to the existence and sequence, trend and bearing, of the world's ancient empires. Successive investigators added new facts, and re-set old facts in local colours. They followed, however, the established and recognised order of things, but their historical landscapes were brilliant restorations of the ancient masters. Ancient history, generally, was in a most satisfactory condition. The historians were a happy family, and the students of history, having learned their facts, knew exactly where they were. It would be an ungrateful work to unsettle this harmony and certainty, but this task has been unceremoniously accomplished by the Hittites. The Hittites were always disposed to hold their own, and by sudden forays over their borders saved themselves from the

social stigma of being ignored. They seem also to have been in the habit of making themselves known at the most inconvenient seasons. They pressed down on Egypt, when weak and distracted, and carried devastation throughout Assyria; but perhaps on no occasion was their presence so unwelcome, not even to the weary Syrians, who fled from the siege of Samaria when they heard that the Hittites were coming, as it was to the historians and students of Europe when they learned that the Hittites claimed a large and abiding place among the great monarchies and empires of the world.

It was exasperating to think that the historic mosaic, put together with such infinite labour, and touched into perfect consistency by so many artistic hands, should have to be broken up for a horde of barbarians who had no record in classic story. It was intolerable, too, when we thought we had left the schools and finished our education, to be told we must unlearn our history and begin again at the beginning.

Our historians had not overlooked any of the sources of secular history. The Phœnician records of Sanchoniathon handed down by Philo of Byblius, and Porphyrius, as well as the fragments of Manetho's Egyptian history, had been read in the pages of Eusebius. Scraps and fragments from Ctesias, regarding the Syrian monarchy, had been studied in Photius and Diodorus Siculus. Dion Cassius, Polybius, Josephus, Herodotus, and all the other secular chroniclers of the early past, had been searched and sifted, and every grain of fact had been separated from the chaff of tradition and surmise, and safely garnered.

In the patient and laborious collection of facts, with a view to the building up of history, the Bible was ignored. That unique volume, made up of the literature of a unique people, contained history, poetry, rhapsody, legislation, civil and ecclesiastic,—in fact, the national history of an ancient nation. The book professed to be divine, but it was very human. It mirrored the people of Israel, for whom it was written, in the common details of their lowly lives, and in their relation to the people who lay around them. It assumed to be true, and in its narration of facts the language bore the stamp of self-evidencing simplicity. It referred incidentally to a great people (בני חת or חתים) called Hittites, who moved on parallel lines with Israel from the time of the patriarch Abraham till the final captivity.

When the Semitic tribe, with Abram at their head, migrated from Haran to Canaan, the Hittites inhabited the land (Genesis xv. 20), and fifty years later Abraham, a

stranger and a wandering Sheikh, purchased a grave for his wife from the Hittites, who were then in possession and power at Hebron. The completion of the bargain involved the earliest money transaction on record, and the earliest recognised form of sale and conveyancing (Genesis xxiii. 4). The magnanimous sentiments and polished courtesy, under cover of which the Hittites secured a high price for a useless cave in a useless field, as well as the use of "money current with the merchant," mark them as a mercantile community in an advanced state of civilisation.

The family of the patriarch and the Hittites continued to live side by side. The currents of their lives flowed in parallel channels, and Esau, the grandson of Abraham, chose for himself two Hittite wives, who "were a grief of mind unto Isaac and Rebekah" (Genesis xxvi. 35). Later the Hittites opposed Joshua as he entered the promised land, and the serried lines of Hittite chariots were scattered in confusion by the Israelites in the decisive battle of LAKE MEROM. Later still, Hittite captains marshalled and led the hosts of David and Solomon, and Hittite women were prominent in the hareems of the same renowned monarchs. King David pushed his conquests and extended his border in the land of the Hittites, and Solomon supplied them with commodities from Egypt in their time of need, and in the time of Jehoram, Benhadad, of Damascus, fled headlong from Samaria with his Syrian hosts for fear of "the kings of the Hittites." Besides these and similar incidental references to the Hittites in the Bible, their geographical position generally was indicated in the time of Joshua as being—"From the wilderness and this Lebanon even unto the great river, the river Euphrates, all the land of the Hittites" (Joshua i. 4).

Had these references been found in any ancient secular book, even among the shreds and fragments of, the shady Sanchoniathon, they would have been hailed as historical, and the empire of the Hittites would long since have occupied a recognised place among the great empires of antiquity.

The references, however, were worked into the texture of the Bible, and they were therefore ignored; not indeed altogether ignored, for while Biblical critics in Germany accounted for the most important of them on the theory of "interpolation," English Biblical Critics went further still, and pronounced them "unhistorical." To the thoughtful it seemed strange that an ancient people should interpolate unhistorical statements into their sacred books without sufficient cause, but to the critics it seemed scientific simply to say they had done so.

On this question the common spade has achieved signal

success. That rough, impartial instrument has turned up inscribed bricks of Babylon, and laid bare important hieroglyphics in Egypt, to stop the mouths of those who prated of the "interpolations" and "unhistorical" statements of the Bible. It is no longer necessary to deal with this subject in an *à priori* fashion, to urge the unlikelihood of the Israelites falsifying, out of pure wantonness, their holy writings, which they preserved with more than superstitious reverence, or to dwell on the superhuman act of genius implied in the invention, the creation, of the Bible story of the Hittites. Thanks to our trusty friend, the spade, we are now in a position to confront ingenious theories and bold assertions by hard concrete facts, and those "who believe not Moses and the prophets must be confounded by bricks and stones."

Assyriologists, including Rawlinson, Hinks, Oppert, Boscawen, Pinches, Sayce, and others, have read for us the Assyrian inscriptions; and these inscriptions reveal to us the Hittites as a warlike and aggressive people as early as the time of Abraham. They also inform us that the Israelites were carried into captivity in 721 B.C., and that the Hittites were completely crushed at Carchemish four years later (717 B.C.).

Egyptologists, among whom we might mention Birch, Renouf, Goodwin, Maspero, Mariette, and Brugsch, have deciphered for us the Egyptian hieroglyphics; and in their ancient records we find the kings of the Hittites rivals of the Pharaohs, in peace and war, from the twelfth to the twentieth dynasty. As soon as the key was found to the long silent records of Egypt and Assyria, the veil began to lift off dark continents of history, and the forgotten but mighty Hittite people began to emerge. They appeared chiefly as a martial people, in constant conflict with the great monarchies on their borders; but in almost every respect they correspond to the Hittites of the Bible. The explorer and the decipherer have been pressing on in their discoveries with marvellous energy, and the increasing light from Egypt and Assyria reveal to us, in broad outline and in incidental detail, a series of facts regarding the Hittites, in striking harmony with the narratives of the Bible.

In their existence in the south, and gradual withdrawal northward; in their manner of warfare and use of chariots; in their advance in civilisation and literary propensities; in the facts of their supplying wives to the Pharaohs of Egypt and the kings of Israel, and their reception of necessary supplies from the monarchs of both countries; in the use of the phrase "kings of the Hittites," common to the Hebrew Scriptures and the Assyrian inscriptions,—in these, and other

points which I have dealt with elsewhere, we see the inscriptions and the Bible in harmonious accord, not merely by fortuitous coincidence, but as faithful records of historic facts. So much is now admitted by all who are capable of appreciating the value of the evidence available on the subject. On one important point the spade has failed to support directly and fully the Bible narrative. It might have been supposed that an ancient document which was found in harmony with the inscriptions in ninety-nine cases might have received the credit of being historical in the hundredth case, where the inscriptions were partially silent. At least, accuracy in ninety-nine cases, capable of scientific statement, might be supposed to create a presumption in favour of the hundredth case, where there are few traces of evidence one way or another. The statement in question is the important transaction between Abraham and the Hittites, at Hebron, and the objections which were once directed against various passages are now concentrated on this one incident. It is satisfactory to find that the documents which tell us most about the Hittites are generally admitted to speak with historical accuracy in all their references to that people, with one exception. Let us look briefly at the reasons urged for withholding belief in the truthfulness of the narrative referred to.

It is urged that the Hittites could not have been settled in Southern Palestine because there are few direct references to their southern settlements in the inscriptions. To this I reply, that the absence of evidence is not evidence. The Egyptians marched up the coast of Syria, and turned inland to Megiddo and Kadesh, where they met the Hittites. The inscriptions are full of the doings of the Hittites at Megiddo and Kadesh, because the Egyptians went thither. They have nothing to say of the Hittites of Hebron, because the Egyptians did not go thither. The inscriptions are records of what happened during campaigns in which Egypt must have made great sacrifices. The fact that they do not refer to towns and colonies which lay beyond their scope does not prove that those towns and colonies did not exist. Following, therefore, the strict rules of evidence, there is no sufficient ground for rejecting the story regarding the Hittites at Hebron. I think, however, we are not without positive grounds for believing the story to be true. It is embellished with all the formal details which go to make up the framework of a keen Oriental bargain, and thus bears on its face the semblance of truth.

At a very early period the aggressive Hittites, according to the Assyrian tablets, made war on the Accadians. The

Hittites were dependent on Egypt for many of their supplies, and it is a matter of history that all strong nations push out their surplus and enterprising population along the highways of their commerce. It was thus that Phœnicia planted her colonies and stations wherever the current of commerce carried her merchants ; and it is thus England, France, Germany, and other peoples plant their colonial stations and outposts at the present day. There is no difficulty in believing that the powerful, aggressive, and warlike Hittites should have swarmed over their southern as over their south-eastern border, and that they should have planted stations in Southern Palestine. Nor are we left to supposition on this point. It was the encroachment of the northern barbarians on the borders of Egypt that roused Thothmes the First to drive back the invaders, and, in doing so, he began his first war against the Hittites and their allies ; and that war was carried on for nearly 500 years. At that time the Hittites and their king were in Palestine ; and Brugsch tells us that there are records, dating from the time of the First Pharaoh of the Twelfth Dynasty, referring to the destruction of Hittite towns and palaces on the border of Egypt. Mariette goes even further, and declares that one of the early Egyptian dynasties was Hittite.

The peaceful character of the transaction between Abraham and the Hittites at Hebron has been seriously urged against the genuineness of the story. This objection does not rest on a profound view of things ; it assumes that a warlike people are incapable of engaging with courtesy in a peaceful transaction. I am inclined to think that the very objection is a proof of incapacity to look at a Bible statement with ordinary reasonableness. As a matter of fact, however, the Egyptian inscriptions give us glimpses of the Hittites engaged in peaceful social and domestic transactions ; and it may be safely assumed that the Hittites could not have withstood, for a thousand years, the shocks of war from Babylon, Egypt, and Assyria, if they had not been industrious and enterprising in times of peace.

The point, however, which has been most strongly urged is the difference between the Hittite names on the inscriptions and those mentioned in Genesis. The Hittite names in the Bible are all either Semitic or Semiticised, while five-sixths of the Hittite names of the North preserved in the inscriptions are supposed to be non-Semitic. The stumbling-block is the Semitic form of the names of the Southern Hittites.

In reply to this objection, I remark—first : It would be rash to assume for certain that the Hittites were non-Semitic.

The weight of evidence seems to point in that direction; but, when we remember that Renan declared the proper names on the Assyrian inscriptions to be clearly non-Semitic as late as 1855,* we should abstain from dogmatising where we do not know. The most probable explanation is that the Hittites, like modern missionaries and merchants, learned the language of the people among whom they lived. And, if a missionary can learn the Arabic language in two or three years, so as to think and speak fluently in that language, observing the niceties of inflection and forms of courtesy, I fail to see any reason for believing that the Hittites would not make the Canaanitish language their own in as many hundred years. Afghans and Armenians pick up the language of Syria in a few months after their arrival in that land, and their children in the first generation, in name, in language, and in looks, are, to all intents, Syrians. Besides all these considerations, we must remember that the Hittite names in the Bible come to us in a Hebrew dress, and were first written for the use of Hebrews. With these considerations before us, I think we can have no hesitation in accepting as authentic the story of the Hittites in the Book of Genesis.

The Khatti of the Assyrian inscriptions, the Kheta of the Egyptians, and the חִתּ of the Bible are thus one and the same people, known to the Authorised Version as Hittites. The claim, therefore, of the Hittite empire to recognition rests on threefold history.

Admitting the concurrent testimony of the Bible, and the inscriptions to be true regarding the Hittites, would it not seem strange that they should disappear, and leave behind them no trace of their existence? The Hittites were surrounded by such literary peoples as the Assyrians, the Egyptians, and the Phœnicians. Their relations with Assyria must have been extensive, and they could not have been ignorant of the Assyrian libraries and public monuments. Hittites who visited Egypt, either as captives or merchants, would see on the Egyptian temples great pictures representing their countrymen as vanquished, and long, boastful records of the Egyptian victories over them. It is hardly conceivable that a brave and patriotic people like the Hittites would, century after century, continue to hold the Egyptians and Assyrians at bay, without having some records or monuments of their own to match those of their enemies. Nothing less

* *Lang. Semit.*, 1855, p. 56.

than the absence of a written language would sufficiently account for such an omission on their part.

We know, however, that the Hittites had a written language, and that they were a literary people. The offensive and defensive alliance between the Hittites and Egyptians which Kheta-Sira took with him to Egypt was written in the language of the Hittites on a silver tablet. The version of the treaty, inscribed on the temples of Egypt, is a mere translation from the Hittite original. So fully do the Egyptian inscriptions recognise the literary attainments of the Hittites, that they contain a contemptuous reference to their writing propensities. The facts being such, it seemed to me only reasonable to look out for Hittite remains in the "land of the Hittites."

With this object in view, I started from Damascus, on the 10th of November, 1872, to secure the wonderful inscriptions which Burckhardt had seen in Hamah sixty years before. Our adventures in saving the inscriptions, and making casts of them, are fully recorded elsewhere, and I need only add that before leaving Hamah I wrote a long account of the inscriptions, which I forwarded from Damascus to the Palestine Exploration Fund.

The first part of my paper, consisting of simple description, appeared in the quarterly journal of the P. E. F. for April, 1873. The second half of my paper, under the heading—

"THE HAMAH INSCRIPTIONS: HITTITE REMAINS,"

after lying for a time at the office of the *Athenæum* unappreciated, was finally printed by my friend, Dr. Oswald Dykes, in the *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, of January, 1874.

I claim no credit beyond the exercise of a little common sense for suggesting that the Hamah inscriptions were Hittite remains. The Cuneiform inscriptions were called Assyrian before Grotfend made the happy guess that led to their decipherment. The hieroglyphics were called Egyptian long before Champollion, or Thomas Young, or Dr. Birch began to unravel the mysteries of the Rosetta Stone; and it does not seem a violent supposition that the remarkable inscriptions in the land of the Hittites, may have been produced by the warlike, but cultured, people who once inhabited that land. Indeed, I should not have dwelt on this point but for the fact that my very obvious hypothesis was received at first, like Holman Hunt's scape-goat, as some kind of joke, or, as Captain Burton expressed it in Drake's life—"magno cum risu."

Professor Sayce and Dr. Isaac Taylor came subsequently to the conclusion at which I had arrived, but by quite a different route. They believed that the Lycian, Carian, and Cappadocian alphabets, as well as the Cypriote Syllabics, were derived from a common stock, which must have been in use before the introduction of the Phœnician or Greek alphabets. George Smith declared that "the real connexion between the traditions of Babylonia and Palestine would never be cleared up until the literature of the Syrian population, which intervened, was cleared up." These eminent scholars came to attribute the Hamah and kindred inscriptions to the Hittites in much the same way as astronomers have sometimes been led to the discovery of a new planet, by the existence of certain phenomena which could only be accounted for by the presence of some commanding influence. The commanding influence was the Hittite, the central stock of which the Cypriote and the mysterious scrips of Asia Minor are branches.

In my article, written at the close of 1872, I ventured to predict that the Hamah inscriptions would prove the first fruits of a rich harvest to be gleaned by the intelligent and industrious antiquary. Few predictions have been so signally fulfilled. In the first edition of my book,* published in 1884, I was able to give eighteen plates of inscriptions. In the second edition the number rose to twenty-seven. The number is constantly on the increase, and even since I began to write this paper, Professor Enting, of Strasburg, has sent me copies of new inscriptions, and Dr. Hayes Ward sends me a copy of *Scribner's Magazine*, in which he publishes two new inscriptions.

Inscriptions of the same character, with variations, are now found throughout the length and breadth of Asia Minor, and Northern Syria, from Hamah on the Orontes to Eyuk by the Halys, and from Carchemish on the Euphrates to the Euxine and the Ægean. Professor Sayce, Sir Charles Wilson, Canon Tristram, Dr. Hayes Ward, and other scholars, have testified to the wealth of Hittite sculptures and inscriptions, which abound throughout Asia Minor.

That more inscriptions have not yet been found between Kadesh and Carchemish need not surprise any one. The country has not been carefully explored. The destroying Scythians swept the land of the Hittites. The Seleucidæ, with their mania for building and re-building, occupied the land. The Romans succeeded the Greeks, and they, too, pulled down

* *The Empire of the Hittites.* Nisbet & Co.

to build up. The Moslems drove out the Byzantines; and barbarous hoards of Crusaders captured and sacked most of the towns on the Orontes plains. For several centuries the Turk, like the genius of destruction, has been fulfilling his destiny by turning the fertile plains of Syria into barren wastes, and her splendid cities and temples into heaps and mounds. The spoilers have been in the land of the Hittites for over 2,500 years, and it need not cause wonder if most of the Hittite inscriptions and sculptures have disappeared. The records of the past, however, are not all irretrievably lost. The scores and scores of enormous mounds that dot the plains of Hittite land preserve their treasures safely from the destroyer, and when the obstinacy of the Turk has been removed, and our own indifference succeeded by intelligent enterprise, the lost past shall live again, and the dead millenniums shall tell us all their story.

The legend of Memnon, son of the morning, the leader of the Keteians, is now intelligible. The Assyrians of Ctesias and Diodorus Siculus, who took part in the closing scenes at Troy, seem to be none other than the Hittites; and this hypothesis is rendered still more probable by the presence of Dardanians and Mysians at the Battle of Kadesh.

The numerous peoples who fought under Kheta-Sira, whether as tributaries or allies, obeyed a voice that claimed a right to command, and this explains the mystery of Hittite resistance for so many centuries. The shocks of Egyptian and Assyrian invasion exhausted themselves against the frontier capitals of Kadesh and Carchemish, but the mighty empire of the Hittites extended beyond, on the broad plains and highlands of Asia Minor; and so there were always fresh Hittite armies, and abundant Hittite wealth, to enable the empire to withstand the assaults of its enemies for a thousand years.

I must not prolong this paper by subsidiary questions, such as the origin of the Hittites, the origin of the script now associated with their name, the decipherment of the inscriptions, and other similar questions which would require special treatment and considerable space and time. My object has been to summarise in broad outline the more prominent and generally received facts regarding the great empire now claiming recognition. In arranging my facts I have claimed for the Hebrew Scriptures no higher authority than would naturally attach to the ancient writings of a historic people. But I think it must be admitted that in standing the test of scientific treatment these Scriptures assert their claim to be not only true, but divine.

The CHAIRMAN (A. McArthur, Esq., M.P.).—I have to congratulate the Institute on so large an attendance on such an unfavourable night, and I am sure that all present will cordially join in returning a vote of thanks to Dr. Wright for his very able paper. It is now open for any present to offer remarks upon the subject dealt with.

Mr. H. DUNNING MACLEOD.—May I ask Dr. Wright how far he considers the Hittite empire of which he speaks to have extended towards the west? Does he consider it to have included Troy?

Rev. Dr. WRIGHT.—Yes. The remains are found as far as Smyrna and ancient Ephesus; in fact, to use the language of Dr. Isaac Taylor, as far as the Ægean.

Rev. Dr. WRIGHT.—I may be allowed to express my pleasure at seeing M. de Lacouperie here; because it so happened that after I had finished my paper I came upon an article written by him which was of the greatest interest to me, and one of which I should have taken notice in my paper if I had had time to do so. In that article he gives an account of the Kushites, and I hope we shall hear more from him upon that subject. He also makes a suggestion which I trust will receive due attention,—after referring to the manner in which the Kushites spread over the country, he says: "Those who ascended the Euphrates carried their rude art of writing, half phonetic half pictorial, to the north of Palestine, where it became the Hittite writing; and from hence they advanced along the Mediterranean shores of Asia Minor, founding those establishments, colonies, and that trade which came by inheritance to the Carians and to the Phœnicians." He then gives this suggestion in a foot-note:—"There are strong reasons to believe that the Babylonian and Egyptian writing have sprung from a former system." If this be proved it will reconcile many things that are now opposite. "They have many symbols in common, with similar phonetic values, which are not loan signs. A list of such signs was begun by Professor Hommel and by myself, independently, and requires only to be extended for being published. Professor Hommel thinks that the Egyptian writing was derived from that of Babylon, and says that he can put forward some facts in support of this view. For my part I find that there are cogent reasons to believe that both writings have come from an older system, which has also produced the Hittite hieroglyphics and the pictorial figures and symbols which were preserved on the black stone of Susa, the born stones of Babylonia, and also preserved in some later symbols which may be the relics of the older system in that region." This, to my mind, presents an extremely interesting field for investigation. I ought to add that this article appears in the second number of a new magazine called *The Babylonian and Oriental Record*.

Mr. W. ST. CHAD BOSCAWEN, F.R. Hist. Soc.—Perhaps, as the subject is one in which I personally take great interest, I may be allowed to say a few words upon it. Dr. Wright has, I must say, given us a very excellent *résumé* of the progress that has been made in relation to

the Biblical side with which he has dealt chiefly, and there are one or two points in his able paper on which I should like to speak. With regard to the pre-eminence of the Hittites in Southern Palestine at the time of Abraham, I see nothing in that contrary to the historical evidence, as far as we are able to follow it; and I think I may be able to add something to prove that the migration of Abraham and the entry of that patriarch and his family into Palestine must have been between the years 2250 and 2100: for if we look at the history of Egypt at that period, we find that he went into Egypt at the time the Shepherd Kings were ruling in that country. M. Mariette, who did so much in connexion with the work at Zoan, pointed out the peculiar character of many of the art-remains found there,—a character particularly noticeable in the statues of great personages, and also in the figures of lions and sphynxes. The work was totally different from the Egyptian work, and this difference was specially noticeable in the treatment of the hair. In the year 1880, I visited the ruins of the city of Carchemish on the banks of the Euphrates, and I there saw some sculptures uncovered, which I am sorry to say were not brought to this country, nor do I think they will be for some time to come, under existing circumstances; but they were very peculiar in their artistic workmanship, and one of the most remarkable of their peculiarities was to be noticed in the figure of a lion, on the back of which were two personages, evidently divinities, represented as standing. The treatment of the mane of that lion was exactly the same as that of the hair in the Hyksos sphynxes found at Zoan. I think there are not wanting many facts to show the presence of the Hittites in considerable force in Egypt, at the time of the Hyksos invasion. There is one fact which seems to me very much to strengthen this assumption, it is that the wars of vengeance which Thothmes in the XVIIIth dynasty, and Rameses in the XIXth carried on, were entirely directed against those people. There is, I think, another point which meets the principal objection made with regard to the names of the persons mentioned in that important chapter in the Book of Genesis being Semitic. It is evident, from an examination of the Hittite sculptures, and of the sculptures of Egypt illustrating the wars against the Hittites, as well as the Assyrian sculptures representing the wars against the same people, that the Hittites were not a homogeneous race. They were rather a mass of tribes confederated together for one common object—opposition to the invaders, either from the east or from the south, who swept the fertile plains of Northern Syria. Knowing the enterprising character the Semites have ever exhibited, we cannot doubt that some members of that family must have settled among them; and if they did settle, we may be almost sure they would have brought into practice that chief characteristic of their race, the custom of trading with other people. We know that among the earliest traders in Chaldea, as far as the monuments already discovered show, were Semites, and with one exception, the earliest Semitic vernacular is derived from Chaldean documents, dating from the time to which we must assign the migration of Abram. This being so, it ought not to

be unreasonable to suppose that the settlement of Hebron was not intended so much to form a powerful garrison as probably a colonisation on the part of a body of men who had acquired some little property, and who regarded Hebron as an important centre to occupy, with a view to making it a station to which the trade of the south and from the regions around could be directed. There is another matter on which I should also like to speak, because I have travelled through most of that country myself, from the south of Antioch, to the highest ranges of mountains about Marash, and along the banks of the Euphrates as far as Dier, and I can fully endorse what Dr. Wright has stated with regard to the rich field which there awaits the explorer. The district literally bristles with mounds, which only require the spade to restore monuments of the greatest importance. There is something very remarkable about the character of these mounds. The slightest inspection of them from an elevated position shows that they are not of natural formation. It is clear that they are not only the work of man, but that they were evidently marked out by him for various purposes,—some as sites for forts, some for small cities, and some for large cities, while they are so arranged that no one mound is out of sight of another; so that it is perfectly possible,—indeed, I tried it myself on my return journey from the Euphrates,—to keep up, by means of these mounds, a chain of communication from Aleppo to the Euphrates, and from Aleppo to the Orontes, valley whereby, in the event of an attack being made or an invasion threatened along the Orontes valley, it would be possible to signal the news of the enemy's advance by means of beacon fires, or in some such way, with great rapidity over a district some two hundred miles in extent. I mentioned this to a gentleman who was travelling in that country at the same time,—I allude to Colonel, then Captain, Chermiside,—and he said he had noticed the same thing on the plain of Adana. "As soon," he said, "as you get into the plain of Adana you find the same range of mounds, and this also is the case on other plains more in the heart of Asia Minor." Sir Charles Wilson noticed the fact, that wherever inscriptions in the peculiar Hittite character were found, there were, in the same neighbourhood, silver mines; the whole of the Taurus and the Ante-Taurus were full of old and disused silver mines, and it was a singular fact that whenever an inscription was found on the rocks it was in the neighbourhood of a silver mine. If we turn to the tribute lists of Egypt and Assyria we find that the chief objects of the tributes offered by those people were of silver, and as a still more striking example of this, we see that the treaty with the king was engraved on a silver plate. Another fact which will lead me to a more important matter is this, namely, that in the posts known as the Cilician Gates, inscriptions were found showing that bodies of traders belonging to these people were in the habit of passing through. If you will look at the map of Asia Minor, and take Carchemish as the starting-point, you will see a series of stations where explorers have found remains, either of monuments or inscriptions on the rocks, in the

curious Hittite characters, which show very clearly that there was a direct roadway from Carchemish to the neighbourhood of Smyrna. Mr. Malceod has asked whether there was any connexion between the site of Troy and the Hittites. That is a question which it would at present be premature definitely to answer ; but I may say that if the scratchings on the whole are inscriptions, as there seems to be strong evidence they are, they are written in a syllabary or alphabet, four or five characters of which are identical with those found on the Hittite monuments. But what more strongly emphasises the connexion of these people with Asia Minor is the fact that the legends current in Asia Minor, and preserved by the Greek writers, were clearly, in the majority of cases, of Babylonian origin. Take the story of the Atys and the Corybantes, or of the warlike maidens who accompanied Omphale in her invasion, as recorded in those legends. They were the warlike characters who are clearly represented in the sculptures at Eyuk,—bodies of armed dancers,—not, as some writers have asserted, soldiers, but undoubtedly armed females, who are probably taking part in that celebrated dance which the Corybantes were in the habit of performing. These find their counterpart in the warlike maidens who attended the Babylonian Istar, “Queen of Battles,” and who fought against Gisdhubar as the Amazons did against Heracles. These things also serve to show that the Hittites had dwelt over a good part of Asia Minor, and been in contact with Babylon. Having studied this subject rather closely of late, I should like to say a word or two in reference to the important question, What was the home of these people ? I must certainly say that I think we may and do see a ray of light in the suggestion of Professor de Lacouperie. We have hitherto been inclined to imagine that there was a drifting of the early tribes from east to west. This is shown in the case of one people in particular : I refer to the people whose annals you find in the Vannic inscriptions. I may say that there is a very important fragment which helps to fill up a break in the sequence of history, to be found in these Vannic inscriptions. For a time after the fall of the Early Assyrian empire, about a thousand years before the Christian era, and until the rise of the Second Empire, there is a blank in the history of Western Asia. Now, the Vannic inscriptions certainly help to fill up that gap. They are written in a language which bears no relationship to the modern Armenian, and in them we find the Vannic kings fighting and entering into alliances with the kings of the Hittites. We shall find, I think, that there was a body of what we may call Kushites, who passed northwards up the Euphrates valley, and the vestiges of these people are probably to be found in the early tribes inhabiting that district, and in the tribes who inhabited the regions round about Marash and Zeytoun, which I do not think are without some indications of the Hittite people. At Carchemish I was struck by the resemblance presented by some of the muleteers to the figures represented on the sculptures. They had the same peculiar shortness of figure, with the same evidence of muscular development ; they wore the petticoat turned up about the knee, and caps exactly as we see them represented on the sculptures at Carchemish. I should tell

you that those men were natives of villages a few miles from the *Marash* in the heart of the western Armenian mountains. The reason for the resemblance of those men to the portraits of the ancient type found in the sculptures is, I think, to be found in the fact that all those great invasions which have swept over Northern Syria and the northern Euphrates valley, had the effect of driving the aboriginal population into the mountains. There, in their rocky fastnesses, they have lived by themselves, and in many cases have succeeded in holding their possessions so strongly that they have kept back the Greeks and other invaders, and have thus preserved their own peculiar type even to the present day. There is one other subject I cannot help referring to, and upon which I desire to urge some effort should be made at the present time. I think that something ought to be done to finish the explorations at *Carchemish*. It is very sad to know that there are still lying there in the trenches—I believe they are now covered up—two sculptures, which are certainly of great size; but if they are so large that they cannot be brought hither, there is no reason why casts should not be taken of them and forwarded to us. They are sculptures of the very greatest interest, because they give us a new chapter in Asiatic art. They show an influence derived from Egypt and from Assyria, and, at the same time, they show a native inventive power on the part of those people. I certainly think that the work begun out there ought to be finished, and if I might mention two other sites where explorations might be usefully and advantageously undertaken, I would say that one is that of the city of *Arpad*, and I think it would be found to be one of great importance. It stood a siege of three years on the part of the Assyrian kings, and the ruins are marked by a mound about ten miles from *Aleppo*. I visited that city, and I can say that the mound is nearly as large as that of *Carchemish*, and that on some excavations being made there, black stones were found with carved borders and ornaments similar to those found at *Carchemish*. There is another site in the neighbourhood of *Carchemish*, which I think might also be worked: it is situated at *Tash-atan*, and I believe it to be the site of the city of *Pitru* or *Pethor*, the city from which *Balaam* came. It is a mound occupying a position which any one with the slightest knowledge of strategy would say marks it as having been an important stronghold. It is at the mouth of a narrow valley or gorge, communicating between a plain washed by the Euphrates on the one side, and a narrow stream on the other running into the valley of *Sagur*. The exploration of these mounds would, I think, be work that must well repay the trouble, and I sincerely hope that something will be done by which so desirable an undertaking may be promoted. In conclusion, I have only to say that while we are all very much obliged to *Dr. Wright* for the interesting paper he has furnished with regard to these ancient people, those of us who go into these matters as part of our special study are still more indebted to him for the valuable information he has brought together on a subject of so much importance in his valuable work, *The Empire of the Hittites*.

Rev. Dr. WRIGHT.—I have nothing to do in the shape of reply except to discharge the very pleasant duty of thanking the Meeting for the patient attention it has accorded to my paper, and also to those who have been so kind as to speak upon it. I must say that I did not altogether anticipate such a reception as I have had to-night. Indeed, I came prepared, if I may say so, to defend my position at all points, and I am very much surprised at the way in which my paper has been received. I remember that when I came to London, only about ten years ago, I was looked upon as a kind of craze; and at last I ceased to talk to my scientific friends about the Hittites, as I did not like to be regarded as a bore. But at length, while living at Rosstrevor, I found that a friend of mine in London was calling these people to whom my paper refers “the Hittites,” and I began to think, “The Hittites are looking up.” When I came to London I found my friends Mr. Boscawen, Mr. Pinches, Professor Sayce, Dr. Isaac Taylor, and a large number of others whose opinions on this subject are worth having, had all come round, and had done so through the medium of their own independent studies, for I think very few of them ever saw my article on the subject. I do not believe Professor Sayce did, nor Dr. Isaac Taylor, nor Mr. Boscawen.

Mr. W. ST. CHAD BOSCAWEN.—I have not seen it to this day.

Rev. Dr. WRIGHT.—They all seem to have arrived at the same result by separate and independent study. It is, therefore, a very pleasant thing to meet here to-night men who thoroughly understand the subject, who now concur in the views I have ventured to put forward, and who express their opinions in a manner that makes me feel thoroughly repaid for the past. It was not always so, especially in the case of scholars who stumbled on discoveries, and who had to wait a very long time before their theories were accepted. It is gratifying to see how much faster we are living in the present day. As I have already said, I have really nothing to reply to. I must say I like this Society proceeding on the most scientific lines; for there need not be the slightest fear of the “Old Book” holding its own. I do not mean taking the Bible merely as an old ecclesiastical book; but, regarding it solely from the scientific side, the book comes out well. We may not as yet be able to prove all our points; but the spade is at work, and where we do not know, let us have patience, and before very long the spade will bury a great amount of this Biblical scepticism entirely out of sight.

The Meeting was then adjourned.

NOTE.

APROPOS of the announcement that Captain Conder claims to have in a measure discovered the key to the Hittite inscriptions, the following remarks have recently appeared :—

“The Hittites of the Bible were one of the most powerful of the tribes who inhabited Canaan in patriarchal times ; and it is probable that the Old Testament allusions to them refer, for the most part, to the branch which at that period had migrated from Northern Syria and settled near Hebron, in Southern Palestine. Abraham purchased his burial-place, the cave of Machpelah, ‘in the field of Ephron the Hittite.’ To this race, too, belonged Judith and Bashemath, Esau’s wives. Ahimelech, David’s companion, was a Hittite ; so too was Uriah ; and there were Hittite princesses amongst Solomon’s wives. But of the Hittites of the north, the Bible tells us little. There is not much doubt, however, that they were identical with the Kheta of the Egyptian monuments and the Khatti of the Assyrian tablets, and that their dynasties belonged to prehistoric ages. Whether they were Turanians or no, they were certainly at a very early epoch a dominant race who ruled the Semitic tribes around them.

“The Egyptian sculptors represented them with a Tartar type of physiognomy. They wore pointed boots instead of sandals, and had pigtailed. In the 18th and 19th Egyptian dynasties the great capitals of the Kheta were Carchemish on the Euphrates and Kadesh on the Orontes. The site of the latter city was identified beyond a doubt by Captain Conder in 1881. As early as 1600 B.C.,—that is, before the Hebrew conquest of Canaan,—the extension of the Kheta southwards was checked by the Egyptians at the Battle of Megiddo ; while Rameses II., about 1361 B.C., besieged and took Kadesh. The sculptures at Abu Simbel represent this great battle, and in them the Egyptian sculptors have, as usual, introduced an element of caricature. Rameses appears driving the Hittites into the river ; and on the opposite bank their half-drowned chief is being held head downwards by his followers, who are endeavouring to revive him by this primitive and still popular method. The terms of the treaty subsequently concluded between Rameses and Kheta Sar were engraved on a silver plate, and also inscribed on the outer walls of the temple at Karnak. From the Egyptian description of this document we know that, although the Hittite names were not Semitic, they worshipped Ashtoreth and Set, the gods of the Syrians, Assyrians, and Phœnicians. These seem, moreover, to have been the generic names of local deities. Set appears, too, to have been identical with the Egyptian deity of that name,—the God of Night, whose emblem was an ass with tail raised. The mountains and rivers of Khetaland were also invoked as divinities. The tablet further shows how advanced were their military tactics ; and among their allies have been recognised the Mysians, the Dardanians, the men of Carchemish and Aleppo, the inhabitants of Mesopotamia, and of the island of Aradus. It was a confederacy of Syria and Chaldea, Phœnicia, and Asia Minor against the Pharaohs. At this period, indeed, the Hittites were nearly equal in power to the Egyptians, and the treasures which Rameses took at Kadesh prove that they were nearly as wealthy a people. Nor do their wealth and power seem to have much diminished until they were totally eclipsed by the rising power of Babylon.

“But we have shown that in still earlier times than those of which we have any record the Hittites were probably a yet more powerful race. There are not wanting grounds to justify the belief that their empire at one time

extended to the borders of Egypt. Although it is thought from the evidence of the Hittite proper names, that some of the tribes north of Carchemish and Aleppo were of the same race, we have no proof that they ever spread north of the Taurus chain. To the south, however, as well as at Hebron, there are philological traces of the tribe having lived at some epoch or other at Hit on the Euphrates, at Tell Hatteh near Kadesh, and even at Keft Hatteh in Philistia. From all this it will be seen that there is plenty of room for believing that Hittite record, if it is ever known, may take us back to pre-historic times. As to the inscriptions which are at present known to be in this script, there are five basaltic texts in relief at Hamath, one at Aleppo, six at Jerabis. At Ibreez there is a bas-relief. There is an inscription on the so-called statue of Sesostris at Karabel, and another on the statue of the weeping Niobe on Mount Sipylus. There are texts at Boghaz Keui, and at Eyuk, which is not far inland from the shores of the Black Sea. A stone bowl has lately been found at Babylon with an incised inscription of the same character as the Hamath stones. Upon this Captain Conder, in his recent volume on "Syrian Stone Lore," tentatively based the conjecture that the key to the language might be found in Babylonia. Then there are the terra seals, discovered by Sir Henry Layard in the Record Chamber of Sennacherib's Palace at Kouyunjik, which are now in the British Museum; and the silver boss of Tarkondemos, with Hittite and cuneiform inscription, of which fortunately an electrotype fac-simile was taken, although the original was rejected by the British Museum as a forgery and is now believed to have been lost. All these examples have established the fact that this writing was used by a people who spread themselves over Asia Minor, Northern Syria, and Mesopotamia, possibly before Egypt was a Power. It will be of great interest to know whether Mr. Gladstone's conjecture that they were identical with the *Κήραιοί*, of Homer—the only allusion to them which has ever been detected in classic history—can be supported. Above all will it be interesting to see how far the arguments whereby Dr. Wright has endeavoured to assign to 'The Empire of the Hittites' its true place in ancient history can be verified."—*St. James's Gazette*.