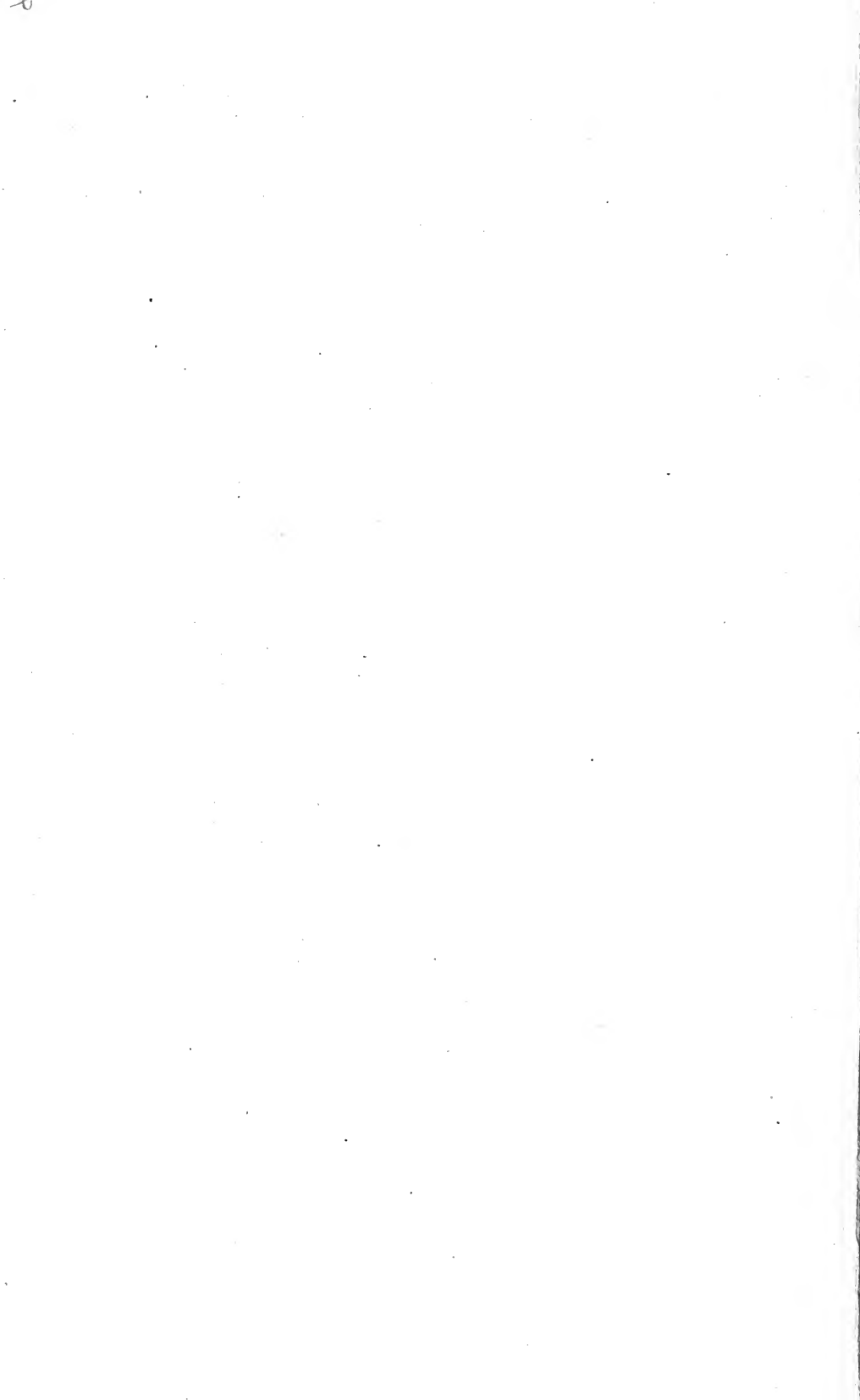


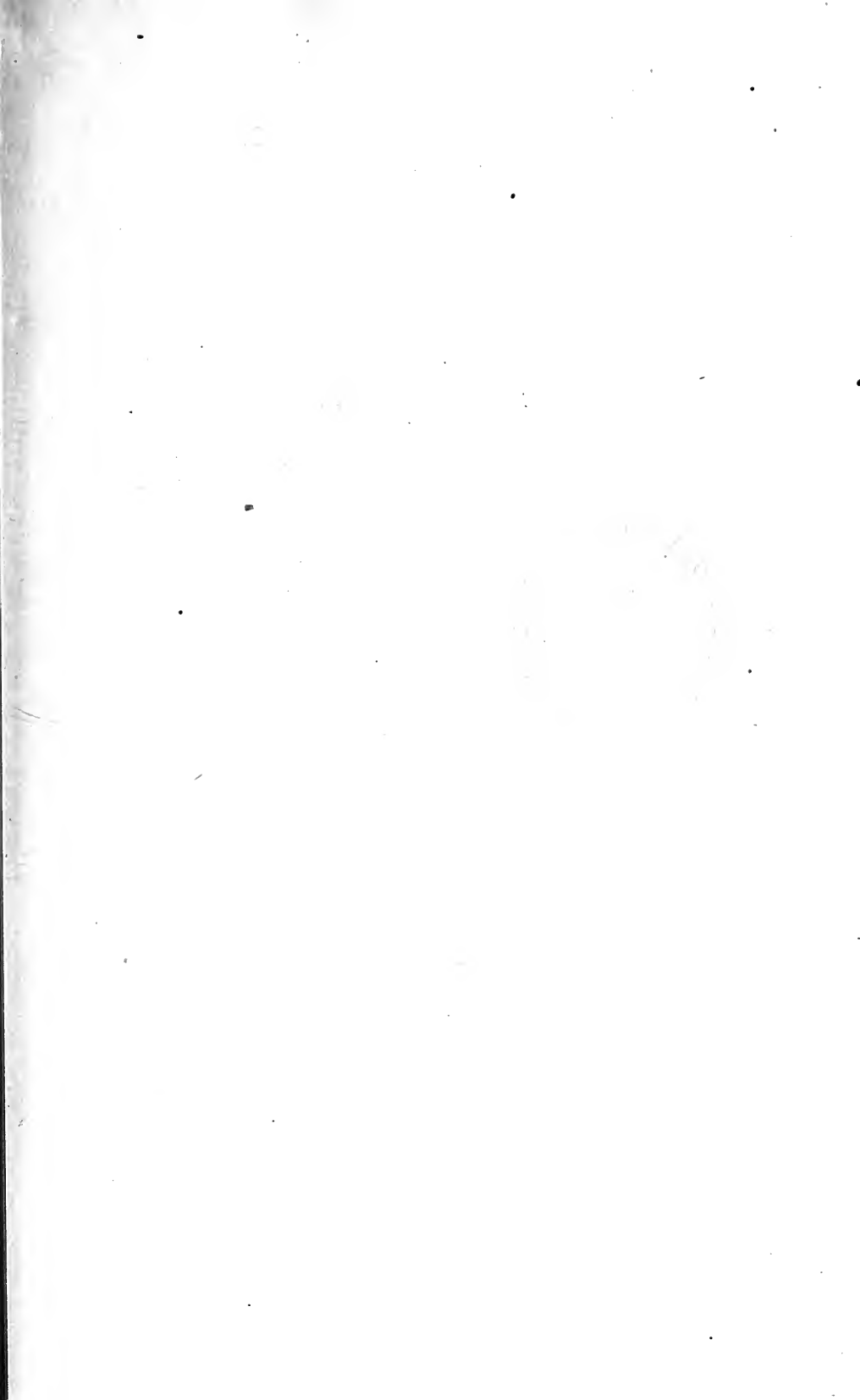
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THE

# BABYLONIAN & ORIENTAL RECORD:

A Monthly Magazine of the Antiquities of the East.

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THE

# BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

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*Contributors are alone responsible for their opinions or statements.*

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## INTRODUCTORY TO VOL. III.

At the beginning of the third year of the *Record* it is our agreeable duty heartily to thank all our collaborateurs for their most valuable assistance, which has placed our Magazine already in the foremost rank of the recognized *recueils* of sound knowledge and progressive science. We must, however, beg them and our faithful subscribers to make the *Record* known as widely as they can, in order to enlarge in our case the sale always so limited of scientific publications. Nothing but an increase of circulation can permit an improvement in its material execution, and at the same time enable the proprietors to act more liberally towards the contributors.

Some interest has been shown in the early history of the *Record*; but, as some misleading statements have been put forward on this point, we may be justified in placing briefly on record, once for all, how the *B. O. R.* was commenced. As a matter of fact it is the outcome of two different efforts. In March, 1882, I had myself started the *Orientalia Antiqua*, a small 4to, autographed, which was to appear every two months, by parts of 100 pp. at One Guinea a year, or 6 parts. The object was to publish "documents, texts, inscriptions in the original characters, and papers on Archaeology, Art, Ethnology, Epigraphy, Linguistic, Numismatic and Palæography, of the Ancient East." Unhappily, to my great dismay, the publishers, Messrs. Trübner & Co., not having collected a sufficient number of subscriptions to ensure a complete year of publication, did not allow the enterprise to go beyond the first number, and thus it came to an untimely end.

Four years later, Mr. W. St. Chad Boscawen and the Rev. H. M. Mackenzie, with the counsel and aid of Mr. Wm. C. Capper, began to organise in view of publishing, in an inexpensive form and at a low rate of subscription, an Assyrian and Oriental Record. Mutual friends brought us together; the two schemes were combined, and I accepted the leadership

of the new magazine. MM. Theo. G. Pinches, Wm. C. Capper, and another, were then asked to join and sit on the Editorial Committee; but only the two first accepted; and thus the *Babylonian and Oriental Record* was founded. Being present at Vienna in September-October 1886 for the Seventh International Congress of Orientalists, I was able to solicit and obtain the good will and promise of collaboration of not a few of the eminent scholars whom I met there, for the *Record* then in embryo. We shall endeavour in this third year to give more space to the reproduction of original inscriptions so as to enhance the usefulness of our magazine as a work of reference. —T. DE L.

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*NOTES ON THE GEOGRAPHY OF NORTHERN SYRIA  
AND SOME NEIGHBOURING LANDS, VIEWED FROM THE  
ASSYRIAN SIDE.*

It must not be thought that I would venture to intrude on the domain of the Assyriologist. But in the course of study involved in my inquiry into Egyptian geographical records I have seen the importance of tracing the interesting lines of Egyptian and Assyrian military routes as data, and I am induced to lay before our readers some suggestions which may be of use to fellow-students.

The region with which we are chiefly concerned, north of the Lebanon and west of the Euphrates, was traversed by the armies of Chaldaea from the days of old Sargina and Naram-Sin, and by those of Egypt from the early times of the XVIIIth dynasty (to say nothing of the Hyksos lords); and by the armies of the Nile, the Euphrates, and Tigris, as long as those great nations of antiquity had any power to radiate conquest. But I am induced to over-step in a desultory way these close limits in the hope of throwing a little light on the identification of a few outlying places as landmarks; and the more since the recent discovery of the cuneiform tablets of Tel el-Amarna, which revive so strongly our interest in the historical geography of Mesopotamian regions.

The important essay of Prof. J. Oppert, *Mémoire sur les rapports de l'Égypte et de l'Assyrie dans l'Antiquité*, bears date 1869, nearly twenty years ago. Since its publication very much has been done to enlarge

our knowledge in this field, and it is to be hoped that students of Egyptian and of Assyrian antiquity will give all possible help to one another.

Of course I have made great use of Prof. Friedrich Delitzsch's valuable chapters on the geography of the region in question in his work *Wo lag das Paradies?*, and of the important travels of Dr. Sachau, (*Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1883), with the maps of Prof. Kiepert appended. These are of great utility, and will afford much more information than I have yet extracted from them.

Before dealing with the lands west of Euphrates I wish to note a few points further afield for inquiry as they have come in my way in comparing the books with the maps. Atshaniu, mentioned by Tiglath-pileser I, seems to be Atshâne, west of Mosul (*Sachau*, p. 341) cf. Atsannu (344), and Atshan (*Unexp. Syria* II, 201, 205). Seris, taken by the same king must surely be Shêrish, south of the Tigris in the Masius-region; and Tiela, mentioned by Assur-nazir-pal, appears to be Til, at the junction of the Bokhtan-su and the Tigris. Perhaps Mariru in the same connexion may be Merâleh, opposite Til. In the alliance against Shalmaneser Sizanu appears to be Sizan, N.E., of Birejik, and Usanatu must be read Musanatu, for it must be the Mushanat of the old league against Râmeses II. Similarly Urrakhinas on mount Panari (of Tiglath-pileser) must be read Murrakhinas and compared (as Lenormant proposed) with Mârrehnas, of the Karnak List (160, 177). To the west of the Upper Euphrates the same king made war on Sugi, in the land of Kilhi (*Babelon. Hist.* 148). Now I would connect this Sugi with the Suki-baki of the N. Syrian Karnak List (259).

Then, again, the records of Esarhaddon may be better understood as regards the campaign which Mr. Budge entitles "Expedition against the Cimmeri and Cilicia" (*Esarhaddon*, p. 41), by observing that "the country of Parnaci" (l. 22) probably had for its capital Pornaki to the S.E. of Diarb-kr, (*Sachau* 435 and map). "The city Mëkhannu, (l. 25), may be Tell Elmaghrûm (*Sachau* 227), S.E. of Kharran, and "the city Pitânu" (l. 25) Tel Feddân, with ruins, W. of Kharran (*Sachau*, 222).

Going westward, Marḳashi the capital of Gaugum, (Egyptian Gagama,) appears to me to be Merash. The excellent discovery by Lenormant of the name of the kingdom of Kuê in the Old Testament, must not be overlooked. I may be allowed to reproduce a note which was published by me in the *P.E.F. Quarterly* of 1885, p. 111.




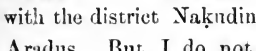
The land of Quê, mentioned by Assyrian kings in their records of conquest, was the plain of Cilicia. In the last work which, still incomplete, left the hand of the lamented Fr. Lenormant, (*Les Origines de l'Histoire*, vol. III, p. 9), he has pointed out the interesting fact that this land is mentioned in 1 *Kings* x. 28, and 2 *Chron.* I, 16, where the word translated in A.V. "linen yarn" has so perplexed the interpreters. Jerome has given the true sense: "And horses were brought to Solomon from Egypt and from Coa, for the king's merchants bought them from Coa, and brought them at a settled price"; and similarly in the parallel passage. In the Hebrew it is קרנא, קרנא, and it is to be noticed that "all the kings of the Hittites" must include the king of Quê, as indeed we know. In the LXX. the name is given as Thekoue (Θεκουε), but I think this was caused by the Egyptian prefix *ta*, meaning "the land," which might be familiar to the Alexandrian Jewish scholars.



This is an excellent instance of the light to be gained from Assyria for the explanation of the Bible.

The name Quê also occurs in Egyptian record in the composite personal name ꜥꜣui-sar, a Hittite officer in Egypt, as Canon Cook suggested.





My object in these notes is not to bring together information already well known in the work of Dr. Delitzsch and elsewhere, but to record some suggestions which have occurred to me in a supplemental form for the chance of their being found worthy of attention.


In a passage where Tiglath-Pileser III. recites his Syrian conquests, (*Woltag ꜥc.*, 277, *Schrader*, 2 *Kings* xv.) Delitzsch suggests that Uşnu may be the great fortress Kala'at el Huşn, but in Rey's *Memoirs* (list at the end), I find Ouzoun Dagh, which looks much like Uşnu. I cannot, however, find it in Rey's Maps. But I find el-Ouzanieh in the mountains S.W. of the strong place Sahioun, which surely must be the Siannu of the Assyrian king. The mountain Sauê may be Jebel ez Zâwi (Jebel er Riha) east of the Orontes, unless perhaps it is intended for the heights called Sheikh Souei between Casius and Antioch, (*see Rey's Memoir*). But there is also the land Sa'û mentioned just afterwards. Then follow "the district of Kar-Rammân", possibly of Aleppo, where Rammân was worshipped (near Aleppo is still Bel-ramûn); "the town Hatarikka" (Hadrak, of which more presently; "the district of Naḡ-udi-na": here we have a curious trace in an Egyptian papyrus quoted by Chabas (*Mélanges Egyptologiques*, tome I, 3rd. série, 232). A Syrian servant in Egypt had run away. He was simply called Pe-Khar (the Syrian) but at the bureau of police it was found that his

native name was Naḳadi () son of Sarrats or Sallats () his mother Kati () of the land of Aradu, () I think we may connect the man called Naḳadi with the district Naḳdina, and his mother might well be a woman of Aradus. But I do not know where to find Naḳdina. Nigdeh would be too remote from the connected places. It is mentioned in the


Karnak List (285) , Naḳdina. Ghabas compares the name נקודה, (*Neh.* vii, 50, 62; [also *Ezra* ii, 48. נקודה 60], among the Nethinim), an interesting suggestion. The next locality is 'the land Hizu, together with the towns which are in the circuit of the town Arâ.....' and here we have light, for I take this as the district of el Haṣṣ, with Tel 'Arâ, north of Jebel Haṣṣ and south-east of Aleppo (see *Sachau* (perhaps ) (Karnak List, 134). Whether the name Sarbûa remains in Tel Shrêb, west of Tel Arâ, or in Serbes, N.N.E. of Aleppo I cannot tell. "The town Ashkhan" may, I think, be the modern Shêkhûn, and "the town Yadab" may possibly be Hatab, N.W. of Hamah, and not far from Shêklûn.



"The mountain-range Yarak" will occur again. "The town Ellitarbi must be Atareb" (Tereb), W. of Aleppo, the first syllable being taken as the article and dropped, and this guess seems confirmed by Muḳaddasi who gives the name as Al Athârib. "The town Zitân as far as the town Atîn"—. Unless Zitan is Zêtân S.W. of Aleppo, and Atîn is the present Abtîn very near to it, Atîn would seem to be the present Atîn, W.S.W. of Ma'aret en No'aman (*Unexp. Syria*, II. 208), and this would agree with Athini in the Karnak List (263), and Máaret ez Zêta, very near Khan Atîn, may preserve the name of Zitân.

"The town Bumami (or Pu-ma-mê)". If we may read  instead of , we have Se-ma-mê instead of Pu-ma-mê, and may possibly find the place in the very important and ancient stronghold Shemâmis, near Hamah (*Unexp. Syria* II, 168), and this would agree with the recapitulation which follows, where Tiglath-pileser speaks of nineteen districts of the town Hamath together with the towns in their circuit. I think also that this may be the  (Smam) of Seti's list, (*L.D.* III. 129), which must be the  (Smam) of the pillars at Soleb (*L.D.* III. 88).

The country of Patina had for its capital Kunulu in Unki, between the Afrin and the Orontes. I think this is the present Tel Kounâna (*Rej's Map*), and Hazarra, another place in Unki. (the Unk plain near Antioch, (Amku, *Karnak List* 308) must be Hazrê (*Sachau*, 459) near Dâna. I do not know whether "Kourr Arab", north of this, (*Rej's Map*), may be Aribûa mentioned in connexion with Hazaz, (Ezzaz) another most important place in Patina-land,  (176).

The Lallid mentioned by Shalmaneser II. must be Tel Lelid, south of Killis, (*Rej's Map*); and we have another important landmark in the same king's campaigns in Astamaku which with its surrounding places he took after passing from the side of Amanus across Yaraçu, a mountain district which may be that of el-Alaika between Amanus and Tel-Stummak south of Edlip, which must be Astamaçu (*Baedeker*, 563). Sargon mentions together the cities Taya, . . . Khazazu, Nulia, and Butâmu. Taya would be Kefr Tai, west of Aleppo (*Sachau*). Perhaps Butâmu may be Beitân near Hazaz. I do not know whether the name of Heilân north of Aleppo may be connected with the Bit-Hilanni in Syria from which Sargon copied a structure in his palace.

The strategic point Tunip, often occurring in the campaigns of the XVIIIth and XIXth Egyptian dynasties, identified by Nöldeke with Tennib N.W. of Tel Erfad (Arpad), has now been found mentioned in the cuneiform tablets of Tel-el-Amarna as Dunip. In the time of Thothmes III. it was a town of the Ruten with lords called *marina*, () but in the treaty of Rameses. II, it figures as a Khetan town with a Sutekh. We now know that its garrison appealed to Egypt for succour against the Kheta by one of the cuneiform despatches in the reign of Amenhotep III.

A difficult point in the Karnak list has been the name Amâtu ( ) which I have always taken for the Amâtu of the Assyrian inscriptions, on which see Schrader, Gen. x. 18. This has been called in question because the name Hamath was differently written by the Egyptians. But the discovery of the tablets of Tel el-Amarna, of the time of Amenhotep III. and his son, removes all hesitation, for the name may have been written in cuneiform by a Mesopotamian scribe, and transliterated exactly into hieroglyphic in Egypt.

HENRY GEORGE TOMKINS.

(To be continued).

*THE SACRED TREES OF THE ASSYRIAN MONUMENTS.*

THE Assyrian sculptures, cylinders, &c., as far as I have been able to discover, present 7 different forms of sacred trees: that is, *conventional* and decorative representations of the trees, which the people appear to have held in great estimation. All these varieties are shown in figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7. The form which appears most common is that of fig. 1. The central portion or stem of this is, I think, unmistakably intended for the date-tree. Its head is a mass of feather-like foliage, with the habit of a palm, and disposed by the artist like an open fan. Its stem is ornamented with regular projections, directed upwards. These can hardly be meant for any other than the triangular bases of the leaves, which are directed upwards and, in young trees, remain a long time attached to the stem after the leaves have decayed, or have been cut away and used for various purposes. When the tree becomes old, the bases of the lower leaves drop off, leaving only transverse scars in the places of attachment. The Assyrians know very well how to represent this feature also, as shown in fig. 17d. Here are shown several ways of representing the stems of date trees; (b) is a young one, and (c) is an old one, and they could represent a date tree remarkably well, as seen in fig. 16.

On the stem of this sacred tree occur three distinct ornaments, one at the foot, one midway, and one at the top, immediately under the head of the tree. The middle and the upper appear to be meant for groups of four horns, and the lower of two, tied together round the stem by means of some sort of rope. Sometimes these horns are represented as smooth, and may be meant for ox-horns; and sometimes their edges are notched, and may be then meant for Ibex-horns, such as those shown in fig. 11. This ornament is shown enlarged in fig. 8. Above the smaller horns are a pair of large ones curled at the end. These may be either the horns of a ram, as shown in fig. 10, or of an ox, as shown in fig. 12.

In my opinion these horns are not imaginary objects, stuck on by the artist for decorative effect, but things which, in those days, must have been *seen* frequently on the trees, and were as *real* as the trees themselves.

The date tree in ancient times must have been largely grown from seeds, although now in the Persian Gulf and in other places it is mostly propagated by the offsets that grow at the foot of the stems, and which

reproduce the *same* fruit as the mother tree. They are, in short, nothing but slips or cuttings of the tree. Almost all the date-trees of the monuments show these effects at the foot of the stem; so that even this seemingly unimportant bit of reality has not been overlooked. Whether the Assyrians in those days had learnt the value of these offsets it is impossible to ascertain from the sculptures. Anyhow, propagation by seed must have been known to the Assyrians from the most remote times. It could not have been otherwise, as the date-stones thrown about near their dwellings would have germinated in quantities. Birds, squirrels, monkeys, &c. feeding on the dates in the groves and forests would have largely helped to scatter the date seeds, and therefore multiplication by seed must have been observable everywhere.

Now it is well known that propagation by seed sometimes leads to the *creation*, so to speak, of *new* and *startling* varieties, with fruit larger, sweeter, and more pulpy than that of ordinary trees. Such a god-send, when it occurred, would have undoubtedly attracted the attention of the Assyrians.

The superstition of the *evil eye* is of very ancient origin, and there can hardly be any doubt that those people used horns of various animals, tied here and there to the stems of their *best* kinds of date-trees, in order to attract the evil eye from the trees, and so protect these fine varieties. Layard gives a Yezida house in Kurdistan, with skulls and horns of Ibex or goats, on the front walls, one of which is over the door way. The use of horns for the same purpose may be seen at the present day in the South of Italy, Sicily, and other places. Ox-horns are fixed on the wall over the doorway of the peasant's farms. The universal use in Naples and Sicily of small coral hands with the fore and little fingers distended like *horns* has a similar origin. This notion of using horns to keep off the evil-eye may have been disseminated from the Assyrians to the Mediterranean, either by the Phœnician traders, or later by the Saracens. It is interesting to note that perhaps in Italy the *red coral* was utilised in connection with the painted *red hand*, used by the Arabs probably for some similar purpose, so that the red coral horned-hand, so often seen in the shops of Naples, &c. may possibly be a combination of Assyrian and Saracen archaic customs, in connection with the evil eye.

There can, I think, be no reason for doubting that, in Assyrian times, the date tree was to be found in those regions and in Western Asia in infinite numbers, and *dates* must have been, from early times, one of the



most important kinds of food, more especially of the great mass of the people. The name of Palmyra or Tadmor would appear to indicate the plentifulness, in later times, of this tree near that city. The shores of the Dead Sea also are said to bear unmistakable evidence of whole forests having once existed somewhere in its vicinity or on the banks of its tributary rivers.

Layard, in his *Nineveh and Babylon*, gives a plate from Kuyunjik, representing Assyrians cutting down the palm trees of a captured city (p. 338). This terrible way of clearing a conquered country of its food-trees must have been frequently practised, and will amply account for the almost disappearance of the date tree from whole regions, where at one time it must have existed abundantly. Layard, at p. 6 of the same work, says: "The scene around the traveller is worthy of the ruin he is contemplating; desolation meets desolation; a feeling of awe succeeds to wonder; for there is nothing to relieve the mind, to lead to hope, or to tell of what has gone by." The cutting down of the date trees of conquered countries was no doubt intended to prevent the conquered people from re-settling there, and this alone would be ample evidence of the importance of the date crop.

The trunks of the felled trees would probably have been utilised as pillars for houses, beams for bridges, &c. Although the interior of the date palm stem is soft and pithy, its exterior is so hard and flinty as to chip the edge of an adze in squaring it. Rawlinson, in his *History of ancient Egypt*, vol. 1, p. 50, says: "The wild date tree furnishes, and has probably always furnished the principal timber used in Egypt for building purposes. It is employed for beams and rafters, either entire or split in halves, and though not a hard wood, is a sufficiently good material, being tough and elastic."

In Assyrian times such a valuable tree, representing the main food of the people--a tree which now and again unaccountably produced *new and better kinds of fruit*--as if it were solely by God's power; and a tree so essential to the existence of the people, and so much "an evidence" everywhere, would sooner or later be symbolized by religious thinkers into a sacred tree, and artists would soon have made a conventional and ornamental thing of it, to suit the decoration of flat surfaces in palaces and temples, the needs of embroidery, &c. The date tree was variously figured by Assyrian artists, such as in figs. 13, 14, & 15, which are unmistakable by their hanging bunches of fruit.

## II.

Another very useful tree, which we must look upon as almost indigenous in those regions is the vine. Anyhow, it is so frequently and unmistakably represented on the Assyrian monuments that in those days it must have been growing everywhere like a weed. Whether they understood the mode of propagating it by cuttings is, perhaps, not ascertainable; but in a region where the vine was naturalized everywhere its seeds would be scattered, and would germinate and produce new varieties in the same way as must have occurred with the date tree. Moreover, the slender and trailing habit of its stem must have often brought it into contact with the soil, and in time have given off roots. This would have early given the Assyrians a lesson in *layering* the vine for purposes of propagating the same variety. This tree with its slender stem must, over and over again, have been seen climbing up date trees and festooning itself among them, and thus have unconsciously become a part of the thoughts of the people. Therefore an artist with a practical turn of mind would have had no difficulty in taking up a bit of charcoal and drawing out an ornament for a wall combining these three elements, so frequently observed, viz., the date tree, the trailing vine, and groups of horns, which would after some time have become a conventional element in all their decorations. After sketching out the general outline of this combined decorative tree to fill in a certain portion of wall wherever there remains too large a space unoccupied, the artist would probably and almost automatically fill it in with symmetrical lines, representative of the trailing vine-stem. Symmetry is one of the first facts that impresses itself on the mind of man—his own body, those of animals almost all young trees being symmetrical. Decorative artists of the present day do the same thing on wall-papers, chintzes, &c. It appears to please the eye not to leave large spaces unoccupied. The Assyrian artist would have frequently seen these slender stems festooning themselves in the groves in many graceful combinations, and so he would play with this vine-stem and weave it in and out with his pretty conventional tree, ending with the fan-like projections of the head of the date tree, at the angles between the festoons. One can imagine a boy of the present day who had a taste for drawing making similar combinations on a bit of paper. In those climates, except in the coldest weather, the people must have lived day and night in the open air and all nature must have been continually impressing itself on the mind of any good observer.

I believe this sacred tree to have had its origin in the great usefulness



Fig. 8

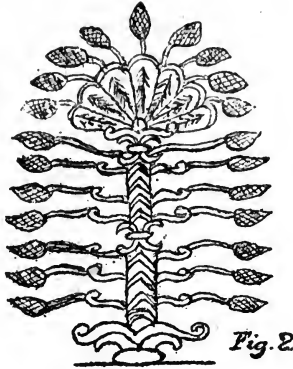


Fig. 2

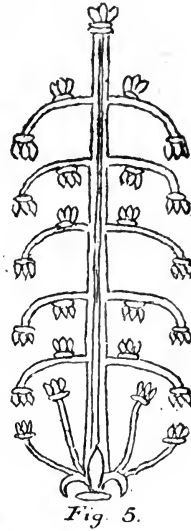


Fig. 5.



Fig. 6.



Fig. 3.

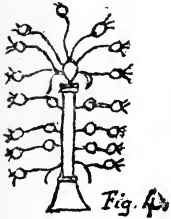


Fig. 4.

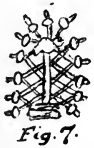


Fig. 7.

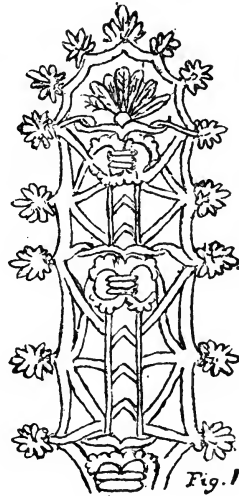
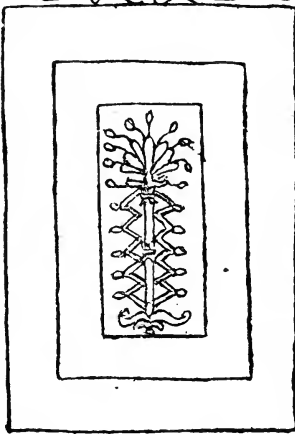


Fig. 1

Fig. 1. Sacred tree final and most elaborate ; (Nimroud, G. Rawl. *Five Gt. Mon.* vol. ii. p. 8.)—Fig. 2. One of the complete forms of sacred trees, (Nim. G. Rawl. *F.G.M.* vol. ii, p, 7.)—Fig. 3. Embroidered pectoral from Layard, (Fig. 255, vol. ii, Perrot and Chipiez).—Fig. 4. (Fig. 153, Assyrian seal from Brit. Mus., Perrot and

Chipiez).—Fig. 5. (Fig. 45, vol. ii Per. and Chip. from the Louvre).—Fig. 6. From Royal cylinder of Sennacherib (Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 174.)—Fig. 7. From Assyrian cylinder with Fish-god, Layard's *Nin. and Bab.* p. 168.)—Fig. 8. Simplest form of sacred tree.—Fig. 9. P. 578. G. Rawl. *F.G.M.*, Vine-tree with a hound chasing a doe (Kuyunjik).—Fig. 10. (Fig. 87. vol. ii, Per. and Chip.) Fantastic animal from National Library Paris.

[The remaining plates will appear in next number.]

of the two trees it represented, and in ideas of *realism* afterwards, it may have been the interest of others to weave round it a web of fiction which has been from the beginning of time a great power, with magicians, priests, &c.

In figs. 2 & 3<sup>1</sup> we seem, at first sight, to have a totally different idea worked up in combination with the date tree. We have the same central tree, which is *evergreen*, but, instead of the trailing stem of the vine, a number of stems project from both sides of the palm-tree, and from the angles between the fan-blades—all ending in *cones*. With regard to this particular form of tree, Lenormant, in his *Origines de l'histoire*, p. 83, vol. I, note 2, says:—"This tree (fir-tree or supposed tree of life) has all round it a series of branches, regularly disposed, each branch ending in a cone of fir or cedar; nevertheless, he adds, the artist has not given to his plant either the foliage or the habit of a coniferous tree," (G. Rawlinson, *The five great monarchies of the ancient world*, 2nd edit., t. ii, p. 7).

I do not in the least wonder that the Assyrian artist did not give this tree either the foliage or the habit of a coniferous tree, for I do not think he ever intended those cones to represent 'fir or cedar cones.'

In p. 518, vol. I. of G. Rawlinson's work is given a picture of a vine tree with a hound chasing a doe (Kuyunjik). There are somewhat similar vine trees in other plates, but in this particular vine, which I have shown in fig. 4, the bunches of grapes are represented as *cones* with *crossed lines* on the surface, in order to represent rudely the grape-berries. They are shown as *cones*, but no one could mistake them for anything else but *bunches of grapes*, as even the tendrils of this tree are represented.

Crossed lines were frequently used by Assyrian artists to indicate rough surfaces, such as grapes, feathers of pigeons, and hair of goats, &c. (fig. 22).

Curiously enough G. Rawlinson (*History of Ancient Egypt*) vol. i, p. 169, gives a picture of Egyptians gathering grapes off vines, the bunches of which are also represented by simple outlines of *cones*. E. BONAVIA.

(To be continued.)

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 2 is sculptured, and fig. 3 embroidered.

MAN HAN SI-FAN TSYEH-YAO,  
A BUDDHIST REPERTORY  
IN SANSKRIT, TIBETAN, MANDCHU, MONGOL & CHINESE.  
(Continued from Vol. II., p. 292).

## SECTION V (continued).

7. *Kléçavyaradánaj*: (M. *Kléçavyaradána vyathánaj*): Knowledge of the means of deliverance from suffering. *Kun-nas ñon-mons-pa dañ rnam-par byañ ba ldañ pa thams cad m.* knowledge of what is bad and good, or pure. M. of all wickedness, egotism, and of what is very pure. Ch. of the attainment of the Void. (*Kléça* is the Sum of the moral and physical evils of the different existences, the latter proceeding from the former.
8. *Púrréniçápánusmrtij*: Knowledge, or remembrance of the malediction. incurred previously. T. *Shongnas rjes su dran pa m.* recollection of receding existences. M. of past time. Ch. of destinies spoiled, or unfortunate. The Tibetans translate *purrénirásáuánusmrtij*: (Minaieff's text).
9. *Cyutyutpatti-j*. Knowledge of fall and rise, of death and birth (their causes and means). T. *he'i lpo ba dañ skye ba m.* Knowledge of death, transmigration, and birth. M. (*Cyutyupapatti-j*) of death and birth. Ch. Knowledge of the views of heaven.
10. *Áçravakshayáñánab*. Knowledge of the end or cessation of the current (of faults). T. *zag pa zad pa m.* of the end of affliction. Ch. M. of ruin completed or ceased). *Áçrava* is also the stain of vice.

## SECTION VI.

*Ye çes lta hi miñ lu.*

Names of the (five) clear knowledges<sup>1</sup>.

1. *Ádarçajnánam*, intuitive knowledge acquired by the eyes or the sight. T. *Me-loñ lta-buhiye-çes*, knowledge as in a mirror. ;
2. *Samutujñánam* [read *Samatá*] knowledge of the whole. T. *Mñam pa ñid-kji ye-çes* knowledge always the same, or even. M. well regulated, even.
3. *Pratirékshanyu-j*. (M. *pratiréç'ayu*), which sees everything distinctly. T. *So-sor rtogs pa-hi ye-çes*. Clear intelligence of each thing separately. M. do, and according to its nature.
4. *Kṛtyánuddhána-j*. Knowledge of the manner of self-devotion. T. *bya ba bsgrub pa-hi y.* which knows how to do perfectly what is to be done. Ch. M. which knows thoroughly how to do good

works. (M. *ânushthâna*).

5. *Dharmadhâtujñânam*. Knowledge of the essence of the Law. T. *c'os kyi dbyñs kyi y.* id. Ch. of the Law and (?) of nature.

#### SECTION VII.

*Rgyal ba hi phuñ po lt' hi miñ la.*<sup>1</sup>

Names of the bodies of Buddha.

1. *Ālaskandh*, Body of morality. T. *ts'ul khy ms kyi phuñ po*, element of acts and uses. M. mass of commandments. Ch. body of injunctions, &c.
2. *Samādhisikandha*, Body of contemplation. T. *Tin-ñe hdzin gyi....M.*<sup>2</sup> mass of the *samādhi*. Ch. like the Sk.
3. *Prajñāsikandha*. Body of knowledge. T. *Āes-rab kyi phuñ po*<sup>2</sup>, id, knowledge of the four great truths, misery, illusions, &c.
3. *Vimuktisikandha*. Body of (the means of) final deliverance. T. *ñam par grol bahi*, of complete (*vi*) deliverance.
5. *Vimuktijñānadarçanask*. Body of the view (i. e, intelligence) of the knowledge of final deliverance. T. *ñam par grol bahi ye-āes mthoñ bah'* *ph.*, id. M. Ch. id.

#### NOTES.

1) i.e., of the five manners of knowing, according to the Buddhist psychology. The 3 first apply to the faculty itself, the other two to its object: acts, the *Karma* to be suppressed, the Law to be observed and to be made to triumph over the *Karma*. These five kinds of knowledge are those, not only of the perfect Buddha, but of the supreme principle, the Ādibuddha of the *Aiçvarikas*, hence called *pañcajñānāt-mikas*. It is by these five acts of the intelligence that he produced the five Dhyānibuddhas, or Buddhas of contemplation, kinds of divinities, always at rest, who cause creations to be produced through beings produced by themselves, their Bodhisattvas. The names of the five *jñānas* have not everywhere the same forms. The ones generally found are *ādarçānta*, *çānta* (calm, without agitation or movement, *krtyānushthāna*, *sv-çuddhadharmadhātu*. The order also varies thus: 5, 1, 3, 2, 4.

2) *Phuñ po* corresponds to *skandha*: it means a mass, collection, total. *Skandha* is not, therefore, here what it ordinarily is, viz.: one of the five elements of the body, but a reunion or collection of principles or doctrines. Cf. for *Ālaskandha* Burnouf, Introduction, 513. The *ālas* are the ten Buddhist commandments, or prohibitions to slay, steal, lie, become intoxicated, &c. The *Samādhi* is the totality of all that concerns the rules and practice of contemplation, and so on. All this is 'the body of Buddha' in the Mahāyānist doctrines, which makes everything into illusion and abstraction, and Buddha himself a purely abstract being.

#### SECTION VIII.

*Byañ-cub sems dpa'hi miñ la.*<sup>1</sup>

Titles of the Bodhisattva.

1. *Bodhisattva*<sup>2</sup>. M. Fousa. Mg. Bodisato. Ch. Pho-sat.
2. *Mahāsattva*. The great, real Being<sup>3</sup>. T. *sempe-pa c'en po*, the great spirit (heart). M. the great Fousa.

3. *Dhîmân*<sup>4</sup> the wise. T. *blo-ldan*, intelligent. M. id.—Ch. Whose wisdom and perspicacity are full and perfect.
4. *Vijâta*. Completely victorious. T. *ram-par rggal byed*, who wins perfect victory (over his passions and desires and annihilates his nature.)
5. *Jinadhâra* [read *Jinâ*]<sup>5</sup> Support of the Victor (?) T. *rgyal bahi gzi* foundation, dwelling of the Victor. M. good (or possession) of Fucihi. Ch. who rejoices the conqueror,
6. *Jinânkura* : Offspring of Jina (Buddha). T. *rgyal bahi myu-gu*, offspring of the victor. M. of Fucihi. Ch. of Fo.
7. *Vikrânta*, of superior power or strength. T. *rtsal ldan*, full of skill M. perfect capacity.
8. *Paramârjya*,<sup>6</sup> Supreme Arya ; of supreme venerability. T. *hphags mc'og*, supreme excellence.
9. *Sârthavâha* [corrected from *sarthâvaha*] chief of the Caravan.<sup>7</sup> T. *deñ dpon*, travelling chief ; M. carrying chieftain. Mg. sartavaki [transcribed.]
10. *Krpâlu*, compassionate<sup>8</sup>. T. *Sñan rje-can*, noble-hearted. Ch. M. humane, benevolent.
11. *Içvâra*. Sovereign ruler<sup>9</sup>. T. *dbañ phyug*, powerful and rich, Ch
12. *Dhârmika*. Conformable to the Law. T. *c'os dañ ldan ba*, rising up according to the Law. M. accomplishing the Law [reading *dharmya* ?].
13. *Jinorasa*, Issuing from the breast of Buddha (*Jina*). T. *rgyal bahi gu gs sras*, son of the body of Jina. M. Ch. son of Fucihi, of Fo. Mg. son of the breast of the victor.
14. *Dharmatônîrgata*<sup>10</sup>. Descending here below according to, or in virtue of, the Law. T. *c'os las byuñ ba*, coming from the Law. M. born of the Law. Ch. born and formed according to the Law.
15. *Mukhatîjara*<sup>11</sup>. Old of face (i. e. of venerable aspect like an old man, grave, austere). T. *z'al nas skyes pa*, born of the mouth. M. son of the Law. Ch. born of the mouth, according to the mouth (*ts'ong fo*).

## NOTES.

1) *Byañ-c'ub* renders *Bôddhi*, supreme wisdom and intelligence; *sem dpo*, properly 'heart,' renders *sattva*. The same in *Mahâsattva*. M. Pousa.

2) The *Boddhisattva* is he who possesses the substance, reality, (*sattvam*) of Bodhi, or supreme knowledge or intelligence, which makes one apprehend the true nature of existences and their cause, of evil and deliverance. It is either the awakening of the man who emerges from the dream of this world, or the man illumined by true knowledge. Northern Buddhism distinguishes different kinds: some: the faithful, who have attained the last degree preceding Buddhahood, others supernatural beings produced in this condition.

3) He who has real essence, or great, exalted essence. The title is applied even to Buddha. In general it is that of the Bodhisattvas who are most exalted in greatness and power.

4) He who reflects or comprehends. The epithet originally belonged to the deity Brhaspati, personifying piety.

5) *Jina*, Conqueror, one of the regular titles, of Buddha; also and still more employed by the Jainist.

6) *Ārya*, venerable, was a title given to holy men and to arhats. *Paramārya* is reserved for the Bodhisattva.

7) As leading the bands of Mendicant monks. It is remarkable that in the *Lākitarā* this name is given to a son of the demon Māra. Perhaps it means 'going about with one's all' i.e. with nothing.

8) Compassion is an essential virtue of the Buddhist. He must have it for all creatures, even animals and vegetables. It was compassion for the evils of humanity which determined *Śākyamūni* to quit his palace, to become an ascetic, and to preach the Law. The same sentiment should animate his disciples. The legends relate how Buddha sacrificed himself for animals.

9) *Īśvara*, title given also to Buddha; it is the same as the *Ādi-buddha*. Already used by the Brahmanic philosophy for the original Being, and Principle—Brahma, Vishnu, or Śiva according to the sect, but particularly for Śiva.

10) Buddha existed in heaven before descending to earth, according to the later Buddhism. He came into his mother's womb to become a man full of miseries and to teach the law. Thus the Bodhisattvas return to earth for the good of the Law.

11) The text was perhaps *ja*, born; *Mukhaja*, *Mukhatoja*, born from the mouth (of Brahma), was a title assumed by the Brahmans. Several of the titles composing this section are also names of Bodhisattvas, e. g. Jinadhāra, Jinānkura, Jinōrasa.

#### SECTION IX.

*Byāñ-sens so so hī mīñ la.*<sup>1</sup>

Special titles of the Bodhisattvas.

1. *Aralokitēśvara*. The Lord who looketh down.<sup>2</sup> T. *Sbyun gzigs dbañ phyug*, the powerful one who separates<sup>3</sup> and sees. M. the powerful beholder of the world [read *jalan* instead of *ilan*]. Ch. Kwan-chi-yin.<sup>4</sup>

#### NOTES.

1) These 28 titles are names of special Bodhisattvas, and not titles common to all. But this is only a small fraction of a great number of these personages mentioned by the Buddhist books and multiplied by the writers without reason or utility, only to honour their Saint. Most of those cited here are quoted in the *Vyūpatti*. It is especially the *Vaipulya Sūtras*, &c., which indulges in these extravagances.

2) *Avalokītar*, nom.—*tā*, +*īc*.—*Aralokitēśvara* is probably a simple adaptation to Northern Buddhism of a divinity formerly honoured in the Northern mountains of India. Rhys Davids identifies him, not without good reason, with the god Samana, who resides in the highest peak in Ceylon. Kwan-yin is not simply a Ch. transformation of a Sk. name, but the name of a divinity formerly venerated in S.W. China, and identified with the Buddhist saint. Thus in China it is a *godless*, the goddess



of Mercy, and her worship is diffused everywhere. Women especially invoke and honour her. It is remarkable that our book, beyond these few, does not mention the principal Bodhisattvas: neither *Mañjuśrī*, nor *Mâitréya*, the future Buddha. The most exalted of these we have here seems to be *Ratnavâjī*, at least he bears the name of one of the contemplative Bodhisattvas, (see Sect. VIII, note 1). All probably belong to the Mahâyâna. Several appear in the *Mahâsamayasâtra*, and are ever the principal objects of particular sâtras. *Âkâṣagarbha* teaches the way of doing penance. In worshipping Buddha, the magical precious stone called *Cintamâni* must be put on the head of the Bodhisattva. *Akshayamati* stands before Buddha in the midst of a vast throne. *Mahâsthâmaprâptas* belongs to the suite of Amitabha; *Jyotiḥprabha* the same and is charged with the duty of introducing the Bodhisattvas. He is given as a Buddha. *Samantêrjapatha* seems to be the same as *Samanta-prabha*, one of the four Bodhisattvas of the Tantras, residing in the east. Several others are cited in the *Vyutpatti*, of which extracts are given by Schiefner in the *Mélanges Asiatiques*, II. It would be too long to stop at each of these imaginary and insignificant personages.

It will be seen that the translators endeavour to give the meanings of these titles, instead of transcribing them as proper names. Note also that even animals may by rebirths become Bodhisattvas, for such animals are often men returned to earth under these forms. Many Bodhisattvas inhabit heaven, whence they appear at will to honour Buddha by their presence, or to propagate the Law. Five of them are the productions and, as it were, the counterparts of the Dhyâni-buddhas, or contemplative Buddhas, created by Âdibuddha.

3) *Shyaṅ* renders *ava*. It also=he who purifies. *Avalokitéçvara* is a late invention of Northern Buddhism, the creation of which resulted from the need felt for a deity more human and more useful to man than the vague Buddha, lost in *Nirvâna*.

4) *Kwan chi yin*=he who looks down upon the prayers (sound) of the world or simply *kwan yin*. The name comes from a mistranslation of *lôkeçvara*, taken as if *lôkasvara*=“mundi sonus.” Sometimes we find *kwan yin*. “aspiciens rex.”

C. DE HARLEZ.

(To be continued.)

## AN ASSYRIAN TALISMANIC TABLET

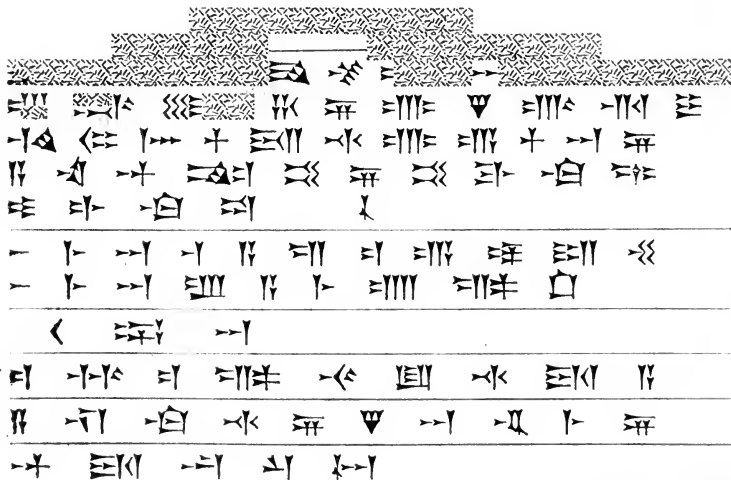
BELONGING TO M. BOURIANT.

M. BOURIANT, the genial and learned director of the *Ecole archéologique* at Cairo, was kind enough last winter to let me copy an interesting cuneiform inscription belonging to him. It is written in Assyrian characters upon one of the faces of a tablet of yellow stone, now broken, but originally of rectangular shape. On the other face is a curious piece of sculpture. A demon with large talons is represented as standing upon a couchant bull and holding a serpent in each hand, while two dogs are hanging by

their mouths from his breasts. Above the left arm are the characters  
 𐎧 𐎧 *bar-khat* or *mas-khat* written backwards. The inscription informs  
 us that the name of the demon is Danaga.

The inscription reads as follows:—

1. .... *gar mu* [*nisu* ?] KHAL  
 ..... the augur (?)
2. *yu-pal* (?) *tu* (?) *kha-ni yu-sa-ga-ri-i*  
 answers (?); the ..... he resists (?);
3. *sutti mas-da-ti yu-lab-bar-an-ni*  
 with dreams destructive he afflicts me;
4. *a-na AN ne-gab NI-GAB rabu irtsu-tim*  
 for the god Negab the porter mighty of the earth.
5. *i-tal KI-DU (kibiru)-su*  
 he bolts his habitation.
6. *ina sip AN Mas a-si GIS-DAN-TUR-RA*  
 By the incantation of the god Mas the offspring(?) of the little *usu* tree  
*sumi*  
 by name :
7. *ina sip AN 'sangu a-sib Ê-Saggil*  
 by the incantation of the priest-god who inhabits Bit-Saggil.
8. *u Bab-ili*  
 and Babylon.
9. *dalta 'sikura lu-ti-da-a*  
 The door (and) bolt mayest thou know !
10. *a-na irtsu-ti ni-sa AN-EN-ME-ILI*  
 To the earth raise the prophet-god
11. *AN Da-na-qa sipu*  
 O Danaga ! A conjuration.



## KHAN, KHAKAN AND OTHER TARTAR TITLES.

(Concluded from Vol. II., page 290).

III. KAAN, § 16. Assumed by Ogotai (A.D. 1229). § 17. Title of the Mongols of China. § 18. Among the Chakars and Khalkas hordes.

IV. GURKHAN § 19. Assumed by the Karakhitai ruler (A.D. 1152) § 20. Assumed by Tamerlan (A.D. 1369) § 21. Its false etymology and curious results.

V. ILKĀN § 22. Among the Tuhküh (A.D. 552) § 23. Etymology § 24. In Transoxiana and Persia.

VI. BORKHAN § 25.

VII. KHAN KHANAN § 26. A later and empty title.

—Conclusion.

III. KAAN, كَان or كَان.

16. This new title was assumed by Ökhötei, commonly *Ogotai*, when he was elected chief Khan in 1229 A.D. after the death and in succession of Djingghiz Khan. It was specially intended to be personal to Ogotai and his successors, to distinguish them from the rulers of the three other branches of the Djingghiz Khanides.<sup>61</sup>

The house of Ögotai came soon to an end, and the supreme power and title passed to the sons of his brother, Tulni. In 1251 Mangu succeeded to the throne, and after him in 1258 Khubilai, the conqueror of China and the founder of the Yuen dynasty<sup>62</sup>.

17. We have two distinct indications that the title of Kaan was that of the Mongol rulers of China. Marco Polo spells the name *Kkaan* which he could not have done if the old title of Khaḡan had been assumed by them. The second proof is still more forcible. I find it in a Mongol inscription of about 1314 A.D.<sup>63</sup>, where the lines 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11 give this title to Djingghiz, Ökhötai Setshen (Khubilai), Öldsheitu. Ghülug, and the ruling sovereign at the time of the inscription, i.e. Yssun the Jēn tsung of the Chinese Annals. The writing is the Bagtspa<sup>64</sup>, that which had been made in 1269 by order of Khubilai, in view of supplanting the old and widely known Uigur characters, an object which was never attained as the Bagspa alphabet, notwithstanding the efforts of its promoters, was never greatly used, and disappeared in the following century. Now the abovesaid title is spelt repeatedly therein:

*Kh + a + vocalic support + an*<sup>65</sup>.

18. After the overthrow of their dynasty in China by the Mings, the Mongols withdrew around the former capital Karakorum, and gradually sunk in power and importance until, after further displacements, they were wholly subdued in 1634 A.D. by the Mandshus now reigning in China. The former soldiers of Djingghiz Khan, those fearless conquerors, are now represented among others by the Chakars and Khalkas tribes, and the celebrated title of Kaan or Khaan has become a nominal and empty appellation. It was among the Chakars as representing the elder line of the Mongols that the supreme title remained until Abatai, Khan of the Khalkas, paid to the Dalai Lama of Tibet a solemn visit, received a diploma of investiture from him, and was henceforth everywhere acknowledged as the Kaan.<sup>66</sup>

## IV.

19. Gurkhan is another derivate of the old title, which appeared in the XIIth century.<sup>67</sup>

After their overthrow by the Kin or Djurtchen<sup>68</sup> the Kitan who as the Liao dynasty had ruled over Northern China till A.D. 1120 were scattered away. Yeliu Tashih a scion of their reigning house fled westwards and having gathered around him many followers established in 1125<sup>69</sup> the dominions and dynasty known as that of the Western Liao in the Chinese documents,<sup>70</sup> and called Karakhitai among other Asiatic nations.<sup>71</sup> He assumed the title of *Gurkhan*, (in the Chinese transcriptions go-r-lan 葛兒罕) of which, the meaning was 'great Khan', according to Rashid-eddin, and 'Universal Khan', according to the author of the *Tarikh Djihan Kushai*.<sup>72</sup>

20. When the great Timur<sup>73</sup> ascended the throne of Mawerannahr and set up his residence at Samarkand (A.D. 1369) he assumed this ancient title of Transoxiana, which on his coinage appears as كوركان (sometimes written كورخان *Gurkan* besides that of Sultan. It must be remarked by the way that Timur never assumed the title of *Khan* which had fallen too much into discredit, and that his successors kept only the title of *Sultan*.<sup>74</sup> That of *Gurkan* however appears occasionally on the coins of Sharukh and regularly on those of Ulugh Beg.<sup>75</sup>

21. This title of *Gurkan* or *Gurkhan*, which, as we have seen, was Khitan, otherwise Tungusic in origin, was afterwards supposed Mongolic and understood by some as the variant of *Khurgen*, which in that language is 'son-in-law'; the inference from this folk-etymology went so far, in fact or in theory as to allow the statement, false or true, that this title was

bestowed only on the princes allied by marriage with the house of Djingghiz Khan. It has caused also the Mongol chroniclers of the close of the Yuen dynasty in China to record that the country of the Samarkand (*Sa-ma-rh-han*) was then ruled by the King *fu-ma T'ie-mu-rh*, i. e. Son-in-law Timur<sup>76</sup>. *Fu-ma* is the Chinese term applied to those who marry Imperial daughters or *Kung, tchu* 公主; for the Mongol writer the Imperial family was necessarily that of Djingghiz Khan, whose descendants, by his grandson, Khubilai, son of his successor Tului, his younger son and heir, according to Mongol custom, were ruling over China. The term *fu-ma*<sup>77</sup> was formerly in China that of an office held by the son-in-law of the Emperor.

## V.

22. Ilk Khan, wrongly H Khan, from the Arabic spelling, **إيل خان**, was used for the first time by Tumün, prince of the Tuuküeh, who, as we have seen, had adopted the appellative title of *Khan* for the ruler of his people in 552. As an afterthought, he ordered that he alone, as a distinction from his successors<sup>78</sup>, should be called *Ilkhan*, and his queen *Khatun*<sup>79</sup>.

23. This new title was composed of *ilk*, meaning 'sovereign'<sup>80</sup>, and the old term *khan*, which, agreeably with the ideology of the language requiring the first of two words to be a qualifier, means 'the sovereign Khan'.

24. It was revived by the Uigurs Khans of Turkestan from the middle of the tenth century till 1213.<sup>81</sup> The same title is quoted as *irkhan* among the Tagazgaz Turks of the ninth and tenth century by the Arabian Geographers.<sup>82</sup> This form of the term is interesting from such writers because it dispels the possibility suggested by several authors of the first syllable being an alteration of an Arabic word.

The Mongol Khans of Persia are known by that title which they revived. Hulagu himself changed his own title of Khan which he bore during the reign of the Kaan Mangu, for *Ilkhan* under the reign of Khubilai Khaan.<sup>83</sup>

## VI. BORKHAN.

25. This is the title applied by the Mongols to the Buddha Sakyamuni. Abdal'ah Beidawi<sup>84</sup> mentions *Xecmuni Berchan*, i. e. Sakyamuni Burkhan; we find it also as Shigamuni or Burchan Bakshi<sup>85</sup>. It is a simple compound of our well known *Khan*, preceded by the Mongol adjective *Bor*. The latter connection is with the following: Zyrenian *bur*, Lapp *buorro*, Finnish *paras*, Tibetan *bla*, Burmese *Bhura*, which has passed also into the Siamese *phra*, &c., &c., having generally the meaning of 'the better'. We might therefore translate *Borkhan* by 'the best Khan.'

## VII. KHAN KANAN.

25. When the value of Khan had sunk, the tendency of swelling titles, caused that new form to be devised at the court of Delhi<sup>86</sup> at the beginning of the XVIIth century. We hear of it in the memoirs of Jehangir, and it was applied to one of the high officers of state.<sup>87</sup> It had the meaning of 'Khan of Khans' and therefore was the sole representative in a much humbled way, among all the titles we have examined, of the old, great and noble title, Semitic and Aryan 'King of kings.'

In bringing these notes to a close I must remark that some forms or derivatives of the title *Khan* which are often met with in various books are not exact; such as *Khaḵaan*, or the titles of Džingghiz *Khaḵan*, or Džingghiz-*Ḷaan*. As the new appellation adopted by Temurjin is frequently quoted with reference to definitions more or less inexact of the said title, it may be useful for the sake of accuracy to keep this in mind. It is also interesting to remark, in opposition to the contrary statements that the Mongol title of *Khaḵan* could never have the meaning of Khan of Khans, and therefore must not be put at par with the Semitic and Aryan titles of King of kings. There was only one exception in the case of *Khan Khanan*, but this empty title was created in India, as we have seen, in modern times and in peculiar circumstances.

## NOTES.

61) Cfr. D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, II. 11; H. H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, I, 116.

62) It seems that Ghazan Mahmud, of the Ilkhans of Persia in the years 1295--1303, assumed himself the title of *Ḷaan* (cfr. Stanley Lane Poole, *The coins of the Mongols*, pp. lvii, 42--43), asserting thus his independence.

63) A. Wylie, *Sur une inscription Mongole en caractères Pa-sse-pa*, in *Journal Asiatique*, 1862, t. XIX, pp. 461--471.

64) On this writing and its history, cfr. my notice *On a Bagspa legend on coins of Ghazan*, in Stanley Lane Poole, *The Coins of the Mongols*, pp. l-lii. --And my *Beginnings of writing*, § 110.

65) The Bagspa was based upon the Tibetan, and as in that writing the vocalic support was used whenever in the middle of a word one vowel succeeds another. On this fact in Tibetan cfr. H. A. Jaeschke, *A Tibetan English Dictionary*, p. xiv.

66) Cfr. H. H. Howorth, *O. C.* I, 474.---The Mandshu rule over China as 'Sons of Heaven, and not as *Khaḵan* or *Khaan*.

67) We do not know the original spelling of the title in the own writing of the Kitans.

68) On this people, cfr. my paper *The Djurtchen, their name, language and literature*.

69) It lasted until 1218. Cfr. E. Bretschneider, *Notices*, p. 42.

70) Cfr. Deguignes, *Histoire des Huns*, I, 204, III, 24.

71) His capital city according to Dr. E. Bretschneider was at *Kermané*.

a place situated between Samarcand and Bokhara, frequently mentioned by Mohammedan mediæval authors, and which still exists. Cfr. his *Notices*, p. 27, where a full account of the events is given.

72) *ibid.* pp. 34-35 and 42—Rubruck mentions this title as *coir chan*,

73) His soubriquet of Tamerlan by which he became known in Europe is a distortion of *Timur lenk*. In Persian *lenk* means 'lame'. Timur was lame since the year 1363 when he had been wounded in the hand and foot in Seistan.

74) Stanley Lane Poole, *The Coinage of Bokhara in the British Museum* p. xxix.

75) Cfr. *The Coinage of Bokhara*, p. xxx.

76) Cfr. E. Bretschneider, *Mediæval Researches from Eastern Asiatic sources*, vol. II, p. 256.—*Ming y tung tchi*, or great Geography of the Ming' empire.—*Ming-she*, or History of the Ming dynasty.—Arab Shah, *Ajaib al Mukhlukat*, or Wonders of the Creation (a history of Timur) I, 27 in Bretschneider, *ibid.*

77) The term *ju-ma* 駙馬 as under the Han dynasty a name of office which the son-in-law of the Emperor held (W. Williams, *Syll. Dict.* p. 148). Under the Tartar Wei and the Tsin dynasties it was applied chiefly to marrying an Imperial Princess (*Khang-hi Tze-tien* 187+5, f. 9 v. ). The Mandshus of China call it now *O-ma* 額馬. *Fu-ma* is ultimately cognate of the Ugro-Altaiic word for son-in-law: finnish *vävy*, esthonian *raimees*, livonian *vänmies*, wotiack *vävü*, vëpse *vävu*, lapponian *riiva*, in Aug. Ahlqvist, *die Kulterwörter der Westfinnischen sprachen*, p. 213. Cfr. also Tchagatai *Käjuu*, Tchuvash *Kürüü*. Osmanli *güvej*, in H. Vambéry, *Die Primitive Cultur des Turko-Tatarischen Volkes*, p. 69.

78) De Guignes, *II stoire des Huns*, I (2 p. 375.

79) This is the first appearance of an appellative well known afterwards as that of the Mongol princesses, and which has been kept in Europe in a contemptuous sense, Cfr. French 'catin.'

80) Cfr. Uigur *iltchi*, Tchuvash *alik*, in H. Vambéry, *O. C.*

81) Prof. Grigorief has published in the Memoirs of the Russian Archæological Society, vol. XVII, 1874, a paper on this little known dynasty, which he calls the *Karakhanids* from the name of the first ruler Satuk Karakhan, who embraced Islam.—E. Bretschneider, *Mediæval researches from Eastern Asiatic sources*, II, 252.

82) Reinaud in the preface to his "Abulfeda," p. 360 sq.; in E. Bretschneider, *O. C.*, II, 252.

83) Stanley Lane Poole, *The coins of the Mongols*, p. lvii.

84) In his History of China, quoted in E. Bretschneider, *Notices on the Mediæval Geography*, p. 131,

85) E. J. Eitel: *Sanskrit-Chinese dictionary*, p. 109.—The Rev. James Gilmour, *Among the Mongols* (London, 1883) p. 337, mentions only once the name and then as *Borhan*.

86) Cfr. H. Yule-A. Burnell, *Glossary of Anglo-Indian terms*, p. 366.

87) *Memoirs of the Emperor Jahanguier*, tr. by Major David Price. London, 1829.

TERRIEN DE LACUPERIE.

ERRATA.—FIRST ARTICLE:—1st page; the last line is that of the 2nd page.—3rd page, §5, l. 30, read *Tchomo han* instead of *Tchomo ban*.—4th page, § 9, l. 38, read *Joujen* instead of *Jonjen*.—5th page, § 12, l. 38, read Solons instead of Solsons.

## NOTES AND NOTICES.

LAGAŠ, NOT ZIRGULLA, ZIRPURLA, SIRPULLA.—Although as early as the year 1883 I had indicated that the pronunciation of the group  $\langle \text{L} \text{G} \text{A} \text{Š} \rangle$  was to be read as *Lagaš*, (see the *Guide to the Kouyunjik Gallery* p. 7, London, 1883), and not as formerly *Zirgulla* (or *sir-pur-la-ki*), no notice (with only a few exceptions) seems to have been taken of it by Assyriologists. My reading of *Lagaš* was at that time taken from the syllabary Sp. II., 26, which gives  $\langle \text{L} \text{G} \text{A} \text{Š} \rangle$  as the pronunciation of the group. This reading I have lately been able to confirm from the bilingual tablet K. 4871, where  $\langle \text{L} \text{G} \text{A} \text{Š} \rangle$  is given, in the Assyrian line, as  $\langle \text{L} \text{G} \text{A} \text{Š} \rangle$  — *La-ga-a*.. This ought to settle the question as to the reading of this important city-name once for all. Prof. Hommel has found confirmatory evidence of this reading in a form of the name which is given as *Lagaš*.—T. G. P.

SIRPOULA: by A. Amiaud. (Leroux, Paris).—In this small brochure the learned French Assyriologist, several of whose valuable contributions have appeared in the pages of the *Record*, sums up the result of his attentive study of the monuments and inscriptions from Tel Lo. The lavish restoration of temples in the cities of South Chaldea, by the priest-king Gudea, are described while the records of the older dynasties of Ur Nina and A-kour-gal, in the stele des Vautours and other archaic inscriptions, are now for the first time arranged in some kind of sequence. Of special interest is the author's analysis of the few historical references in the inscriptions of Gudea, especially the capture of Ansan and the expedition to Sinai and Syria. The author concludes his notice with a brief account of the Chaldean pantheon in the days of Gudea.

UN PALAIS CHALDEEN; by E. Heuzey, (Leroux, Paris) 1888.—This work, which has been long desired, furnishes for the first time a most complete and detailed description of the palace of Gudea discovered by M. de Sarzec. The skilled archaeologist in this work brings his great knowledge of Oriental architecture to the discussion of the subject, and the nature and construction of this oldest of royal palaces is most concise. The conservative nature of Orientals is shewn in the slightness of the variations in plan and construction of this early edifice and the later palaces of Sargon II (B.C. 721) at Khorsabad and even the present palaces of Indian and Persian princes. The same threefold division, the public chambers, the harem secluded and guarded, and the servants quarters are to be found in each. The work is beautifully illustrated.

LES TRAVAUX HYDRAULIQUES EN BABYLONIE: by A. Delattre. (Centerick et Lefebure, Bruxelles, 1888).—In this work the author endeavours to describe by means of the statements of the classical writers, and the monuments, the complicated net-work of canals and water ways which threaded the plains of Chaldea. The great works of Khammurabi, of Samsiluna and the later kings Nabupalassar and Nebuchadnezzar, are described with much detail; but the author, owing to the loss of the names of the canals in the country, finds much difficulty in identifying the various streams. M. Delattre, we are glad to observe, has become a contributor to our pages.—W. St. C. B.



THE

# BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

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*Contributors are alone responsible for their opinions or statements.*

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## THE ORACLES GIVEN IN FAVOUR OF ESARHADDON.

THE tablet published in the collection W. A. I., tome IV, plate 68, under the title *Addresses to Esarhaddon*, is one of the most interesting fragments which Assyrian literature presents. It is astonishing that it should have attracted so little attention up till the present day; although Mr. T. G. Pinches has pointed out its importance, and at the same time given a translation of it, in 1878, in vol. XI. of the *Records of the Past*<sup>1</sup>. The text of it consists of a series of oracles which the prophets of Assur communicated to Esarhaddon to encourage him; in a struggle which he was then maintaining against some formidable enemies. These were no other than his own brothers, the assassins of their father Sennacherib, who disputed the throne with him at the beginning of his reign. This conjecture of Mr. Pinches appears at least justified by these words (col. v, 8, 9): "*At-ti at-ti-ma šar šar-ri-ma*, It is thou, yes, thou, the king of kings<sup>2</sup>"; and those (col. ii, 31), "I shall unite (the people of) Assur with thee," &c.

The oracles are closed by some subscriptions which indicate foresight. Eight of these indications are preserved in the incomplete text which the British Museum possesses. We do not sufficiently understand all the parts of the text to affirm that part of it was not be found in the lines entirely lost at the top of column III, as at the base of columns IV and V.

The subscriptions are in the following form: *By the mouth of such an one, daughter* (that is to say, *citizenship*) *of such a city*. Only one prophet of the masculine sex is met with (col. VI, 30, 31): *By the mouth of* 𒂗 *La-da-gil-ilu* (*La-dagil-ilu*), *son of Arbela*. In a formula the name of the

prophetess is fixed, not by her place of habitation, but by a relation with the king (col. v, 10, 11): *from the mouth of* 𒌷 *Iitar-bil-da-i-ni (Ištar-bil-daini slave (? , šiluti) of the king. The seers of Assur usually speak in the name of Ištar of Arbela; six among them are citizens of that town. Two oracles are sent from the town of Lib-ir, and from the town of Da-ra-a-ḫu-u ya (Dara-ahūya) in the district of the mountains.*

One of the oracles (col. V, 12-25) addressed to the king's mother, is worthy of consideration before every other, at least if we have properly grasped its general meaning. It runs thus :

TRANSCRIPTION.	TRANSLATION.
12. <i>A-na-ku, Bilīt Arba-il</i>	12. I, the Lady of Arba-il,
13. <i>a-na um šarri.</i>	13. to the mother of the king.
14. <i>Ki-i ta-ḫu-ri ili</i>	14. When then thou shalt <i>worship</i> the gods,
15. <i>ma-a ša inni</i>	15. on the right,
16. <i>ša šu-mi-lī</i>	16. on the left,
17. <i>ina su-ni-ki AT 2 šak-ni,</i>	17. in thy bosom place two AT (two amulets),
18. <i>ma-a ya-u</i>	18. and then (?).
19. <i>ši-it lib-bi-ya</i>	19. to the offspring of my heart (to Esarladdon),
20. <i>šira tu-šar-pi-di,</i>	20. over the back thou shalt stretch them
21. <i>u-ma-a : šarru la ta-pa-liḫ,</i>	21. thus (saying) : King, do not fear;
22. <i>šarru-ut šakna-ku-u,</i>	22. I bestow the kingdom,
23. <i>da-na-na šakna-ku-u-ma.</i>	23. I bestow the power.
24. <i>ša pi-i 𒌷 Bilīt-ab-iškun</i>	24. By the mouth of the (woman) Bilīt-ab-iškun.
25. <i>marat Arba-il.</i>	25. daughter of Arbail.

L. 14.—I do not know the precise meaning of the word *ta-ḫu-ri*. It ought to express an act of devotion communicating a special virtue to the two amulets.

L. 17. Upon the meaning of *sumu*, 'bosom', see Oppert and Ménant, *Documents juridiques*, p. 66. I do not know the reading of the ideogram AT in the present case. The lithographed text here bears 𒀠𒀠, a sign foreign to cursive Assyrian. It has appeared evident to us that it is necessary to separate the two last vertical strokes, which become by that means the figure 𒀠𒀠. It is needless to say that the duality thus obtained is in perfect harmony with the context.

L. 20.—*Tušarpidi*, shaphel form of the root 𐤒𐤓𐤕. Cf. Heb. 𐤒𐤓𐤕, *sternere, sterni*. The amulets, whose use is recommended, appear, therefore, to have been two pieces of stuff.

Ištar of Arbela, who encourages Esarladdon, is the goddess of battles.

Is she distinct from Ištar, the goddess of fertility? It appears that she is not, according to this oracle, where Ištar chooses the mother of Esarhaddon, *as such*, to communicate to this prince the supernatural virtue which assures him of victory.

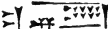
The part which the soothsayer assigns to Esarhaddon's mother assigns her a position clear and free in the fraternal quarrel which divided the country of Assur. Is it therefore to be believed that the sons of Sennacherib, their father's assassins, were not uterine brothers of Esarhaddon?


The following oracles recall to mind the images of the Biblical prophets. It is sufficient to indicate this point of comparison, and to quote :

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 16. <i>La ta-pa-liḥ Aššur-aḥ-iddin.</i>          | 16. Do not fear, Esarhaddon.                                       |
| 17. <i>A-na-ku Bīl is-si-ka</i>                  | 17. I, Bel, with thee,   |
| 18. <i>a-da-bu-bu ;</i>                          | 18. I will conceet.  |
| 19. <i>gasrāti (?) ša lib-bi-ka</i>              | 19. In the sorrows of thy heart,                                   |
| 20. <i>a-ḥa-ri-di ; ki-i ukma-ka</i>             | 20. I share; as much as thy mother (as if I were thy mother).      |
| 21. <i>tu-šap-šu-ka-ni.</i>                      | 21. thou puttest me in grief.                                      |
| 22. <i>LX ilani rabūti is-si-ya</i>              | 22. Sixty great gods, with me                                      |
| 23. <i>it-ti-ti-su, it-ta-šir-u-ka,</i>          | 23. shall fight for, and guard thee                                |
| 24. <i>Sin ina imni-ka, Šamas ina sum'li-ka,</i> | 24. Sin at thy right, Samas at thy left                            |
| 25. <i>LX. ilani rabūti bat-ti bat-ti ka</i>     | 25. Sixty great gods around thee                                   |
| 26. <i>i-a-zu, ḳabal tuḳmāti ir-tak-su</i>       | 26. shall stay, helping thee in the battle.                        |
| 27. <i>ina ili a-mi-lu-ti la ta-dag-gil</i>      | 27. Do not have any confidence in man;                             |
| 28. <i>mu-tu-uḥ inā-ka</i>                       | 28. lift up (?) thine eyes   |
| 29. <i>a-na a-a-ši du-gul-an-ni.</i>             | 29. In me have confidence.   |
| 30. <i>A-na-ku Ištar ša Arba-īl,</i>             | 30. I, Istar of Arbaīl   |
| 31. <i>Aššur is-si-ka u-sa-lim</i>               | 31. I shall unite (the people of) Assur with thee.                 |
| 32. <i>ši-ḥi-ra-ka a-ta-za-ak-ka.</i>            | 32. I shall strengthen thy weakness.                               |
| 33. <i>La ta-pa-liḥ, na-i-da-a-ni</i>            | 33. Do not fear: honour me.  |
| 34. <i>a-a kan-šu-u, na-ak-ru</i>                | 34. The people not submitting, the rebels,                         |
| 35. <i>ša i-di na-kan-ni.</i>                    | 35. whose forces are prepared,                                     |
| 36. <i>a-na-ku ka-la-ku-ni</i>                   | 36. I have rendered them powerless,                                |
| 37. <i>ur-ki-u-ti lu ki-i pani-u-ti.</i>         | 37. in the vanguard as in the rear-guard.                          |
| 38. <i>a-na-ku Nabu in-ga-ar dup-pi</i>          | 38. I am Nabu the <i>master</i> (?) of the writing (of the tablet) |
| 39. <i>na-i-da-a-ni.</i>                         | 39. Honour me.   |
| 40. <i>Ša pi-i Natsir (?)-ya marat Arba-īl.</i>  | 40. By the mouth of Natsir-ya, daughter of Arbaīl.                 |

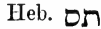
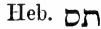
*Issi* appears to be used in our passage in the meaning of *beside* or *following after*. Can it be a variant of *isi* employed several times




by Assurnatsirpal (II, 53, 72, 103; III, 58, 60, 63, 69. Cf. Norris, *Dict.* p. 489, in the phrase: "I shall marshal the chariots, hoses, &c., of such a tribe in my suite, isi-ya?

19.  is read *gašur*, *gašrat*, with the meaning of *beam*, which does not suit here. Should we find in it a homonym expressed by the same ideogram as *gaš'ur*, 'beam because of the resemblance of the meanings? Or rather, is the word *gašrat*, 'beam, employed figuratively to express a disquietude, a chagrin which oppresses?

20. *a-ḥa-r-di*. Cf. Heb. , same meaning.



21. *Tušapšuka*, shaphel form, whose meaning I infer from the adjective *pašku*, employed in so many passages to qualify lands or roads *difficult* to pass through.

23. *Ittitisu*, for *intitisu*, ifteal form of *natasu*. Cf. Heb.  or .

26. I conjecture, according to the remains, of an uncertain character, the sign .   = *tukmati*.

27. Compare Assurnatsirpal (II, 50, 52): "In the name of Assur, the great master, my master, the great protector who walks before me, in the month Sivan, the first day, for the third time, I made an expedition into the country of Zamua; I did not place my trust in my numerous chariots and in my armies."








31. Literally: *Assur tecum integrum faciam*. There is here, perhaps, no question as to the god Assur, for the word would not then have any function in the phrase, and the text only concern the assistance of Istar.

34-39. A translation whose harmony appears to me probable, but whose many details remain uncertain. I cannot clearly understand the suffixed *ni* in *kalakuni*. I am inclined to make of *kataku* a permansive of  = Heb. , *cohibere*.

The kings of Assur often said they made war in the name of the gods, being authorized apparently by similar oracles. The gods were not content with encouraging and promising them victory; they gave specific advices. The attitude advised to Esarhaddon by his patroness of Arbela, infers a certain timidity about him. We read, col. I, 6-30.

6. . . . . *La tapalih.*

6. . . . . Fear not.

7.        *ša i-di ba-ka-*

7. The *secret* (?) which I know, he

*a-ni*;

has asked (?) it of me.

8. *a-ḥa-bu-šu, la ak-su-bu-ni.*

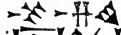
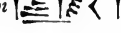
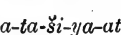
8. I shall tell him, and shall not conceal it.

9. *Na-ka-ru-ti-ka*

9. Thine enemies,

10. *ki-i ša aḥ šu-ri ša arah sirani* 10. as the *suri* of the month Sivan are carried off,

11. *ina pan šipā-ka i-kul ga-ra-ru.* 11. on thy arrival, destruction shall

12. *Ištar rabu-ut a-na-ku* ; 12. I am the great Istar,  
 13. *A-na-ku Ištar ša Arba-ilu*, 13. (It is) I, Istar of Arbela,  
 14. *ša na-ka-ru-ti-ka* 14, 15. who, on thy arrival, shall put  
 15. *ina pan ši-pā-ka ag-ru-ru-u-ni* thine enemies to flight.  
 16. *a-a u-ti di-ib-bi-ya*. 16. My design *let it not be in vain* (?)  
 17. *Ša ak-ka-ba-kan-ni*, 17. There where I tell thee (not to  
 place thyself).  
 18. *ina ili la ta-zi-zu-u-ni* 18. thou shalt not hold thyself.  
 19. *A-na-ku, Ištar ša Arba-ilu*, 19. I, Istar of Arbela,  
 20. *na-ka-ru-ti-ka u-ka-a-ša*, 20. I shall cut thine enemies in pieces.  
 21. *a-da-na-ka; a-na-ku*, 21. I shall deliver them (to thee). I,  
 22. *Ištar ša Arba-ilu*, 22. Istar of Arbela.  
 23. *ina pa-na-tu-u-ka*, 23. on thy van-guard,  
 24. *ina ku-tal-li-ka*, 24. On thy rear-guard,  
 25. *a-la-ka, La ta-pa-liḥ* 25. I shall march. Fear not ;  
 26. *at-ta ina libbi*  26. thou in . . . . .  
 27. *a-na-ku ina libbi*  27. I in . . . . .  
 28. *A-tab-bi u-šap*. 28. I have said it : *I will achieve it* (?)  
 29. *ša p-i*  *Ištar-la-ta-ši-ya-at* 29. By the mouth of *Ištar-la-tasiyat*,  
 30. *marat Arba-ilu*. 30. Daughter of Arbela.

L. 7. *Secret*, pure conjecture.

L. 10. *šah*, rac. שח, infinitive kal.

L. 11. *On thy arrival*, literally, *in face of thy feet*.

L. 17. 18. This is explained col. VI, 7-11 :

7. *Ša a-ka-ba-kan-ni*, 7. There where I tell thee (not to  
 place thyself),  
 8. *ina ili la ta-zi-zi*, 8. thou shalt not place thyself,  
 19. *u-ma-a* 9. thus (shalt thou do):  
 10. *ina ili ur-ki-i* 10. in the principal body (of the army)  
 1. *ta-za-az-ma* 11. thou shalt place thyself.

The proper meaning of *urki* appears to be that of the Latin *acies*, cf. Heb. ערך. Its feminine form or its plural *ur-ki-i-u-ti* is opposed to *pa-ni-u-ti*, *van-guard*, in the oracle of column II, l. 37, quoted farther back.

We see that the oracles were in concert, and that they confirmed each other.

24. *Kutalli*, translated *rear-guard*, signifies properly *baggage*,—*war-material*. The *Bit kutalli*, written of by Sennacherib Smith, *Sennacherib* p. 151) is a sort of a serial. In an army the *kutalli* described by metonymy the place where the *impedimenta* were usually found.

The accents of the goddess Istar are particularly tender in the oracles of columns III and IV.

#### COLUMN III,

15. *A-na-ku Ištar ša* . . . . . 15. I, Istar (of Arbela, to)  
 16. *Aššur-ah-iddin šar mat* . . . 16. Esarhaddon, king of the land of  
 Assur.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 17. <i>ina Lib-ir, (alu) . . . .</i>                        | 17. In Libir, . . . . .   |
| 18. <i>Kal-ḥa Arba-ilu</i>                                  | 18. Kalakh, Arbela,   |
| 19. <i>umi ar-ku-u-ti</i>                                   | 19. long days,  |
| 20. <i>šanāti da-ra-ti</i>                                  | 20. perpetual years,  |
| 21. <i>ana Aššur-aḥ-iddin šarru,</i>                        | 21. to the king Esarhaddon  |
| 22. <i>a-da-an-na . . . .</i>                               | 22. I shall give.   |
| 23. <i>Sa-ap-su-up-ta-ka</i> (or, <i>sa-ap su-up-taka</i> ) | 23, 24. I love thy prayer(?) or, the expression of thy prayer (?) |
| 24. <i>ra-am-tu a-na-ku</i>                                 |   |
| 25. <i>mu-ši-nik-ta-ka</i>                                  | 25, 26. I am thy nurse, . . . . I,                                |
| 26. <i>dī-ik . . . . a-na-ku,</i>                           |   |
| 27. <i>ša um-mi ar-ku-ti</i>                                | 27. who for long days,  |
| 28. <i>š ināti da-ra-ti</i>                                 | 28. perpetual years,  |
| 29. <i>kussa-ka ina šapilti šami</i>                        | 29, 30. shall assure thy throne under the vast heavens.           |
| 30. <i>ra-bu-ti uk-ti-in.</i>                               |   |
| 31. <i>Ina ma-si-ki ša hurāsi,</i>                          | 31. In the <i>masiki</i> of gold,                                 |
| 32. <i>ina šabal šami a-ḥa-ri-di;</i>                       | 32. in the midst of the heavens I am in solicitude ;              |
| 33. <i>nu-ur ša il-mi-ši</i>                                | 33. a light of <i>il-miši</i>                                     |
| 34. <i>ina pan Aššur-aḥ-iddin, šar mat Aššur,</i>           | 34. before Esarhaddon, king of the land of Assur,                 |
| 35. <i>u-ša-na-ma-ra.</i>                                   | 35. I shall cause to shine.                                       |
| 36. <i>Ki-i a-gi-i ša kikkad-du-ya</i>                      | 36. As for the crown of my head,                                  |
| 37. <i>a-ḥa-ri-ri-su.</i>                                   | 37. I am in solicitude for him.                                   |
| 38. <i>La ta-pa-liḥ, sarrū.</i>                             | 38. Fear not, O king !  |
| 39. <i>ak-dī-ba-ak</i>                                      |   |
| 40. <i>la az-li . . . . .</i>                               |   |

## COLUMN IV.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>u-ta-ki . . . . .</i>                  |   |
| 2. <i>la u-ba-aš . . . . .</i>               |   |
| 3. <i>Nār ina tu-ḫun-ni</i>                  | 3. The river in security.                         |
| 4. <i>u-ši-ba-ar-ka</i>                      | 4. I shall cause thee to cross                    |
| 5. <i>Aššur-aḥ-iddin, ab-lu</i>              | 5. Esarhaddon, son                                |
| 6. <i>ki-i-nu, mar Bilit,</i>                | 6. faithful, child of Bilit,                      |
| 7. <i>ḥa-an-ga-ru, ak-lu</i>                 | 7. <i>hangaru</i> , wise,                         |
| 8. <i>ina kata-ya</i>                        | 8. with my hands                                  |
| 9. <i>nakri-ka</i>                           | 9. thine enemies                                  |
| 10. <i>u-ka-at-ta</i>                        | 10. I shall destroy.                              |
| 11. <i>Assur-aḥ-iddin šar mat Assur</i>      | 11. Esarhaddon, king of the land of Assur,        |
| 12. <i>ka-a-su ša ma-lu-u ki-il-ti</i>       | 12. <i>Kasu</i> full of <i>kilti</i> .            |
| 13. <i>ka-la-bu-ša</i> ¶ (= <i>ma-lu-u</i> ) | 13. <i>kalabu</i> (dog?) full of <i>takalti</i> , |
| <i>takalti</i> (?)                           |   |
| 14. <i>Aššur-aḥ-iddin, ina Lib-ir</i>        | 14. in Libir                                      |
| 15. <i>um-mi ar-ku-u-ti,</i>                 | 15. long days,                                    |
| 16. <i>šanati da-ra a-ti</i>                 | 16. perpetual years,                              |
| 17. <i>a-du-nuk-ka.</i>                      | 17. I shall give thee.                            |

Col. III, 37. I consider *a-ḥa-ri-ri-su* as the equivalent of *aḥarridsu*. Cf. p. 6, note 20.

Esarhaddon probably had confidence in these rather vague oracles, of which no doubt a collection was formed, after the victory had justified them. Assurbanipal, according to his own statements, often ruled his conduct as to some prophetic dreams, and we may believe that this sort of encouragement was seldom wanting to the kings of Assyria.

## NOTES.

1) Mr. Pinches' version has been useful to us. We must depart from it nevertheless, in certain passages, as the distinguished Assyriologist would doubtless do himself, if he were to revise his work today.--M. Bezold (*Literatur*, p. 170), does not mention any study on the document.

2) *Atti*, the feminine pronoun, when addressed to a man, is no stranger than the masculine *at-ta*, (see Strassmaier, 917) when addressed to a woman.

3) In the transcription I do not make the distinction *ti* and *ta*, and other analogues, which are not necessary to one who has the original text under his eyes.

A. DELATTE, S.J.

## THE GEOGRAPHICAL SITUATION OF SAPARDA.

In the Babylonian the name is usually written  $\text{𒍪𒍪𒍪 𒌶 𒊩𒌆}$  *Sa-par-da*, Susian or Elamitic  $\text{𒍪𒍪 𒌶 𒊩𒌆}$  *S-par-da*, ancient Persian  $\text{𐎧𐎱𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎹 𐎧𐎱 𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎹}$  *Saparda* or *Sparda*. In order to fix the geographical position of the country, a careful comparison of the list of provinces as recorded by Darius, king of Persia, is necessary.

<i>Beh. I, 14-17.</i>	<i>Pers. I, 10-18.</i>	<i>NRa. 22-30.</i>
1. Pârsa,	[Pârsâ]	[Pârsa]
2. Uvaja,	Uvaja,	Mâda,
3. Bâbiruš,	Mâda,	Uvaja,
4. Athurâ,	Bâbiruš,	Parthava,
5. Arabâya,	Arabâya,	Haraiva,
6. Mudrâya,	Athurâ,	Bâkhtriš
7. Saparda,	Mudrâyâ,	Suguda,
8. Yaunâ,	Armina,	Uvârazaniš.
9. Mâda.	Katapatuka,	Zarañka,
10. Armina,	Saparda,	Harauvatiš.
11. Katapatuka,	Yaunâ uskahya,	Thataguš,
12. Parthava	Yaunâ daradarahya,	Gañdâra,
13. Zarañka,	Asagarta,	Hindiš,
14. Haraiva,	Parthava,	Sakâ Haumavarkâ,

15. Uvârazamiya,	Zarañka,	Sakâ Tigrakhaudâ,
16. Bâkhtriš,	Haraiva,	Bâbiruš,
17. Suguda,	Bakhtriš,	Athurâ,
18. Gañdâra,	Sugda,	Arabâya,
19. Sakâ,	Uvârazamiya,	Mudrâya,
20. Thataguš,	Thataguš,	Armina,
21. Harauvatiš,	Harauvatiš,	Katapatuka,
22. Maka.	Hinduš,	Saparda,
23.	Gañdâra,	Yauna,
24.	Sakâ,	Sakâ taradaraya,
25.	Maka.	Skudra,
25.		Yauna takabarâ.
27.		Putiyâ.
28.		Kušiyâ.
29.		Maciyâ.
30.		Karkâ.

Only a hurried glance will convince any one that a certain order has been followed in recording the provinces or countries in these inscriptions. We will first notice the following groups:

7. Saparda,	8. Armina,	20. Armina,
8. Yaunâ,	9. Katapatuka,	21. Katapatuka,
9. Mâda,	10. Saparda,	22. Saparda,
10. Armina,	11. Yaunâ ušk.,	23. Yaunâ,
11. Katapatuka.	12. Yaunâ darad.	24. Sakâ tarad.

Now, inasmuch as the scribe of the Behistân-Inscription wished to arrange the countries on the sea in succession, and consequently had to enumerate the rest of the countries of Asia Minor from east to west, *Saparda* and *Katapatuka* must necessarily appear separate. But a re-arrangement of the list according to the plan of enumeration followed by the scribe makes *Katapatuka* again the neighbouring country of *Saparda* towards the east. We have, consequently, the following arrangement:

1. Pârsa,	4. Bâbiruš,	16. Bâbiruš
2. Uvaja,	5. Arabâya,	17. Athurâ,,
3. Bâbiruš,	6. Athurâ,	18. Arabâya,
4. Athurâ,	9. Mâda,	7. Mudrâya,
5. Arabâya,	10. Armina,	8. Armina,
6. Mudrâya,	11. Katapatuka,	9. Katapatuka,
	7. Saparda,	10. Saparda,
	8. Yaunâ.	11. Yaunâ ušk.,
		12. Yaunâ dar.
		21. Katapatuka,
		22. Saparda,
		23. Yaunâ,
		24. Sakâ tarad.

Here we find the following facts: *Saparda* was a country of Asia Minor and extended westwardly to the Ægean Sea. On the one side it was bounded by *Yaunâ*, on the other by *Katapatuka*. *Mâda*, *Armina*, and





that *Saparda* was identical with the Heb. סַפְרָדָּה. According to Old Testament reports there seems to have been a well-known slave-market in *Yauná*-יֶן-יָוֵן, and *Saparda*-סַפְרָדָּה, and that Semitic and also Jewish captives were sold as slaves there. In Joel iii, 6 we read:—בְּנֵי יְהוּדָה וּבְנֵי יֶן-יָוֵן : יְרוּשָׁלַם מִכְרַתָּם לִבְנֵי חַיִּינִים לְמַעַן הִרְחִיקָם מֵעַל גְּבוּלָם and Obad. 20:—וְגֵלַת יְרוּשָׁלַם אֲשֶׁר בְּסַפְרָדָּה וְרָשָׁה אֶת עָרֵי הַנֶּגֶב. Note-worthy are also the Septuagint and Vulgate Versions of the same passages, which prove very clearly that *Saparda* סַפְרָדָּה passed into oblivion at an early date: LXX. Joel iii. 6, Καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰουδα καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἀπέδοσθε τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἑλλήνων, ὅπως ἐξώσῃτε αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ὁρίων αὐτῶν. Id. Vulg. *Et filios Juda et filios Jerusalem vendidistis filiis Græcorum, ut longe faceretis eos de finibus suis.* LXX, Obad. 20, Καὶ ἡ μετακασία Ἰερουσαλὴμ, ἕως Ἐφραθά κληρονομήσουσι τὰς πόλεις τοῦ Ναρῆβ. Id. Vulg. *Et transmigratione Jerusalem, quæ in Bosphoro est, possidebit civitates Austri.*

The name by which Lydia was commonly designated by the Assyrians, however, was *Luddu*, Heb. לִדְדָּה, cf. V R 2, 95, מ *Gu-ug-gu šarru mātu Lu-ud-di na-gu-u ša ni-bir-ti tamti aš-ru ru-ú-šu.* The population of Lydia was undoubtedly a mixed one, consisting of aboriginal tribes of unknown ethnic affinity and Aryan immigrants. According to Homer the inhabitants about Mount Tmolos and on the shores of Lake Gygæa were called *Mýones*, who were related to, and in alliance with the Trojans, consequently of the ancient so-called Pelasgian stock. The venerable poet sings, Il. II, 864—6:

*Μῆοσιν αὖ Μῆσθλης τε καὶ Ἄντιφος ἠγχισάσθην,  
 υἱὲ Ταλαιμένεος, τῷ Γυγαίῃ τέκε λίμνη,  
 οἷ καὶ Μήονας ἦγον ὑπὸ Τμῶλῳ γιγαῶτας.*

These Aryan Mæonians probably established the ancient dynasty of the Heraclidae, which later succumbed to the Mermnadæ, who were of purely Lydian and non-Aryan stock. The Mæonians, however, seems to have maintained themselves on the Upper Hermus, and even Ptolemy speaks of *Mæonia* as a part of Lydia. I would, therefore, regard *Luddu*---לִדְדָּה as the nearest equivalent to the name by which the pre-Aryan population was known, and *Saparda* as representing the later and Aryan designation; the term *Mýones* I should conjecture to be older than *Sapardai* as a tribal designation, and probably prevalent in the west, while *Sapardai* was the name by which the more eastern tribes of the same stock was known. At any rate the Assyrian and Babylonian records can show no names of tribes or countries, so far as I know, that can be identified with the Homeric

*Mjoves*. The terms *Mjoves* and *Sapardai* may also represent the principal Aryan tribes of Lydia, the *Mjoves* in the west, and known to the Greeks, and the *Sapardai* in the east, known to the Assyrians and Babylonians.<sup>2</sup> In Esarhaddon's time the *Mâdai*, *Mannai*, *Gimirrai* and *Sapardai* are the terrors of all lands, and the crumbling Assyrian empire seems to be in a constant dread of their inroads and fearful devastations. About this time they seem to have formed a powerful confederation against the lion on the Tigris, and only the mighty arms of Esarhaddon and his son Assurbanipal could for a while check their progress. This is probably what gave rise to that significant and dreaded term *Ummânmanda*, "hordes of the far and mysterious North." Finally they burst through all barriers, and Nineveh with all its might and splendour was swept into an oblivion which has not its parallel in history.

## NOTES.

1) This connection has actually been supposed by such a great authority as Chr. Lassen. The name, although beyond doubt Aryan, can probably not fall into the Erânian group of languages.

2) Mr. Pinches informs me that he has found a tablet from the time of the Seleucidæ which records the name *Saparda*. This goes to prove that *Saparda* and not *Luddu* was the name by which Lydia was commonly known in Babylonia down to a very late date. O. E. HAGEN.

## THE SACRED TREES OF THE ASSYRIAN MONUMENTS.

(Continued from p. 12).

The great probability, therefore, is that the cones of the sacred tree in fig. 2, to which Lenormant refers, are meant for nothing more than *bunches of grapes*, roughly and conventionally represented; and that this tree is only a repetition of that with the *date-fans* in fig. 1, viz.: a combination of the ever-present date tree and its ever-present companion the grape tree. I take both these forms to be merely a pictorial representation—a symbol—of the *food and drink* of the people, with their attendant horns to keep off the evil eye. The one was probably meant to represent the *fruiting* season, and the other the *leafless* and resting season of the vine. All along the main stem of fig. 2 there are pairs of projections, which might be taken for the long and graceful ox or ram horns, or possibly for twists in the vine-stems, which must have been often observed. I incline to the former view.

Without going in search for evidence, it is not, I think, difficult to show that wine must have been known to those ancient people from a very early

period, and its discovery might very easily have occurred in this way. Sherbet, or the juice of fruit mixed with water, is in universal use among Orientals, as a harmless drink, especially in the summer, when fruit is plentiful. Even in ancient Egypt this appears to have been the custom, as it is stated in Genesis that the juice of the grape was pressed into Pharaoh's cup. The grape juice would lend itself very pleasantly for this purpose with its mixture of sweet and subacid flavour. If a quantity of sherbet had been prepared for any feast and some were left over and kept, it would have fermented and turned into a beverage containing some alcohol. Then if this had been drunk, its effect would have been found *different* from that of simple sherbet. The drinker would acquire gaiety, talkativeness, vigour, and, in short, *additional life*. This secret, once discovered, would have been made use of by the 'hakims' to restore vigour to the king after the exertions of the hunt, &c., &c., and also to give new life to weak persons. That the land was noted as flowing with 'corn and wine' is sufficiently recorded, and where there was plenty of wine there would be also drunkenness. There cannot be much doubt that the Assyrians or, let us say the wealthy luxurious portion, who had become rich by plunder or trade, were a sensual people.

The vice of drunkenness must have been common not only there, but in Persia and Arabia also; and Mahomed later on must have been struck by its universality, and so warred against it by making abstention from wine and spirits one of the Mahomedan religious observances. It may be true that the word *alcohol* is of Arabic origin, but that may only mean the *separation* of the spirit from wine by *distillation*, as the *Alembic*, the implement by which this is done, appears also of Arabic origin. The exhilarating effects of wine and other fermented sweet juices must have been known *long before* the separation of pure alcohol from them by distillation was discovered.

Lenormant, on the supposition that the sacred tree is meant to indicate the tree of life—a sublime religious notion of those people, argues to some length upon the, so to speak, magnetic effect of the point of the cone-fruit presented at the king or at the tree, "as if it were the means of communication between the protector and the protected, the instrument by which the grace and power pass from the spirit to the mortal taken under his care." But, I would ask, what becomes of this sublime *spirituality* if it admits of being taken in a vulgar and realistic sense: that is, if this pretty notion of 'arbre de vie' can after all be taken in the sense of the French '*e u de vie*'? viz., in the sense that the fermented juice of the grape

imparted *new life*, and changed the thoughts and humour of the drinker?

From all I have read, heard, and seen about them, there appears no room for doubting that the Assyrians were a cultured people, but at the same time, seeing what the Greeks were, who borrowed a great deal from them, and later, what the Romans were, who borrowed from the latter—high culture among the few, and vast sensuality and vice among the masses—there also appears no good reason to suppose that the Assyrians could have had in their mental composition much more than a mixture of great superstition and sensuality, with a minimum of spirituality. While on the contrary, Lenormant, by his interpretation of the “*arbre de vie*” and the supposed acts of its attendants, would lead one to infer that they had reached an almost exquisite degree of spiritual and religious feeling akin to that of the most saintly of modern times. I believe that these two sacred trees (figs. 1 and 2) are simple symbols of two God-sent and ordinary daily necessities of the people—viz. *food and drink*.

Lenormant indeed has not overlooked the realistic and utilitarian part in his conception of the ‘tree of life’. In p. 81, vol. I, of the before-mentioned work, he says. “In a certain part of Chaldea, south of Babylon, the ‘*arbre de vie*’ was the date tree, which furnished the greater portion of the food of the people, and from the fruit of which they made an intoxicating drink, a kind of wine. To this tree they attributed in a popular song, as many benefits, as there are days in the year. It was the date tree that in this region was looked upon as the sacred tree, the tree of paradise. We have proof of this in the cylinders, which represent the date tree surmounted by the emblem of the supreme God, and guarded by two genii with eagle-heads. The essential character however, of the tree of life is that from its fruit an intoxicating liquor can be extracted—a beverage of immortality. . . . and here we must note that the ancient Accadian name of the ‘vine,’ applied equally by misuse to the wine—*ges-tin*—is a compound, which properly speaking means “tree of life”—or more exactly “wood of life,” from the two well-known words *gis*, *ges*—“wood,” and *tin*, “life.”

In interpreting the meaning of sculptures and cylinders, I think it possible to lay too much stress on the emblem of the Supreme God, or any other figure being found surmounting or accompanying anything. Decorative artists get into the habit of weaving their ideas into pictures for *effect* without much depth of meaning, and sometimes probably only to fill in a space with something not wholly incongruous with the rest of the picture. So much so, that this winged figure of the Deity, according to

Layard, was used for decorating chariots, much, perhaps, as a Calabrian peasant at the present day might decorate his cart with figures of the Madonna, and other saints.

It does not appear that in those days the Assyrians used the *sap* of the date tree, as they do in other countries now, either fresh or fermented, as an alcoholic drink. Had they known of this, a man climbing up a date tree to collect the juice from the cut made at the base of the foliage would have been too tempting a picture for an Assyrian artist to leave unrecorded on the monuments. Moreover, the annual mutilations, and subsequent disfigurement of the *trunk* of the date tree would have been shown somewhere, while all their date trees (and there are many of them on the monuments) have a straight, clean, and natural stem.

It is possible, however, that the date fruit, being very sweet, was used fermented with water for the production of some alcoholic drink. At the present day a kind of date is largely imported from the Persian Gulf to Bombay, where it is used for extracting alcoholic drinks by distillation.

### III.

The third form of sacred tree is that of fig. 4. It cannot be mistaken for any other than a pomegranate tree. All the sacred trees of the Assyrian monuments and cylinders appear to be the commonest trees of the land—such as they must have utilized every day either for their fruit, their wood or other qualities. The pomegranate tree is indigenous in those regions, and is largely represented on stony ground in the monuments, mostly without fruit, but sometimes with its characteristic fruit on. Why they should have raised it to the position of a sacred tree—undoubtedly meaning thereby that they thought it of great importance—is not very clear. The juice of the grains of the pomegranate is largely used in oriental countries for making ‘sherbet’; and as any sweet juice will, if fermented, produce alcohol, it appears not improbable that some kind of wine may have been made also from pomegranate juice. Anyhow, this ‘sherbet’ is supposed to have medicinal virtues. Moreover, the rind of the fruit, besides possessing medicinal value, has a great deal of tannin, and as the tree grew wild in forests, the rind may have been largely used for tanning leather.

The art of tanning must have been known to the Assyrians from a very remote period. They made use of skins for carrying water, and also inflated hides for floating rafts and for swimming purposes. These skins, continually in contact with water, unless tanned, would soon rot, and become useless. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that the art of tanning was well known to them. In that case, a tanning material so common as that produced

by the universally present pomegranate, would be a very important article.

It is also possible that, owing to the multiplicity of the grains, all enclosed in a sort of common womb, this fruit may have been considered as a symbol of fruitfulness.

Anyhow, the abundant supply of tanning material would appear sufficient ground for considering it essential to the comfort of the people, and therefore for raising its tree to the rank of a sacred tree. Sargon, who is standing before another sacred tree, is represented as holding a bunch of three pomegranates. All this indicates that, for whatever reason, the pomegranate tree was held in veneration. I incline, however, that it was its *usefulness*—a realistic reason—and not any spiritual notion connected with it, which induced the Assyrian artists to utilize it for wall and cylinder decoration as a sacred tree.\*



Fig. 10.

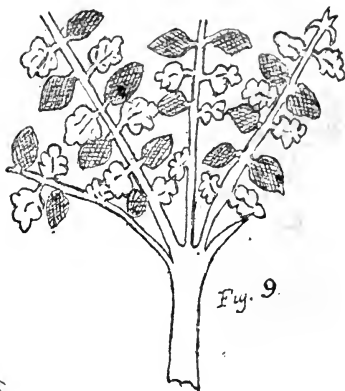


Fig. 9.



Fig. 11.



Fig. 16.

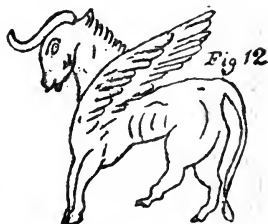


Fig. 12.

\* In previous number p. 12. line 22, for fig. 4 read fig. 9.

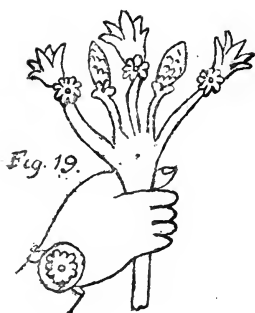


Fig. 19.

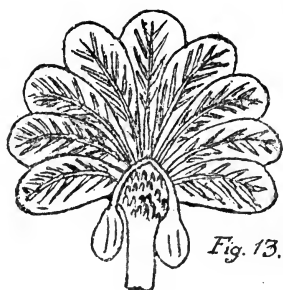


Fig. 13.

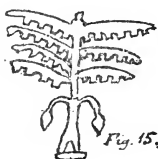


Fig. 15.



Fig. 21.



Fig. 17.



Fig. 14.

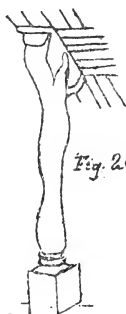


Fig. 20.

Fig. 18.

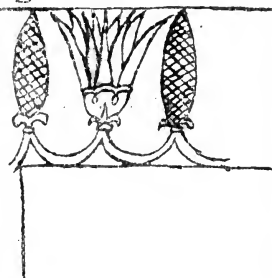


Fig. 22

Fig. 11. p. 34. Rawlinson's *F. G. M.*, a column surmounted by an ibex.—Fig. 12. Winged bull from Layard, (Perrot and Chipiez, vol. I. 141)—Fig. 13. Ordinary date tree of the monuments.—Fig. 14. From Layard, fig. 38, vol. I, (Perrot and Chipiez).—Fig. 15. Chaldean cylinder fr. Brit. Mus., fig. 21, vol. I. Perrot and Chipiez.—Fig. 16. Nineveh, its palaces, by Bonomi, fig. 164.—Fig. 17. From figs. 27, 30, 34, vol. I, Perrot and Chipiez.—Fig. 18. Lotus and flower buds (from Egyptian flora), threshold from Kuyunjik fr. Layard. Perrot and Chipiez, vol. I, fig. 131.—Fig. 19. Lotus from Egyptian flora. Flower buds from Layard, Perrot and Chipiez, fig. 133, vol. I.—Fig. 20. Trunk of tree used as a pillar, Yezidi House at Bukra; fr. Layard.—Fig. 21. A date in its young stage (diagrammatic figure).—Fig. 22. From Layard, Kuyunjik, (Perrot and Chipiez, vol. I, fig. 30.)

E. BONAVIA.

(To be continued.)




NOTES ON THE GEOGRAPHY OF NORTHERN SYRIA  
AND SOME NEIGHBOURING LANDS, VIEWED FROM THE  
ASSYRIAN SIDE.

(Concluded from p. 6.)


With regard to the identification of Zobah, (*Assyr.* Tsubit, Tsubut), I have elsewhere suggested that the Zobat or Zibat, which the lamented George Smith in his last notes describes as "4 miles round" with "extensive ruins," must be that important place, (see *Delitzsch*, "*Wo lag das Paradies?*" 267). Dr. Sachau's work gives further information. He calls the place Zébed. May not the hot water spring, near the ruins, called el Ḥammâm, explain the name Hamath Zobah, חמאת צובה? And this may be the Ḥamattu mentioned after Tsubitu, (*Wo lag &c.*, 278). Did George Smith mean to identify the ruins which he saw with the ancient Zobah when he wrote "Zobah" as applying to them? He seems to have heard the name pronounced "Zobat or Zibat."

Tsubut is mentioned between Ḥadrak and Samalla. But where was Ḥadrak? Dr. Neubauer gives Jewish authorities for fixing it near Damascus, and suggests Hadhra ('Adrâ?). But is it not possible that the land of Ḥadrak is to be recognized by the station ad-Darâ'ah of Muḳaddasi on the way from Ḥoms to Resafeh and the Euphrates? Then if G. Smith's Zobat be Zobah, (Zobath) all would be right, and also it would be on the way from Dâru (Dêr on Euphrates?) to Samalla, and between Dâru and Hamath, (*Wo lag &c.*, 280). Dr. Friedrich Delitzsch thinks with Nöldeke that perhaps Zoba was in the region of Emesa. Dr. Neubauer says that Aram Zoba was "the environs to Aleppo;" (*G. du T.* 292.) Prof. Sayce considers Pethor at the outlet of the Sajûr to have been in Aram-Zobah, and says: "The territory of Zobah, which extended into the desert towards Palmyra, adjoined Aram-Rehob, and Aram Ma'achah (2 Sam. x. 6.) Aram-Ma'achah again bordered on Geshur "in Aram" 2 Sam. xv. 8; iii. 3); and both formed parts of the territory allotted to Manasseh, (Josh. XIII, 11, 13). However, Rehob and part of Zobah are included under the name of *Arumu* or Aram in the Assyrian inscriptions, which place them on the west of the Euphrates, southward of Pethor and the R. Sajur," (*Queen's Pr. Bible; Supp.* p. 60). I think the Tûb of 2 Sam. x. 6, whence the Ammonites hired Arameans against David (with the warriors of Zoba

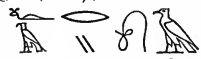
Beth-rehob, and Ma'akah) may be found at Taiyibeh) (marked Tyba in ancient maps), between Palmyra and Thapsacus; and this Rehob may be Rehob, S.E. of Resafeh (see *Sachau's map*), on the way to the Euphrates.


Sa'aru, a place mentioned by Assurbanipal with Harge as "in the district of Zobah" may, I think, be identified with the great ruins of es-Seriyeh (es-Serijje) south of Zebed in Sachau's map; and possibly Hargê may be a place marked as Churraik, westward of this position, in the *Cyclop. Atlas*, the Harrakeh of Burton and Drake (*Unexp. Syria II*, 200) and this may perhaps be the  of the Karnak List (140). The Manšuate mentioned next to Hadrak in one list has been identified by Haigh with Massyad west of Hamah: (*Zeitschr.*, 1874, 70).



An interesting series of names occurs in one of Shalmaneser's campaigns when he marched southward from Aleppo to the great battle of Ẕarḳar passing Adinnu, Barga, and Argana.





Barga, () occurs in a list of Seti I (*L.D. III*. 131), among north Syrian names after Mennus which I think may be Tel Menes, S.E. of Ma'aret en No'aman. Perhaps Barga may be el-Bûrêj, west of that town; and very near el-Bâra with which I have sometimes been inclined to identify Barga. Adinnu is identified by Lenormant with the Athini of the Karnak List (263), which I take to be Atin, very near Bûrêj, W. S. W. of Ma'aret en No'aman (*Unexp. Syria II*. 208). Argana can scarcely be Arjûn near the lake of Iḳoms, for it must apparently be north of Hamah.


On the Euphrates many important places which are recorded in earlier times by the Egyptian monarchs also appear in the annals of the Assyrian kings. I give the numbers in the Karnak List of North Syria. The important place Nî (*Karnak List* 132.) now appears in the tablets of Tel-el-Amarna (*Proc. S. B. A.* 1888 p. 547). This is marked by M. Babelon in his map as east of the Euphrates and north of Birêjik, but I do not know on what authority.

Then we have La'la'ti, Eg. Lelti (142); Mût kinn, Eg. Mûti (218) as suggested by Lenormant; Aligu, Eg. Alega (283); also Lenormant's identification, the modern Lejah; Paripa, Eg.  (247), a happy hit of Lenormant, possibly el Farâ with Jebel el-Farâ, higher than Barbalissus; Nappi-gi, Eg. Nâpi (219), -gi' being, I think, a suffix; perhaps this is Nabagath, east of Euphrates. south of Khabûr. (*Spruner's map*).

Foremost in interest are the names of Pitru, Eg. Pederi,  (280), Gargamêshâ, Eg. Karkamasha (270), Sirki, Eg. Serkesha (143), the suffix—*sh* is preserved in the Greek Kirkêsion and modern Kerkesiyeh.

Asmû, Eg. Ashamb (227) *Lenormant*; Sazabê, Eg. Sesben (248), near Paripa; Burattu, the river-name , Eg. Pureth (316), which finds a local habitation at el Burât near Lejah; Bit-Khalupe, Eg. Khilebu (246), Khelebi on the west bank. Suru, Eg. Sur (252), Sura, modern Suriyeh, west of Thapsacus. The Bit-Sabaya of Assurnazirpal seems to be the region marked Sbâ'a in Sachau's map as frequented by nomads of that designation, and in the region which Mr. Boscawen takes to be the  of Ezek. XXVII, 23, mentioned with Kharran and Canneh and Eden (Bit-admi) and Assur and Kilmad He identifies Saba with the Wady-es-Saba, and Suru the capital of the Shuhîtes with modern Sura, a little south of Anah (*P.E.F. Quarterly*, 1881, 228), this being not the same as Suru of Bit-Khalupê. (*Babylon, Hist.* 179); and 'Erzi he identifies with the Kharidi of Assurnazirpal; [Eg. Arits, or Artsi (319).]

Then we have Ratsapu, , modern Resáfêh, identified by Lenormant with the Retep,  (348), of the Karnak List, ( Aram.= Canaanite). Surely the Arzapi of the Tel-el-Amarna tablets.

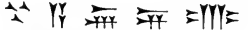



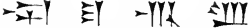
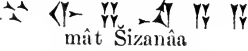
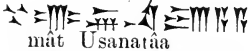
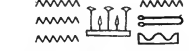



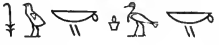





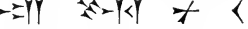

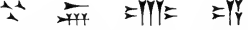

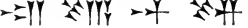
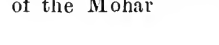


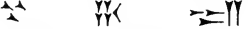






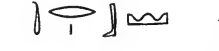
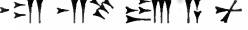
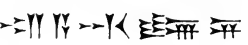
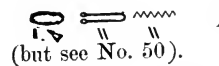
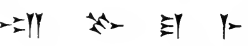
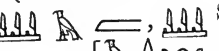
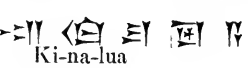
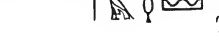
We will wind up our Euphratean list of proposed coincidences with the important position Anat, Anatho, described by the last-named Assyrian king, a place which Prof. Maspero finds in an inscription of Amenhotep II. as , Anat. (*Zeitschr.* 1879. 56).

From Assyriologists I must in conclusion crave "favourable censure" for my many tentative suggestions. At all events the course of inquiry has now led to a large number of ascertained identifications, so that those who may be the excavators and explorers of the future will know assuredly where to put their spades into the rubbish of cities that paid tribute to the kings of the great XVIIIth dynasty of Egypt.

This paper will be understood as containing only a selection of names with especial reference to the comparison of Egyptian with Assyrian data.

Sincere thanks are due to Mr. Pinches for the great trouble (the amount of which does not appear to those unversed in such work) he has taken to supply the original cuneiform and the large proportion of the names in the following list.

## LOCAL NAMES COMPARED IN THE FOREGOING PAPER.

1. Asaniu			Atshâne
2. Seris			Shêrish
3. Têla			Têl
4. Mariru			Merâleh
5. Sizanu	 mât Sîzanâa		Sizan
6. Uusanatu	 mât Uusanatâa		
7. Urakhinaš			
8. Sûgi			
9. Parnaki			Pornaki
10. Mêkhranu			Tel Elmaglhrûm
11. Pitanu			Tel Feddân
12. Markaši			Mer'ash
13. Kûc	 mât Kûcê mât Kûcâa		
14. Ušnu			Ouzoun Dagh
15. Şiannu			Sahîûn
16. Saucê			? Sheikh Souei
17. Kar-Rammân			Aleppo
18. Nuḡudina			el Haşş
19. Hâzu			Tel'Ârâ
20. Arâ			Tel Shrêb
21. Sarbûa			Shêkhûn
22. Aşkbani			Hatab
23. Yadabi			Al Athârib
24. Ellitarbi			Zêtân
25. Zitanu			Atîn
26. Atînni			(but see No. 50).
27. Semame			Shemâmis
28. Kunalu	 Ki-na-lua		Tel Kounâna

29. Hazarra			Hazré
30. Aribua		of the Mohar, Méli. 210	? Kourr Arab
31. Hazazu			Ezzaz
32. Lallid			Tel Lelid
	Lallidâa. ( <i>Craig reads it</i> <i>Melidâa</i> ).		
33. Aštamaķu			Tel Stommak
34. Taya		cf. name of	Kefr Taï
35. Butamu			Beitân
36. Bit-Hilanni			Heilân
37. Dunip			Tennib
38. Amātu			Hamah
39. Tsubut			Zobat or Zebed
40. Ĥamâttu (mentioned with <i>Tsubut</i> )			el Hammâm
41. Ĥatarakka			ad-Darâ'ah
42. Du'ru			Dër
43. (Tôb)			Taiyibeh (Tyba)
44. (Reħob)			Reħub
45. Sa'arri		5. R 7, 180 ff.	es.Seriyeh
46. Ĥargê			Harrâkeh
47. Manșuatu			Massyad
48. Mennus			Tel Menes
49. Barge			el Bâra
50. Adênnu			Atin
51. Ni			
52. La'la'te			
53. Mût-kinu			
54. Aligu			Lejah
55. Paripa			? el-Farâ ?
56. Nappi-gi			(Nabagath)
57. Pitru			

58. Gargameshâ											
59. Sirki											Kerkesiyeh
60. Asimu											
61. Sazabê											
62. Burattu											el Bûrât
63. Bit-Khalupe											Khelebi
64. Suru											Suriyeh
65. Bit-Sabaya											Sbâ'a
66. Bit-adini											
67. Sûru (of the Shuhîtes)											Sura
66. Kharidu											'Erzi
69. Raşappa- Arzapi of the Tel-el Amarna tablets.											Resâfeh
70. Anat											Anat

HENRY GEORGE TOMKINS.

A BUDDHIST REPERTORY

IN SANSKRIT, TIBETAN, MANDCHU, MONGOL & CHINESE.

(Continued from p. 17).

SECTION IX (continued).

2. *Ākāṣagarbha*, fœtus of heaven, (i. e. having heaven for a womb). T. *nam mkha-hi sñin po*, heart of heaven. M. id. Ch. secret place or infinite space (the void).
3. *Mahāsthāmāprāpta*, who has acquired great power. T. *mtsu c'en thob*, id. Ch. id.
4. *Radnapâṇi* [read *ratna*], having a precious jewel in his hand. T. *lag na-rin c'en*, id. Ch. a sceptre.

5. *Ratnamudrahasta*, having in hand a seal (studded with) precious stones. T. *lug na phyag rgya rin c'en*, id.
6. *Ratnamakuṭa*. With diadem of precious stones or pearls. T. *cod pan rin c'en*, id. Ch. a headdress, cap.
7. *Ratnacāda*, with aigrette of precious stones. C. *gts'ug na rin c'en*. having a jewel on top of the head. M. whose *ushṅika* is of precious stone.
8. *Ratnakūṭa*, with precious stones on the brow, T. *rin c'en br'egs pa*, having precious stones placed one on the other. M. having ranges of precious stones.
9. *Vimukticanetra*. The Moon completely unveiled, (delivered). T. *nam par grol ba hi zla ba*, id. M. id. Ch. stripped.
10. *Padmanētra*. Lotus-eyed. T. *padma hi m g*, id. (transcribed). M. *S'un-ilha*, 'sunflower.' Ch. dark blue lotus.
11. *Viśāla-cetra*, wide-eyed. T. *yaṅspa hi mig*, id. V. *Vyutpatti*, l. c. 21.
12. *Samanteryāpatha*: [=samanta-irya-āpathas] with constant, or universal activity. M. Mg. of conduct constantly good. Ch. constantly growing. T. *kun tu spyon lam*.
13. *Samantaprāsādika*. Completely worthy of favour and praise. T. *Kun nas mdzes*, in every way beautiful. Ch. all admirable *Vyutpatti*, 21.
14. *Jñānarati* (read-rat) Full of knowledge. T. *ye ces ldan pa*, id.
15. *Samantacāritramati*, knowing in all things the conduct to be followed, T. *Kun-du spyodpahi blo gros*, id. M. having complete knowledge of wise behaviour. *Vyutpatti*, 21.
16. *Siṅh irikṛīḍṭi*, lion-eyed. T. *Se-dge nam par rol ba*, enjoying himself completely (*ri*) like a lion. M. very joyful lion. Ch. who dallies and plays like a lion. *Vyutpatti*, 22.
17. *Mahāghōshasvārājā*, [*varājā*]. King whose voice has a strong and powerful echo. T. *Sgra c'en po hi dby m's rgyil po*, King with melodious voice. Ch. King with marvellous voice.
18. *Siṅh mādānāḍī*, roaring with a lion's roar. T. *se dge hi sgra srag-pa*, id. Mg. id.-Ch. M. roaring as a lion. *Vyutpatti*, 22., Kern I. 244.
19. *Anupalīpta*, not soiled, spotless T. *gos pa med pa*, id.
20. *Kumārabhūta*, having become a young man (i.e. having the nature of one). T. *gz'on nur gpur pa*, id. M. young man.
21. *Jyōtishmati*, with brilliant intelligence [read *mat*?] T. 'od can. brilliant. M. Mg. Ch. id.
- 22.. *Akshayamati* [read *mat*], whose intelligence faileth not. T. *blo gros mi zan pa*, id.-M. Mg. Ch., id.

23. *Ādityagarbha*, bosom, seed, or offspring of the Sun. T. *ñi mahi 'on* sunlight. M. Ch. having the brightness of the Sun.
24. *Vajrasāra*, hard or firm as diamond; T. *rdo rje sñin-pa*, id. M. kinsman or heart of Wacir, [transcribed], Ch. mass of diamonds.
25. *Ācugandha*, with rapidly spreading perfume. T. *dri ma gyogs*. Ch. M., wondrous perfume.
26. *Guhagupta*: Hidden in hollows, or secret places. T. *Spuḡ sbas* [read *sbug*], id.
27. *Jyotiḥprabha*: brilliant lighting. T. *Skar ma hi 'od dam mehi c'od*, having the brightness of a star, or sacred fire. M. Very brilliant, or brilliant like fire. Ch. like T.).
28. *Akshāyakaravāḡa*: (M. *ās*) with imperishable, or inexhaustible baskets [faculties]. M. Ch. with inexhaustible cases, or vases. T. *mid-zads bahi za ma tog* (baskets).

## SECTION X.

*Mos ba spyod pahi sa ldahi miñ la.--e*

*Huks'ere yabure sunja tangan-i gebu.*

Names of the (five) Degrees<sup>1</sup> of what must be done with care (and faith).

1. *Adhmutikkāryābhūmī*<sup>2</sup>, degree, position, land of the exercise of supreme faith (in the words of Buddha). T. *Mos ba spyod pahi sa*, degree of acts of respect, or faith. M. respect. Mg. faith. Ch. to raise the heart.
2. *Ālōkalabba* [read *labha*]: Acquisition of truth, or certain knowledge. T. *snañ ba thob pa*, acquiring light. M. Ch. id.
3. *Ālōkavrdhī*, Growth of light. T. *snañ ba mc'edpas*. M. diffusing it. Mg. rendering it complete.
4. *Tadvārthāikadēcānupravēca*: [read *tattrā*], Advance or penetration into a place of real nature, of its nature, or value. T. *de-kho-na hi nañ kyī phyogs gcig rjes-sa z'ugs pa*, id. M. Ch. penetrating a place of empty nature.
4. *Anantaryasamādhi*: continual or uninterrupted meditation, T. *snañ ba bar c'ad med bahi t'ñ ne 'dzin*, Contemplation without obstacle. Ch. fainting away in clear, uninterrupted intelligence. (This is the 'extasy in the void,' which we have seen above).

C. DE HARLEZ.

(To be continued).



THE

# BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

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*Contributors are alone responsible for their opinions or statements.*

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## THE TRUE NAME OF THE GOD OF ISRAEL.

“As for all Israel, they have a portion in the world to come; as it is said (Isa. lx, 21), And thy people all of them are righteous, &c. And these are they who have no portion in the world to come; he that saith there is no Revival of the Dead according to the Law, and there is no law from Heaven; and Epicurus. Rabbi 'Aqîba saith: Also he that readeth in the foreign books, and he that muttereth a charm over the wound and saith (Exod. xv, 26), I will put none of these diseases upon thee, &c. Abba Saul saith: *Also he that uttereth The Name with its own letters.*” Talmud Bab. Sanhedr. 90 A.

This passage of the Mishna shows that in the third century of our era the Rabbis forbade the utterance of the sacred name peculiar to the God of Israel.

“Said the Holy One, who is Blessed: I am not read as I am written. I am written with *Yod, He*, and read with *Aleph, Daleth.*” Qiddûsh, 71 A.

This sentence shows that they substituted *Ad(onai)* for *Jah(vah)* in reading aloud.

The language of Josephus (Antiq. 2, 12, 4) and the statements of Philo Judaeus, who mentions death as the penalty for even uttering The Name out of season, prove that the same prejudice existed in the first century, A.D.

Further, the usage of the Septuagint, which generally substitutes *κύριος* ('Lord' i. e. Adonai) for the Divine Name, proves that these scruples were already active in the third century B.C. Gesenius (*Thesaurus s. v.*) יְהוָה even thinks that the narratives Gen. xxxii, 30: Josh. v, 14, 15; Judg. xiii, 18, exhibit traces of a similar feeling in the Old Testament itself. That, at all events, the Name was considered to be in a very special sense a holy (i. e. an absolutely separate) name, and peculiar to the Supreme,

is clear from the use of the prophets, and from the fact that, while *Elohim*, the general designation of superhuman powers or beings is applied freely to idols and in certain derived senses to men, this Name is never so applied. Accordingly, the Rabbis call it also שם המיוחד, שם המזרח, "the Separated or Isolated Name."

Whether this singular custom, which reminds us of the *tabu* of savagery arose out of a misunderstanding of certain precepts of the Torah (Exod. xx, 7; Lev. xxiv, 16); or was a result of a more general cause, such as the feeling so widespread in antiquity, that it was not lawful to mention the names of some divinities (see Hdt. ii, 86), we need not inquire. Probably the feeling had established itself before people thought of justifying it out of the Law. The true sound of the Name must soon have become doubtful when once the rule of never uttering it either in public reading or in ordinary speech had become rigorous. Accordingly, among other periphrases, the Rabbis speak of it as שם הנעלם, "the Secret Name."

When it is said (Qiddûsh, 71 A.) "Rabba bar bar Hannah said, R. Johanan said: "The Name of Four Letters—the wise deliver it to their disciples once in the week," this supposed esoteric tradition only proves that the real pronunciation was already a matter of speculation among the learned.

It was natural that modern scholars should seek to solve the enigma thus presented by the most important name in the entire field of pre-Christian religion. Two things had to be determined: (1) the sound, and (2) the import of the word.

As regards the former, since Ewald there has been a general acceptance of Reland's opinion that the true vocalisation is יְהוָה *yahweh* or Jahveh, as people write it. As to its meaning, the term has usually been supposed to express *being* or *coming to be*, in various senses and applications. It is evident at once that יהוה, comprising as it does three radical letters and a preformative, is a noun of the form יִצְחָר (primitive *yachhar*); a form which is rare, except in proper names. The root being weak of the third radical (הוה *hāwā*), we naturally ask whether other names of this class are to be found, and the answer is enough for our purpose. Thus, besides יִצְחָר, יִצְחָק, יִצְחָק, which are usually compared with הוה, we have the closer parallels יִשְׁפָּר, יִמְלָה, יִשְׁפָּר, יִמְלָה, יִשְׁפָּר, יִמְלָה, (a woman), and יִתְלָה (a town). All these names are apparently formed from ל"ה roots, according to the measure IA, originally AA, which would be maintained in the case of a *Pe* guttural root (comp. יִעֲפֹן, יִעֲפֹן). On the other hand, I find

no instance of a personal proper name of the measure indicated by "Jahveh", that is with *seghol* for original *pathach* (\**Jahvai*) in the second syllable. There is יְרֵמְיָהּ Jamnia, a town name, and יַסְפָּה "jasper", probably a loan-word.

יְפֻנְחֵל Jephunneh, being pu'al, is hardly relevant; and against it may be set יְחֻבְבָּל Jechubbah.

It would appear, therefore, that the correct punctuation is either יְהוָה or יְהוֹה, not יְהוֹיָה.

But "Jahveh" is supposed to rest upon direct external evidence. There is the statement of Theodoret that "the Samaritans call it (the Name) IABE;" and there is the similar testimony of Epiphanius, who gives a list of the names of God, including IA and IABE. But the witness of Epiphanius (d. 403 A.D.) and Theodoret (d. 453 A.D.?) is only valid for their own late period. If the Jews had lost the true pronunciation some centuries before the Nativity, it is difficult to see how the Samaritans could have preserved it down to the fifth century A.D. Their IABE may have been no more than a guess which happened to come near the truth. After all, following the general analogy of the language as it was still pronounced, their choice was narrowly limited. The יָי of the Psalter, so familiar in the paean-like *Halelu-yah!*, prescribed the pronunciation of the first two of the four letters, so that the first syllable must be IA (*yah*). But if the ה were thus included in the first syllable, the third letter י would have to discharge its consonantal function, as introducing the next syllable. The fourth letter ה indicated a vowel-ending, and the preference was decided either by the well-known EHYEH of Exod. iii, 14, or by the fact that E was the substitute for ה in the Greek alphabet.

The case is similar with the other forms which we find in heathen and ecclesiastical writers. Of these the most frequent is IAΩ, given by Diodorus Siculus, by S. Irenæus (second cent. A.D.), by Origen (third cent.), and by S. Jerome (fourth cent.), who says that the name may be read ΙΑΗΟ (*legi potest*), and that the Jews regard it as an ἄρρητον or ineffable name. S. Irenæus, who writes ΙΑΩΗ, mentions that the Gnostics reckoned IAΩ, the God of the Jews, among their aeons, and the name appears on Gnostic gems in modern collections. The pretended oracle of the Clarian Apollo cited by Macrobius (Saturn. i, 18), which speaks of "delicate Jao" as the supreme god, is also ascribed to a Gnostic source, which its absurd syncretism makes very probable.

These practically identical Greek and Latin forms would not, even if they stood alone, compel us to conclude in favour of an original יְהוָה or

יהוה like יעקב or יתלם. The long *o* might be regarded as *gameg*, so pronounced, as by the modern Polish Jews. But the lateness of the evidence makes it altogether suspicious; and IAΩ, JAOH or JAHO, is obviously no more than an attempt at vocalizing the mysterious name on the analogy of Jah, which lay ready to hand, and on the natural assumption that the third letter is merely a *mater lectionis*. The final ה was considered by some to be only a sign of prolongation of the preceding vowel. This appears from the remark which S. Irenæus appends to his JAOH: *extensâ cum aspiratione novissimâ syllabâ*. Had the first transcriber of the name as IAΩ really intended to reproduce יהוה, why did he not write either IAYΩ, IAΟΥΩ, or IABΩ, according to the common precedents of Greek transcription?

The-IAOY of S. Clement of Alexandria is explained in exactly the same way, only that the third letter γ is taken for *shureg* instead of *holem*. The termination י-י, found in so many proper names, may have seemed to favour this correction of the other form. The IEYΩ of Philo Byblius apparently stands for *ye' wō*, that is, יהוה, and proceeds on the assumption that the name is closely connected with יהוה, according to the prophetic gloss, Exod: iii, 14. But it is noticeable that the first three letters are actually represented by the vowels which took their place in the Greek alphabet.

Thus it seems that we may reasonably conclude that these Greek and Latin transcriptions do not in reality embody a tradition; they are simply attempts to read the unvocalized name by help of the analogy of the shorter form יה, which had never fallen out of use in certain special cases, and by treating the third letter as a vowel index. It is plain enough beforehand that evidence from the last century B.C. to the fifth century A.D. cannot weigh much in determining the pronunciation of a name which had fallen out of use some two or three centuries before our era.

Against this, it may be alleged that IAOY is as exact a transcription of יהוה *yāhu* as is possible in Greek, and so, no doubt, it is; and in the same way we might suggest that IAΩ is a fair reproduction of יהוה, and that this last form favours the common punctuation יהוה. But יהוה is no more an independent word than יהוה. As the latter is a prefixed, so the former only occurs as an affixed element in proper names. We have no right at all to assume without direct evidence that the old Hebrews or any other contemporary people worshipped a god called *Yāhu*. Both יהוה and יהוה-י are normal contractions of יהוה, such as we should expect to find in composition. For יהוה-י the LXX. and Vulg. always write Iα



viii, 10). But this is either a mistake or a substitution for the genuine Hadoram, which the chronicler has preserved (1 Chron. xviii, 10), and which appears also in the Septuagint of Samuel. The last king of Hamath is called by Sargon Ya-u-bi-'di, apparently יָהוּבִיעֲדִי, as well as 1-lu-u-bi-'di, and the fact has been supposed to support the opinion that there was a Canaanite god *Yahu*, cognate with the Israelite Jahvah. But such names do not imply that the God of Israel was also an original Hamathite god (see 2 Kings xvii, 30; Ashima *i. e.* perhaps *Aeshma*-daeva, or else Eshmûn). They are only instances of a practice otherwise well established of adding the name of a foreign deity to the national pantheon. The same remark would apply to *Ja'lû*, the name of a north Arabian prince mentioned by Esarhaddon, if that name be really equivalent to the Hebrew יָהוּלָּא, but comp. יְהוּלָּא, Ezr. ii. 56. The name Çi-id-qa-a Çidqâ, k. of Ashkelon, mentioned by Sennacherib, is not necessarily the same as the Judæan יְהוּדָא, nor is Mitinti (a king of Ashdod) certainly identical with מִיתִינִי. There is no reason why it should not be Mitinti-baal, or Mitinti-dagon.

It has been suggested that the Hebrew יָהוּ, יְהוּ, are to be connected with the god 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, Aa, of the Assyro-Babylonian records. Aa was a moon-goddess of Accadian origin, as her name indicates, and the word seems to be preserved in the Turkish *ae*, "moon." Perhaps we may also compare the Egyptian *āāh*, Coptic 10ϩ, and the Greek 'Iω (? *yō* = *yā*), a title under which the moon was worshipped at Argos. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, without the divine prefix, is variously explained as *mû*, "water," *abu*, "father," &c. The enigmatical Ὠδάκων, Ὠδάκων, may perhaps involve this element, and be resolved into Aa-Anu, Aa-Dakan: with which we may compare the proper names in the Eponym Canon 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 Šamaš - Aa (3 R 2, 44); 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 bēlu-Aa (*ibid.* 3, 46).

In spite of the likeness of 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 abu-aa (3 R 1, 1, 23) to the Hebrew יְהוּבִיעֲדִי (also יְהוּבִיעֲדִי) Abijah, I do not see how we can admit that the resemblance is more than a coincidence of sound. For, in the first place, the Assyrians never write 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 or 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵. but always 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵; that is, they do not inflect this name of the moon-god as a Semitic term; and secondly, they always write either 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 or 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 in Israelite proper Names involving יְהוּ, יְהוּ; Azriya-u, 1-azaki-a-u (because of the preceding -i sound); ya-u-hazi, ya-u-a; in other words, they did not identify the name of the God of Israel with their own divine name 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, as they might have been expected to do, had it really been the same. But the strongest argument against the

suggested comparison lies in the fact that not יְהוָה, nor יְהוֹה, nor יהוה, but יְהוָה, *yahwah* or *yahawah*, is the true, original, and peculiar name of the God of Israel; a name which bears little resemblance to the Accadian Aa (or Ai), and besides, is a properly formed Semitic appellative, with a probably ascertainable meaning.

Sennacherib mentions a king of Edom יְרָמֻ מֻ -ram-mu. This used to be read Malik-ranmu, and compared with Malchiram, until Mr. Pinches established the true reading of the first element. The whole name was then supposed to be equivalent to the Hebrew Joram or Jehoram. If this were correct, it would, as we have already seen, be far from proving that either "Yahu" or Jahvah was the god of Edom. But waiving that point, we may ask (1) Since in Assyrian Jehu is ya-u-a, and Jehoahaz ya-u-ḥa-zi, and Jehobaadi ya-u-bi-'-di, and Hoshea a-u-si-', why is not Jehoram ya-u-ram-mu? (2) Since it was in the reign of Jehoram *king of Judah* that Edom revolted finally from Judah (circ. 800 B.C.), is there not something strange in the idea of a king of Edom barely a century later bearing this to an Edomite inauspicious name? (3) Is it not probable from Josephus (Antiq. xv, 7, 9) and the inscriptions that the national and distinctive god of Edom was Qōs? (Josephus writes Κοζέ, but Tiglath-pileser II. mentions qa-uš-ma-la-ka, i.e. קיסמלד, and Esarhaddon mentions qa-uš-gab-ri, i.e. קוסגברי, kings of Edom). (4) And lastly, but not least, may not Airammu be a namesake of a much older Edomite magnate, the נירם, Iram, of Gen. xxxvi, 43?

I have recently called attention in the *Academy* (July 21, 1888) to the welcome light thrown upon the true vocalisation of the Tetragrammaton by two Babylonian contract tablets, which exhibit the names נַתַּנִּי יוֹהָה na-ta-nu-ya-a-wa, i.e. נַתַּנִּי יוֹהָה, and גַּמְרִי יוֹהָה ga-mar-ya-a-wa, i.e. גַּמְרִי יוֹהָה; which correspond, with a difference that is striking enough, to the נְתַנְיָהוּ, Nethaniah, and גַּמְרִיָּהוּ, Gemariah of the Masoretic text of the Old Testament. The tablet with the latter name is dated "tenth year of Darius." In the light thus afforded, such names as יְהוָה יְהוָה (Gen. xxii, 14) יְהוָה שְׁלֵיטֵנוּ (Judg. vi, 24) יְהוָה יְהוָה (Jer. xxiii, 6), assume a new aspect. They no longer appear as mere figments of the prophetic writers; artificial products of religious reflexion, having no basis in common experience. If a man could be named Gemaryahvah, or Nethanyahvah, as it is clear from the evidence of these tablets that he could be named, in the sixth cent. B.C., the designations in question can hardly have seemed strange or arbitrary, or other than perfectly natural and appropriate to the hearers and readers of the prophets.

Another result seems to follow. If the name, which in the Masoretic text appears as גַּמְרֵיָהוּ (Jer. xxxvi, 10 *sqq.*), and גַּמְרֵיָהוּ (Jer. xxix, 3) was pronounced by the Jews of the Exile Gamaryahvah or Gamaryahāvah, the suggestion at once occurs that other names similarly formed must have been similarly pronounced in ancient times. If that were the case and it seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that it was so, it will be impossible henceforth for any one to maintain the view that יְהוָה was in any sense a purely artificial and esoteric extension of a supposed popular יְהוֹה or יְהוּ.

In the position of a prefix, the Divine name was naturally contracted as the accent moved forward; while as the second half of the compound, it retained the accent, and so remained unabridged.

The consideration of the significance of the name must be reserved for a future occasion.

C. J. BALL.

#### NOTE.

I have not thought it necessary to repeat the references for citations given in the *Thesaurus* of Gesenius. See further Prof. Driver's paper in *Studia Biblica* (Oxford, 1885) by far the best discussion of the subject, which I have seen: and a brief sketch at the end of my old pupil Mr G. J. Spurrell's useful volume, *Notes on Genesis* (Oxford, 1887).

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### THE SACRED TREES OF THE ASSYRIAN MONUMENTS.

(Concluded from p. 40).

#### IV.

The fourth sacred tree which I have been able to find is that shown in fig. 5, taken from Perrot & Chipiez's 'History of Art in Chaldea and Assyria.' It is copied from a monument in the Louvre. It is in front of this that Sargon holds three pomegranates.

This sacred tree must have been unmistakably intended for a tree of some kind. It shows that the Assyrian artists, when they wished to represent a fir-tree, knew very well how to idealize it for decorative purposes, without suppressing its character. Its straight, clean, conical stem, symmetrical branches, its cones in groups of trees, as often occurs



in certain firs, stamp it as a coniferous tree. Moreover, some kinds of firs have their cones upright when unripe, and drooping when ripe and heavy with seed. Both the latter variations are shown in this tree. The usual horns, which evidently had crept into the minds of the artists as a motive for decoration, are given at the foot of this tree, as a protection against the evil eye, and for artistic effect, the outline of a cone was placed between the horns. The latter, as I have elsewhere endeavoured to show, may have originated in the finish of the end of a pole, to which horns, either natural or artificial, had been attached. This decoration at the foot of this fir tree is probably the upper portion of our modern 'fleur de lis'.

Some sort of fir-tree must have been growing in forests on the mountains in Assyrian times—this tree being so frequently represented in the monuments on hilly ground.

Fir trees—and there are many kinds which have durable timber—would have been among the most useful trees in Assyria, for masts of river boats, for building of rafts, to be laden with merchandize and floated down the rivers, for beams used in the construction of bridges, houses, &c. Moreover, their branches and cones, being resinous, make capital firewood. Here, then, is another most useful tree, to be found in great plenty in those days in hilly districts. Its great importance for its timber and firewood would have been sufficient to raise it to the rank of a sacred tree, but in addition to these utilitarian reasons, there may have been also some superstition, in connection with its cones, as it is stated that some of the hymns mention that the fir-cone had imprinted within it the name of God, and therefore was placed in the hand of sick people, as a sort of charm that would cure their ailments.

#### V.

A fifth form of sacred tree is that shown in fig. 6. It is taken from the Royal Cylinder of Sennacherib, p. 174 of Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*. It looks as if it were intended to represent an oak with acorns, and Layard says: "The King stands in front of the sacred tree, bearing acorns instead of flowers." Layard mentions that in the mountains of Kurdistan he passed through a forest of oak trees of some sort, and it is not at all improbable that the oak tree was known to the Assyrians. In fact, the acorn cups of a species of oak are largely imported into Great Britain at the present day from Asiatic Turkey, under the name of 'Valonia,' and are used for tanning, and therefore the same or another species of oak might easily have been known to the Assyrians, and used by them for the same purpose. But one would ask, Is it true that the fruits borne by this sacred

tree on Sennacherib's Cylinder are *acorns*? On carefully examining the sacred tree in question, we find it composed of our friend the date-tree stem with its angular projections, two groups of horns, one at the middle and one at the top, and the terminal fan of foliage. Now if the aureola round its head really consists of acorns, what could have possibly suggested to the Assyrian artist the combination of acorns with the date-tree? We have not here the least chance of his ever having seen the oak tree weaving itself with the date tree, as in the case of the vine. The oak affects the mountains, and the date tree the plains. But, I ask again, *are* they acorns? A solution suggests itself to my mind. As is well known, the male flowers of the date palm are borne on one tree, while the female flowers are borne on another. When the latter are fertilized by the pollen of the former, either through the agency of the wind, or insects, or artificially, as is done in Persia and Egypt, the young fruit in the female tree begins to swell. Now in its young stage, the date is *remarkably* like a small *acorn*. The cup consists of six sepals closely fitting, out of which emerges the young date, as shown in fig. 21. so that we would appear to have over again our old friend the date-tree, decorated with its *own young* fruit, instead of cones representing bunches of grapes—and for the sake of effect and to fill up space, the artist has placed two pairs of dates (if they are dates) at the foot of the stem, as he did with branches bearing cones at the base of his sacred fir-tree. This sacred tree on the seal is, however, so small that I hesitate to be positive about the nature of the acorn-like fruits; the stem, however, is unmistakably that of the usual conventional date-tree.

#### VI.

There is a sixth form of sacred trees—viz., that shown in fig. 7, taken from the Assyrian cylinder, with Dagon, or the Fish-God (p. 168)—in Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*). I confess I have not the slightest notion what its central part or stem can have been intended for. The fruits with their peduncles woven into a trellis-work might, perhaps, have been meant for a rude representation of the former acorn-like fruits. If so, they might be intended for a still younger stage of the date fruit. If the central portion of this tree can in any way be taken for the *common* peduncle or stalk of the dates, then perhaps we may have here only a very rude representation of a *whole* bunch of dates in a very young stage, that is soon after the fertilization of the female flowers. I would however prefer to leave this tree as having failed to raise any associated ideas in my brain, tending to suggest a key for deciphering its probable meaning. I might however mention that the stems of a bunch of dates

in certain positions might easily dispose themselves, so as to suggest to an artist's mind the picture of trellis work. Under the supposition that this represents a bunch of very young dates or rather female date-flowers, the cups are cut of all proportion to the other parts. But Assyrian artists did not always bother themselves about proportions. We see men and lions as tall as date trees, and one man more than filling the turret of a fortress, and so forth.

To recapitulate. In all these trees there appears to have been some motive of great *usefulness* for raising them to the rank of sacred trees, variations in the mode of representing them occasionally occurring to the fancy of the artist.

1. The date tree for its food, and a multiplicity of uses, to which its different parts can be put. In Egypt, out of the palm leaves, they make mats, baskets, cages, seats, and also rafters out of the stiff dried midribs; rope out of the fibres at the base of the leaves; brooms out of the dried stems of the fruit bunches. In Assyria, where irrigation was developed into a science, it is more than probable that the hollowed palm stems were also used to carry water to the fields over ditches, besides using them as pillars to support roofs, thatches, &c. Layard gives a modern Yezidi house, in which whole trunks of trees are used as pillars to support the roof (fig. 20). In Assyrian days, the trunks of date trees (such as those which did not bear fruit and surplus male trees, and hundreds which were cut down after conquering a people) would have made better pillars than the trunks of any other tree.

2. The vine supplied them with fruit and with wine, and probably also with vinegar. And where vinegar is plentiful the people soon learn to preserve fruits in it, to be eaten as pickles with their food. It is not improbable also that the large vine leaves stitched together by means of the spines of some bush, may have been used by poor people as plates for putting their cooked food on, as is the custom in India with the leaves of the 'Banian,' and other trees.

3. The pomegranate, besides being a grateful fruit, probably had its rind largely utilized for tanning and other purposes. Where flocks of different animals existed, leather and tanned skins must have been largely used for different purposes, such as clothing, sandals, water-skins, &c.

4. The fir tree was sure to have been among the most useful trees for timber and firewood, the latter being of the utmost importance, not only for cooking, but for warmth in winter.

There can hardly be much doubt that the priests and philosophers of

those days would have soon woven round these useful trees superstitions and myths to show off their own wisdom and importance; but nevertheless I believe their *great usefulness* to have been the original reason for raising them to the rank of sacred trees, as divine gifts provided by the Gods for their people. Probably also prayers may have been invented and offered for the preservation of these trees, and for an abundant crop of dates, grapes, &c, when periods of drought caused scarcity and famine.

It is said that in ancient times in Britain, prayers were offered for a good crop of apples, whether for the sake of the fruit or its cider is not stated.

The raising of the cow in India to the rank of a sacred animal probably also had its origin in its great usefulness, as in nomadic times the milk of their cows must have been of the greatest importance to the people.

With regard to the cones generally of the Assyrian monuments, it is evident to me that it cannot be safe to take *any* cone-shaped design to mean always the same thing. I have before me three kinds of cones. Figs. 18 & 19 appear to represent flowers alternating with a cone-shaped something. Perrot and Chipiez appear to be right in considering these to represent the expanded lotus flower and the cone-like closed bud of the same, borrowed from the Egyptian flora or from Egyptian ornamentation, with which the Assyrians must have been well acquainted. It is impossible to look through Rawlinson's History of ancient Egypt, without feeling that some of the figures on the Assyrian monuments must have been borrowed from Egypt, or *vice versâ*—such as that of Rameses III. hunting the lion, and others. It is, however, not at all improbable that the Assyrians had some similar flowers in their pools and lakelets. Similar water plants are to be found in India.

(Fig. 9). Here the cone-like designs were undoubtedly meant to represent bunches of grapes, and I believe that the cones of Lenormant's *arbre de vie* (fig. 2) were, as I said, meant for nothing else.

With regard to the cone-fruit held in the hand, I have endeavoured to show, in another place, that it is *possible* for this to have been meant for a citron, owing to its comparative size and its knobby surface, and owing also to what, in another sculpture, appears to be intended for a monstrous form of citron. If the latter be so, then the normal form of the citron must have been also known to the Assyrians.

(Fig. 5). The cones on this sacred tree, for reasons already given, are the only ones, which unmistakably appear to have been intended for *fir-cones*.

Lastly, the cones which end the poles of the tent and tabernacle in other cases, and are situated immediately over the horns, appear to be no more

meant for any particular thing than the tops of my towel-horse, or the ends of my curtain-poles are meant for apples. They are simply a *rounded finish* to the end of the poles. This design must in time have become fixed in the minds of the Assyrian artists without any reference to its origin. The young artist, seeing the designs of his father, and so on from generation to generation, one instinctively copying the ideas of another, without thinking of their birth: now and again, perhaps, if the artist had any daring in him, he may have added something new to the old ornaments, to make them more pleasing to the eye.

It might, perhaps, be asked, Why did the Assyrians use *horns* in the first instance to ward off the evil eye? With equal force it might be asked, Why did they select the date-tree, the vine, the pomegranate, &c. to represent their sacred trees? The latter were *indigenous*, ever present and of great importance to the people; therefore there was every reason for revering them.

The bull in those days must also have been either indigenous or naturalized, and roaming *wild* in the Assyrian forests. That it was so is sufficiently shown by the bull-hunts on the monuments. A wild bull can be a terrible creature indeed; so can a lion and an eagle. Their flocks and themselves must have been frequently in danger from these wild animals. In course of time they would have naturally selected them as emblems of *power*, and we see them all three taken up and embodied in their genii. We see the bull horns used as head ornaments of their genii, of their idols, and of the emblem of the Supreme Deity. Thus the bull, the lion, and the eagle became mixed up with the spirit-world of these ancient people. They selected other terrible forms of animals to people their spirit-world—such as the scorpion among insects, the snake among reptiles, and the fish—the two former possibly on account of their dreaded venom, and the latter, perhaps, because it belonged to a totally different element.

Now of the first three animals, the horns of the bull *only* are a *prominent* feature; they are moreover *symmetrical*, and of an *imperishable* material. Here, therefore, are three very good reasons why they should have selected the *horns* of the bull to tie on their favourite trees as protectors against evil. The bull was one of their most powerful animals, and connected with their spirit-world. Later on, when the idea had become familiar, artists would have used other horns, such as those of ibex, goat, &c.

Although I do not here in the least pretend to enter into the origin of the evil-eye itself, there cannot, I think, be much doubt that this superstition comes to us from '*fetish*' periods.

E. BONAVIA.

*ORIGIN FROM BABYLONIA AND ELAM OF THE EARLY  
CHINESE CIVILISATION.  
A SUMMARY OF THE PROOFS.*

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- III. TRACES IN CHINA OF A WESTERN ORIGIN AND ITS DATE. Enumeration. Traditional allusions to cuneiform writing. Routine has hindered progress. False basis of received chronology. The true bases are links to Babylonian and Elamite chronology.
- IV. ELEMENTS OF CULTURE RECEIVED BY THE CIVILISERS OF CHINA FROM BABYLONIA AND ELAM. In *a*) Sciences and Arts, *b*) Writing and Literature; *c*) Institutions and Religion; *d*) Historical legends and traditions.
- V. SPECIAL POINTS PROVING A DIRECT AND PRIMITIVE ORIGIN FROM ELAM. Enumeration. Confirmation by recent discoveries in Assyriology.
- VI. ITEMS OF CIVILIZATION FROM EGYPT, ASSYRO-BABYLONIA, INDIA, &c., ENTERED IN ANCIENT CHINA THROUGH LATER CHANNELS. The Shang and Tchou founders of dynasties. The sea trade of the east and the introduction of money and Egyptian items. The trade-routes through Indo-China and India, and their secondary importance.
- VII. ANSWER TO POSSIBLE OBJECTIONS; and CONCLUSION.

I. WHY A RESUMÉ.

It may be useful to summarise, in order to grasp them with greater facility, the whole series of evidences on which rests my discovery that the early Chinese writing and civilisation were simply derivations from those of Elam and Chaldaea, about and after the time of Gudea and Dungi<sup>1</sup>, derivations carried eastward later on to the Flowery land, namely in the XXIIIrd century before our era. Searching the solution of the Chinese problem has been for me a labour of duty<sup>2</sup> and love and the work of years. For long my researches were unavailing. As explained elsewhere<sup>3</sup>, I had worked on a wrong path. I was prejudiced by the speculative views of several eminent scholars, who, misguided by the false notion of an

antiquity very remote for the civilisation of China, had suggested as plausible a common descent of that civilisation with those of Western Asia, and especially with that of Chaldæa from an imaginary centre of activity in Upper Asia. As a result of my investigations, I was compelled to give up all these views in succession. The comparatively late beginnings of the Chinese civilisation showed themselves to be the outcome of an importation, not a distinct growth from common seeds, but simply a loan, a derivation, an extension eastward from a much older form of culture in the west. I was led slowly by overwhelming evidences, direct and circumstantial from the Chinese and W. Asiatic sides, to the unexpected disclosures alluded to, and which, however astonishing they may appear to those who have not followed the gradual advance of my researches, are now proved to be an assured progress of our knowledge and solid discoveries of historical facts.<sup>4</sup>

The inferences drawn from my investigations in the true path, as put forth in my pamphlet of 1880 on the *Early history of the Chinese civilization*, have been to my great satisfaction, slowly but surely confirmed in their main lines, rectified and made precise in their details. The proofs I have collected, or which have been brought in the mean time to my workshop as confirmative evidence by the advancement of knowledge and the works of several enquirers, are rather scattered in some two or three scores of books, papers, and periodicals, and often hidden from view in the notes of some tractates. Though frequently alluded to and not yet completed in the series of monographs which I devote to them, they have not been arranged together with sufficient clearness. The present resumé is intended to make up this deficiency and to show that, marshalled together, they constitute under every respect, the most irresistible array of facts ever put forth in support of a historical discovery. But this resumé cannot be more than a classified enumeration with the necessary references to the special papers and books.

NOTES. 1) Dungi was the son of Urba-u, who, according to Nabonidus, lived 700 years before Hammurabi, whose reign is fixed by Prof. Julius Oppert (*Bab. & Or. Record*, II, 108) at 2394-2339 B.C., and by Prof. A. H. Sayce (*Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, p. 23, n.) at 2290-2235 B.C., therefore about 3000 B.C. Dungi, like his father, was king of Ur (cfr. Prof. Fritz Hommel, *Abriss d. Gesch. d. Alten Orients*, pp. 20-25). Gudea, priest-king of Sirpurla=Lagash, was his son, according to his own seal (in J. Ménant, *Cylindres de La Haye*, p. 59), and therefore the grandson of Urba-u. The campaign in Elam was apparently made in the name of his father and suzerain. Cfr. below ch. V.

- 2) In connection with the building up of the philosophy of history. Cfr. my explanations pp. vii—viii. Introduction of *Les langues de la Chine avant les Chinois*, (Paris, 1888).
- 3) *Babylonia and China*, p. 1 (*B. & O. R.*, I, 113).
- 4) The number and certitude of proofs increase with the advance of knowledge and progress of research. In *Babylonia and China* (1887) I had enumerated some sixty items of Chaldean and Elamite civilisation among the early Chinese; in the present paper more than one hundred items are indicated.

## II. GENERAL CONDITIONS OF THE PROBLEM.

The general conditions of the problem which I claim to have solved are rather simple. Four distinct civilisations appear in ancient history. The oldest hitherto known is that of EGYPT, for which a length of 5500 years before Christ is required as a minimum by the Egyptologists of the present day. Next to it is the CHALDEAN culture of unknown antiquity, though not yet enabled by the most recent research to claim on documental evidence more than 4500 years before our era. A connection of the two, either by common descent, or by development into the latter of a rude and incomplete derivation from the former, is an open question now under investigation. The peculiar civilisation of the HITTITES is the most recently discovered; its origin is still unknown, its writing undeciphered, and its age unascertained. It is undoubtedly ancient, though not as old as the two others, and may be either an independent offshoot from the same seeds which would have lingered in those quarters, or the regional development of partial loans and influences from the two older foci of culture. Its geographical proximity favours equally the two views<sup>5</sup>.

On the other side of the Asiatic continent, at a much later date than in Egypt and in Chaldæa, we find the fourth civilisation of antiquity, that of CHINA. It appears, since its beginnings, in a curious state of relative completeness, among mongoloid races renowned for their character ultra-conservative and non-progressive. Discarding all the greatness of political power and universal knowledge, attributed to their early leaders by Chinese traditions and comments of later growth, and sifting all fabulous accounts, we find as a residue a few undisputable evidences showing a small number of families arriving in the N. W. of present China, and in possession of a comparatively advanced civilization which explains the enthusiasm of after ages for these men, and has left a deep impression surviving to the present day in the mental habits of the whole people<sup>6</sup>. The existence of these feelings and beliefs would have been difficult and even



impossible, should traces or traditions of savage beginnings, slow development of civilization, pictorial rudiments of writing, and successive progresses of knowledge by self-growth, have ever existed among the Chinese, but nothing of the kind exists in their early souvenirs.

Therefore, at a first glance at the problem, the probabilities are in favour of an importation from S. W. Asia or Egypt, the only parts of the world endowed with civilization at that ancient time.

NOTES. 5) The best résumé on this civilisation is that of Prof. A. H. Sayce : *The Hittites. The story of a forgotten Empire.* (By-paths of Bible knowledge XII. London, 1888.) Also Dr. W. Wright, *The Empire of the Hittites.* London, 2nd edit. 1886; Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. IV. Paris, 1887.—On these questions of origin cfr. some views in my paper : *The Kushites, who were they?* (Bab. & Or. R. I, 25. 31.)

6) We allude here, among other features, to the Ancestral worship, so prominent in all times in China, and still now the very basis of all their cult.

### III. TRACES IN CHINA OF A WESTERN ORIGIN AND ITS DATE.

Everything in Chinese antiquity and traditions points to a western origin. No Sinologist who has studied the subject has been able to ascertain any other origin for the Chinese than one from the West<sup>7</sup>.

It is through the N.W. of China proper that they have gradually invaded the country, and that their present greatness began from very small beginnings some forty centuries ago<sup>8</sup>. This alone would be sufficient, but there are a few traditions pointing to the same fact further west.

Nakhunte (modern : Nai Hwang ti), the first leader of the Bak tribes who reached China, had led his people into Chinese Turkestan, and then along the Kashgar or Tarym river, reaching after a time eastward of the Kuenlun, "the Flower yland," a name which its great fertility had long merited to the lands of future China<sup>9</sup>. Such is the lesson we learn from a comparison of the Chinese traditions about the wanderings of Nakhunte and the identification of the geographical features and names mentioned therein.

The Bak tribes though under the general command of one chief, were divided into several branches which did not reach China at the same time, as shewn by the contemporaneity of several chiefs, and their relations with the tribes of Northern Tibet among whom matriarchate was the rule<sup>10</sup>.

Nakhunte (Nai Hwangti) having reached N. W. China did not go

further than westward of the southern bent of the Yellow river, and dies to be buried, says the traditional legend at Ning on the borders of the present Kansuh and Shensi.<sup>11</sup>

During their advance towards the east, some of the Bak tribes must have separated from the whole body, and travelled northwards near the upper course of the Yenisséi, where inscriptions apparently in the writing of the time have been found<sup>12</sup>; but we must expect some more exact copies than those we hitherto possess.

Sieh, the official scribe and officer of the *Divine* Shun, at the beginning of the *Shu King*, was a descendant from the tribes of the West, and an ancestor of the Shang dynasty.<sup>13</sup>

It is the opinion of some native scholars, that their writing was invented elsewhere, not in China, but in the west.<sup>14</sup> On the other hand it has been attempted to show that the symbol for *west* occupies a prominent place in the writing.<sup>15</sup> Whatever may be the value of this proof which I am not ready to support, the western origin of the Chinese writing rests now on a sounder basis than any of these views.

There are however in the ancient Chinese traditions several allusions which point in so precise a manner to the cuneiform writing, that we must mention them here. Shen-nung=Sargon was reputed to have used signs like tongues of fire to record facts, at a time when the ancestors of the Chinese were not yet acquainted with the art of writing, and Dunkit (modern Tsang hieh) whose name has the same meaning as that of the Chaldean Dungi of which it was a rendering and under whom the Bak tribes were taught to write, made marks on clay like claws of birds and animals. The primitive writing was also compared to drops of rain finely drawn out and freezing as they fall.<sup>16</sup> It is difficult to mistake in all this, most distinct descriptions of the cuneiform writing of south-western Asia. We shall speak again of the peculiarity of the old Chinese writing further on, but then on documentary evidence.

Routine has been for so long the rule in Chinese studies, in imitation of the Chinese habits, that anything done in despite of this time-honoured and most convenient method is by many looked upon with suspicion, as unworthy of attention, uncalled for and revolutionary. The contempt for independent investigations, shown by the generality of those, who residing for a time among the Chinese, have acquired there a large dose of their routine and some tincture of Chinese knowledge and language has produced this most hindering effect. For instance, however difficult to believe it

may appear to the non-initiated, it is a fact that modern books are written by *soi-disant* authorities on Chinese matters, where Chinese chronology is given as genuine and trustworthy, though its fictitiousness for ancient times has been exploded since the last century by European scholars. It was proved to have been calculated backwards upon false astronomical data, imaginary periods and fictive epochs.<sup>17</sup> The application of the well-known cycle of sixty to computation of historic events was only made in 104 B.C. by Szema Tsiên, the author of *She-ki*. As a matter of fact the ancient Chinese had no more chronology than any other of the ancient nations. Dates and times were computed by the lengths of reigns, or the number of years elapsed of such a reign, or between such and such an event of great notoriety.<sup>18</sup> Unhappily there are some discrepancies between the amounts of the respective lengths of reigns, previously to 846 B.C., a date on which the various authorities agree. These discrepancies amount to three centuries or there about, making the calculations of the dates of Yao vary from the XXIst to the XXIVth century and those of Nai Hwang ti from the XXIVth to the XXVIIth century B.C. The chronology generally received among the Chinese placing Hwangti in 2697 B.C. is a work of the XIth century A.D. based upon the false basis we have spoken of.

Therefore other sources must be referred to for ascertaining the general outlines of the chronology in ancient times. These we find in computations and statements made by ancient writers and in a few astronomical data, which, however vague, are not without importance. The times of Hwangti and his successors, Yao and Shun among others, were followed by the dynasties of Hia, Shang, and Tehou, during which last Confucius flourished (B.C. 551-479). Various statements of Yü Hung (circa n.c. 1100) Wang-sun Mwan (B.C. 606) and Mengtze (B.C. 372-289) permit to refer the period of Yao and Shun to circa 2100 B.C. The different astronomical data in the first chapter of the *Shu-king*<sup>19</sup> and in the calendar of the Hia dynasty are applicable to the same epoch.<sup>20</sup>

Now Hwang-p'u Mi, a celebrated scholar<sup>21</sup> of the third century (A.D. 215-282) called the "book debauchee" from his ardour in study, who had specially examined the historical traditions independently of any astronomical speculations, has come to the conclusion that Nai Hwangti's date was a year which corresponds to our 2332 B.C. This figure, which cannot be far from the truth, is one of the links of my identification of the Chinese Nakhunte of Elamite=Nai Hwangti with the Kudur Nakhunte of Elamite history. On the other hand, in removing an obvious in-

terpolation in the mythical list of kings preserved in ancient China, the date of Shen-nung, Chinese form of Sargon, agrees with the 3800 B.C. indicated for this ruler in the cuneiform documents<sup>22</sup>.

It appears from all the comparative evidence and the break in the traditions and social connection that it is in the XXIIIrd century B.C. that the Bak tribes, future civilisers of China, branched off from the vicinity of Elam and Babylonia, and migrated eastwards.

- NOTES. 7) For a sketch of this important fact of history, cfr. my work *The Languages of China before the Chinese* (London, 1887), §§ 13—19 and 187—201; édition française, pp. 7—10, 109—126, and 146—148.
- 8) Among the most important let us quote:—Dr. Wells Williams, *The Middle Kingdom*, vol. II, p. 144; Prof. James Legge (Introduction *Chinese Classics*, vol. III, p. 189); Dr. J. Edkins, *China's place in Philology* (London, 1871); Dr. J. Chalmers, *The origin of the Chinese* (London, 1868); Prof. R. K. Douglas, *The Language and Literature of China* (London, 1875); *China* in the Encyclopædia Britannica; *China* (London, 1882); Baron F. von Richtofen, the well-known geographer of China, in the first volume of his great work, *China, Ergebnisse eigener Reisen und darauf gegründeter Studien*, pp. 48, 317, 319, 422—425, and 428, who has been able to trace back the Chinese westward as far as the Tarym basin, Chinese Turkestan.
- 9) *The Chinese Mythical Kings and the Babylonian Canon* (The Academy, Oct. 6, 1883). This is developed in a special monograph, still in MS.
- 10) *The Tree of Life and the Calendar Plant*, p. 6 (*B. & O. R. II*, p. 153). Also developed in a monograph, still in MS.
- 11) *The Languages of China before the Chinese*, § 13, n.
- 12) *Ibid.*, n. 1. Prof. J. R. Aspelin, of Helsinfors, is now engaged in a regular study of these and other inscriptions of Siberia, as he has kindly informed me.
- 13) Cfr. *Shu-King* II, i, 17—19; *Shih King* IV, iii, od. 3 and 4; *K'ang hi t'ie tien*, s. v. 37 + 6, f. 17.
- 14) J. Chalmers, *The Origin*, p. 23, quoting the *Shwoh wen*.
- 15) Deka, *The Origin of the Chinese*, pp. 152—154, of *Notes and Queries on China and Japan*, vol. I, (Hong-Kong, 1867); Hié, *Analysis of Chinese Characters (The Chinese Recorder*, 1871, pp. 90—93, and 119—123).
- 16) All the texts are referred to in *The Old Babylonian Characters and their Chinese Derivates*, pp. 12—13 and 26 (*B. & O. R. II*, pp. 34—35 and 97).
- 17) Cfr. P. Souciet, *Observations Mathématiques, Astronomiques. &c.*: Paris' 1729—1732; vol. I, p. 6, vol. II, pp. 2, 9.
- 18) Cfr. J. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. V, p. 101.—T. de L. *Traditions of Babylonia in Ancient Chinese Documents*, s. f.
- 19) Dr. J. Schlegel, in his important work, *Uranographie chinoise* (La Haye, 1876, 929 pp.), and *Réponse aux critiques* (La Haye, 1880, 23 pp.) where he claims an antiquity of 16,108 years B.C. for the astronomy he describes (a part of which may, I think, have been carried to

China from the West) has started from the famous statement of Yao to his four astronomers reported (perhaps inexactly) in the first chapter of the *Shu-king*. Now the learned Professor has understood this statement as implying some peculiarities which may require the length of time he has calculated, but which are not of absolute necessity for the intelligence of the text. Other scholars have understood it differently, and are satisfied that about 2000 B.C. the statement of Yao was not far from truth. Cfr. the following note.

20) Cfr. *Discussion of Astronomical Records in ancient Chinese Books*, by Prof. S. M. Russell (Journal, Peking Oriental Society, Peking 1888, vol. II, pp. 187-200); *Notes on an ancient Chinese Calendar*, pp. 1-7, by E. C. Knobel, Hon. Sec. Royal Astronomical Society, London, 1882; *Early Chinese Texts, The Calendar of the Hea Dynasty*, by Prof. R. K. Douglas, pp. 1-60; *Orientalia Antiqua*, edit. T. de L., London, 1882, vol. I; *Chart of the principal Stars chiefly Zodiacal, &c.*, by Prof. C. Pritchard, of Oxford (Sacred Books of the East, vol. III, p. 27); *Astronomy of the Ancient Chinese*, pp. 90-102 by Dr. J. Chalmers. (Legge's *Chinese Classics*, vol. III.)—Also, T. de L., Introduction to *Historical Catalogue of Chinese Money* (London, 1889).

21) W. F. Mayers, *Chinese reader's Manual*, I. 215.

22) *Traditions of Babylonia in ancient Chinese documents*, s. f.

TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIK.

(To be continued).

## A BUDDHIST REPERTORY

IN SANSKRIT, TIBETAN, MANDCHU, MONGOL & CHINESE.

(Continued from p. 43).

### SECTION X (continued).

#### NOTES.

1) The Sk. term must have been *bhūmī*, earth, resting place, degree. It occurs in the first name, and must have been repeated in each of the following. The contents of this Section and of the following apply either to the Bodhisattvas, or to the Buddhist faithful. In the first case, *bhūmī* is a period of unnumbered millions of years. The five degrees of the section are degrees of progress at which the Bodhisattva successively arrives from *bhūmī* to *bhūmī*.

*Adhimuktī* is for the Bodhisattva death, which he attains because, not being able to reach such and such a degree in a certain existence, he wishes to reach some other by which he may advance. For the faithful,

they are five degrees in the knowledge which destroys *avidyā*, the cause of existence, and which liberates. *Adhimukti* is inclination, devotion, absolute faith, abandonment to Buddha and his teaching. The five degrees are, therefore, (1) devotion full of faith, (2) that which procures the sight of truth, or the real nature of things (3) growth of this light, by means of which (4) one enters into every part of this real nature, (5) in order to contemplate it for ever.

3) *Ēkadēga* might mean 'in its entirety.'

5) *Samādhi* (from *Sam* + *ā* + *dhā*) is the total application of the mind, concentrated on its object; the suppression of all internal act, and the quasi-inconscient immersion of the intellect in its final object,—the Supreme Being, Absolute Being, Buddha, or All-Void,—according to the difference of school. The other explanations do not appear to be adequate.

### SECTION XI.

#### *Sa-bcu ki mīṅla.*

Names of the Ten Degrees<sup>1</sup>.

1. *Pramuditā*, greatly rejoiced, extreme joy<sup>2</sup> (caused by the thought of deliverance about to be obtained). T. *rab-tu dga-ba*, id.
2. *Vimāḷā*, absence of stain (by the repression of the passions and purity of life). T. *rnim med pa*, id.
3. *Prabhākarā*, Producing, or diffusing light (interior or illuminative). T. *'od byed pa*, producing light, making to shine (by purity and interior illumination, and causing other to shine).
4. *Arcishmati*, radiating light. T. *'od phra can*, with diffused light. M. &c., id, (development of the preceding).
5. *Sudarjayā* [read-*dur*.] difficult to overcome or conquer. T. *Sbyaṅ dka ba*, difficult in exercise. M. *anaburakōngge*.
6. *Abhimukhā*, presenting himself in front, conspicuous. T. *Mñon du 'gyur pa*, id. M. Mg. Shewing himself in full light.
7. *Dārangamā*, going far, penetrating far. T. *riñ-du soñ ba*, going for a long time, persevering. M. Ch., going far.
8. *Acaḷā*, unmoveable, not failing. T. *Mi gya ba*, motionless.
9. *Sadhumatī* [read *sādhu*—], goodness, perfection, happiness. T. *legs pa hi blo-gros*, good or clear intelligence (*matī*).
10. *Dharmamēghā*. litt. 'cloud of the Law'. T. *c'os kyī sprin*, id<sup>3</sup>.

### NOTES.

1) Here again two systems. These 10 *bhūmīs* are the different states of the believing soul, practising the good Law and desirous of arriving at the state of Buddha, or merely of Bodhisattva tending to the former state, —fictitious degrees of *Bōdhi*. In the Kārnika and Yātnika systems, which admit a Superior Being, — a divinity, existing of itself, *Swayambhū*, *ādibuddh*, the supreme and primordial Buddha—these 10 epithets designate

10 residences (*bhuvāni*), whither the faithful who have practised the Law well shall be transported after death according to their merits. There is an 11th *Agnishtha*, elevated above the rest, wherein the *Ādibuddha* resides. Sometimes 13 are reckoned, by adding *S'mānt'prabhā*, "resplendent on all sides," *Nirupama*, "having nothing above," and *jñānavati*, "abode of knowledge." Beneath these dwellings there have been formed in descending order, 18 belonging to Brahma, then 6 to Vishnu, and 3 to Īva or Mahēçvara. Then come those of Indra, Yama, the Sun, Moon, Fire, Wind, lastly the Earth resting on the waters. Beneath the Earth come different *Nārakas* or hells. It will be seen that there is no mention of all this here.

2) Joy is one of the first effects of the practice of the Law. Amidst the greatest pains and sufferings the faithful, certain of the possession of truth and of deliverance, has moments of joy which rise even to exultation (*ulān-vargi*); he becomes purified (§ 2), receives light which grows more and more (§ 3), surmounts increasing difficulties §§ 5, 6, 7, arrives at the state of stability (§ 8), of happiness (§ 9), at the supreme point which is like the thunder-cloud (§ 10).

3) This cloud represents the most perfect region. Buddhas are called *Megharājās*, "cloud kings." In the Brāhmanas Yoga it is also the highest degree of contemplation.

## SECTION XII.

*Phar phyin bcu hi miñ la*¹.

Names of the Ten Pāramitas.

1. *Dānapāramita*, perfection (or means) of generosity; almsdeeds. T. *shyin pahi pha rol tu phyin pa*, parāmita (means of traversing and reaching the opposite shore) of gifts or alms. M. *barānit* [transcription] of generosity.—(Gifts which go as far as despoiling self. Buddha gave up his flesh, blood, body, wife, and children).
2. *Çīla-p.* perfection of moral virtue. T. *ts'ul -khrims kyi pha*,—of customs and uses. M. like Sk.—Ch. to observe warnings or mortifications.—(Strict observance of the ten commandments, absence of desire and passion. It conducts safely across the dangerous regions and miserable existences.)
3. *Kshānti-p.* do. of patience. T. *bzod pa*, patience. Ch. bearing injuries, &c.—(joyful supporting of suffering, or insults, without resentment or agitation. Destroys wickedness, impatience, violence).
4. *Virya-p.* of heroism, courage, superior activity. T. *brtson 'grus*, zeal, effort. M. Ch. activity, zeal; (Accomplishment of the most difficult and painful works, virtue, charity).
5. *Dhyāna-p.* of meditation. T. *bsam-gtan*, profound, or persevering meditation. Ch., meditation in which the mind is fixed. (Practice of meditation on the variability and miseries of the world, the necessary renouncement, the Law, the Last End.)

6. *Prajñā-p.*, of knowledge, sciencē, intelligence of things. T. *ḡes rab*, id. (Development of true knowledge, by reflection, knowledge of the 4 truths<sup>2</sup>).
7. *Upāya-p.* of ability. T. *thabs*, id. M. ability in finding means (to resist passion, overcome oneself, practice the law, suffer, live as an ascetic).
8. *Prañidhāna*<sup>3</sup>, devotion. T. *Smon lam*, prayer of desire or request. Ch. desire. Mg. prayer addressed to a Buddha in order to become such oneself.
9. *Balam*, strengthen in accomplishment of duty, mortification, &c. T. *stobs*, id. (Differs from *vīrya* by requiring external efforts).
10. *Jñānam*. Complete knowledge which illuminates and renders one Buddha. T. *ye-ḡes*, id. M. Science penetrating all. (Absolute knowledge which at the same time confers all magic powers and secures deliverance.<sup>4</sup>

## NOTES.

1) Means of crossing to the other shore, of traversing the waves of existence and arriving at the opposite side, viz. Nirvāna. They belong specially to the Mahāyāna. These perfections are 5, 6, or 10 in number, according to the system. It is especially the Bodhisattvas who must practice them during their last trial, and each for thousands of years. Čakyāmūni particularly distinguished himself in them. Burnouf translates "perfection" thinking that our definition corresponds to *yāna*. Not so: the *yāna* is the vehicle on which one passes, *pāramita* is what completes the passage; it is the passage accomplished. The *Lalitā Vistara* has only the first six.

2) The series of 6 parāmitas stops here: the other are partly confounded with three first ones: *balam* with *vīrya*, *jñānam* with *prajñā*, &c.

3) The ordinary Sk. term is *prañidhi*, prayer.

4) The ten parāmitas practised by Čakyāmūni in anterior existences are also enumerated as follow: *dānam*, *ḡīlam*, *nishkrāma* (remuneration), *prajñā*, *vīrya*, *kshānti*, *satya* (truth), *adhishṭāna* (firmness), *māitrī* (compassion, benevolence), *upekshā* (patience, equanimity).

C. DE HARLEZ.

[Erratum.—§ ix, 16: *Siñhavadīkraitā*, playing like a lion, not lion-eyed].  
(To be continued).

ERRATUM in "Notes on the Geography of Northern Syria &c." p. 43.—  
For "and the large proportion of the names," read "of a large proportion, &c."

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THE  
BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

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*Contributors are alone responsible for their opinions or statements.*

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ORIGIN FROM BABYLONIA AND ELAM OF THE EARLY  
CHINESE CIVILISATION.

A SUMMARY OF THE PROOFS.

*(Continued from page 69).*

IV. ELEMENTS OF CULTURE RECEIVED BY THE CIVILISERS OF CHINA FROM  
BABYLONIA AND ELAM.

The remains and loans of Chaldean culture, which we can still now discover in the early Chinese civilization, are so numerous and bear on so many points, that we cannot without difficulty summarize them with clearness; their number increases with the progress of research, and not a few will remain behind. For the sake of convenience we shall enumerate them in their relation to: *a)* Sciences and arts; *b)* Writing and Literature; *c)* Institutions, Government, and Religion; *d)* Historical traditions and Legends; reserving for a special chapter those which show that the source of all these loans was in Elam=Susiana.

*a) Sciences and Arts.*

The ancient Chinese, through their civilisers, had learned from Chaldea<sup>25</sup>:

the solar year,

its duodenary division, with the system of an intercalary month,

its sub-division into twenty-four parts,

and into periods of five days;

also the division of the day into double hours,

and a certain use of a period of seven days.<sup>25</sup>

They preserved from their early teachers

the same fourfold division of the year into seasons;<sup>26</sup>

and they had not entirely forgotten the symbolism of the names of the twelve months.<sup>27</sup>

Nor had they forgotten

- the allusions in the names of the planets<sup>28</sup>
- and their symbolical colours<sup>29</sup>
- the special colours affected to the points of space ;
- the superstitions relative to the lucky and unlucky days ;<sup>30</sup>
- the Babylonian words for lucky and unlucky<sup>31</sup> and other superstitions ;<sup>32</sup>
- the hidden properties and harmonies of numbers ;<sup>33</sup>
- a ruling idea in the repetition of events after every period of 12 years ;<sup>34</sup>
- the practice of divination,<sup>35</sup>
- and the use of eight wands of fate like those in the hand of Marduk ;<sup>36</sup>
- the conception of *Yin* and *Yang*, principles derived or diverged from the Babylonian *Anu* and *Anat* ;<sup>37</sup>
- the sacredness and mysterious value of personal names ; &c.<sup>38</sup>

It is also to them that must be traced back

- their ancient knowledge of 24 stellar points<sup>39</sup> afterwards increased to 28 at the beginning of the Tchou dynasty ;<sup>40</sup>
- many names of stars such as those of the Pleiades and Polar star ;
- the Babylonian standard measures and weights such as the heavy mina,<sup>41</sup>
- the twelve scales of music ;<sup>42</sup>
- the gnomon<sup>43</sup> ; the clepsydra, &c. ;
- their cycle of ten, the names of which are obvious corruptions of the ten Akkadian numerals ;<sup>44</sup>
- the cycle of twelve, of which the full names, preserved from antiquity in the *Erh-ya* and the *She-ki*, stand in the same plight with reference to the names of the twelve Babylonian months ;<sup>45</sup>
- the notion of a cycle of twelve years ;<sup>46</sup>
- the knowledge of the astronomical period of nineteen years, that which was supposed to have been discovered by the Greek Meton in B.C. 432, but which existed in China long before that time, and in Chaldea much earlier still ;<sup>47</sup>
- the use of periods of 432 and 72 in their calculations,<sup>48</sup>
- and that of 60 as a cycle and a divisible unit ;<sup>49</sup>
- the decimal notation and local value of the figures ;<sup>50</sup>
- the use of some astronomical instruments, such as one for observing the meridian passage of stars, so as to fix the time of the four seasons of the year ;<sup>51</sup>
- the conception of the sky as a convex vault ;<sup>52</sup>
- many terms from the Babylonian vocabulary of civilisation, Akkadian and Semitic,

such as those for the great year,<sup>53</sup>  
 and for the intercalary month,<sup>54</sup> &c;  
 the motion that the full length of human life ought to be 120 years;<sup>55</sup>  
 the shifted cardinal points; &c.

The latter was the occasion of

the most remarkable of the confirmatory evidences of the genuineness of my disclosures: it came from the decipherment of cuneiform inscriptions in February 1883. Three years previously, in May 1880, I had been able to state from my investigation of the Chinese documents, that the early Chinese names of the four cardinal points and the symbols to write them, were much like those of Chaldea, with the difference that they displayed a shifting of the quarter of the circle.<sup>56</sup> My statement, based chiefly on Chinese evidence, was splendidly confirmed at the later time at the date quoted above by the decipherment of a Babylonian tablet,<sup>56</sup> since then confirmed by several others, where it was shown that the Akkadian orientation was leaning to the West, their north being the north-west and so forth.<sup>58</sup>

In arts the ancient Chinese owed to their early civilisers:

the art of making fire by gyration<sup>59</sup> (fire-drill) in contradistinction to fire by friction—along so well-known in the East<sup>60</sup>;

the arts of clay-brick building in substitution for stone;<sup>61</sup>

of making canals,

of embanking rivers, and of works of irrigation

and agricultural pursuits, to which they applied themselves as soon as settled in their new country, with a determination of purpose which displays an experience and knowledge of long standing;<sup>63</sup>

the culture of the wheat which was indigenous only in the N. and N. E. of the Persian Gulf and which they carried away with them<sup>63</sup>;

the use of metals and the arts of casting them<sup>64</sup>;

the erection of lofty terraces for astronomical purposes,

and of large square altars;<sup>65</sup>

the extensive use of personal seals;<sup>66</sup>

the use of war chariots

and of harnessing horses abreast;<sup>67</sup>

the use of special emblems on their ruler's dress;<sup>68</sup>

the making of coracles or skin-boats<sup>69</sup> and many others.

NOTES. 23) Cfr. for the statements about Chaldaea: A. J. Sayce, *Babylonian Literature*, pp. 54-55; *The Astronomy and Astrology of the Babylonians*,

- pass. (Trans. Soc. Bibl. Archaeol., vol. III, 1874).
- 24) On the 24 *tsieh ki* cfr. Wells Williams, *Syllabic Dictionary*, p. 974; on the 12 *tchen* (J. Doolittle, *Vocabulary and Handbook*, t. II, p. 669; J. Fergusson, *Chinese researches*, p. 165.
- 25) F. Porter Smith, *A Chinese Sabbath* (Notes and Queries on China and Japan, vol IV, p. 15); C. D., *A Chinese Sabbath*, *ibid.* p. 38); A. Wylie, *On the knowledge of a weekly Sabbath in China* (The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal, vol. IV, Foochow, 1871, pp. 4-9 and 40-45) cfr. especially p. 44 b.
- 26) This had been already guessed by Fortia d'Urban, *Histoire Ant. de la Chine*, vol. II, p. 85; Fergusson, *Chinese Chronology*, p. 170; cfr. p. 136.
- 27) Cfr. Sayce, *The Astronomy*, p. 162, and R. K. Douglas, *Babylonian and Chinese literature*, p. 8; *China*, p. 232.
- 28) Cfr. Sayce, *Astron. and Astrol.*, pp. p, 167-175.--R. K. Douglas, *Bab. and Chin. Lit.*, p. 7; *China*, p. 3.
- 29) Cfr. J. Chalmers, *Orig. Chin.*, p. 25.
- 30) Sayce, *op cit.*; N. B. Dennys, *The folk-lore of China*, (Hong-kong, 1876) pp. 27-32.
- 31) *Early hist. Chin. civil.*, p. 25; *Old. Book Chin.*, p. 262.
- 32) R. K. Douglas, *op. cit.*
- 33) F. W. Mayers: *Chinese Reader's Manual*, p. XI.
- 34) Tchou-li. XXVI, 23, trad. Biot, vol. II, p. 115.--Sayce. *Astronom. and Astrol.*, p.151.
- 35) *Shu-king*. Ta Yu mo, II, (2) 18.
- 36) *Early history of the Chinese civilisation*, pp. 29-30; *Beginnings of writing around Tibet*, § 28.
- 37) Cfr. François Lenormant, *Les origines de l'histoire*, vol. I, p, 494.
- 38) A. H. Sayce, *Lectures on the religion of the ancient Babylonians*, pp. 304-305.
- 39) On these points in Babylonia, cfr. A. H. Sayce, *Astron. and Astrol.*, p. 176.
- 40) J. B. Biot, *Etudes sur l'astronomie Indienne et Chinoise* (Paris, 1862 p. 247.--I think most probable that the systematisation of the 24 stellar points of antiquity into the 28 *siu* was the work of the founders of the Tchou dynasty in imitation of what they had learned from the astronomy of Kwarism, where, according to Albiruni's statement, great progress had been made in that science since 1304 B.C., and among others the harmonization of the solar and lunar cycles.
- 41) *Babylonian and old Chinese measures* (The Academy, Oct. 10, 1885). 243-244.
- 42) This has been pointed out repeatedly by several writers on the subject
- 43) *Tchou-li*, k. 9, ff. 16, 17, 22; k. 20, f. 40; k. 33, f. 60; k. 42, f. 19; k. 43, f. 20.
- 44) *The affinity of the ten stems of the Chinese cycle with the Akkadian numerals* (The Academy, Sept. 1, 1883).
- 45) *Babylonian cycles, numbers, and names in ancient China* (still in MS.)  
 For instance cfr. Chinese *Shept* = *Shebat* Babyl.  
 „ *Tamot* = *Tamus* „  
 „ *Tib-tu* = *Tebit* „  
 „ *Tih-fan-noh* = *Si-ra-nu* „ &c. Several of  
 the other names are Akkadian.

- 46) The great year of the Chinese.—A. H. Sayce, *Astron. and Astrol.*, p. 151.
- 47) J. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. I, introd., p. 2.—A. H. Sayce, *Astron. and Astrol.*, p. 216.
- 48) Cfr. Fergusson, *Chin. Chron. Cycl.*, pp. 82-86; cfr. also pp. 103, 105, and 136.
- 49) All this is demonstrated in the monograph above quoted.
- 50) Cfr. *The old numerals, the counting rods, and the Swan pan in China*, p. 312 (The Numismatic Chronicle, 1883, vol. III, pp. 297-340).—Dr. J. Edkins, who does not seem to have known the latter paper of mine, wrote *Local value in Chinese arithmetical notation* (Journal of the Peking Oriental Society, 1886, vol. I, pp. 160-169), where he claims a Babylonian origin for an old Chinese notation supposed to be from left to right; but I have shown in the above paper with the help of the ancient coins (*ibid.*, p. 315) that this notation was from right to left; besides, the writer did not know that at the time of the transmission of writing to the civilisers of China, the characters were arranged from top to bottom.
- 51) *Shu-king* II, i. 3.—J. Edkins, *Science and Art in China to the Ming dynasty* (Journ. Peking Or. Soc., 1888, vol. II, p. 142).
- 52) François Lenormant, *Chaldean Magic*, p. 152.—Alex. Wylie.
- 53) Cfr. Old Chinese *sut* (modern *suy*) and the Assyro-Babylonian *sattu*.
- 54) The Akkadian words or their cognates which are found in the Chinese vocabulary may be arranged in three series: 1) those received at the beginning with the civilisation in which they were current terms; 2) those which were the common inheritance of the two languages from the remote and original stock Turano-Seythian to which both of them belonged, and from which they have separately and greatly diverged. On this divergence cfr. for the Akkadian: T. de L., *Akkadian and Sumerian in comparative Philology* (B. & O. R., I, 1-7); and for the Chinese: *The Languages of China before the Chinese*, sec. 20-26.
- 55) *Tso-tchuen*, Hi kung, 32nd year.
- 56) *Journal of the Society of Arts*, 1880, vol. XXVIII, p. 733.—T. de L., *Early history of the Chinese civilisation* (London, 1880), p. 29.
- 57) By M. Theo. G. Pinches, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Feb. 5, 1883, p. 74.
- 58) Since then I have written a monograph on the subject with the addition of new evidence from the Chinese sources. *The shifted cardinal points from Elam to early China*, of which the first part has appeared in the B. & O. R. II, pp. 25-32.
- 59) W. St. Chad Boscawen, *The pre-historic civilisation of Babylonia* (Journal Anthropological Institute, 1879, vol. VIII, pp. 21-36).
- 60) Oscar Peschel, *Races of Man*, p. 140; Ch. Letourneau, *La Sociologie*, p. 538.—For instance the *gtsub* in Tibet (Jaeschke, *Tibetan English Dictionary*, p. 433) not quoted in these works.
- 61) A peculiar fact is that the Chinese and their kindreds of Tibet are the only ones in the East who build houses in bricks, and that everywhere; so much so that their quarter in a foreign town is always recognisable by that feature.
- 62) *Wheat carried from Mesopotamia to Early China*, p. 1 (B. & O. R., II, 134).—cfr. R. K. Douglas, *China*, p. 5.

- 62) *Wheat carried, &c.*, *ibid.*, pp. 184-191; and the letter of Prof. Alph. de Candolle, *The wheat indigenous in Mesopotamia*, *ibid.*, p. 266.
- 64) The sole traces of the stone period of civilisation belong to the uncivilised populations of the country when the Chinese came successively in contact with them. There is no souvenir of such a state among the Chinese traditions. Metals are mentioned since their beginning, and the casting of vases with maps and figures is spoken of under the great Yü, with all the appearances of truth. Cfr. J. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. III, p. 421, vol. V, p. 293. M. Aspelin has pointed out a probable influence of Assyro-Babylonia on the bronze art of Siberia. Cfr. J. J. A. Worsae, *Des âges de pierre et de bronze dans l'ancien et le nouveau monde*, p. 206 (Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires du Nord, 1880. ---Cfr. also: Virchow, *Trans-Kaukasische und Babylonisch-Assyrische Alterthümer aus Antimon, Kupfer und Bronze* (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1887, IV, 334-337).
- 65) J. Edkins, *China's place*, pp. 3-5.
- 66) This feature is too well known to require any demonstration.
- 67) J. Edkins, *China's place*: "at present in N. China horses are not harnessed abreast. The farther we go back, the nearer are the resemblances (with Western Asia)," p. 7.
- 68) *Shu-King yih* and *tsih* II, 4. 4.-This item will be specially noticed in a future paper.
- 69) Cfr. the Chinese authorities in G. Schlegel's *Uranographie Chinoise*, p. 347.---On the *Kufas* cfr. Herodotus, I, 194, Ker Porter, Layard, Chesney, in G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. I, p. 318; W. F. Ainsworth, *The Euphrates expedition*, vol. II, p. 196.

#### b) Writing and Literature.

As the best sign of civilisation and the great vehicle of knowledge, Writing deserves more attention than any of the items we have hitherto enumerated.

The *Bak* tribes future civilisers of China, on the border lands of Susana, at the times of Dungi King of Ur, (as shewn by their own traditions)<sup>70</sup> and of Gudea Priest King of Sirpulla-Lagash, learned the art of writing as spread from Babylonia,<sup>71</sup> and afterwards they carried away with them eastwards this knowledge, with many other elements of the Chaldean culture.<sup>72</sup>

When on clay as was most always the case, this writing was made of cuneiform strokes (like claws of birds, say the Chinese) the shape of which was owed to the implement used to impress them; when engraved on stone, the big apex of the strokes was not yet developed, as it came to be later on, in more complete imitation of the clay writing.<sup>73</sup>

The *Bak*-s, instead of baked clay<sup>74</sup> tablets and cylinders, were compelled by their natural surroundings and by the unsteadiness of their settlements to make use of slips of bamboo bark, on which they cut incise the

signs of the writing with a graving-knife<sup>75</sup>; and though this material obliged them to write in more roundish shapes, they preserved as much as possible the system of making strokes thick at one end and thin at the other. This peculiarity, which is a most salient feature of the specimens of the oldest Chinese writing or *Ku-wen* preserved to this day, and also called *Ko-tu*<sup>76</sup>.

The forms of the Babylonian characters, not drawn in obedience to strict rules as it became the case later on in Assyria, were far removed from a pictorial stage<sup>77</sup>. Some of them, however, still preserved traces of hieroglyphical antecedents generally facing the reader in contradistinction to the Egyptian and Hitite hieroglyphs, which were generally drawn in profile<sup>78</sup>. This feature was preserved in their derivatives, and the Chinese, far from forgetting this small pictorial side of their written characters, have enlarged upon it, notably in 820 B.C.<sup>79</sup>, and have never been able to improve and advance their writing out of the limbo of ideographism and imperfect phonetism, in which it was lingering when they learnt it.

They have preserved as well the other various characteristics of the Chaldeo-Elamite antecedent of their writing at the times of Dungi and Gudea,<sup>80</sup> such as the disposition of the characters in vertical columns and then from right to left, their meanings and not a few of their phonetic and polyphonic values, their imperfect system of acrology and phonetism, their limited use of determinative ideograms which they increased afterwards, and several other important peculiarities.<sup>81</sup>

A few hundred form the basis of this writing in the Chinese derivative as in its Babylonian antecedent. About three hundred<sup>82</sup> archaic forms are now known from the Babylonian side, out of which two hundred are pretty well ascertained in their respective meaning.

There are also a few peculiarities which must be noticed as not unimportant. The early Chinese writing has no simple symbol for river, but it possessed peculiarly shaped signs for a boat, for wind (an inflated sail); all characteristics of the Babylonian script. In the oldest texts the character *shan* 'm o u n t a i n' is used for country as in the cuneiform texts.

The identifications with the primitive Chinese, their derivatives, bear already on nearly every one of these 200.<sup>83</sup>

The identifications hitherto published are much more important than their numbers would suggest, because they do not bear on such symbols as those which in the case of writing derived from hieroglyphics may be drawn in a similar fashion, as for instance the water, the sun, the crescent of the moon,<sup>84</sup> &c., they bear on the contrary

on signs which are most arbitrary in their form, and could not be twice drawn in the same way. There is no doubt that the early Chinese characters,<sup>85</sup> branched off as they were from the ancient Babylonian writing, and carefully preserved in the same traditional surroundings since forty centuries, however fragmentary and altered this tradition may be in the present day, contain a large number of valuable data which will prove useful to the Assyriologist-paleographers, when they appreciate their source of information. Some proofs have already been given in support of this statement.<sup>86</sup>

With respect to Literature, we have the following entry to make.

A critical examination of the text, and a partial restoration of some parts of the *Yu-hing* has led me to the conclusion, that the basis of that remarkable and most unintelligible among sacred books, consisted of old fragments of early times in China, mostly of a lexical character;<sup>87</sup> the primitive meaning of them became lost, and they were afterwards adapted, through the changes in the writing and graphical interpretations, to other purposes.<sup>88</sup> Many of these changes and substitutions of characters are well known. The original lists are so much like the so-called syllabaries of Chaldea, and in some cases the identity is so close, that it is impossible not to believe that their authors were acquainted either themselves or by tradition with these syllabaries, and that the question arises whether some of these were not actually carried in China by the leaders of the Bak tribes civilisers of the country.<sup>89</sup>

The similarity under that respect was not confined to phonetic lists like those of the Yh king; in China as in Chaldea they were acquainted with the system of vocabularies<sup>90</sup> arranged by classes of objects.<sup>91</sup>

NOTES. 70) Cf. *suprà*, part II.

71) *Chips of Babylonian and Chinese palæography*, III.

72) Cfr. notably *The old Babylonian characters and their Chinese derivatives*, London 1888; (B. & O. R., pp. 73-99); *Chips of Babylonian and Chinese palæography*, (B. & O. R., pp. 257-263, to be continued).—Prof. A. H. Sayce, *Babyloni m and Chinese characters* (Nature, June 7, 1888 and B. O. R. II, 218-220), accepting for Assyriology my discovery. Prof. R. K. Douglas had accepted it for Sinology long before. Cfr. his papers at note *suprà*.

73) Cfr. the facsimile of the stone and clay inscriptions in L. de Sarzec, *Découvertes en Chaldee*, part I. and II.

74) The clay tablets and cylinders were baked afterwards, in Assyria only.

75) *Old Bab. char. and Chin. deriv.*, pp. 20 and 25.

76) Now *K'oh tōu*, transcribed with two symbols meaning ideographically "tadpoles," because of the analogy of shape of the latter with that of the strokes. This is a play on the name which, formerly transcribed "grain-measures," was so altered in the second century B.C. by King Ngan-



Kwoh. The name was probably the original one of the writing. A further resemblance has been sought for by later commentators between the waving of the tadpole's tail and the appearance of the strokes of characters eaten up and worn out on ancient inscriptions, such as the Inscription of Yü, which is, however, a forgery made about a few centuries from the Christian era. The *Ku-wen* characters are those of high antiquity, with which has been written the oldest of the canonical books; other characters of the same style and period which were used in other works are called *Ku-wen-ki-tze* in contradistinction to the former. All the *Ku-wen* and *Ki-tze* characters known to-day have been preserved from the monuments and traditional copies of the original works by the Chinese palæographers of whom the works, collections of inscriptions, comparative dictionaries and others, are almost in every case done with a precision and care worthy of European science. The mere list would be a long one; a few only of the most valuable may be quoted here: such as the *Luh shu t'ung* of Min Tsi-kih, 10 bks. 1661 (which must not be mistaken for an inferior production of nearly the same title by Yang Hüen, of the Yuen dynasty); *Luh shu fun luy* by Fu Lwan-siang, 12 bks in 1751; *Tchuen tze wei* by Tung Wei-fu in 1691; *Ku-wen Ki-tze* by Tchu Mou-wei in 1612; and others quoted in my paper on *The old Babylonian characters*, &c., sec. 8. The work of the palæographers has been much easier and more certain in their identifications by the preservation of a large number of ancient inscriptions, which permitted the verification of the calligraphical exactitude of the Archæic characters transmitted through manuscript tradition. On the other hand the text of the canonical books have been engraved in several instances, notably under the Han, T'ang, Sung and actual dynasties, and in several styles of writing, the original Ku-wen text among others in the beginning (cfr. P'ang Yung-mei's *Shih king k'ao wen ti yao*), In A.D. 175 Tsai-yung, on the command of Ling-ti of the Eastern Han dynasty, engraved on stone tablets, eight feet high, on the two sides the five classics: *Yh King*, *She King*, *Shu King*, *Li Ki* and *Tchun tsiu*, in three styles of writing (cfr. *Hou Han Shu*, biogr. of Tsai-yung; *Tai ping yü lan*, Bk. 589, f. 2). During the years 240-249, Ti Wang fang of the Wei dynasty had them repaired. In 518 the remaining tablets, 46 in number, were employed in the building of a Buddhist temple; but they were rescued by special order of the Emperor, and 35 tablets found unbroken were placed in the *Kwoh tze tang* or University. These tablets contained the texts of the *Shu King* and of the *Tchun tsiu*. At the time of the author of the *Si tcheng Ki* (a work quoted in the *Tai ping yü lan* of 983 A.D. Bk. 589, f. 7), eighteen tablets only were still in existence. About the year 1050, under the Sung dynasty, Sü-wang was enabled to take squeezes of the inscriptions and engrave 818 characters which Sun Sing-yen has published in fac-simile in his work *Wei san ti shih king y tze k'ao*. On this matter cfr. also the *La suh* of Hung Kwoh published in 1188. We know that the text *Ku-wen* of the *Yh-King* was once in Panthier's library. The text *tchuen* of the *Yh-King*, *Shu King*, *She King*, *Tchun Tsiu*, *Tchou-li* and *y-li* exists in the Bibliothèque Nationale Fonds Chinois, No. 183, Paris.

77) *Old Bab. char. and Chin. der.*, sec. 11.

78) *The oldest Book of the Chinese*, sec. 111; *Early history of the Chinese civilization*, p. 22.

- 79) On this remarkable revival of ideographism, cfr. *Early history*, pp. 15-17; *The oldest Book of the Chinese*, sec. 24.
- 80) The great advance I have made in my disclosures, besides the multiplication of proofs, bear on the derivation of the written characters by the pre-Chinese Bak tribes, and on the historical certainty of the fact. They are not so much the result of my own efforts as the outcome of the progress of knowledge. In my first publication, when I felt a solid ground under my feet, *Early history of the Chinese civilisation* (1880), I could only claim a community of origin and a probable derivation from the Akkado-Chaldaean (pp. 22 and 32). In *The oldest Book of the Chinese*, sec. 110 (2nd part, April, 1883), I was still claiming for the writing of the Pre-Chinese Bak tribes a derivation from the pre-cuneiform characters, and I endeavoured from an examination of the early Chinese characters to discover some particularities of this antecedent or pre-cuneiform writing (*ibid.*, sec. 111). But in Nov. of the same year I could point out that the derivation had taken place from the archaic cuneiform and not from the pre-cuneiform characters (*Traditions of Babylonia*, p. 3). Since then the matter has received confirmatory evidences, direct and circumstantial, from all sides and is now definitively settled.
- 81) *Old Babyl. Char.*, part III.
- 82) Cfr. A. Amiaud et L. Méchineau; *Tableau comparé des écritures Babylonienne et Assyrienne archaïques et modernes*, avec classement des 327 signes d'après leur forme archaïque. Paris, 1887.
- 83) On these 200, fifty and odds have already been published; the others will follow as soon as leisure and health permit.—*The old Bab. char. and their Chinese der.*, part IV; *Chips of Bab. and Chin. palæog.*, pass. : *The Tree of life and the Crendar plant of Babylonia and China*, n. 38, p. 10; *Wheat carried from Mesopotamia to early China*, p. 5; *Early hist. of the Chin. civil.*, p. 23 and plate, &c.
- 84) This argument, however, is not very good, as simple objects of nature are often represented differently. Cfr. the remarks and plates in Adolphe d'Assier, *Essai de Grammaire Générale* (Paris, 1872).
- 85) I have explained how and by what means these ancient characters have been preserved, in *Les langues de la Chine avant les Chinois* (Paris, 1888), pp. 176-177; some bibliographical references are given in *The old. Bab. char. &c.*, pp. 4-5. See also note 75 *suprà*.
- 86) Cfr. *The oldest Book of the Chinese*, sec. 115.
- 87) T. de L., *Early history*, pp. 23-26; *The Yh King* (The Athenæum, 21 Jan. 9 and 30 Sept., 1882; *The oldest Book of the Chinese and its Authors*, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1882, vol. XIV, pp. 237-289 and 484.—Rob. K. Douglas, *The progress of Chinese linguistic discovery* in *The Times* April 20. 1880, reprinted in Trübner's *Oriental Literary Record*, vol. I, pp. 125-127; *Chinese and Babylonian Literature*, in *Quarterly Review* of July 1882; two letters in *The Academy* July 12, 1882, pp. 121-122, and Oct. 7, same year: *China* (London, 8vo, 1882), pp. 358-359, 2nd edit. 1887, pp. 391-392.—Clement F. R. Allen, *The Chinese book of the Odes*, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1884, vol. XVI., p. 460.—Stanley Lane Poole, *Sacred books of the Chinese*, in *Saturday Review*, 30 June, 1883.—Ch. de Harlez, *Le texte originaire de Yih King, sa nature et son interpretation*, in *Journal Asiatique* de 1887, reprint pp. 6-7.

- 88) Dr. De Harlez, studying the ancient text as it became after all these changes, has recognized in it an attempt at grouping under each word an enumeration of the ideas proper to the Chinese philosophy. Cfr. his remarkable paper, *Le texte originaire du Yh-King, o.c.*
- 89) Cfr., for instance, the comparison made § 115 of my paper *The Oldest Book of the Chinese, l.c.*
- 90) Cfr. § 117, *ibid.*
- 91) I must mention here the suggestion (Ferguson, *Chinese Researches* p. 74) that the *Shan hai King* the Classic of the Mountains and Seas, contains a translation of the ancient work of Berossus, though it is devoid of any foundation and must have come from some one who had never read the book itself. As I have paid some attention to this work, which I have seen nowhere faithfully described, I may as well state that it is composed of six different works successively incorporated and forming now 18 books. The first five, *Wu tsioung*, are the older part in which short interpolations only have been made; it is a geographical description of the hills and mountains of the country known under the Shang Tynasty. The *Hai wai* and *Hai nei* forming the 6-9 and 10-13 books respectively are two separate works describing maps of Romantic geography written under the Tchou Tynasty and added as a continuation of the former work by the editor *Liu-huang* in B.C. 80-9. *Liu-siu* who died in 57 A.D. arranged another edition of the work with the addition of the *Ta huang* Bks 14-17, and of the *Hai nei* Bk. 18, two compositions of similar character as the two preceding, but still more romantic, if possible. Finally Kwoh-poh the celebrated commentator of the IIIrd. century, inserted the *Shui King* a small composition of the Ts'in dynasty on the rivers, in the XIIIth. book. Such is the work which has reached the present time; it contains a mass of rubbish mixed up with important data. Excepting the first five books, the work was originally illustrated with pictures of many fabulous beings, men and animals. In the VIth. century new pictures were added because the old ones had been lost. The late A. Bazin has inexactly noticed the work in the *Journal Asiatique* of 1840, t. VIII. M. Emile Burnouf has translated a portion of it in *Congrès provincial des Orientalistes* Levallois, 1875, p. 131. Prof. Leon de Rosny has begun a complete translation in *Mémoires de la Société des Etudes Japonaises*, vol. IV. pp. 81-114 (1885).

### c) Institutions and Religion.

The early Chinese were indebted to the Bak-s their civilisers for the following items of culture from S. W. Asia, which may conveniently be enumerated under this heading :

- the institution of an imperial system of government<sup>92</sup>;
- the concept of four regions or four seas, which is meaningless in China<sup>93</sup>;
- and a title of chief of the four mountains, which seems to be a sort of adviser to the early Chinese ruler and disappears soon afterwards;<sup>94</sup> it was certainly a yet recent reminiscence of the famous title of the

King of the four regions, which was borne by the Chaldean sovereign and suzerain<sup>95</sup>;

the title of pastor for their twelve leaders<sup>96</sup>;

the appellatives of Middle kingdom for their country

and of Black-headed people for themselves, both names as in Assyro-Babylonian<sup>97</sup>;

the custom of prefixing the divine symbol character to the names of rulers and princes, a custom which was short-lived after their arrival in China<sup>98</sup>;

the institution of public astronomers<sup>99</sup>;

and many minor customs, such as the right hand side as the place of honour,<sup>100</sup> &c.

Several entries in the two preceding sections might as well have been included in this list.

The Ancient religion of the Chinese exhibits various traces of importation from S. W. Asia by their civilisers. The singular dualism of supreme divinities which differentiates so entirely this religion from those of the other Mongoloïd races of high Asia is most worthy of attention. Besides the worship of *T'ien* the Sky-Heaven so general among these races, we find in China the cult of a supreme and personal god *Shang-ti* specially reserved to the rulers themselves. I have not yet published the monograph I have written on the subject to demonstrate this fact<sup>101</sup>, and explain how the worship of the supreme god for the time being<sup>102</sup>, when the Bak tribes migrated from the North of Elam developed among them into the cult of *Shang-ti*. There are besides, some other features pointing distinctly to a Chaldeo-Elamite origin. In the second chapter of the *Shu-King* (II. 1, 111) it is said that Yao venerated the six *tsung*; these celestial spirits bear names which correspond word for word with the six minor gods of Susiana<sup>103</sup>. In the Annals of the Bamboo Books, *Nai Hwang-ti* (I. 3) is said to have taken advice from three beings whose names turn out to be those of Chaldean deities. Those points are demonstrated in the monograph spoken of.

NOTES. 92) J. Edkins, *China's place in philology*, p. 6.

93) Obviously transferred from other horizons.

94) The title is mentioned in the *Shu-King* and only during the reigns of Yao and Shun. (*Yao tien* 11, 12; *Shun tien*, 7, 15, 17, 23). It is alluded to by the King Tch'eng of the Tch'ou dynasty as one of the appointments of officers made by Yao and Shun after having studied antiquity. (*Tch'ou Kwan* 3).

95) Cfr. The Assyro-Babylonian *shar Kibratim arbaim* (W. A. I., I. 3,

- 11, 12 ; 4, 14, 15 ; 5, 19, 21) a survival of the old tetrapole of Nimrod, (Francois Lenormant, *Essai de commentaire des fragments cosmogoniques de Berose*, Paris, 1871, pp. 27 and 323) and a usual title from the days of Naramsin, according to documental evidence (Fritz Hommel, *Die Semitischen Volker und Sprachen* (Leipzig, 1883) p. 485), and most probably older.
- 96) Same references as note 94. We shall have to refer to it as a souvenir of Suziana
- 97) *The shifted cardinal points ; from Elam to early China*, p. 1 (*B. & O. R.* II, p. 25).
- 98) An, originally an eight-pointed star in Chaldea.—Ti originally derived from the same eight pointed stars in China: for instance Ti Lai, Ti Ming, &c. of the mythical canon, Ti yao, Ti Shun, in Chinese history.
- 99) *Shu King, Yao tien*.
- 100) Now it is the left hand side. Cfr. Chalmers, *Origin of the Chinese*, p. 28.
- 101) My task on this point has been lately lightened by the remarkable tractates of Prof. Ch. de Harlez, *Les Croyances religieuses des premiers Chinois*, 60 pp. (Académie de Belgique, 1888, vol. XLI), and *La Religion en Chine, à propos du dernier livre de M. A. Réville*, Gand, 1889. 33 pp., where this distinguished Sinologist, analysing all the ancient texts on the subject, has come independently to the same view of a complete distinction in the beginning between *Shang-ti* and *T'en*, and an importation of the cult of *Shang-ti*. Cfr. *Les Croyances*, pp. 36-37, *La Religion*, pp. 20, 21. That which gives to these papers a much greater authority than any other recent work on the subject, is that the author being himself an eminent Sinologist has been able to collect together the original passages of the Chinese sacred books which refer to the matter, and to draw from their respective weights and comparison his own conclusions.
- 102) It has been remarked by Prof. A. H. Sayce that in the Chaldean civilisation of which that of Susiana was an offshoot, it was customary for a new dynasty to impose over all the other cults that of their own god which they used to worship before in their native place or region.
- 103) Their names were found on ancient documents at the time of the renovation of literature under the Han dynasty.

d) *Historical Traditions and Legends.*

In Historical Traditions and Legends, the evidences are most peculiar and striking.

They could be ascertained only since a few years, because the historical data which they represent were not known before, and because some of them, though corresponding to certain facts already known, and being somewhat islate in the east, had not as yet attracted the attention of any scholar.

The most immediate testimony, which the Chinese Bak tribes brought eastwards of their origin was their own name of Bak, which they not

only kept for themselves but which they gave to several of their first capitals.<sup>104</sup> Bak was an ethnic of Western Asia which appears there in not a few geographical names as we shall have occasion to show further on.<sup>105</sup>

The peculiar names of Middle Kingdom for their country and Black heads for their own people, were doubtless souvenirs of the same appellatives which as we know were used in Assyro-Babylonia<sup>106</sup> with the same acceptations or nearly so.<sup>107</sup>

Many proper names of S. W. Asia might be adduced here in Geography and Personal surnames. For instance, in Geography:

*Su-mit* for Sumir; *E-ke*t for Akkad; *Din-tih* for Dintir *ki* or Babylon; *Tam-tum* for Tamdin, north of Persian Gulf; *Let-sam* for Larsam; *Sohsha* for Susa; *An-teng* for Anzan; *Sut-ki* for Susik; *U-lu k* for Uruk; the *Tök-luh* river for Diglat, the Tigris,<sup>108</sup> &c. &c.

And among surnames, such as:

*Mat-t-ki* for Marduk; *Hot-Bak-Ket*<sup>109</sup> for Urba-u otherwise Urbagash; *Dun-kih* for Dungi;<sup>110</sup> *Limku* for Rimaku; *Shen-nung* for Sargon<sup>111</sup>; *Nak-khun-te* for Nakhunte,<sup>112</sup> and so forth.<sup>113</sup> The difference between the Chinese and the original forms of all these names being in most cases that which result from the much limited orthoepy of the Chinese.

These two lists of names might be greatly lengthened, should we quote those of the royal canon of Babylonia which appears in the ancient Chinese documents as referring to a time anterior to the existence of the Chinese as a nation.

The list of mythical kings we refer to is doubtless an early version of the Babylonian canon which existed in China from remote antiquity<sup>114</sup>, though I am not prepared to deny the probability of the view that the rulers of the Bak tribes did carry it with them in their migration to China. Distinct allusions to names of the list and to peculiar events of the traditions concerning them are found in the Classics; the principal names are often referred to, such as those of the great Hao-Fuh hi, Shen-nung, &c.<sup>115</sup> But the traditions or, better, the legends which are joined to the list have been swollen by much extraneous matter and marvellous details; there has been combined with them some legendary souvenirs referring to the Bak tribes previously to their being civilised<sup>116</sup>; and the original text has been so much altered in the course of centuries by ignorant copyists through the various changes of writing, that it must be carefully sifted and critically edited. The comparison could not have been made of the Chinese document

with the Babylonian lists, and their identity, though different in treatment, could not have been recognized until recent years. It is only since the discoveries of the cuneiform lists of kings<sup>117</sup>, that the Babylonian and Chinese fragments may have been studied together. Though only 27 complete names remain on the fragments of the list of Babylonian kings covered by the traditions preserved in China, the identity of the names is most remarkable<sup>118</sup>. Notwithstanding the subsequent rearrangement of the Chinese fragments by later mythographs in the Flowery land, it is obvious that the original data when communicated to the early Chinese, and as I have said, somewhat mixed towards the end with their own beginnings, had not been yet systematized, as they appear in the Assyro-Babylonian tablets of late date recently discovered which we alluded to.

As they stand, the Chinese fragments are divided into ten *Ki* i.e. periods or dynasties. *Ki* appears on the Assyro-Babylonian documents with the same meaning; their number *ten* reminds us of that of the antediluvian period; but the fragmentary state of the cuneiform lists does not permit us to ascertain if they were or not divided also into *ten Ki*.

The enumeration of the ten *Ki* is preceded by the mythical reigns of 13 Heavenly Kings and 11 Terrestrial Kings, each having ruled 18,000 years, or 5 *sari* of 3600 years. The total makes 432,000 years, which is precisely the number of years attributed to the antediluvian kings by the Babylonians<sup>119</sup>. It is still more remarkable that the unequal division of 432,000 years into 234,000 for the Heavenly Kings and 198,000 for the Terrestrial Kings (or 65 and 55 *sari*) should correspond to the zodiacal basis which has been shown to underlie these speculations<sup>120</sup>. And besides, the first of the Terrestrial Kings is reported to have begun to rule with the zodiacal sign of the bull, in the same way as the first antediluvian reign.<sup>121</sup>

The first of the ten *Ki* is the reign of nine human kings, followed by five other dynasties or *Ki* of which no names of rulers have been preserved<sup>122</sup>; then come the seventh *Ki* of *Sumit* (for Sumir) with 22 rulers; the eighth *Ki* of *Dntih* (for Dintir *Ki*) with 9 rulers<sup>123</sup>; the ninth *Ki* of *Tamtun* (for Tamdin) with 24 rulers<sup>124</sup>. The tenth *Ki* begins with Na-khunte the Nai Huangti of the Chinese. The names of the seventh, eighth, and ninth *Ki* are given, and their comparison with the cuneiform lists shows the most remarkable identities<sup>125</sup>. The last name of the Chinese list is that of *Dumang*, which is said to have been killed by Nakhunte; it is the *Duma-an* of the cuneiform list.

Some special traditions are most remarkable as obvious remnants of what the Bak tribes future civilisers of China, were taught previously to their migration. For instance among those already published, we find legendary souvenirs.

- of a great Cataclysm which seems to refer to the flood;<sup>126</sup>
- of Sargon and the peculiarities of his life, under the altered form of Shen-nung;<sup>127</sup>
- of Dungi, as Dunkit (modern Tsanghieh) teaching the art of writing to the Bak tribes;<sup>128</sup>
- of Nakhunte, as Nai Hwangti, with peculiarities which point to the history of Kudur Nakhunte and his conquest of Babylonia in 2283 B.C.<sup>129</sup>
- of successive apparitions of beings half-fish, half-men at the beginning of civilisation and in connection with the introduction of writing;<sup>130</sup>
- of the symbolic tree of life and its calendaric features;<sup>131</sup>
- of a neighbouring people, subdued by Nakhunte and having a year of ten months (an ancient Semitic feature);<sup>132</sup>
- of the life of ancient men lasting 120 (or two sosses).<sup>133</sup>

NOTES. 104) *The Lang. of China before the Chinese*, sect. 201.

105) Cfr. below chapt. V, and note 136.—The unjustified translation of *Bak sanh*, modern *Peh sing* by *Hundred families* has long hindered all investigations on the subject. According to K'ang-hi's great encyclopædia there are in China 4657 *sing*, or surnames, out of which says Prof. R. K. Douglas (*China*, 2nd edit., p. 251) 1619 are double ones. Cfr. also addition 203 to *Les langues de la Chine avant les Chinois*, p. 160.

106) *The shifting of the card. points*, init. (B. & O. R. II, 26).

107) Cfr. *ibid*, note 2, p. 31.

108) All these names are quoted in the papers referred to, note 113.

109) This is the old form of the name which has been abraded into the modern great Hao-Fu-hi. Cfr. my demonstration in *Trad. of Babylonia in early Chinese documents*, l. c.

110) In the Chinese transcription *carver of wood*, in the Babylonian *the man of the reed tablet*. Cfr. *Early history of the Chinese civilisation*, pp. 27-28; *The old Bab. char. and their Chinese deriv.*, note 47 (B. & O. R. II, 97).

111) The corruption of Shen-nung for Sargon is equivalent to that of Shinaar for Singar, &c. Cfr. *The wheat carried*, &c., note 11.

112) On this name, cfr. below, chapt. V, note 137.

113) For all these names cfr. *The Chinese mythical Kings and the Babylonian Canon*, l. c.; *Trad. of Bab.*, &c. l. c.; *The Wheat carried from Mesop. to early China*, l. c.; W. St. C. Boscauwen, *Shen-nung und Sargon*, B. & O. R. II, 208-209).

114) I have prepared for publication a comparative list derived from the following authorities: *San Huang*; *Sun Kia*; *Wai-Ki*; *Lo-Pi*; *Kang Kien tcheng she-ti*; and K'ang-hi's great encyclopædia. My first



- communications on the subject appeared in *The Academy* of Oct. 6 and Nov. 17, 1883. Mr. Pinches will supply the cuneiform text.
- 115) Cfr. R. K. Douglas, *Further progress in Chinese studies* (The Times, Aug. 4, 1884).—Louis Rioult de Neuville, *Les origines de la civilisation Chinoise*, pp. 240-249 of *Revue des questions historiques*, Juillet, 1884.
- 116) Such, for instance, by an obvious interpolation of the names of four savage chiefs at the end of the eighth *Ki* of *Dintih* or Babylon.
- 117) By the late George Smith, and by Mr. T. G. Pinches.
- 118) As recognized by Prof. R. K. Douglas, *Further progress*, l. c.
- 119) According to Berossus, Abydenus, and Syncellus. Cfr. Fr. Lenormant, *Les origines de l'histoire*, I, 232 sq.
- 120) By François Lenormant, *ibid.* I, 269 sq.—Cfr. also: Robert Brown, jun., *The early Bab. Kings and the Ecliptic* (The Academy, May, 1884, pp. 386-387.—And also W. Drummond, *Origin of the Bab. Empire*, p. 9; Th. Fergusson, *Chinese chronology*, p. 84.
- 121) Cfr. Fr. Lenormant, *Biblical Genealogies* (Contemporary Review, April, 1880); Fergusson, *O. C.*, p. 183.
- 122) They are said to have reckoned respectively 5, 59, 3, 6, and 4 rulers.
- 123) Four rulers are here interpolated, cfr. note 116.
- 124) Two names of Bak chiefs are placed besides at the beginning.
- 125) Cfr. my reserves however in *The Chinese mythical kings and the Bab. Canon*, s. f.
- 126) Cfr. *The shifted Card. points; from Elam to early China*, pp. 29-30 (B. O. R. II. .
- 127) Cfr. *The Chinese mythical kings and the Babylonian Canon*, p. 5 (The Academy, Oct. 6, 1883; *Wheat carried from Mesopotamia to early China*, pp. 1-2 (B. O. R. II, pp. 184-185). And the confirmation from the side of Assyriology, by Mr. W. St. Chad Boscawen, *Shennung and Sargon*, B. & O. R. II, pp. 208-209.
- 128) *Early history of the Chinese civilisation*, p. 27; *The Old Babylonian characters and their Chinese derivatives*, pp. 13 and 25 (B. O. R. II 85-97); *Tradit ions of Babylonia in early Chinese documents*, p. 5 (The Academy, Nov. 17, 1883).
- 129) *The Chinese mythical kings*, p. 6 (l. c.); *Early history*, p. 27.—Cfr. the date of the Chinese? Nai Hwangti in 2332 v.c. *suprà*.
- 130) *The fabulous fishermen of early Bab. in ancient Chinese legends*, pp. 1-6 (B. & O. R. II, pp. 221-226).
- 131) *The Tree of life and the Calendar plant of Babylonia and China*, pp. 1-11 (B. & O. R. II, 149-159).
- 132) *The Chinese mythical Kings*, p. 6.
- 133) *Ibid.*, p. 6.

#### V. SPECIAL PROOFS OF AN ELAMITE ORIGIN.

Since the beginning of my publications on this subject, I have repeatedly pointed out that the elements of the Chaldean culture they possessed, had been acquired, by the leaders of the Bak tribes who civilized China, west of the Hindu-Kush, south-east of the Caspian Sea, and in the

vicinity of Elam=Susiana. The reasons for my statement were ... are still the following :

1. It is in this region that the ethnic *Bak*, name of the tribes which went to N. W. China, was in existence and was best preserved, e.g. *Bakhdi* (Bactra), *Bakhtan*, *Bakthiyari*, *Bagdad*, *Bagistan* (Bag or Bak+stan,) i.e., land of Bak,<sup>134</sup> *Bakmesnagi*, i.e., country of the Baks<sup>135</sup>.

2. It was there also, that *Kutthi* or the like, another appellative of the Bak tribes, met with cognate names<sup>136</sup>.

3. The name of the ruler of the Bak tribes when they arrived in the N.W. of China proper was, *Nakhunte*, modern *Nai Hwang ti*,<sup>137</sup> which was evidently taken in imitation of the kings of Susiana, whose generic appellative, at least for many, was *Nakhunte*<sup>138</sup>, in honour of their "chief of the gods."

4. The six *tsung* of the early Chinese were a souvenir of the six minor gods of Susiana<sup>139</sup>, as shown by their names.

5. In the governmental arrangements of the early Chinese they had twelve pastors, and the country divided under their rule.<sup>140</sup>

6. In ancient Chinese *nam* is the South, and with the common equivalence  $n=l$ , it sounds like an old souvenir of *Elam* as a southern country.

7. In the Chinese syncretic legend of Shennung, which is now proved to be an alteration of that of Sargon of Chaldea,<sup>141</sup> and in that of *Nakhunte*, several geographical names point to the same country of *Susiana-Elam*.<sup>142</sup>

8. It was in 2295 B.C. that *Kudur Nakhunta*, King of Susa, conquered Babylonia, and that the former order of things in Elam was disturbed therefrom ; now this date corresponds with the requirements of the skeleton of chronology in China, and the immigration of the Bak tribes in the XXIIIrd century B.C. therein.

9. In comparing some affinities of terms borrowed by the civilisers of China, I have pointed out that the loan could not have taken place from Chaldea, but from a cognate and intermediary country.<sup>143</sup>

All these reasons, as may be seen, were based chiefly on Chinese sources, and excepting the indirect evidence I had drawn from an examination of the inscriptions of Susiana, it was not known when the Chaldean culture had been introduced there. A double confirmation of the correctness of my views, or better of the Chinese statements, has come from the cuneiform inscriptions. The celebrated *Gudea* in one of his inscriptions (statue B) states that he conquered the town of *Anzan* (Elam.<sup>145</sup>) Now

as Gudea was older by two or three reigns than one of his successors who was contemporary with Dungi, and that Dungi, the Dunki (mod. Tsang hieh) of the Chinese tradition, taught the Bak tribes the art of writing, this disclosure and indirect confirmation is most important. On the other hand, a mention of the Bak tribes has been found in the inscriptions of Elam.<sup>146</sup>

To resume: it is difficult to ask more evident confirmations from the cuneiform inscriptions than these statements, as the Bak tribes, being barbarians, occupying apparently a conterminous region, could not be looked upon as very important.

- NOTES. 134) *The oldest Book of the Chinese*, § 112: *Wheat carried from Mesopotamia to early China*, n. 2; *Les langues de la Chine avant les Chinois*, pp. 120-121 and 159.
- 135) In the Susian Inscriptions. Cfr. Addit. 201 to *Les langues de la Chine avant les Chinois*, p. 159.
- 136) *The oldest Book*, *ibid.*, *Les langues de la Chine*, § 202.
- 137) The full name may be yu Nai Huang Ti, old *Ku-Nak-Khun-te*, but yu may be a prefix, and *Nakhun* appears written in one single group in the Ku-wen style of writing. Cfr. Fu-luan-siang, *Luh shu fun luy*, s. v.; and Tung Wei-fu, *Tchuen-tze wei*, s. v.
- 138) *Early history of the Chinese civilisation*, p. 27.
- 139) Cfr. *suprà* IV, c, n. 103.
- 140) *Early history*, p. 29.
- 141) Compare Shen-nung=Sargon to Shennaar=Shingar.
- 142) T. de L.,- *The Chinese mythical List of Kings and the Babylonian canon* (The Academy, Oct. 6, 1883); *Traditions of Bab. in early Chinese documents* (*ibid.* Nov. 17. 1883; *Wheat carried from Mesopotamia to early China*, p. 2 (B. & O. R. II, p. 185).—W. St. Chad Boscawen, *Shen-nung and Sargon* (B. & O. R. II, pp. 208-209).
- 143) *The affinity of the ten stems of the Chinese cycle with the Akkadian numerals* (The Academy, Sept. 1, 1883): *Trad. of Bab. in early Chinese documents* (*ibid.*, Nov. 17, 1883).
- 144) *Chips of Bab. a d Ch. palæog.*, p. 6 (B. & O. R. II, p. 262).
- 145) Arthur Amiaud, *Sirpourla, d'après les inscriptions de la collection de Sarzec*, p. 13 (Revue Archéologique (1880).—T. de L., *Les langues de la Chine avant les Chinois*, 159-160.
- 146) By Mr. W. St. Chad Boscawen (B. & O. R. II, p. 189, n. 2). Cfr. also my note and the reference to a passage of the Nimrod epos, in *Les langues de la Chine*, *addit.*, p. 159.

ERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE.

(To be continued).

*NOTES ON THE GEOGRAPHY FROM THE NILE TO THE  
EUPHRATES AS KNOWN TO THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS.*

(*British Association, Bath Meeting, 1888, Section E*).

No geographical knowledge takes us back so far, I suppose, as that of the Egyptians; and no track of migration, war, or commerce in the first ages was so great a channel of the forces of human life as that huge horseshoe magnet of which one end touched the Persian Gulf and the other the outfall of the Nile into the Midland Sea, which the Egyptians called "the great Green."

From the wide watered plain of Euphrates to the narrow watered valley of the Nile the sons of men were bound to fetch and carry, to march and fight, to drift and settle. By the waters lay their path. The dry stony wastes and thirsty sands were the barriers, not the great streams. On blown-up skins and rafts, and in tubs, and anyhow, those who wanted to cross the rivers did so, and so they do every day.

But in section E. I must abstract my geography from its natural associations and keep it dry, however hard this may be. The materials of information on this subject are very various and extensive. It is true that of Egyptian monuments of lordship in the land, like those rock-sculptures and stelæ which keep guard at Sinaitic mines or on the outposts of Kush, we have nothing, I think, except the renowned tablets of the Nahr el-Kelb; nor do we light upon Egyptian ruins or find, except rarely, even small relics.

But in Egypt itself are records on a profuse scale, lists of hundreds of tributary places (each name borne in its embattled circuit on the side of a captive prince), triumphal narratives of conquest, laudatory poems, despatches written on papyrus from Egyptian fortresses and outposts far afield, the celebrated jocular composition which recites the adventures of the *Mohar* in the "intelligence department", the memorials of deceased officers military, naval, or political, and the like. Of all these none exceed in interest the clay tablets in Babylonian cuneiform so lately found in the ruins of the short-lived capital Tel el-Amarna, of which we must speak by and by.

In fact this "restitution of decayed intelligence" is constantly filling up blank spaces in our note-books, and we are now in quite a different

position from that of the lamented Mariette when he edited the geographical Lists of Karnak only thirteen years ago.

The interpretation of these Egyptian records for our purpose depends on very various factors, as, for instance, on an advancing knowledge of the exact value of the hieroglyphic signs, and their equivalents in cuneiform or in alphabetic letters, Hebrew, or other; on the results of surveying and archaeological work in the field, and the collation of such results with the text of the Bible, and with the lore of the Talmud, and the narratives of pilgrims, and the works of classic and modern geographers; and, not least, with the annals of Assyrian kings who fought over the same ground in a contrary direction. We are in the midst of all this research, and it is highly needful that scholars and travellers should take into common account one another's achievements, and work into one another's hands.

The British Association brings together men of very various attainments, and gives a fine opportunity for such friendly collaboration. We, who with our right hand must keep the Queen's peace in Eastern Bunnah, while with our left we construct dockyards and arsenal on the North Pacific coast of Canada, must not ignore the great highway of nations from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf; we ought to know what the intelligence department of the Pharaohs knew about the lands that lie under the lee of Cyprus and on the way to Armenia and to Persia and Bombay. It is not the fault of our gallant sectional President [Col. Sir C. W. Wilson, K.C.B.] if we forget those lands. It is with lively pleasure that I have undertaken at his invitation to report progress from Egyptian information upon that most interesting, memorable, and hallowed part of this region of the earth that lies between the Nile-mouths and Euphrates.

We start, then, from the eastern frontier of the Nile-delta, fortified and paced by sentinels from most early times (long before Abraham), and guarded at points of entrance by strong forts, where everything was taken down in writing and reported to head-quarters. There were, I believe, three great roads to the east, as laid down by Dr. Trumbull in his '*Kadesh Barnea*,' the north from Zoan, called in the Bible 'the way of the land of the Philistines,' leading by Pelusium and along the coast; the middle, the way of Shûr, that is 'the wall,' which led out from the Wâdy Tumulât and along the ancient road rediscovered by the late Rev. F. W. Holland, and described from his notes by our President; the third, or south "the way of the Red Sea" (יב סוּחַ), represented by the present Hâjj Road to the head of the Gulf of Akaba.

I agree with Dr. Trumbull in the northern part of his route of the Exodus, for I have long thought that the אַתָּם (Etham) of Scripture is the Atima or Atuma of the Egyptian papyri, and not any Khetam: and, moreover, that the name may remain at El Adâm, north of Tel Habûa, between Pelusium and Daphnæ (*G. Chester, P.E.F.* 1880, 147).

M. de Lesseps says that a tribe pasturing occasionally at Um Riam, west of Ismailieh, are called Ethami (Vigouroux, *La Bible et les Découvertes, &c.*, 4me ed. II, 403). M. Naville takes the same view of Etham as regards the name in the papyri (*Pithom*, p. 23).

I must take this opportunity of commending the excellent study of Mr. Flinders Petrie on Ptolemy's Geography of the Delta, in '*Naukratis*,' p. 90, although it scarcely bears directly on my subject to-day.


The actual frontier of Egypt is now being carefully made out. The great exit of armies was at Tsar or Tsal, which Dümichen believes to have been near the outlet of the Wâdy Tumilât. Outside its fortress-walls the territory of the Shasu (Arabs) began. The land of Khal (or Kh-r), that is Syria), reached down to Tsar (Dümichen, *Geschichte*, 260), and that stronghold was called "the sentinel at the gate of Egypt."

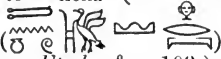


The Egyptian forces marched out in the days of Seti and Rameses along the sweet-water-canal valley through which our troops marched in to Tel el-Kebir, and our horse-artillery guns were planted on the mound of Pithom when first brought into action.

Further north near Kantâra was constructed in much later times the important entrenched camp of Takhpankhes by Psamtik I, where his Greek and Carian auxiliaries were stationed. Through its gates, doubtless, Neko II. passed to the field of Megiddo, where young Josiah fell in his loyalty.

And in the castle there Hophra (Uahabrâ) sheltered the remains of Zedekiah's royal house with the reluctant and protesting prophet Jeremiah, who there foretold the invasion of Nebukadrezzar; in that brickpaved court which was uncovered so lately by Mr. Petrie.

The final point on the north-east was Pelusium. The name of Farama (al-Firma of Muqaddasi), appears to me to be the Païrma, where Merenptah constructed a fortress. (*Acad.* 1888. 123, 206). It is a highly interesting fact that Esarhadlon in his Egyptian campaign avoided Pelusium where Taharqa awaited him, and, by a masterly flank-march from Raphia through the desert, entered the Wâdy Tumilât, for his narrative breaks off with the first name in Egypt, uamely Iskhût which, as M. Naville agrees with me, must be the Sukkoth of Exodus

and the  of the inscriptions, (*Acad. Mar.* 3 1883, 'Pithom'. 6. Doubtless the Assyrian king was led by his Arab guides into the ancient way discovered by Mr. Holland, by which he believed that the Hebrew patriarchs entered Egypt.

In the celebrated story of Saneha (XIIth dynasty), we find the country of upper Tenu,  described. It must have touched the sea, (Chabas, *Études* &c. 100.) I have often thought that the name may be the same as זין, Zin, in which Kadesh Barnea lay, doubtless Ain Gadis). There are instances of interchange of  and .

The important indications of fortified watering-stations in the desert given by the tableaux of Seti I. should be well followed up in the survey of the country between Beersheba and the Delta. Prof. Maspero agrees with me in thinking that Seti followed Mr. Holland's ancient road in his march against the fortress of Kanāna; which Major Conder has identified with Khurbet Kan'ān, six miles south of Hebron. Rameses III. declares in his great papyrus (*pap. Harris.* IX. 1-3), that he had erected to the god Amen a sanctuary in the land of Tsaḥa like the horizon of heaven, the house of Rameses hiq An (his own title), in Kanāna, as an abode of the god's name. He had sculptured the great statue of the god reposing in it, and the land of the Rutenu brought their tribute to it. (*Eisenlohr. T.S.B.A. I.*, 356).

A very important historic point is Sharūhana, whither Aahmes I. pursued the routed Hyksōs army. This is the Sharūhen of Josh. xix. 6. doubtless well identified with Tel esh-Sheri'ah on the Wādy of that name, north-west of Beersheba.

The Negeb is mentioned by that name in the inscription of Amen-em-Heb. It was formerly taken for granted that the Egyptian armies had taken the coast road to Syria in their various campaigns, and had shunned the great mountain-masses of Palestine.

We must, I think, very much modify this view of the matter. The coast-route, by the way, was deflected far inland, as Prof. Maspero has shown, by a tract of dense oak-forest country north of Joppa, still impracticable to armies in the time of the Crusades, (*Entre Joppé et Mageddo, Leeman's Album*, p. 3; Conder. *Tent Work*, I, 214). This is an important geographical feature to be always borne in mind in treating the region between Joppa and Carmel. The forest was infested by banditti, and would give cover for serious flank-attacks on a marching force. It was known by the name of Assur in the crusading times,

as Major Conder says, when Richard Cœur-de-Lion fought his way through it to Arsuf from the north and this seems quite to explain the allusion to Kazarti the chief of the land of Aser (𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍) in the Mohar's adventures. This leader would then not belong to Assyria, nor (as Haigh supposed, *Zt.* 1876, 55) to the tribe of Asher, but to the forest in question, where he may have been a Robin Hood of the Shasu.

The hill-country was brought under military control in the time of the great 18th dynasty, and enrolled for tribute. I must refer to my papers on the Karnak Lists of Thothmes III. in the Proceedings and Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, where I have indicated a group of places round Hebron, and others near Jerusalem (if Har-el be not, as Prof. Sayce believes, Jerusalem itself), and other places in the mountain-country afterwards called Mount Ephraim; and I have shown, I think, a network of towns from Northern Galilee (in fact from Dan itself, that is Laish), to below Hebron, and lapping over into the Jordan trough above the Dead Sea.

In fact it is hard to say what part of Palestine was not known to the Egyptians of the great Pharaonic ages. The names are in great proportion, as recorded in hieroglyphic, quite identical with the same names in Biblical Hebrew, and, with slight dialectic variations, in the Assyrian annals of the kings. The language of these Canaanite proper names is, as Emmanuel de Rougé says, Hebrew, mingled naturally, according to the localities, with Aramaic or Arabic dialects (*Mélanges d'Arch. Eg. et Assyr.* III, 99). Asqalon and Joppa (Asqaluna, Iapu) were renowned posts of the Egyptians, taken and retaken in the fortunes of war. Megiddo (Magedi) was a great strategic point where the allied forces under the kings of Kadesh and Megiddo drew to a head to withstand the army of Egypt.

I am loth to reopen the great debate as to the site of Megiddo, but I must frankly confess that I think there are strong reasons to prefer Major Conder's Khurbet Mujedd'a to Lejjûn. I know that Col. Wilson upholds Lejjûn, but I am now more than ever disposed to think that it was across the Jordan at the great fords near Beth-shan that the route lay which was contested at Megiddo, and so through Damascus, a city which is expressly enrolled in the list of Thothmes III. His father Thothmes I. had defeated the Rutennu near that ancient and renowned capital on his march to the Euphrates, where he set up his monument of conquest at Nii.

HENRY GEORGE TOMKINS.

(To be continued).



THE

# BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

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*Contributors are alone responsible for their opinions or statements.*

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ORIGIN FROM BABYLONIA AND ELAM OF THE EARLY  
CHINESE CIVILISATION.

A SUMMARY OF THE PROOFS.

*(Continued from page 91).*

VI. ITEMS OF ASSYRO-BABYLONIAN, EGYPTIAN AND OTHER CIVILIZATION ENTERED INTO ANCIENT CHINA THROUGH LATER CHANNELS.

The leaders of the Bak tribes do not seem to have kept up any communications on their rear with the west after their arrival in the N.W. of China proper.<sup>147</sup> It was only in later times, that further items of western civilisation have entered into the country. The matter is enshrouded in difficulties, because hardly anything has been preserved of the history of the conterminous states, encircling the Chinese on the east, south, and west, and through which any intercourse or communication with the outside world had to pass before reaching the royal domain, where it could be noticed by the stylus of the official recorders. On the other hand, the wretched state of the old literature of ancient China, and the preservation of many features of antiquity in compilations as late as the ages before and after the Christian era, especially after the renaissance of literature, whose authors had access to documents and traditions now lost to us, does not permit us to ascertain the respective antiquity of the entrance of not a few items of western culture. And it is not at all improbable that some minor items of the fourfold list given in this paper, may have been introduced in the country through one or the other of the later channels described in the present chapter. Every case however must be judged on its own merits, and in the absence of direct testimony, the authority of circumstantial evidence, in the west as in the east, must be resorted to. For instances, the mythical list of Kings,

and the twelve names of the Babylonian months, bear intrinsic and circumstantial evidences that they most probably belong to the early strata of imported knowledge by the leaders of the Baks, although they were afterwards mixed up and combined with other data of later introduction.

The late and successive introduction we refer to, may have taken place, and to a certain extent did take place, through the trade-routes by land and by sea, west, south, and east, of which we shall speak further on, and through the arrival and conquest of the Shang and of the Tchou peoples, whose leaders founded important dynasties of the same names.

NOTES. 147) It is most probable that some displacement of populations, perhaps hostile, stood in the way.

a) *Ancient Dynasties of Western Origin.*

The *Shang* whose name might suggest that they were formerly traders, while their traditions indicate a western origin near the Kuen-lun range and probably a kinship with the Jungs,<sup>148</sup> do not seem to have imported any progress of importance. Sieh the official scribe of Shun, was reckoned as their ancestor and this implies a certain amount of culture among them.<sup>149</sup> The tabooing of proper names is said to have begun under their rule. The *Tchou* who drove them away, and succeeded them in the sway of China, (XIth century B.C.) with some greatness and brilliancy for several centuries, were also intruders from the west. They were most probably red-haired Kirghizes, with some mixture of Aryan blood. Several of the explanations added to the olden texts of the *Yh king* by their leader Wen-wang were certainly suggested by the homophony of Aryan words,<sup>150</sup> and to their influence is due without doubt the entrance into the Chinese vocabulary of a certain number of Aryan words more or less crippled and altered. They were acquainted with some notions derived from the Aryan focus of culture in Kwarism, probably through the route of the Jade traffic<sup>151</sup> which they introduced into their new country.<sup>152</sup> Such for instance the 28 lunar mansions instead of the 24 stellar points of older times.<sup>153</sup> But nothing from Assyro-Babylonia seems to have been imported by them, some important rites and regulations were established by the founders of their dynasty, who seem to have been gifted with extraordinary capability. In that respect, and have systematized in a durable manner not a few ideas and institutions which, before their time, were loose in the country. During these two dynasties, it is the Jade traffic which may have been the Channel through which Western ideas and notions have reached China.

NOTES. 148) On the Jungs and their language, cfr. *The languages of China before the Chinese*, sec. 2, 150, 151.

149) *Ibid.*, sec. 210.

150) On the baseless theory of a supposed affinity between the Chinese and the Aryan languages, cfr. *The lang. of China before the Chinese*, sec. 208, n. 2, and the additions p. 161 of the French edition.

151) On the trade route of Jade, see further on.

152) The invention of the *boussole* or compass has been attributed to one of them, Teliou kung, uncle of Tching-Wang, first king of the dynasty, and a justly celebrated man. Dr. J. Legge, (*Chinese Classics*, vol. III, pp. 535-7), has exposed the baselessness of this story, when Teliou kung was said to have presented south-pointing chariots to some envoys of the *Suh-shin* of the North or of the *Yueh-shang* of the South. (Cfr. below in the present chapter, and note 209.)

153) On the astronomy of Kwarism, an Aryan focus of civilization, east of the Caspian sea, from 1304 B. C., cfr. Albiruni, *Chronology of Ancient nations*, pass., trad. Sachau, London, 1879.

#### b) *The Jade Eastern traffic.*

Jade so-called, *i.e.*, nephrite, which was not found by the Chinese in China, notwithstanding some unfounded statements to the contrary,<sup>154</sup> was in all times known and highly prized by the Chinese, who looked upon it as symbolizing power and authority.<sup>155</sup> It is not at all unlikely that the Bak tribes had been made acquainted with the Nephrit by the trade which used to bring the articles of Jade to the West. Perhaps the route of this trade was an incitement for their shaping their way eastward. Anyhow, should they have been still ignorant of that precious stone, they had occasion to hear about it when on their route to China.

With the exception of unimportant beds, in the Caucasus, and in the rivers of the Yablono and Saiansk mountains, East and S. W. of Lake Baikal,<sup>156</sup> which were not known in olden times, the true jade or nephrite exists only in what is known as Chinese Turkestan. Mount Mirdjai reputed to be a mass of jade, and famous in the geographical romances of ancient China,<sup>157</sup> mount Sertash, both at 74 miles from Yarkand, and the rivers Ulgunkash and Karakash near Ichi,<sup>158</sup> were the principal if not the sole source from where nephrite jade was exported in the west and in the east.<sup>159</sup> This jade traffic was, according to all probabilities, of a second- and third-hand kind, which could not provide a regular channel for the introduction of S.W. Asiatic civilisation into the East. Its importance, however secondary, under that respect, must not be overlooked. There is no positive evidence

that the Bak tribes in their old country were engaged in such a traffic, but the following fact is rather suggestive that they were. The excavations at Uru=Mugheir, the old town of Dungi, whose name has been referred to in connection with the early conquest of Anzan by Gudea, and their teaching of the art of writing to the Bak tribes, have revealed the use or trade of nephrite-jade.<sup>161</sup> As this jade could not come from any other region than that of Turkestan through the country of the Bak tribes, the connection, borne out as it is by the circumstantial evidences of the case, shows the Bak tribes to have been already at that time long previously to their migration to China, intermediary already between S.W. Asia and the East. The extension of Nephrite-Jade traffic further west, to Nimrud, Hisarlik, the Helvetian palafittes, the megalithic monuments and other places of the same period, does not belong to our field of enquiry.<sup>162</sup>

Once in China, the Chinese Bak tribes received nephrite-jade from their rear. The legendary accounts on the subject are not all inventions, and there is doubtless some truth underlying the magnified and fabled reports. In the ninth year of Shun, Si Wang Mu sent envoys with presents consisting of white jade rings, or archers thimbles in jade, a tube of white jade, and topographical maps.<sup>163</sup> Si-Wang-Mu, whatever unknown personage the name may have described originally, became the impersonation of the queen rulers, whose principedoms lay on the North of Thibet along Kuenlun, and who have had occasionally some intercourse direct and indirect with the Chinese states.<sup>164</sup> A Si-Wang-Mu was reported to have presented Huang-ti with topographical maps.<sup>165</sup> And it is near a Si Wang Mu that the great Yü is reported to have studied.<sup>166</sup> A Si-Wang-Mu appears again in connection with a journey which King Muh, fifth ruler of the Tchou dynasty<sup>167</sup> made in the West of China, along the Kuenlun range, where he was presented by her with some jade objects,<sup>168</sup> and some skilful workmen and where he examined their calendar and books! This journey<sup>169</sup> which I am inclined to look upon as more important than is commonly believed,<sup>170</sup> has been made the theme of all sorts of fables, extravaganzas and marvels, among which the historical truth and its particulars are probably lost irretrievably to history. Muh Wang's expedition is reported in the seventeenth year of his reign. On the following year the Si Wang Mu came to the Chinese court with presents and was lodged in the Tchao palace. In all that concerns Si Wang Mu and the mysterious travels of Muh Wang of Tchou it must be remarked that jade-stones play great

part,<sup>171</sup> and therefore the whole is so narrowly connected with the route of jade traffic that we had to mention it here, inasmuch as, there are in the traditions on the subject, some references to a transmission, however slight and shadowy it may have been, of Western knowledge, to China.<sup>172</sup> But there are some other proof of jade traffic from Turkestan. Some of them are found in the *Yu Kung* or *Tribute of Yu*,<sup>173</sup> a work of the Shang dynasty, where it is recorded that the W. provinces of Yung-tchou and Tsiang-tchou, corresponding to Shensi and Kansuh and to N. Szetchuen respectively, produced to the Chinese court, jade stones of several forms.<sup>174</sup> This jade, since it is not found in China proper,<sup>175</sup> could only reach these provinces through the trade from Turkestan.

Tchou Sin, the last ruler of the Yin Dynasty (circa 1120 B.C.) received as present from the *Tan-tchi* country, probably through the Tchou people who made him some presents from the West in several instances, a pillow in Jade shaped like a tiger.<sup>176</sup> This was undoubtedly procured by the same traffic.

Kuan-tze, an important writer of the seventh century B.C., states that Jade comes to China from the Yü-she mountains, in the far West, where the sun sets.<sup>177</sup>

All the information we possess here on the Jade traffic shows it to be a second-hand one; and however ancient it may have been, the amount of knowledge which has reached the Chinese through this channel cannot have been of importance, and must have consisted only of partial, incomplete notions, sometimes transmogrified on the way.

Now let us enquire about the other trade routes through which have been imported some elements of foreign civilizations.

NOTES. 154) There are two principal sorts of jade, the nephrite and the Jadeite which differ one from another by their chemical composition.

155) We allude to the references made to the provinces of Shansi and Yunnan as producing jade.

Abel de Remusat in stating that jade was found at Tai T'ung (Northern Shansi), a statement repeated from him nearly everywhere and sometimes in a faulty manner, was mistaken by the late and loose meaning of the symbol *yü*, which has often been used for gems in general, and equally applied to Jasper. Now Jasper and not jade figures amongst the products at *Tai T'ung* in the descriptions of the province, in Grosier. *Description de la Chine*, Wells Williams, *The middle kingdom*, and other trustworthy works.--As to the reference to Western Yunnan, it is simply a geographical error which has arisen from the fact that the Jadeite from Mogung in Upper Burma arrived in China through that province.

However Ralph Pumpelly, *Geological Researches in China, Mongolia,*

- and Japan, p. 118 (Smithsonian contributions to Knowledge, 1886) has indicated some blue Jade? at Tung-san, distr. of Wu-ting. N. C. Yunnan, green and blue Jade? at Mount Mo-fu near Li-king, and black jade? at Maumtoz (Mungman tu sze ?=) near Yung-bchang.
- 156) The symbol *yü* jade has that meaning. It was formerly *ok* and its pristine form was derived from the ancient Babylonian *uk* having the same meaning. Cfr. *The Tree of Life and the Calendar plant*, note 38. —Prof. Max Müller (Febr. 3, 1880) has some interesting remarks which explain (that connection of meaning apparently unknown to him) and show how important and powerful among uncivilised was a man possessing a jade-chisel which could cut iron nails and any other thing with facility. Cfr. his work *Biographies of words* (London, 1888), p. 222.
- 157) The Amoor in the far North rolls down jade pebbles from the Yablono Mountains of the Trans-Baikal district of Siberia (Nevil Story Maskelyne). T. W. Atkinson, *Oriental and Western Siberia* (London, 1811) has found some in the river beds among the Saiansk Mountains, S.W. of Lake Baikal, and therefore west of the preceding.
- 158) The *Yü shan* of the *Shan Hai King*, Bk. II, fol. 29.
- 159) Cfr. S. Blondel, *Le Jade, Etude sur la pierre appelée yu par les chinois*, sect. II. (Paris, 1875). — G. Schlegel, *Uranographie chinoise*, p. 787. — *Notes and queries on China and Japan*, 1868, vol. II. pp. 173, 174 and 187; vol. IV. 1870, p. 33. — An exhaustive treatise on Jade is that of Fischer: *Nephrite und Jadeit*, Stuttgart, 1875. — Cfr. also for the geography Capt. Trotter in Forsyth's *Account of the mission to Yarkand and Kashgar*, 1873-74, p. 154.
- 160) Of course we leave aside the jades of New Zealand and America.
- 161) I have proposed to recognize in the *Uk-nu* stone of the East, of the cuneiform inscriptions the Jade of Tarkestan. (Cfr. *The Tree of Life*, note 49). Four articles of nephrite-jade have been found in the ruins of Ur, and one at Nimrud, as described by Dr. O. Schoetensack in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*. Berlin, 1887, pp. 125-126. At Nimrud it is a cylinder, at Ur, celts. Unless it be for a special use because of their toughness, the nephrite axes in this civilised country could only be there for trading purposes. The British Museum possesses a cylinder of ancient work from Babylon in Jade.
- 162) The precious nephrite worked in the forms wrongly known as celts neatly polished, with edges sharp and intact, is found along the route from Khotan in Turkestan, its starting point, to the Jaxartes, to the Oxus, then south of the Caspian sea, in Babylonia and Assyria, along the Northern Asia Minor shores, bordering upon ancient Troy, then passes to the Peloponnesus, where it directs its course to Crete, and, not touching Egypt, passes from Greece to Italy, whence it is distributed among the Helvetian lakes, the Megalithic monuments of Armorica &c., &c. Cfr. Valentine in Prof. Howard Osgood, *Prehistoric Commerce and Israel*, pp. 168-169 (The Baptist Quarterly Review, 1885, vol. VII. pp. 163-184). — Prof. Nevil Story-Maskelyne, pp. 211-214 in Max Müller's *Biographies of Words*. — Alex. Bertrand, *La Gaule avant les Gaulois* (Paris, 1884) pp. 130-131. — G. de Mortillet, *Le Préhistorique*. pp. 537-539.
- 163) *Tchuh Shu K'i nien Shun*, IX year. — *Shang shu ta tchuen* —

*Ta Tai Li* ; *Sau tchao ki* ; *Kung-tze tchi yen* ; *Li t'ou wei y* ; *Ts'ih sien tuh* ; *Fung suh tung* ; all ancient works quoted in the *Kin ting ku kin t'u shu ts'ih tcheng*.

- 164) Si Wang Mu has absorbed the little that was known of other names of female rulers. The *Shan hai King* Bk. II. speaks also of a *Yng Mu*, cfr. note 91 of the present paper. On *Si Wang Mu*, cfr. *The Tree of Life and the Calendar Plant of Babylonia and China*, part IV. Ancient Missionaries wanted to identify Si Wang Mu with the Queen of Saba ; this fancy has been refuted by G. Pauthier, *Chine*, p. 94.
- 165) *Ts'ih sien tuh*, l.c.
- 166) According to Siün-tze, a writer of the IIIrd century B.C.—*Shan Hai King* (gloss) Bk. II., fol. 19.
- 167) B.C. 1001-947 according to the usual chronology ; B.C. 962-907 in the Annals of the Bamboo Books.
- 168) Jade is a most important factor in all that concerns Si-Wang-Mu, and Muh-Wang's journey.
- 169) The journey which began as a punitive expedition against the *Ki-uen Jung* tribes of Naga race on the North-east of Tibet, cfr. *The Lang. of China before the Chinese*, (sect. 150, 151) who five years before had presented some asbestos cloth &c. (*Lih tai ki she* ; G. Pauthier, *Chine*, p. 96).—As to the details of the travels, cfr. *Ki tchung Tchou shu* : Lieh-tze 400 B.C. ; *Muh Tien-tze tchuen*, 350 B.C. ; Siün tze, 300 B.C. ; Shi tze, 280 B.C. ; *Poh wuh tchi* by Tchang Hua, 250 A.D. ; *Shih y ki* by Wang Kia, 400 A.D., Bk. III. ; *Shuh y ki* by Jen Fang, 500 A.D. ; *Hou Han Shu* ; *Tai ping yü lan*, 983 A.D., Bk. 85, fol. 2-3 ; and many more recent compilations.
- 170) Cfr. for instance, *The Tree of Life*, sect. IV., and notes.
- 171) Though not so important as would imply the legend of the ancient Iranian King Djamshid having married a daughter of Mahang King of Matchin. Cfr. Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, I. 619-622.) And the contentions of Abdal-lah Beidawy, in his general history that Mu-Wang went to Persia. Cfr. Pauthier, *China*, p. 94, as well as that of M. Paléologue, *L'art Chinois* (Paris, 1888), p. 102, who, in order to explain the Assyro-Babylonian affinities which were glaring to his eyes, wants Muh Wang in his one year journey to have gone to Media, Susiana, Chaldea.
- 172) It is very curious to mention here that the first enactments in which ring-weight-money *huan* are spoken of, i.e. in 947 B.C. should have been issued under his reign, and may be the result of what he learned in his journey. The system was Egyptian and was especially in use for trade with the Asiatics, at the time of the military supremacy of Egypt, but it was not used in Assyro-Babylonia. Cfr. Fr. Lenormant, *Histoire ancienne de l'Orient*, vol. III. p. 58 ; and E. Babelon, *ibid.*, vol. V. p. 114.
- 173) In the *Shu-King*. It is a description of all the engineering works made by the Chinese (and their allies under their supervision) in China to regulate the rivers and their floods. It contains also a description of the products of the same geographical division of the country as known under the Shang dynasty.

174) *Shu King*, part III. Bk. I., 69 and 81.

175) Cfr. what is said above on the subject.

176) It was discovered during some excavations made in 159 A.D.. Cfr. *Shih y ki*; G. Schlegel, *Uranographie Chinoise*, p. 789; a real mine of information and where several archaeological finds of jade implements are noticed.

177) Kuan tze ; G. Schlegel, *ibid.* p. 787. *K'ang-hi tze tien*, 114 + 4, fol. 49 verso.

c) *Ancient trade-route of the Eastern sea trade.*

On the East and South-east is the sea. The Chinese, advancing from the West, did reach the sea-shore, and this near the Shantung peninsula, five centuries only after having entered China, *i. e.* in the XXIIIrd century B.C. They were not themselves fully established near the sea for many centuries afterwards, and the borders were in possession of non-Chinese states semi-civilized, and even less than that. On two geographical points some exceptions are important to notice, north and south of the said peninsula, as the channels through which an Egyptian influence brought in by the sea trade was introduced into China.

An important emporium and sea-port, non-Chinese, *Tsi-moh*, and the surrounding country of Shantung, has played a prominent part in the development of current metallic money.<sup>178</sup> The first enactments on currency,<sup>179</sup> those concerning the weights which have proved to be based upon the mina of Carchemish,<sup>180</sup> in 680 B.C., are all connected with that region of Shantung reached by foreign trade.

Lang-nga,<sup>182</sup> an important town in that same region, was founded before the VIth century B.C.:<sup>183</sup> its name is singularly suggestive of an importation by the sea-traders of Asiana and the West, Lanka (Lanka pura of Ceylon, Lanka-Balus (Nicobar), Lang-nga-siu of the north of Java, marking their route.<sup>184</sup>

It is there that Ts'ix She Hwang-ti, the founder of the Chinese empire 221 B.C., resided for some time previously to that date. It was in these surroundings, permeated as they were by foreign ideas, that he prepared some of the important innovations, that made his name famous, and which seem to have been suggested by reports of Western ideas, institutions and events ; such, for instance, as the division of his dominion into 36 *kiun-s*, which remind us of the 36 nomes of Egypt,<sup>185</sup> and perhaps also the Burning of the books (213 B.C.)<sup>186</sup>. It is in the same vicinity that sculptures have been discovered, which, though of rather late date (147 A.D.), bear the impugnable testimony of an influence of Egyptian art, which the Chinese are



unable to explain,<sup>187</sup> and which is mixed up with Chinese data. The mixed influences from Western Asia and Egypt through the sea-trade is so much the more remarkable that this sea-trade cannot have been important in ancient times, and grew up only in the centuries which preceded the Christian Era. Anything from the West could not reach China except in a hand to hand manner, having to change several times on the way. At the time of the Christian era, hardly anything had as yet been heard in China of the outside world by the eastern<sup>188</sup>coasts, and even at the time of the East Han Dynasty (A.D. 25 - 220) it is positively stated in the dynastic annals, and this by hearsay, that the seafarers did not go further than some vaguely indicated countries which cannot possibly be further than the Malacca peninsula, if so far.<sup>189</sup> And so late as the beginning of the fifth century, A.D., Fa-hien, the Buddhist, coming back to China from Ceylon, was compelled to make the journey in two different boats, from Ceylon to Java, and from Java to China.

NOTES. 177) *Kuan-tze*; G. Schlegel, *ibid.*, p. 787.—*K'ang-li tze-tien*, 114+4, fol. 49e.

178) Lat. 34° 15' in the modern Lai tchou fu. cfr. G. Playfair. *The Cities and Towns of China* (Hong-Kong, 1879) No. 663.

179) Cfr. T. de L., *Historical Catalogue of Chinese Money*, Vol. 1, pp. 4, 131-132, 213, 319, &c. Metallic money was not established in Western China before 337 B.C.

180) Cfr. *Historical Catalogue*, p. 1.

181) *Babyloniön and Old Chinese Measures*. (The Academy, Oct. 10, 1885.)—The regulations were made by Kwan Tze, a famous minister of Huan, Duke of Tsi. N. W. Shantung) at proximity of this sea-trade influence.

182) Referred to the present department of Tchu tchong (Lat. 36° Leng. 119°58) in Tsing tchou, Shantung.

183) It was conquered in 463 B.C. by the sea-border state of Yueh and became its capital until 379 B.C.

184) *The lang. of China before the Chinese*, sec. 214.—Col. H. Yule, *Notes on the oldest records of the sea-route to China from Western Asia* (Proc. R. Geogr. Soc., Nov. 1882); Alfred Maury, *Des anciens rapports de l'Asie occidentale avec l'Inde transgangetique et la Chine* (Bulletin Soc. Geogr., Paris, 1846).

185) As pointed out by Thomas Fergusson, *Chinese Researches*, I. p. 59.—According to ancient authors the number of the names was reported to be 36, though as a fact, the number varied. Cfr. G. Maspero, *Histoire Ancienne*, 4e edit. p. 19.

186) It has been suggested (Fergusson, *Chinese Researches*, I. 41-59), that the idea of suppressing all ancient history and literature has been impressed on the mind of the founder of the Chinese Empire by reports of similar measure for the same object in the West. Berossus (Cory's *Ancient fragments*, p. 36), who lived in 340-270, B.C., states that Nabonassar collected all the mementos of the Kings prior to himself, and destroyed them, that the enumeration of the Chaldean Kings

- might commence with him. It is just what did *Ts'in She-Hwang-ti* as remarked by W. F. Meyers (*Journ. North China Branch, R. A. S.*, December, 1867, p. 162).—Moses of Khorene has told the same tale of the fabled Ninus, (*H st. Armen*, ch. 13, p. 40), and so did Albiruni of the Kwarismians or Chorasmians (*Chronology of Ancient Nations*, tr. Sachau, p. 58), and also of the Persians by Alexander-the-Great or his lieutenants (*ibid.*, p. 157).
- 187) Dr. S. W. Bushell of Peking has shown me the squeezes taken on the monument, which he exhibited at the Berlin Oriental Congress. Cfr. his notice on *Inscriptions from the Tombs of the Wu family* from the Tzū-yun shan = Purple-cloud hills, 28 li south of the city of Chia-hsiang hsien in the province of Shantung; pp. 79-80 of *Ost-asiat. sect.*, Berlin Orient. Congr., 1881). Chia-hsiang hsien or Kia-siang hien. is in Tsi ming tchou, by Lat. 35°32' and Long. 116°30'.—Prof. Robert K. Douglas, *Ancient sculptures in China*, and nine plates, (J. R. A. S., 1886, vol. XVIII.) has reproduced several characteristic parts of these sculptures, from the *Kin Shih Soh* collection (1806), with their Egyptian models. They are most remarkable.
- 188) Should this trade have been active or regular, the Chinese would have learned earlier than they did anything about the Peng-lai islands said to be five by Lieh-tze (IVth cent., B. C.) and only three at the time of She-Hwang-ti, under whose reign they were still mythical. Is *Peng-lai* = *Polo*, 'island' in Malay?
- 189) Namely the Naked (men) kingdom and the Black-teeth men kingdom. *Hou Han shu*, Bk. 115; tr. A. Wylie, *History of the Eastern Barbarians*, p. 81. (*Revue de l'Extreme Orient*, t. I., 1882). It was only in the sixth century that the Chinese acquired some knowledge of Java, Sumatra, &c. Cfr. W. P. Groeneveldt, *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca* (Batavia, 4to, 1872; also, Prof. Leon de Rosny, *Les peuples orientaux connus des anciens chinois*, 2nd edit. Paris, 1886.

d) *Ancient Trade Routes by Land, South and South-West.*

The oldest information we possess of any intercourse with the South and West in ancient times goes back to the beginning of the Tchou dynasty, *i.e.* XIth century B.C. In the *Tchou Shu*, a work saved from the wreck of literature, and a production of that dynasty,<sup>190</sup> which is probably more trustworthy<sup>191</sup> than was formerly supposed, the arrival of some trading parties, magnified as ambassadors, is reported.<sup>192</sup> One of them comes from *Shou Mi* or *Tchou Mi*, a place which has been identified with Ta-yao, in the prefecture of Tsu-hiung west-centre of Yunnan.<sup>193</sup> This party brought to the court of Tcheng Wang, the second king of the dynasty, as a tribute, say the Chinese account, a monkey from a country where it is called *Kudang*, which is the Dravidian name for this animal; The explanations show that country to be N. E. India. No other information has been preserved about this curious and interesting event,

which gives us in the East a Dravidian word contemporaneous with those of the same languages learned by the trade of Solomon with Ophir (Kings I. 11, 22).

NOTES. 190) A large part of the following is abstracted from my paper *On three embassies from Indo-China to the Middle Kingdom 3000 years ago*, read before the Royal Asiatic Society on June 16, 1884, and still unpublished.

191) Prof. S. M. Russel, *Discussion of Astronomical Records in Ancient Chinese books*. l. c. p. 196, has been able to verify an eclipse of the moon in the year 1136, which is mentioned in that work on the 35th year of Wen Wang.

192) *Yü Tchou shu*, sect. 59, fol. 8.—It is also mentioned in the *Shan hai King* (edit. 1783), sect. X., fol. 2-3, sect. XVI. f. 5, and sect. XVIII., fol. 31 and in the *Shuoh-wen* (edit. 1598), sect. VIII., fol. 24.

193) It became in the IVth century B.C., part of the famous state of TSEN (331 B.C.—100 A.D. which monopolized the trade with the south, and whose name through the sea traders furnished the west with the name of CHINA. Cfr. my notices in Col. H. Yule, *Glossary of Anglo-Indian words* (London, 1886) p. 157; *Beginnings of writing*, sect. 80; B. & O. R., I., *The Sinim of Isaiah not the Chinese*, sect. 3 and below.

\* \*

In a much later work<sup>194</sup> we find that another party came to the court of the same king, Tcheng of the Tchou dynasty, from a country called *Nêlé*, or *Nêré*,<sup>195</sup> which I have proposed to identify with the old country of Norai, on the west side of the Irawadi, between Manipuri, and Momien of S. W. Yunnan. No mention is made of anything they brought, a fact most remarkable, as their country became afterwards the Shan state of Mogaung, famous for its mines of amber and jadeite, which from there are exported to China, since a few centuries before the Christian era. All ancient allusions to Jade referred to the north-west, and it is only in later times that we find the first allusion in literature to this jade of south-west.<sup>196</sup> The mines were probably not worked as yet, at the time of the two mercantile expeditions spoken of, and it is not improbable that the great prices which they saw put upon the jade stones at the Chinese Court has awakened their attention to the value of similar kinds of stones found in the country of the Noras, one of them.<sup>197</sup>

The references by various authors indicate an old trade route from the district of the mines, i.e. Mogaung, by Wainmo and Kakhyo, passing through Momien<sup>198</sup> where jade work has long been going on.<sup>199</sup> Yung tchang a famous mart for western products, Ta-li fu and Ta-yao to Szet-

chuen by Tung-tchuen and Tchao-tung, the Kin-sha Kiang and the Min river, a route of which we shall have to speak further on again, or by Ning-yuen, Tsing-Ki and Ya-tchou to Tcheng-tu, the capital of the province.<sup>200</sup>

The identification of the Nêrê country with that of Norai=Mogaung is further supported by statements of the Chinese record on the geographical and curious features of the country which cannot leave any doubt on the matter. And about some astronomical knowledge possessed by the traders, knowledge for which the Nora people have long remained famous. This knowledge, however, being the same as that of the Chinese themselves with reference to the calendar was no gain for them, but seems to be an indice of an earlier influence of Chinese civilisation in the Nora country, through the Szetchuen traders of whom we shall speak further on.

The ascertaining of the comparatively late working of the jadeite mines of Mogaung is an important feature for the date of ancient trade of this stone, as jadeite in the east is found nowhere else than there, and is foreign to the geognostic structure of the Chinese Turkestan, where nephrite comes from. As jadeite has been found in the lacustrian dwellings of Switzerland and also in not a few places of remote times, perhaps 1500 more or less B.C. of the neolithic period, it has been rather prematurely assumed that, as in the case of the nephrite-jade, the jadeite implements had been brought from the Mogaung mines. If such had been the case, it would tend to demonstrate the existence of trade with Indo-China at that remote period<sup>202</sup>. But the whole is moonshine. Attention has been called to the fact that the jadeite implements of Europe belong to several varieties which are located in their respective areas, and therefore must have been brought from short distances, where their origin will be traced one day or other<sup>203</sup>. The difficulty has been settled from another side; chemical analysis has shown that the composition of the jadeite implements found in Europe is not the same as that of the jadeite of Upper Burma<sup>204</sup>. Therefore all speculations and inferences drawn in relation to an ancient trade of jade stones between that part of the world and the west are put to naught by these conclusions<sup>205</sup>.

NOTES. 194) In the *Shih-i-ki* by Wang Kia (IVth cent. A.D.), with many other souvenirs and legends of olden times saved from oblivion.

195) It is this country in which the late Pauthier wanted to recognize the name of the Nile! and therefore Egypt. Stan. Julian proposed afterwards an identification with the Indian town of *Nala*, but this town

- was founded by Asoka, thus eight centuries after the event reported in the text, and its name is differently transcribed in Chinese.
- 196) In the *Sūh Han shu* by Sié Tch'eng (250 A.D.) it is stated that the Ngai-Lao (West of Yunnan) brought forth some *Kuang-tchu* and amber (*hu-pch*) during the Han dynasty. In the *Po wu tchi* by Tchang Hwa (A.D. 232-300.) Amber is said to come from Yung-tchang, the great mart of W. Yunnan. Cfr. *Tai ping yü lan*, Bk. 88, fol. 1.—The Green jade called *pik* (cfr. W. Williams, Syll. dict. p. 691) was known to the Romantist geographers of the IVth century, Lich-tze and Tchwang-tze, but only in the case of the latter with reference to the country of Shuh, then part of Szetchuen, and this in a fabled way. It was only under Suan-ti (73-49 B.C.) of the Han dynasty that *pik* stones were heard of more positively as found in, or better arriving through, Yh tchou i.e. parts of Yunnan and Szetchuen (*Han shu*.) The word was then applied to Jadeite which is still now one of its acceptations. The product is mentioned in the *San-tu-fu* of Tso-sze (111rd cent. A.D.), in the *Wei-lioh* (250 A.D.) The *Kwang-ya* dictionary (227-240 A.D.) states that two sorts of *pik*, one *p'iao* i.e. azure, the other *luk*, i.e. green, come through Yuch-sui which corresponds to a part of the modern prefecture of Tsu-hiung, West center of Yunnan. The *Tai Kang ti ki* (circa 300 A.D.) states that the *pik* stones come through Tsing ling hien (later Tayao in the same prefecture of Yunnan; cfr. G. Playfair, *Cities and towns of Ch'na*, 1167, 6893), which curiously enough as an identification of trade route is that same country of Shou Mi from where traders had come to the Chinese court of Tcheng Wang as reported in the text. (Cfr. *Tai ping yü lan*, Bk. 89, fol. 2.) The proper word for 'jadeite' is now *fei-ts'ui* (W. W. o.c. 140; Geerts, *Les produits de la nature Japonaise et Chinoise*, II, 465), and that for 'Jasper' is the above word *pik*-(*yüh*).
- 197) *Tchuh shu hi n en*, Tchou y wang, year II.
- 198) The country was visited by Capt. Hannay, Dr. Griffith and Dr. Bayfields in the years 1835-1837.—Cfr. C. H. Yule, *A Mission to Ava*, 1858. On the mines and work, cfr. also some informations in Dr. John Anderson, *A Report on the Expedition to Western Yunnan via Bhamo* (Calcutta, 1871), pp. 63, 65, 6, 67, 327, 328; *Mandalay to Momiën*, London, 1876), pp. 201-202.
- 199) Anderson, *Report*, pp. 67, 328; *Mandalay to Momiën*, p. 201 The author says that the trade in his time had greatly diminished in importance. Capt. W. Gill in 1877, and A. R. Colquhoun in 1879, who passed through the town do not mention the jade industry. E. Reclus, *Asie Orientale*, p. 748. states that jade is sent through Mandalay to Canton. The Mohammedan rebellion has for long and in some cases disturbed for ever the old state of things.
- 200) The latter route to Burma is probably older than the other. Marco-Polo followed it as shown by Col. H. Yule, *Geographical Introduction to Capt. W. Gill's journey*, 2nd edit., p. 93, and *Travels of Marco-Polo*, 2nd edit. vol. II, p. 57.
- 201) "Ils observent le soleil et la lune pour connaître la direction ou la position des royaumes étrangers; ils comptent les alternatives de froid et de chaud pur connaître les années et les mois. En examinant les

époques des premières lunes dans ce royaume en trouva que leur calendrier était d'accord avec celui de la Chine." (Transl. Stan. Julien, *Simple exposé d'un fait honorable*, p. 204.)—"For the Noras (the aboriginal population of the region) were a comparatively civilised people, and the few who remain are still regarded in Mogaung, Khamti and Upper Assam as a learned class, and are generally employed among the Buddhist priesthood and others as astronomers and writers." (Ney Elias, *Introd. sketch of the history of the Shans*, p. 39).

202) Fischer, *Neuen Jahrbücher für Mineralogie*, 1881, p. 131; Dr.

Howard Osgood, *Prehistoric Commerce and Israel*, p. 169.

203) G. de Mortillet, *Le Préhistorique*, (Paris, 1883), p. 539.

204) Damour, *Compte Rendus de l'Académie des sciences*; Th. Morel, *Les différentes espèces de Jades et leur classement au point de vue minéralogique*; Catalogue du Musée Guimet, 1883, I., 309-315.

205) No inference can be made on the same matter from the use of Jade in India, as the introduction of Jade into the country dates only from the early Mogul Emperors of Delhi. Cfr. N. Maskelyne in Max Muller's *Biographies of words*, p. 213.

TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE.

(To be continued).

*NOTES ON THE GEOGRAPHY FROM THE NILE TO THE EUPHRATES AS KNOWN TO THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS.*

(Concluded from p. 96).

That Khurbet Mujedd'a was Megiddo seems the more likely in view of the places across Jordan on the east which are mentioned in the same list, and the great importance of the commercial route into Arabia.

Among the cuneiform despatches of the time of Amenhotep IIIrd and IVth are some from Ma-ki-da, which Dr. Winckler takes as Megiddo.


Tabor (Ṭapnr) and Merom were taken by Râmeses II. Laïsh is enrolled in the list of Thothmes.

The Egyptian documents mention the Jordan and its Fords, and the Litâny, (Nazâna); and the Nahr el-Kelb (Lycus) is made famous by the triumphal rock-tablets near its outlet. The Lebanon supplied its cedar and fine timber to the Pharaohs, who occupied fortresses between the great valley and the sea-coast, among which Gebal and Simyra are recorded.

I cannot make sure of any places in the Lebanon as apart from the Phœnician coast, but among the fortresses taken by Râmeses II I think we have two or three names not far from Ba'albek. It is remark-

able how generally the Egyptian and Assyrian local names of conquest have perished. I think Neby Mindau may be the Egyptian wargod, Mentu, and perhaps Dêr Seta may preserve the name of Set, like Neby Shit as noticed by Major Conder.

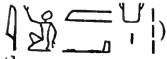




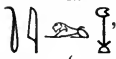
The name Zahi, (𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣), is applied by the Egyptians, as Maspero says, (*Hist.* 182), "to all the Syrian coast from the outfall of the Nile to that of the Orontes. The texts of Thothmes III. prove, however, that it belongs especially to Northern Phœnicia."

I think this name must be closely connected with that of Zion, which in Syriac and Arabic retains the aspirate which it loses in Hebrew and Assyrian. There is a Wâly Şahiûn, West of Jerusalem (N. 4. 336. 312). As a northern name we find it in Şahiun, a strong post in the mountains east of Latakiah, identical, I suppose, with the Şiannu mentioned in Assyrian annals (*Wo lag das Paradies?* 277, 282.) From this Zahi-land the Egyptians drew great riches, and ships called Keft, Phœnician, for the principal term used for Phœnicia was , Keft, which we still find in the interesting name Karkafta near the coast far north of Ruad (Arvad), a part well known to the Egyptians, and, I suppose, in the name Keftin which designated a place and a plain Southwest of Aleppo.

A fortress of Thothmes III. near Simyra guarded the southern Nahr el-Kebir (Eleutherus river), along which lay a principal route to the Orontes, whereby the invader reached the lake and fortified capital of "Kadesh in the land of the Amorites," the stronghold of the Khetu on this celebrated river, as Karkemish was on Euphrates. I wish to notice that the same region is called in the Bible "land of the Amorites;" (*Jos.* XIII. 4.) as well as "land of the Kheti (Hittites)." This agrees with Egyptian records.

And now we come to the heart of Northern Syria, a country which furnishes 230 names of tributary places to the grand roll inscribed by Thothmes III. on the pylons of Karnak. This list I have very carefully studied with results which are to my own mind very interesting. A constant use of the best maps, especially the two maps of Northern Syria by Rey, and those contained in the important work of Dr. Sachau, has assured me of the identification of a large proportion of the places mentioned.

On the north-west, near the mouth of the Orontes we find several very interesting names, such as Amequ, the Umq plain near Antioch, 308.

, as Major Conder well says. Indeed we seem to have the exact name in Ameuk Keui, S.E. of the lake of Antioch; Katsel (309 ) ; perhaps Kizil Kaia; Piaur (312. ) probably Pieria; Akama, (315 ) mentioned also in the story of the Mohar, Akma Dagħ, north of Pieria. We have also in this direction, I think, the name of the river and town Afrin, (287. (Abrennu), and among northern names Samalua, (314 ) , doubtless Samalla land of Assyrian inscriptions, north of Merash : and 292. ) well identified by Prof. Maspero with Δολύχη in Kommagene, (now Dûlûk), north of 'Aintab.

Nothing, however, has more impressed my mind than the way in which I have been drawn eastward to the Euphrates by my inquiries, and even across the river; independently, I mean, of the historic documents which from the days of Thothmes I, the third king of the great 18th dynasty, enlighten us on the dealings of Egypt with Mesopotamia.

When the place called by the Egyptians Nii was by mistake identified with Nineveh we were led to suppose that they were lords of Assyria in earnest; and the Naharina of hieroglyphic record was taken in a large sense for Mesopotamia.


In later years we have placed it between Euphrates and Orontes. But now the cuneiform correspondence of Tel el-Amarna certifies us that it is identical with Mitâni between Euphrates and the Belikh river on the east, says Dr. Schrader. But this must not limit Naharina as simply continuous with Mitâni, and indeed we know that it stretched far to the west, for the celebrated strategic point Tunep, now Tennib, south of Ezzaz, was in Naharina (Brugsch, *Geog. Ins.* II, 46), so that Lenormant was right in extending Naharina in his map (*Hist. 9 ed.* II, 234), right across from the Orontes to the Khabûr.

It is highly interesting to find that when Thothmes III took Tunip it was in the hands of the Ruten-folk, and its lords bore the Aramaic title of מרן, in Egyptian *Marina*, but in the treaty of Râmeses II it figures as a town of the Kheta with a Sutekh. Among the newly-discovered clay tablets is one from Tunip (Dunip), praying for help against the Kheta king some half century later than when Thothmes took it. This agrees with the statement that Tunip was in Naharina, and shows us the date when the Hittites were overrunning this country in force after the Egyptians had broken up the Rutennu.



What we yet know of the important correspondence found at el Tel-Amarna shews us the king of Mitâni or Naharina as the father-in-law and faithful subject of Amenhotep III., and the kings of Babylonia, Kurigalzu and his son Burnaburyash as loyal lieges and correspondents of the Pharaohs, Amenhotep III. and his son Khu-en-aten. This will do away with any surprise at the "tribute of Assur" and "blue-stone of Babel", (lapis lazuli), in the lists of Thothmes III. whose father, Thothmes I, doubtless conquered this overlordship as Emanuel de Rougé truly explained, (*Mélanges*, II, 264, &c.). In the paintings we see the nobles of the Rutennu clad in their splendid embroidered and fringed robes of Shin'ar, such as the Assyrian kings wore, bringing the precious things of Chaldæa and Assyria for the Pharaohs' treasure-house. Now these things equally agree with the clustering of names in this geographical list along, and even across, the great river of the East. To give a true impression of this I will lay before you some of the most striking names which may be referred to the banks of the Euphrates or districts adjoining, with their numbers in Mariette's work, where the enumeration of names in Northern Syria begins with No. 120.

132. Nii, marked by Lenormant west of Euphrates higher than Pethor, but by Babylon on the east side and higher than Birejik. Wherever it may have been, Thothmes III killed in the neighbourhood 120 elephants.

139.  seems clearly enough ארזי כנה, the land of ארזי of Ezek. XXVII. 23, (Caneh. A.V.), mentioned with Kharan and ערן, that is, the district of Bit-Adini of the Assyrians, about Birejik. In the LXX it is Χανὰ, Vulgate "Chene." It may well be the same name as Ichnæe on the Belikh, (*Spruner's Atlas*), north of Thapsacus, and Khnês in a similar position in Sachau's map.

Next we have 142, Lelti. Doubtless La'la'ti on the left bank of Euphrates in the district of Bit adini just mentioned (*Wo lag das Paradies?*)

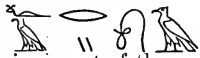
Then 143, Sarkasha, which I take to be "Sirki" of the Assyrians with the suffix as in Gar-gami-sh and Gar-imeri-sh. The Greeks preserved this in the form Κερκῆσιον, the modren Kerkesieh.

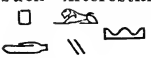
148. Anauqa, equivalent to Anauqas, one of a celebrated triad of fortresses taken by Thothmes III, which I find in Annukas, "an ancient fortress" in Mesopotamia, "beyond Circesium," (that is lower on Euphrates) which was restored, as Procopius tells us, by Justinian.

I think this may be 'Anka, where there are "ruins," some 60 miles, apparently, below Kerkesieh on the western bank. (Ainsworth, *Assyria*, &c., p. 76).

Then we have 154. Pa-tseru, which appears to be the Chaldean word *tsêru*, 'plain,' or 'desert,' with the Egyptian article; perhaps *ez-Zôr*. The official name of Dêr on Euphrates, with its large district, is still *Zôr* (*Sachau*, 263).

By and by we come to No. 169, Arnir, identified by Lenormant with Arinara on Euphrates, and 207. Shârnakai, surely Sarnuka, east of the river, opposite to Barbalissus, and next 208. Aurma, Urûm, west, and 212. Kainab, Cannaba between the Euphrates and Edessa (Urfa), and (not to mention all such names), 228. Atakar, probably Idicara on the west bank, and 246. Khelebu, Khelebi on Euphrates, and 247.

 Fariua, very well identified by Lenormant with Paripa, west of the river, and 248. Sesben, which I take to be Sazabiê, a fortified town of the kings of Karkemish on the west bank. "Paripa was a little south of the Sâjîr; Sazabê was not far distant," writes Prof. Sayce to me. Next is 249, Ketasha (or Kedasha), a Kadesh or sanctuary Saich Prof. Sayce takes to be "*Dianæ fanum*" at Zelebi, opposite to Khelebi, (246), and the very next is Sâr, which the Assyrians called Suru in Bitkhalupe, identical I believe, with es-Şau'ar on the Khabûr (*Sachau* 292).

No. 270 is Karkemish, 280. Peteri, that is Pethor of Balaam, as well identified by Brugsch. Shalmaneser says expressly "the Khatti (Hittites) call [it] Pitru. The name is indeed identical with that of the great Hittite capital in the north of Kappadokia, Pteria, now Boghazkeui, where such interesting relief-sculptures have been found. The Egyptian  corresponds.

This is not all, for the next name 282. Mashaua, is perhaps explained by Shana, a mountain west of Membij marked in Kiepert's map of North Syria, 283 being Allega, modern Ledjah, Assyrian Alligu, east of Euphrates below Jerablûs (Karkemish); and 316 is the river-name itself. Pureth, Hebrew פֶּרֶת, Assyrian Burattu, now found located at el-Bûrât near Ledjâh.

Thus we have in this list alone at least twenty places, districts, or towns. or fortresses, belonging to the Euphrates. reaching from above Birejik to probably 100 miles lower than Kirkesion, and including positions on the eastward side of the river, which would command the great passages and draw tribute from Naharina, Babylonia, and the land of the Shukhites.

Further eastward I will not ask you to go to day, for my subject is nominally bounded by Euphrates.

Neither will I enter on the great Hittite treaty, with its interesting list of places, all sanctuaries of that people. But I will ask you to notice how thoroughly congruous is the distinct overlordship of Egypt which the new tablets display with the record of Damascus in the tribute-lists of Thothmes III, and the inclusion of places across the Euphrates and also east of Jordan, as Ashtaroth and Pella, and others. This leads me to think that as towards the end of the list of Palestine we have places in the South Jordan-valley, the last name but one, 118, Hum, may be the חַם (Ham) where Kedorla'omer smote the Zuzim, possibly Jebel Hûmeh east of the Dead Sea on the route which leads right through the ancient strongholds towards Arabia. This great line of traffic could not have been neglected by the Pharaohs of the XVIIIth dynasty, and so in the list of Thothmes we find the same memorials, for Ono-rapha preserves the name of the Rephaïm, and Ashteroth is the place of their defeat by the Elamite suzerain.

But now the tables had been turned, and Egypt was lord of the Euphrates.

I must not further extend these outlines of earliest historical geography. The Egyptians, dwelling in their green warm rivercourse, and on the watered levels of their Fyûm and Delta, were yet a very enterprising people, full of curiosity ; literary ; scientific in method, admirable delineators of nature, skilled surveyors, makers of maps, inventors of red tape, trained and methodical administrators of domestic and provincial affairs ; and they were kept alert by the rising and sinking of their own great stream and its overflow, and by the necessities of commerce which (for instance) forced them, like the Euphrates-folk, up to the Syrian forests for all their good building-timber, and down to Kush and Pûn for all their precious furniture-woods and ivory ; to day nothing of indispensible incense, aromatics, cosmetics, and asphalt, grains, wine, beer, exotic plants and pet animals, dwarfs, dancers, monsters, and a hundred other needful things.

Besides, they had a good supply of enemies across their own borders in Edom and Syria, Libya and Aethiopia, to disturb them at their lotus-eating and force them into the field.

All these things help to account for their great and thorough knowledge of the geography from Nile to Euphrates, which is ascertained to us by Biblical, Assyrian, and classic records and by the extraordinary number of names, still green in the land, which were as familiar to the Egyptians three or four thousand years ago as they are to Turks and Arabs today.

Even with the imperfect means of study at our disposal, owing to the want of monumental lore on the one hand, and of surveys North of Palestine and of archæological work everywhere on the other, the number of places that may be identified by their pristine names, outlasting all the nick-names of conquest, is very surprising and most animating to future work. The successful studies of Mariette, de Rougé, Brugsch, Dümichen, de Sauley, Maspero, Conder, and others in comparing Egyptian information with Biblical records and classic and modern research should but stimulate scholars and travellers to more perfect methods, and more exhaustive results. HENRY GEORGE TOMKINS.

A BUDDHIST REPERTORY  
IN SANSKRIT, TIBETAN, MANDCHU, MONGOL & CHINESE.

(Continued from page 72).

SECTION XIII.

*C'os spyod bcu hi min la.*

Names of the Ten Practices, or Arts, of the Law.

1. *Lekhaná*, writing. T. *yig bri ba*, writing letters or books (i. e. of piety to propagate doctrine).
2. *Pújaná*, religious praise, the worship of praise (to the Law, Buddha, &c.) T. *mc'od pa*, and M., sacrifice, oblation. Ch. offerings or gifts for entertainment.
3. *Dánam*, gifts, alms. T. *shyin pa*, and M. id. Ch. giving to others.
4. *Śravanam*, listening (to instruction, readings, counsel, &c. T. *ñan pa*.
5. *Vacanam*, reading (religious books). T. *klog pa*, do. Ch. opening and reading a book.
6. *Udgrahayam*, reciting prayers (prayer which obtains). T. *'dzin pa*, taking and adhering to a belief. M. *s'ejilere*, recitation. Ch. to receive.
7. *Prakāṣanā*, instruction, predication (litt. making known, exposing.) T. *rab-tu ston-pa*, showing in a great manner (*pra*=*rab-tu*). Ch. exposing.
8. *Svādhyāya*, sacred reading at a propitious time. T. *kha-ton byed pa*, reading aloud. M. reading at a propitious time.
9. *Cintatá*, reflexion, prudence. T. *sems-pa*, id. meditation by reflexion.
10. *Bhāvaná*, contemplation. T. *sgom-ba*, reflecting, meditating. (Im-  
iomers of thought, which remains motionless, deprived of all special  
conception,)

## SECTION XIV.

*Mtha med bzi hi min-la*Names of the (Four Virtues) without Limit<sup>1</sup>.

1. *Mâitri*, benevolence, goodness. T. *byams pa*
2. *Karuṇa*, compassion<sup>2</sup> T. *Sñin rze*.
3. *Muditā*, joy of heart (in the midst of penance and mortification by the thought of the good done and of final deliverance). T. *dga ba*.
4. *Upēkshā*, Indifference toward all things. T. *btan sñoms*, absence of sentiment tending towards anything at all. M. Evenness of soul, internal order. Ch. renouncement, (a state in which nothing moves —injuries, ill-treatment, or pain).

1) Always to be practised, or to be practised without limit. This again specially regards Bodhisattvas.

2) These virtues must be practised towards all living beings: one must sacrifice oneself even for animals, as Buddha did several times. The Taoists also practise this precept.

## SECTION XV.

*Rnam thar gsum gy miñ-la.*<sup>1</sup>

The Three Means of Deliverance.

1. *Ṣunyatā*,<sup>5</sup> void (internal). T. *ston pa ñid*, void. M. empty nature, without concept or sentiment.
2. *Apratihiti*, absence of inclination, or any attachment. T. *Mcan ma med pa*, absence of desire. Ch. M. id. (M. *aprañhitam*).
3. *Animitta*<sup>3</sup> (*Animatti*?) Without sign, without representation or material cause. T. *ñnt'san ma med pa*, without form or exterior manifestation. M. Mg. without form (M. *animittam*)).

1) The Three Gates of complete deliverance, The Sk. term should be *vim ox'advāra*. See Sect. XVIII, note 2.

2) This is the void of the Mahāyāna, the conviction of the absolute void in the interior produced by the suppression of all intellectual or appetitive act. Here it is the *general* term: the two following develop it.

3) It happens when the mind sees nothing more in the void contemplation. By suppressing every perception and appetita, every form of the mind or concept, one may annihilate the cause of avidyā, the original error, and of any new birth.

## SECTION XVI.

*Ḣes-rab gsum kyi min-la*

The Three Species of Intelligence, (Three Means of Acquiring Knowledge.)

1. *Ḣrātamayiprajñā*. Knowledge acquired by hearing, teaching, tradition. T. *Thos-pa las byuñ ba-hi Ḣes-rab*, knowledge of what one hears of recitals. M. of what one acquires by hearing.
2. *Cintamayiprajñā*, knowledge acquired by reflexion. T. *bsam-pa las byuñ pa hi*, id.

3. *Bhāvānāmajīprajñā*<sup>2</sup>, knowledge acquired by meditation or contemplation. T. *sgon pa las*, id. M. Ch. by practice. Mg. by piety full of faith,

1) Réad *Bhāv*. *Bhāvanā* is "what makes to be," i. e. the representation in the mind; contemplative meditation. C. DE HARLEZ.

(To be continued).

## LECTURES ON THE RELIGIONS OF BABYLONIA.

BY W. ST. CHAD BOSCAWEN.

[Abstract by H. M. M.]

MR BOSCAWEN has just concluded a course of five lectures at the British Museum on "the Religions of Babylonia." He has endeavoured to deal with the subject in such a manner as to shew that a clear system of growth and development was to be traced in their history.

LECTURE I.—This was devoted to the study of the *Primitive period*, that period in which the religion was represented by the individual or the tribe rather than the nation. The great antiquity of the monuments of ancient Babylonia naturally leads students of the important subject of the origin and development of religious belief to look anxiously for some traces of the earlier and more primitive forms, such as Animism, Fetish worship, &c. All the primitive creeds were found in these records. Animism or Fetish worship in the teaching of the magical litanies and hymns, and ancestor and ghost worship in the hymns addressed to Mul-lil the ghost god. Mr. Boscawen said that in the earlier stages of religious development he could not agree with Prof. Sayce that animism only was the starting point of religious belief in Chaldea. He described the various features of these creeds up to the first rise of the belief in the creator god (*dimmira*). Dualism, Totemism, and other phases of the primitive age were described.

LECTURE II. This lecture dealt with the various religious centres. of Babylonia it was stated that a study of the religious texts made it evident that there grew up in Babylonia, as in Egypt and in India, various Schools of religious thought in the older civic kingdoms of the land. The most ancient school of all was certainly that of Eridu, where the worship of Ea and Silik-mulu-dugga formed the cult, and which really in after time became the national religion of Babylonia. Mr. Boscawen remarked that the association between Eridu and Babylon is clearly shewn in the hymns; and in like manner it was evident that the Ninevites were copying the ancient traditions of Babylonia when they attempted to attribute the foundation of Nineveh to Ea, the god of Eridu. In speaking of the religion of the school of Sergul-Lagash, Mr. Boscawen stated that he could not agree with Prof. Sayce in making Ningirsu the Tamnuz of the old Pantheon. He was undoubtedly the Fire-god. The most important school of religious teaching was certainly that of the worship of the moon-god in Ur. The hymns from this city and the early names found in the contract tablets observed that here Semitic influence was undoubtedly to be traced, and the association between Ur and Harran was most important, as giving the reason for the first step

in Abramic migration. With regard to Sippara and its school of sun-worshippers, it seemed to be difficult as yet to explain the sources of this cult. Such was due to Semitic influence, and until we obtain the contents of the religious history there, it will be difficult to analyse the texts we have. A very important one, the lecturer said, was the striking resemblance between the hymns to Merodach and the hymns in the Zend-Avesta to Mithra. The phraseology, the epithets, were almost exactly the same; and it seemed possible to see a strong Babylonian influence in this section of Oriental religious development.

LECTURE III. The special subject was the *National Period*. The religious development in Babylonia largely synchronised with social progress. In the Primitive Period, the religion of the individual in the local age, the religion of the local city god, and it was not until some powerful ruler consolidated the empire under one rule that the god of the chief city became the national god. The rise of the national religion in its earlier forms may be certainly attributed to the time of Hammurabi. With the national religion came national priesthood, and a school of prophets, as represented by the development of Nebo the prophet-god. The rise of this religion was gradual and varied, attaining its highest development at the time when Babylonia released itself from Assyrian rule. It resembled in many respects the rise of the national religion in Judea. The god and the priesthood and the prophets constituted the national party. The king, when acting with them, was the true servant of the god. His contra-action was a sin, and brought upon it the vengeance of the offended divinity. The relationship between the national ruler and the national god is remarkably illustrated in the time of Nabonidus. Merodach appears to him in dreams, directs and guides him. Merodach recognizes in Cyrus, who defeats the Medes, a foe threatening the nation, his "little servant," an assistant to his chief servant Nabonidus. The latter introduces the new religious policy, offends the priesthood, and therefore insults the national god; he is consequently doomed; the vengeance of the offended god is the fall of his dynasty, the avenger, a welcome servant, is Cyrus, the instrument in the hands of Merodach. The importance of the study of this period to Jewish religious history is very great. At the time of the captivity religious thought, priestly law and organization, were at the highest development. The same system, and same festival periods, the same services and temple ritual, were in use as those in the priestly law of the Jewish people. In the contact with this powerful caste and this carefully organized system, it is impossible not to recognize one of the most powerful forces which brought about the renaissance of the Jewish people. The national god, dwelling in a national capital, surrounded by a national priesthood, jealous of his authority, avenging and rewarding: was to be found in all essential features established in Babylonia. The return from the captivity produced the same change in the Jewish people. Jerusalem and the second temple became to Hebrew life what the temple of Merodach in Babylon had been to the Babylonians.

LECTURE IV. The subject of this lecture was The Babylonian Temple, its services and ceremonies. Mr. Boscawen—dwelt on the importance of the temple in Oriental life. It was the pulse of the city, reflecting its prosperity and its depression. The growth of the temple corresponded to the development of national life, in the family the altar. He here referred to the fact that the act of appropriation in Babylonia of private

property was the building of an altar. This perhaps explains the often repeated phrase in Jewish patriarchal life—"came and dwelt there and built an altar to the Lord." It constituted an act of settlement. The altar with the sacred enclosure became the Holy Place of the wandering tribe corresponding to the Jewish tabernacle. City life produced the god's house, the temple. The construction of the Babylonian temple both in name and arrangement was identical with the first Jewish temple. The veil separating the Holy Place (*Ekallu*) from the *Parrakku*, or Holy of Holies, was similar in each temple. Stone or clay boxes, in which the precious foundation records were kept, might be compared with the ark, while the *buldechino* which covered the statue, and was supported by strange figures, perhaps resembled the Mercy-seat. He next described the sacrificial code and the festivals. These festivals corresponded in dates at least to the Jewish greater festivals. In a tablet in a private collection the festival of Adar, the month of the Jewish feast of Purim, is called "the black" or "mourning festival." In the observance of the Sabbath, the Babylonians were as strict as the most Pharisaic of the Jews. No fire was to be lit, no food cooked. Clothes might not be changed, and Mr. Boscawen pointed out that Prof. Sayce had in his opinion missed the meaning of the passage, which stated that it was unlawful to wash (*ibbuti*) on the Sabbath. The most important restriction was that which forbade the taking of medicine. In this, the lecturer said, we had probably the origin of the question put to Jesus, "Is it lawful to heal on the Sabbath-day?" Sacrifice could not be offered until after sunset. The dresses of the priests were next described, and the mitre worn by the priest seemed to bear a curious resemblance to that traditionally regarded as worn by the Jewish high-priest. The goat-skin was the sacred vestment of the priest like the panther-skin in Egypt. The breastplate had seven stones instead of twelve. The priests were divided into grades. The high priest could only enter the Holy Place or pour out libations. The *sangu*, or one bound by a vow, appeared to correspond to the priests, while there were many minor officials attached to the temples. Some concluding remarks were made as to the influence of the Babylonian temple on the temples of Phœnicia and Judea.

LECTURE V. — The special subject was the Psalms and Prophetic Books. Mr. Boscawen began by pointing out the great difficulty there was in dealing with the study of the religious books of Babylonia. No canon existed; it was difficult to ascertain the date or order of some of the works, while some of the tablets presented so mixed a style of religious thought that it was difficult to say whether they belonged to Semitic or Turanian religious schools. In the magical tablets sin was gauged by the criterion of pain. The gods, or rather demons, were the enemies of man; they had afflicted him, and had to be driven away or exorcised. With the rise of the belief in the gods as creators came the belief in sin as an act by which man, 'the son of his god', had offended his father. This gave birth to a newer and purer school of thought. Mr. Boscawen traced the important theology of Ea and Merodach in these hymns, and drew a parallel between them and the Jewish psalms and poems. He concluded by trusting that now scholars would begin to recognise the importance of using this rich mine of commentative matter.

H. M. M.



THE

# BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

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*Contributors are alone responsible for their opinions or statements.*

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## *THE INSCRIPTIONS OF SIÛT AND DÊR RÎFEH.*

The tombs of Siût have had their full share of the bad luck which is the lot of all Egyptian monuments. Their fate was to be first copied in 1799 by the savants of Napoleon's great French Expedition, and partly to this, partly to the mutilation that they underwent soon after, must be attributed the fact that Champollion and Lepsius passed by and left them to the tender mercies of later Egyptologists hurrying up the river to Thebes. The consequence is that there has been no intelligible copy published of their inscriptions, and it was only by marvellous insight and wide knowledge that in 1880 Professor Maspero, having compared two copies and being aided by the continual repetition of phrases in the Contract Inscription of Tomb I, was able to produce a translation of it, which is to be found amongst the valuable papers published in the Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology. Two years later Professor Erman constructed a critical text of wonderful accuracy from four copies.

I saw this work of Professor Erman's soon after its appearance in the "Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache" for 1882, and although I knew nothing of the copies on which the text was founded I took a mental vow if ever the opportunity came, to see whether something further could not be done for the tombs by 'auf einer hohen Leiter stehend jedes Zeichen zu beleuchten und zu untersuchen' (i.e. p. 160). For three years my attention was a good deal diverted from hieroglyphics, latterly to the payment of workmen and the gathering of potsherds in the Delta, where a chip of granite with half a dozen signs remaining counts as a prize, and a cartouche as an inestimable treasure.

At length in the winter of 1886-7 Mr. Petrie schemed the most delightful of expeditions. It took us to many an out-of-the-way and unexplored corner of Upper Egypt *min Maṣr li Suwân* from Cairo to Aswan and naturally we stopped *fi Siyût*. Though mixed everywhere with sights of recent plunder and destruction of every kind, the journey was a continual feast of novelties and of inscriptions. Ill as we understood the latter, hastening from place to place we copied *con amore*, and the results are of some value.

While we were making our plans for this journey, Professor Sayce had especially recommended us to visit the almost unknown tombs cut in the Western Cliff at the Coptic village of Dêr Rifeh, nine miles South of Siût. On the evening of the 30th December, we moored our boat at Siût and the 31st we spent in completely exploring the hill above the town. Out of the thousands of tombs that exist there we found only four well inscribed: of these we copied 3 (II, III, IV), having no ladders. On the 1st January we examined the cliff from the Siût hill to Dêr Rifeh, finding only quarries and uninscribed tombs until we reached the latter place, where we copied some inscriptions in Tombs I & II, and saw others for which we could not stay, having to leave Siut the next morning.

On the 21st May I returned to Siût in the company of Count R. d'Hulst, in order to complete the Rifeh copies. A native carpenter made me two very clumsy ladders in time for us to settle in a great unfinished tomb at Rifeh by midday. It took a week to copy and revise all the accessible texts, though not very numerous, and then returning to Siût; I spent a day in revising the copies of II, III, & IV, with the help of the ladders. The great Tomb I. was too lofty to attempt and moreover there was no time even to begin upon it.

In England I found that the hasty copies published by my predecessors could be rectified in very many places. I was, therefore, encouraged to try and obtain a correct text throughout in the ensuing season. For this purpose I collected all the texts in a notebook with the variants of different copies and hints from the "Description de l'Égypte." A superficial study of the texts and the plans of the tombs in that work convinced me that they were of two periods and that one group belonged to the otherwise unknown Heracleopolite dynasties. I now find that Professor Maspero had arrived at the second conclusion at least two years earlier.



Last winter (1887-8), the Committee of the Egypt Exploration Fund gave me leave of absence for a fortnight from the excavations in the Delta in order to complete my copies of the inscriptions of Siût and Rifeh.

The time was necessarily extended to 3 weeks. The same Society also paid the whole of my expenses.

Thus on the 16th January, 1888, having wound up the excavations at Tarrâneh and left the trusty Maḥgûb abû Daûd to convey some limestone remains to Bûlâq, I took his brother Saiyid who has often accompanied me on expeditions as factotum, and picking up at Cairo some excellent light and jointed ladders that Mr. Petrie lent me proceeded to Siût, losing both servant and luggage on the way at Bulaq Dakrûr. However on the evening of the 18th we were settled in the great tomb. On the 21st the mudir's deputy became aware of our existence, and I was no longer permitted to continue all night in a mountain "invested by robbers." I therefore had to tramp every evening to the town, leaving the precious ladders in doubtful security though hidden in the darkest recesses of Tomb I.

My copies of the Rifeh inscriptions needed a thorough revision as the texts were often in very bad condition and hardly within reach of our clumsy ladders: but the great tombs of Siût with their long difficult and often half-obliterated texts, in which the signs are to be read only after repeated examination, occupied the whole of my time without any considerable interruption between sunrise and 10 p.m. from the day after my arrival to the 5th February. On the 6th I left for Heliopolis and Rifeh had to be left unvisited.

2. The town of Siût now entirely covers the mounds of Lycopolis, and a European suburb is stretching down to the station and river. In 1799 only a portion of the ancient site was occupied, yet no antiquities were visible except a Roman column of granite which is still standing. I found nothing further in the mosques or elsewhere, but an unintelligible fragment of limestone (Ptolemaic) probably from the destroyed temple of Qau.

3. As to the name it is more properly Siyût. I have not heard Asiût, Osiyût, Asyût or Osyût, which pronunciations, if they ever existed amongst the *jellâhîn* are now, I think, lost. It is the same with Aswân or Uswân, as is perhaps most clearly shown by the common expression for hard stone, granite or basalt, viz: *ḥagar Suwân* where the consonants *r* and *s* come together without any intermediate vowel. In the Coptic names CIOOⲧ and COⲩⲁⲚ the I and Oⲩ were no doubt consonantal  CIOOⲧ = syôut or even syôt (Stern Kopt. gram. p. 38)  COⲩⲁⲚ swân. For this reason, it seems

to me, the Arabs prefixed an ا (stronger than the ordinary *hemzet el wasl*) making اسوان, اسديوط, which forms are still retained in writing. However I am willing to be corrected both as to the pronunciation and the theory, for the former requires very special attention to ascertain with certainty. But a fact that I have often heard stated, that the Upper Egyptians do not by nature use soft g I should much like to see confirmed by a competent authority. In the Delta I have been used universally to ج as soft g, ق as q (a kind of hard g), excepting a few families and individuals especially at Naukratis, who had migrated from Cairo, and use the Cairene ج (hard) and ق (a gasp). In Alexandria, in Cairo, and the country just north of the latter, also at all railway stations the Cairene pronunciation is in vogue. In Upper Egypt it seemed to me that the soft ج was constant. If anyone thinks it worth while to test the real native pronunciation, (putting aside donkey boys and other would-be Cairenes on the one hand and Bedawin on the other, and also remembering that there is a tendency to pronounce according to the dialect used by the *khawāgeh*), I shall be very much interested to hear the result. Children's chatter would give the fairest example.

4. From the town an ancient embankment (bowed out southward to resist the pressure of the inundation) leads to El Hamreh (not Amreh Z.F.A.S. 1876 p. 26) until lately the Nile port of Siût. The modern road to the railway station and thence to the river leaves the embankment at a short distance from Siût and reaches the Nile north of El Hamreh, the old mooring-place having been spoilt by the formation of an island close to the shore. Through a bridge in this embankment at the edge of the Siût mound is an outlet for the inundation water. On the other side of the town the embankment recommences: it bends southwards and turns westward to the cliff where it is again broken by a bridge over the inundation-canal. This road is still used by all who wish to gain the track that skirts the desert, or to visit the cemetery.

5. Behind Siût the range of cliffs from the north bends sharply eastwards and advances within  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mile of the river. Thence it continues southward in a straight line to the village of Dronkeh, after which it retreats again, forming the bay in which lie the Coptic Dêrs of Rifeh and Dronkeh.

6. The projecting hill of Siût terminates on the north at the modern cemetery, on the south at the fellahîn village of Dronkeh, beyond which

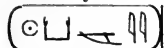
perhaps began the nome of Hypsēle.

The northern face is full of tombs from base to summit, stretching a long way westwards, but while some are of considerable size and well finished, none are inscribed.

On the Southern face, which is much further from Siût, I do not collect any tombs. From the south corner for some distance northward there are very few tombs and no inscriptions. The great mass on the eastern face lies between the N.E. corner and a ravine about 300 yards south: here are the 5 inscribed tombs and a few others showing traces of sculpture and painting. They are found from top to bottom of the hill, and there is one on the plateau above in a place more suitable for a pyramid. On this side the hill has no undercliff or desert at the foot but rises in steep slopes and terraces direct from the alluvium. Below the north face is level desert sand.



There are more rock tombs here than in any other place I have seen. This may be due to various causes, the nearness of the cliff to the city, its suitability and prominence, the size and importance of the ancient Siût, the special sanctity of its necropolis, consecrated to Anubis and Osiris. I believe also that a great consideration with the ancient Egyptian must have been the unrivalled view north, south, and east to the Nile and the opposite hills, and over fertile lands in which every operation of agriculture could be watched complacently by the ghost of the deceased. It is strange that amongst these tombs, many of them on a very large scale and sometimes well finished, there are so few with traces of inscription. Almost all the existing paintings and inscriptions (except Arabic graffiti in the shrine of Tomb I.) belong to the middle kingdom. The authors of the account of Sit in the 'Description' mention some caves as having been occupied by Christians who had painted them with figures of saints and disfigured the early work, but I could not find a single relic of the celebrated hermits of Lycopolis.

7. The principal tombs in the Siût hill fall into two groups. The first is dated to the almost unmarked Heracleopolite period (dynasties IX-X). The name of Heracleopolis occurs frequently in the inscriptions and confirmatory evidence is given by the cartouche of an otherwise unknown king



Rā ka meri, which is found in one of them. The second group belongs to the XIIth dynasty: one of these contains the name of Usertesēn I, while its abundant inscriptions never mention Heracleopolis.

Other characteristics of the two groups of large tombs are as follows :

<i>Heracleopolite.</i>	<i>XIIth Dynasty.</i>
Plain rectangular chamber, divided by a row of square pillars supporting the roof.	Elaborate : a complete rock-cut temple: one or more passages with arched roof, two halls and shrine. (No pillars or columns).
Tomb-pits in the floor.	Tomb-pits entered from the side of a passage or chamber.
Family names of Khetī and Tefāb Determinative of Aputat with a curl in front of the standard ; uraeus sometimes omitted.	Family names of 𐤊𐤍𐤏𐤏 and Aṭī. Leaf-shaped object on the standard in front of the uraeus.
Formula after titles and name 	Formula 

The simple Heracleopolite type is the most numerous. At the end of the embankment (see above), turn a few paces to the right and you reach the N.E. corner of the hill. Here are the ruins of an immense tomb-chamber, showing *khaker* ornament beneath the ceiling. Proceeding up the shoulder you pass several tombs of the same type on the left. In the uppermost terrace is one that has been partly cleared in recent times and shows some traces of painting, and another is in the plateau above. The ruinous and choked state of these tombs makes it impossible to affirm that they agree entirely in plan with those of Tefāb and Khetī.

At about  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the way to the summit and some distance southwards are the three adjoining tombs V, IV, and III. These contain the Heracleopolite inscriptions. V has been quarried away to the back wall IV and III were despoiled of their sculptured facades at the beginning of the century.

Tomb II which is of the XIIth dynasty is at the same level but further south. It looks like an usurpation of an earlier tomb, or is perhaps an unsuccessful and incomplete attempt to develop the new type. It consists of a lofty hall with pillars : two slanting passages are on the south side (for tomb-pits?) and two inscribed doorways have been cut in the back wall (West) but the passages into which they should have led have scarcely been commenced.

Above Tomb II, and southward is a small arched-passage tomb with undefinable traces of painting. The pit is in the floor, but this simple arrangement is in accordance with its small dimensions, and it is probably to be assigned to the XIIth dynasty : or it might be classed as circa XVIIIth.

Beneath II is an elaborate tomb of the XIIth dynasty type, with sloping side-passage to the mummy-chamber. The naos is simicircular like



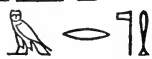
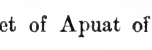
one at Aswân, the facade as usual. It is well finished throughout, but there is not a trace of sculpture. From the notes in the Description it is possible that the entrances to other important tombs are now hidden under the piles and slopes of chips and debris of blasting.

At the corner of the ravine close to Tomb II on the South, are remains of large quarries or tombs which if the 'Description' is to be trusted were formerly sculptured.

The above tombs are now scarcely accessible except from the North East corner of the hill : a high terrace-cliff cuts off any approach by the centre. This cliff is partly due to blasting away innumerable tombs. In it, beneath III, but at a great distance below, is the arched passage-entrance of the great tomb I, of the XIIth dynasty, the largest and most elaborate of all. The terrace about the entrance is covered with the remains of mummies of dogs men and a few cats.

It will be seen that the Heracleopolite type is found towards the N.E. corner from top to bottom of the hill at the point where the embankment still touches it. The princes of the XIIth dynasty made their tombs in the lower terraces southwards.

8. The tombs numbered III, IV, and V, are divided only by party walls, and their occupants must have been very closely related. The facades were sculptured with standing figures of the princes, and inscriptions, which are fortunately preserved in the Plates of the great French work.

Tomb III belonged to Tefabâ  who was   (l. 57)  (l. 61), Prince, &c., chief prophet of Apuat of Siût and of Anubis of Reqrert. Apuat was the principal god of Siût, in these tombs always represented by a very wooden jackal on a standard, evidently a sacred image : Anubis of Reqrert, the god of the necropolis of Siût, is under the form of a realistic jackal recumbent on a shrine.

On the entrance l. 57-71, Tefabâ invokes curses on desecrators and blessing on those who should pronounce the prayer of offerings for his *ka*. The walls of the chamber are quite rough at the back, but the fore part is smoothed and formerly was covered with painted plaster. At the present


1) Printed sign inexact.

time little of it remains and probably it is many centuries since the plaster fell off.

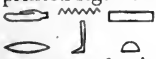
The great chamber was formerly divided transversely by a row of pillars and a rude architrave. On the North wall reaching to the architrave are 39 lines of incised hieroglyphs beneath a head-line which bids visitors repeat a prayer. It strikes one as strange that while the first 14 lines are completely incised and coloured, the remainder from 15 to 39, which follow without a break, are not coloured, and the lower part of these latter is covered with plaster on which are the remains of a painted figure and inscriptions. Moreover on attempting to scale away this plaster and to recover the original inscription it is found that the lower portions of the lines have never been engraved. It is clear that the inscription was objected to before it was finished : it was plastered over and another one substituted.



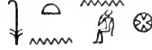
Was it caprice that led to this sudden change, or was it policy? We will examine the contents of the three inscriptions, A the first 14 lines (2-15), B the unfinished inscription, C the text substituted for B (41-56.)

A is cut into the limestone and the incisions are coloured blue. It is in good condition except where an opening has been forced through the wall into Tomb IV. It is by no means easy to translate, but it can be seen at once that 2-12 are in praise of Tefaba's many virtues but do not record any individual act. The most remarkable (and translateable) sentence (l. 10) is 'when evening came a man would lie down to sleep on the road and praise me in that he was like (as safe as) a man in his own house : for my soldiers preserved the land from robbers...' l. 13-15. 'My son grew up and became prince, at which Sîut rejoiced for verily every noble who does a good act to his people and departs at the time that he does this good act, his spirit is glorified in the tomb, his son inherits his father's estate, his memory is good in the city, the progeny of his house sacrifice to his statue.'

B. This inscription is very difficult to decipher. None of the characters have received the finishing touches, many are just begun, while a few are traceable only in the painted sketching. I cleaned the remains and copied them with the greatest care. The lower halves of the lines were either erased or not sketched. l. 16. 'The first time that my soldiers fought with the southern *nomes* they all came together, South to Elephantine North to the city of  (apparently the same that occurs once



in Benihasan Champ. Not. II. 415, and must be North of Siut; the printed sign is not exact) Tefaba crushed the enemy drove out the *rebellious*  
 l. 25. 'The land was in terror of my soldiers, there was not a foreign country without fear of me.' l. 36. I made offerings and gave revenues to the temples seeing that they had been *deprived*, l. 38.

The above extracts make it very probable that Tefaba is here recording a civil war in which he took part. Unfortunately the sign for nome? is very imperfect, but I thought I could trace the ends of the lines of in the sketching. If we read  for  we are concerned with an invasion from the South (Ethiopia), but though this would explain some sentences; it is against the general tone of the inscriptions which cannot be interpreted so as to suit it. In l. 36 Heracleopolis  is mentioned but without context.

C. The remaining fragments shew that it was not of an historical character. (Only the legs of the figure remain).

It was therefore for a *political* reason that C was substituted for B.

There is no inscription to record the parentage or family of Tefaba.

F. LL. GRIFFITH.

## ORIGIN FROM BABYLONIA AND ELAM OF THE EARLY CHINESE CIVILISATION.

### A SUMMARY OF THE PROOFS.

#### VI. ITEMS OF ASSYRO-BABYLONIAN, EGYPTIAN AND OTHER CIVILIZATIONS ENTERED INTO ANCIENT CHINA THROUGH LATER CHANNELS.

(Continued from page 110).

\* \* \*

The most renowned party of foreigners who reached the Chinese court in ancient times from the south, were those who came from *Yueh-Shang*, a name which in its ideographical rendering means trail of the outside borders. It has been identified with the southern part of Tungking.<sup>206</sup> The unsophisticated legend<sup>207</sup> says that in the sixth year of the regency of Tchou Kung, uncle to the young King Tcheng of Tchou, they presented three elephants and a white pheasant.<sup>208</sup> Nothing is said of any other presents nor of their bringing any book or calendar with them, as was the

case with some other parties; they are chiefly known from the spurious statement that the Duke of Tchou presented them with five south pointing chariots to facilitate their return to their remote country. But this account has been shown to be baseless.<sup>209</sup>

Like the travelling parties from Shou-Mi and from Nêrê, the mission from Yueh-shang was of no importance for the increase of Chinese civilisation. None of them had anything to teach, while they had everything to learn: their respective countries were still uncivilised, and so far as we can judge<sup>210</sup> they only knew what chance had permitted them to get from Chinese culture. A fabling inference which has been developed into a regular tradition, and though unknown to the oldest statements about the journey of the Yueh-shang people has been eagerly adapted by the doers of Annamite history, attributes to the latter trading party magnified as ambassadors, the knowledge of a writing proper to their own country.<sup>211</sup> This spurious story must have been concocted in putting together, the inference drawn from the statement that interpreters were employed by the travellers, and the genuine existence in Annam of a phonetic writing of unknown date which was suppressed in 186 A.D.<sup>212</sup> This writing may have been introduced from India, or have consisted in a syllabic derivation and simplification of the Chinese characters introduced by the trade of Shuh, but in either case it must have been several centuries later than the journey referred to.<sup>214</sup>

All these three trading parties had been attracted to the Chinese court by the rising fortune of the House of Tchou just beginning its rule over the Chinese dominion, and the expectations which its wealth gave to foreign commerce.

NOTES. 206) The *Hoang viet dia du chi* of Annam (1829), states that the old country of Yueh-shang is now covered by the provinces of Nghê-an, Thuan-hoa and Quang-nam, cfr. I, 9, II., 31.

207) In the *Tung kien kang muh* of Tchu-li (trad. de Mailla, vol. I, p. 316-318) and in the *An nan tchi lioh* by Li-tsilh of the Ming period (passage transl. in William Mesny's *Tung k'ng*, pp. 10-13, Hong Kong, 1884), the story is told at great length, being swollen with extraneous matters, which show how the Chinese compilers succeed to expand the terseness of the original reports.

208) These envoys are represented among others on one of the ten sculptured stones of Hiao t'ang shan in Shan tung which date of the second century B. C. They are given in facsimile in the *Kin shih soh* (quoted note 187 above), but do not exhibit the same Egyptian influence as those of the Tzu yun shan, which were probably a survival of some of the Egyptian data carried there by the sea trade several centuries earlier.

- M. Paleologue has reproduced a few of them in his recent work *L'art chinois*, pp. 133, 135, 137, 145, and 309.
- 209) Cfr. *suprà* note 152. The matter is full of interest as it concerns at the same time the invention of the mariner's compass. The late W. F. Meyers, in an interesting note on *The Mariner's Compass in China* (Notes and Queries on China and Japan, Hong-Kong, 1870, vol. IV, pp. 9-10) has shown that such a knowledge in China can be reported only to the time of Ma-Kiun, a famous mechanic who flourished at the court of Ming-ti (A.D. 227-240) of the Wei dynasty. The lamented scholar thought that "several reasons exist for believing that Ma-Kiun may have derived his knowledge of the properties of the magnet from Indian sources, as he probably did of the water-wheel and other inventions, which are laid claim to in his behalf." These Indian sources would then be Buddhist missionaries whose propaganda was very active under that Northern dynasty. However the mariner's compass was not known on board Indian ships as late as the Vth century. In 413 A.D. Fahien travelling from Ceylon to Java on a large merchant ship carrying about 200 men, wrote: "it is impossible to know east or west except by observing the sun, moon, or stars, and so progress. It is dark, rainy weather the only plan is to steer by the wind without guide." (*Foh kwoh-ki*, ch. XI, tr. Beal). And afterwards on board another ship of same size, from Java to China, the weather being also bad, they were in the same uncertainty as to their proper route. Dr. J. Edkins, on the other hand thinks (*On Chinese names for boats and boat-gear*, J. N. C. B. R. A. S. 1877. XI. 123-142) that magnetic iron was known in North China at the time of Kwei Kutze in the IVth century, B.C., who speaks of the south pointing chariots, and probably also known to Confucius, as the load-stone district was not far distant from the capital of the state of Lu, where the great philosopher was. Both learned writers have overlooked a most interesting statement of Liu-hiang, (80-9 B.C.) in his work *Hung fan wu hing tch'uan*, which I resume here. The Duke Hien of Tsin (822-811 B.C.) tried unsuccessfully to make south pointing chariots. Later on the Duke Huan of Tsi (N. W. Shantung, 684-642 B.C.) found out the mistake and was successful in making some, in which himself and his minister Kuan-tze (note *suprà* 177) drove. The statement is very suggestive of a slow progress, perhaps under foreign influence which reached there by the sea-trade (cfr. sect. c. of the present chapter) and at proximity of the region where load-stone was found.
- 210) For instance the calendar of the Nêrê.
- 211) Truong Vinh Ky, *Cours d'histoire annamite*, vol. I, p. 11 and 27. Curiously enough the statement is not found in the highly embellished *Tungking* by William Mesny, pp. 10-13, (Hong-Kong, 1884). On the falsification and making up of the Annals of Annam, cfr. *The languages before the Chinese*, sec. 89-91, and *add.* p. 152, of the French edition.
- 212) And superseded by the Chinese characters. Cfr. my *Beginnings of writing around Tibet*, sec. 44.
- 213) Several such writings have been made in South-western Asia, such as the Lolo, the Shuikia, and a third one, the name whereof is not known to me, but a specimen exists in a bilingual manuscript No. 24898, Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro. Paris: Masso and ?—On the

Lolo writing, cfr. below sec. c. of the present chapter. On the Shui-Kia characters, cfr my notice *A new writing from S. W. China*, in *The Academy*, 19 Febr., 1887, and *Langues de la Chine*, p. 150.

214) By a singular perversion of fables, a story has been made in the Vith century of our era, of Ambassadors from Yueh-shang sent to the Emperor Yao with a written calendar. Cfr. my remarks on the subject in *The Land of Sinim, not China*, pp. 184-185 of B. & O.R., I.; and below Chapt. VII. answer to objections.

e) *The Trade of Shuh=Szechuen.*

\*

We must come to several centuries later than the beginning of the Tchou dynasty to find the most important trade routes through the South and South West and West, which have really exercised a great influence on the development of China. Curiously enough this trade was carried on by non-Chinese and outside the limited Chinese dominion of the time.

The traders of Shuh, i.e., Sze-tchuen, belonged to those well gifted populations of an initiative spirit, who did not shrink from being on friendly terms with the civilized Bak tribes soon after their arrival in North West China, and to avail themselves of the benefit which an acquaintance with their scientific notions and arts could procure. Some legendary accounts relate that Tehang-y, a son of Nai Hwang-ti went forward to settle in that direction,<sup>215</sup> and that several people of the Po'ng tribe brought books to Shao-Hao<sup>216</sup> a successor of Hwang-ti, who had remained in the West and did not rule in China. Arriving at more modern times, it is probable that the Shuh people had made use of their knowledge and entered into some intercourse with the outside world. The history of the country had been written by Yang-hiung (B.C. 53 - A.D. 18), the celebrated philologist<sup>217</sup> who was himself a native of Shuh, but his work is apparently lost and now known only through a few quotations in other works<sup>218</sup>, which we shall refer to further on. The traders of Shuh remained for long confined to the North of the Szechuen province, and there are reasons to believe that they did participate to the Jade traffic by the W. route which we have described. (VI, b). Their country was included in the Liang-tchou, of the Yu-kung, which had to pay a tribute of jade: or at least from where or through which Jade articles did come, at the time of the Hia and Shang dynasties as recorded in the *Yü Kung*.<sup>219</sup> Much later, in 860, B.C. some of them presented Jade articles to the King Y of Tchou,<sup>220</sup> and the sort of Jade indicates that it was Nephrite of Turkestan. It is apparently to this trade extended from hand to hand westwards, that western

Asia and afterwards Europe was indebted for the introduction of Chinese fruits such as the peach, the abricot, the jujube, and some others. The carrying westwards and eastwards of the famous mastiff-dogs of Tibet was also due to the same trade, at least for a part of the route, as we shall see directly.

The Peach is certainly originary from China<sup>221</sup>, where it is cultivated since high antiquity, and where it so became a symbol of marriage and of longevity<sup>222</sup>. In the Brief Calendar of the Hia dynasty, which was compiled not long after the twentieth century B.C.<sup>223</sup>, it is noted that on the sixth month the "peaches are boiled for preserves"<sup>224</sup>. The wild peach tree is also spoken of therein as putting forth blossoms on the first month, and forests or groves of peach trees<sup>225</sup> are mentioned in ancient literature<sup>226</sup>, such as the *T'ao-lin*, or peach-forest in Shensi W., the oldest one known, and afterwards others in Honan<sup>227</sup>, in Kiang-si<sup>228</sup>, &c. Now the peach in antiquity was not known in the west<sup>229</sup>, nor was it known to the Sanskrit-speaking people migrating into India. It must have been imported from China between the time of these migrations, and the relations of the Persians with the Greeks. It was first spoken of by Theophrastus (332 B.C.), who mentions it as a Persian fruit, and it did not reach Italy until the Christian era. It is therefore probable that this importation did take place before the fourth century<sup>230</sup> from China, through the route of the Shuh traders and their intermediaries.

Abricot (*prunus armeniacus*) is also indigenous in Chins<sup>231</sup>, and may have been brought to the west by the same channel. The *hing*<sup>232</sup> is mentioned along with the *t'ao*=peach in the Brief Calendar of the Hia dynasty<sup>233</sup>, but it was not so much appreciated as the latter fruit, and the references to it in ancient literature are not so numerous<sup>234</sup>. In the west it was not known at the time of Theophrastus, but it must have been brought before the first century as Pliny mentions it, unless it should have been already there unknown of the Greek writer. The jujube, *tsao*, was carried to the west, or at least to Persia, at a much earlier period than the peach and the abricot, though after the Aryan migration to India<sup>235</sup>. It is a native of the north of China<sup>236</sup>, and it is mentioned in the Hia calendar already referred to.<sup>237</sup> The list will probably be increased by further researches on the subject.

The celebrated mastiff dogs of Tibet have been carried in antiquity in Babylonia as well as in China. Marco-Polo spoke of them as "big as donkeys."<sup>238</sup> François Lenormant has reproduced a slab from Babylonia where such a dog is represented with a precision which makes the

identification certain.<sup>239</sup> In China their presentation to the King of Tchou by some people of the West, after the overthrow of the Shang-yu dynasty has given a name to a book of the Shu-king.<sup>240</sup> Modern travellers have repeatedly spoken of these famous dogs.<sup>241</sup> The case is interesting in our enquiry as instancing communications at least occasional between a medial country, Babylonia on the West and China on the east. In the case of China it may have been due, like the arrival of the trading parties of Shou-Mi, Nêrê and Yueh-shang, to the rising fame of the conquest of China, then very small, by the Tchou with the help of their neighbours, the non-Chinese tribes of the West and South West.<sup>242</sup> Although the name of the Shuh traders do not appear, and that the party who presented the mastiffs is not given, as they are described only as travellers from the West, it is quite clear that coming from Tibet, they must have passed through the country of the Shuh traders; therefore their journey cannot but be connected with this western trade, should they not be themselves simply a trading party from Shuh.

- NOTES. 215) He dwelt near the *Joh* water. *Tchuh shuh ki nien*, I, Hwang-ti, year 77.—On relations with the Chinese in 1970 B.C.? cfr. *The lang. of Chin. before the Chin.*, sec. 113.
- 216) R. K. Douglas, *Chinese and Babylonian literature*, l. c.; note 87 *suprà*.—This legend is one of those which have been combined into the fabulous account told in the *Tso-tchuen*, Tchao kung, year XVII, 3; edit. Legge. *Chinese classics*, vol. V, p. 667.—Tradition speaks of the Pongs as the first rebels subdued by Hwang-ti, and afterwards friends with the Chinese. They belonged to the same family as the Mungs (Môn-Tai race). cfr. *Tai Ping yü lan*, Bk. 915, ff. 1-9; and my *Lang. Chin. before Chinese*, chap. IX.
- 217) I have analysed his "Comparative dictionary of dialects" in the last-quoted work, chap. VII.
- 218) *Shuh wang pen-tsi* in *Tai ping yü lan*, Bk. 166, ff. 3 and 10 v.
- 219) *Shu-king*, part III, Bk. I, 69. Cfr. text *suprà* and note 174.
- 220) *Tchuh shu k'i wien*, Tchou Y wang, year II. The expression used is *Küing yuk* the finest sort of jade, that which is mentioned in the legend of Muh Wang and Si Wang Mu, cfr. *The Tree of Life*, pp. 5, 10, n. 35.
- 221) As shown by Prof. A. de Candolle from various evidences; cfr. his *Géographie Botanique raisonnée*, 1855, p. 881, and his recent smaller work *Origin of cultivated plants*, 1884, pp. 221, 229.
- 222) Cfr. W. F. Meyers, *Chinese R. M.*, sub. voc. *T'ao*, p. 213.
- 223) Cfr. E. C. Knobel, *Notes on an ancient Chinese calendar*, 1882. Above note 20.
- 224) *Tchu t'ao y wei t'ou shih*; in the *Ta Y-li*, *Hia siao tcheng*, V1th month. The same calendar as edited and translated by Prof. R. K. Douglas, *The calendar of the Hia dynasty*, p. 44 (*Orientalia Antiqua*, I, 1882) says only *Tchu t'ao* 'Boiled are the peaches'; the other words *y wei tou*

- shih*, literally 'to make dishes of fruits' are not there.
- 225) Called *t'o t'ao* or *y-t'ao*, the first character having the two readings. Prof. Douglas, *l.c.* p. 26, translates mountain peach tree.
- 226) Spoken in the *Shu-king*, Part, V, Wu tcheng 2. It was situated about the hill of Kw'a fu in the S.C. of the present department of T'ung-tchou. Cfr. J. Legge, *Chinese classics*, vol. III, p. 309, note. The same statement is found in the *Shan hai King*. In the *Tai ping yü lan* encyclopedia of 983, in Bk. 967 ff. 1-8, there is no less than 73 references to the peach from ancient literature.
- 227) G. Playfair, *The Cities and Towns of China*, No. 4400.
- 228) *Tai ping yü lan*, Bk. 967, fol. 3.
- 229) The present statement and the followings are derived from Dr. A. de Candolle, *Géographie botanique* and *Origin of cultivated plants*, *l.c.*
- 230) We have spoken below of the introduction of the China peach into India at a later date.
- 231) De Candolle, *origin*, pp. 215-218.
- 232) Not *sing* as by misprint in Bretschneider, *on the study and value of Chinese botanical works*, p. 10.
- 233) *Hia siao tcheng*, I, 21, and IV, 54; R. R. Douglas, *o.c.* pp. 26, 37.
- 234) *Tai ping yü lan*, Bk. 968, ff. 1-3. Among the quotations given there, one of the Vth. cent. refers to apricot trees in Khotan, and another supposed to be earlier, speaks of an island where apricots grow, in the sea south of Shantung.
- 235) A de Candolle, *Origin*, pp. 194-196.
- 236) A de Candolle, *ibid.* p. 196.
- 237) *Hia siao tcheng*, VIIIth month 93; R. R. Douglas, *o.c.* p. 48.
- 238) H. Yule, *Marco-Polo*, 2nd edit., vol. II, p. 41.
- 239) In his work: *La langue Primitive de la chaldée*, pl., p. 383, from a terra cotta fragment found at Babylon. At the time of the Akhæmenides, similar dogs were brought up in four villages of Babylonia, according to Herodotus, who calls them Iidian, I, 192. Ktésias has described them, 5 and fragm. VI. Cfr. *Ancient India as described by Ktésias the Knidian*, by J. W. McCrindle, (1882), pp. 9 and 36. Also W. Houghton, *Mammalia of the Assyrian inscriptions*, Tr. S.B.A., 1877, vol. V.
- 240) *Lü ngao*. Part, V, BkV. in J. Legge, *Chinese classics*, vol. III, p. 345.
- 241) Such as G. Bogle in 1774, Manning in 1812, (Mar-kham, Tibet, pp. 88, 224); T. T. Cooper, P. Drand, (H. Yule, *Marco Polo*, *l.c.*) Capt. W. Gill, *The River of Golden Sand*, (1880), vol. I, p. 382; vol. II, pp. 151, 247.
- 242) These tribes are enumerated in the *Shu-king*, Part, V, Bk. II. The Tchou were represented in China with red hair. On their foreign origin, cfr. *Les langues de la Chine*, addit. p. 160.
- 243) *Si Lüü*. The latter word (3837 of Basile) is not the proper name of a tribe, and means simply in that case, stranger, traveller, as in Mencius. Cfr. W. Williams, *S.D.* p. 559; J. Eitel, *Ch. C.D.*, p. 390; *sub. voc.*

The traders of Shuh in their mercantile expeditions followed three routes going to the west, to the south-west and the south.

There was a route to Tibet and the west or south-west which, apparently starting from Tcheng-tu, passed through Darchiengo (Chinese *Ta-tsen-lu*), as in the present day,<sup>244</sup> and then bifurcated to the N. W. and to the S. W. The North route thither must have bent its direction to the N. W. and following South of the Kuenlun range crossed to the country of the Jade, the Khotan region. This is a mere inference from the data we have just enumerated. We have no other evidence to add in its favour nor as to the date when it ceased to be used, after the presentation to the Chinese court of Jade articles from Turkestan in 860 B.C. which we have described. The S. W. route starting from Darchiengo westwards passing through Litang, Batang, Kiangka, and then in a S. W. direction probably through Roema, Sadiya,<sup>245</sup> and the course of the Brahmaputra, reached on the Ganges the important mart of Pataliputra (or Patna) which became the capital city of the celebrated Asoka (263--224 B.C.) This is the road spoken of afterwards by Tchang-Kien 123 B.C.,<sup>246</sup> and by the unknown author of the Periplus<sup>247</sup> two hundred years later.

Tchang-kien was sent in 135 B.C. by HAN Wu Ti on the track of the Yueh-ti, former neighbours in the N. W. of China, who had migrated westwards in 165 B.C.,<sup>248</sup> in order to secure their alliance against the common foes the Hiung-nus; he arrived in the Ta-Hia country,<sup>249</sup> or Bactria in 125 B.C., after being a prisoner among the latter for over ten years, and there he saw, some cloth from Shuh, otherwise silk-cloth from modern central Szetchuen, and some bamboo staves from Kiung,<sup>250</sup> a western part of the same modern province; both articles, he was told were brought in Ken-tu, *i.e.* Hindu=India,<sup>251</sup> by their own traders when going to that country which lay several thousand *li* to the south-east. The acute Chinaman was unaware of the existing intercourse between Shuh and India, but he estimated rightly that with reference to the Middle kingdom, India was situate in the South-west, and therefore that some communication could be established in that direction as we shall see further on. It is to be remarked that Tchang-kieng does not allude at all to any trade of any sort through Tibet and Badakshan, which existed no more in his time, as otherwise he would undoubtedly have mentioned it, and his views would not have been solely directed to the establishment of an intercourse between Bactria and China through India, as we shall see further on. The scanty trade which as we have seen, the Shuh traders



did carry in olden times by the North had long died out from the difficulties of the way, and the opening of new markets in India through the South western routes. It was after the return of the Chinese minister and his reports on the wealth of the countries West of the Tsungling mountains, that trade by the North began only to be regularly carried.

The anonymous writer of the Periplus, A.D. 80-89, has a remarkable passage on this trade.<sup>252</sup> "Beyond this region (*Khruscé*, i.e. Indo-China), immediately under the North, where the sea terminates outwards, there lies somewhere in Thina a very great city,—not on the coast, but in the interior of the country, called Thina, from which silk, whether in the raw state or spun into thread and woven into cloth is brought by land through Bactria to Barugaza (*Bharōch*), or by the Ganges river to Limuriké<sup>253</sup> (*Dimyriké*, the Tamul country, Malabar)." The author speaks of *'erion sērikon* and of *nēma sērikon*; and in another passage he mentions furs *dērmata sērika* as exported from Barbarikon, a mart on the middle and only navigable branch of the Indus,<sup>254</sup> where they must have been brought from the same country as the other articles, i.e. from the Serica. Pliny, somewhat earlier, mentions<sup>255</sup> the Sères sending their most excellent iron along with vestments and furs.<sup>256</sup> Ptolemy, in his turn, a century later, says<sup>257</sup> that there was not only a road from the country of the Sères and of the Sinæ to Bactriane by the Stone Tower, (i.e. by Kashgar and Pamir), but also a road to India which came through Palimbothra (i.e. Patna). The latter route is therefore that which was followed by the merchants from Shuh for their trade with India, and until the reopening of the North route, was during several centuries the way of communications between the West and the non-Chinese Szetchuen, and by rebound the Middle Kingdom. I am not in a position to say that this West-south route, or another South route whereof we shall speak further on, was opened shortly after the time of the mercantile expedition to the court of Tching Wang.<sup>258</sup> It is probable, but we shall not see any influence coming through them before the sixth century;<sup>259</sup> as to historical facts we do not find any before the fourth century.

At that time the wealth of Szetchuen had accrued considerably in consequence of its foreign trade and made it a desirable acquisition for its powerful neighbours, in the North the state of Tan, modern sound *Ts'in*, in Shensi, future conqueror of the whole Chinese dominion, and on the East the non-Chinese state of *Tsu*, probably old Tseru, which was not yet half-sinicised in Hukwang.

The history of the kings of Shuh by Yang-hiung<sup>260</sup>, which I have

already alluded to, gives the names of several rulers who had established their power in the capital<sup>261</sup>. After the lapse of three periods called *Ts'ao tsung*, *T'chek kuan* and *Yü y*, a certain Kai ming was ruling in the latter part of the fourth century<sup>262</sup>. His successors were Peh yung Yü-wei, and T'u-yü. The latter, who had come from India<sup>263</sup>, assumed the title of king, and was ruling circa 255 B.C.<sup>264</sup>, but he was induced to resign, according to probabilities, under the increased pressure of the kings of Ts'in, then all powerful. The latter had begun long before to show their strong hand in these regions. Prince Hwuy, who did not assume the Royal dignity before 324 B.C., had conquered in 328 B.C. the region called Pa chung, corresponding to the modern prefecture of Tchung King in E. Szetchuen. Five years afterwards, as king of Ts'in, he sends his prime minister, Tchang-y, to attack the Shuh<sup>265</sup>. Kai-ming, who was then on the throne, tried vainly to resist, and being vanquished, withdrew to Wu-yang, the modern Kia-ting fu, where he was made a prisoner soon afterwards. It was only later on<sup>266</sup>, namely, about 218 B.C., and in order to facilitate their communications, that Ts'IN SHE Huang-ti, the founder of the Chinese Empire, constructed the famous five-feet causeway through the Tsing ling range, which hitherto had been a natural barrier, preventing any serious extension towards the South<sup>267</sup>. Previously to the establishment of this route the supremacy of the kings of Ts'in, which was only temporary, in those regions was nothing more than a sort of protectorate, the government remained in the hands of the native chiefs, who preserved their hereditary rights<sup>268</sup>, and were entitled to receive royal princesses in marriage<sup>269</sup>.

But it gave to the Ts'ins the right of passage for their traders and for their troops; and it permitted them to thwart the projects of the non-Chinese<sup>270</sup> great State of Tsu, the kings whereof had been attracted like themselves towards Ssetchuen and the south-west, and began their movements in that direction sometime earlier. They had gradually absorbed several minor states which lay on their western borders. About 330 B.C. the king Wei of Tsu<sup>271</sup> sent Tchwang-Kiao with troops up the (Yangtse) Kiang to settle the boundaries of the several tribes from Pa and Kien chung<sup>272</sup> westward, and attach them to his kingdom. The gallant general proceeded further on and reached the lake of Yunnan which was then called the Tsen marsh<sup>273</sup>; he overawed the inhabitants of the country by his military strength, and attached them also to the kingdom of Tsu. But the army of Ts'in cut his communications in the rear, seizing, as we have said above, the districts of Pa and Kien-tchung, which he had submitted, and prevented his return to his native country. "The highway

being thus rendered impassable, Tchwang-kiao remained with his followers and established himself as king of Tsen, assuming the garb of the barbarians and adopting their customs, he was accepted as their chief \*74."

- NOTES. 244) Routes die hard in mountainous and unexplored lands, and the route here indicated is still said to be the only one permitted by the orography of the country. Therefore it was probably that which was followed in antiquity. Cfr. note 326 *infra*.
- 245) The route is indicated by the geographical conditions of the country, and that which has been severally attempted by European travellers who could not go through because of the war-like and savage dispositions of the native tribes.
- 246) Szema Tsien, *She ki*, Bk. 123, fol. 6; Pan ku, *Tsien Han Shu*, Bk. 61, Biography of *Tchang kien*.
- 247) Peripl. Mar. Erythr., 64. J. W. McCrindle, *The Commerce and Navigation of the Erythrean Sea* (Bombay, 1879), pp. 12-13 and 148.
- 248) Cfr. my paper *The Yueh-ti and the Early Buddhist Missionaries in China*, p. 5.
- 249) This is an important datum for the connexion of ancient geography and ethnology in the cuneiform documents and the Chinese annals. The *Tahia* of the Chinese are the *Da oi* of N. Persia mentioned by Herodotus I, 125: the Deaye of Ezra, IV, 9: the *Da hae* whom Sennakhérib vanquished in 697, he seized their capital Ukku, and their King Maniya fled before him. Cfr. E. Norris, *Assyrian dictionary*, I, 212; Prof. E. Schrader in F. von Richtofen, *China*, 441 n.; G. de Vasconcellos-Abreu, *De l'origine probable des Toukhares*, pp. 176-179 (Le Muséon, 1883, t. II.)—The *Tahia* or *Daai* must be carefully distinguished from the *Tokhari* and from the *Yueh-ti* as shown by the latter scholar. Richtofen *l.c.*, and A. Cunningham *Coins of the Indo-scythians* (Numismatic Chronicle, 1888, vol. VIII) have not avoided these confusions of ancient orientalists. Sennaherib had subdued the *Tukhari* in his preceding campaign, which directed more to the North.
- 250) *Kiung* was properly the name of a hill, producing bamboos with long joints and solid hearts, fit for making staves. A. Wylie.
- 251) The primitive text of *Tchang-kien* gave that spelling accordingly with the name as he heard it pronounced in the N. of Persia. It was corrected afterwards into *Shen-tu* under the influence of Buddhist priests from India. Cfr. the gloss in Szema Tsien's *Sheki*, *l.c.*
- 252) The connection of the Greek report with that of the Chinese minister, not general, of HAN Wu-ti, has been shown by Col. H. Yule in his most valuable *Essay introductory to Capt. Gill's journey 'The River of Golden Sand'* (1880), p. 32.
- 253) *Peripl. Mar. Erythr.*, 64; McCrindle, *o.c.* pp. 147-148.
- 254) *Ibid.* 39; McCrindle, *o.c.* p. 109, note. Some *nēma sērika* was also brought to Barbarikon as stated in the same passage.
- 255) Plin. *Hist. nat.* xxxiv. 41. Dr. J. Eddins has recently published in the *Journal of the Peking Oriental Society*, 1885, vol. I, pp. 1-16, a paper on *Allusions to China in Pliny's natural history*.
- 256) In the *Mahābhārata*, II, 50, quoted by Lassen, among the presents

- sent to Yudhishthira by the Saka, Tushâra, and Kanka skins are enumerated.
- 257) Ptolem. I, 17, circa A.D. 150.—McCrindle, *Ancient India* as described by Ptolemy, (Bombay, 1885), p. 30.—Col. H. Yule, *Cathay and the way thither*, vol. I, introd. pp. 146-153 has collected from Ptolemy and annotated all that concerns this subject.
- 258) Which we have reported above.
- 259) Cfr. below, sect. \*\*\*\* of the present chapter.
- 260) *Shuh Wang pen ki*. I quote it from some extracts in the *Tai ping yü lan* (A.D. 983), Bk. 166, ff. 3, 10. As the matter has never been treated, as far as we know, in any European work, I am compelled to speak at a greater length than I would do otherwise.
- 261) The modern *Tcheng-tu* as called since 221 B.C. and then pronounced Thanh-tu. It was previously *Kwei-tcheng* or the Tortoise city according to the *Lung Shuh siu* in the *Shwoh ling* collection, Bk. II, f. 9.
- 262) The same name appears in the *Shan hai king*, Bk. XI, ff. 2-4, but so much fabled, that historical truth has disappeared under the bewildering garb.
- 263) The text says that he was originary from the *Tien 'o* mountains. The name (1798-1716 of Basile) is one of the many Chinese equivalents for Shindu or India.
- 264) A short notice of him is given in Mayer's Chinese R.M., I, 685, where it is said that he was styled Wang Ti. He resigned his throne and retired in the Wu mountains of the West, in consequence of fabulous circumstances reported in his legend, but more probably for the reason put forth in the text above.
- 265) *Shuh Wang pen ki*, l.c. Bk. 166, f. 10 v. The date of this event is pretty well ascertained from a concatenation of circumstances. Prince Hwuy made himself king in the year 324; and the officer he sent against Shuh was Tchang-y who was in his service between the years 330-323; therefore it must be in 324-323 that the campaign took place Tchang-y on whose life cfr. W. F. Meyers, *Chinese R.M.*, I, 17.
- 266) Szema Tsiên, *She ki*, Bk. 116, fol. 2.—Panku, *Tsiên Han shu*, Bk. 95; transl. A. Wylie, *History of the South Western Barbarians*, p. 4 in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, August 1879.
- 267) The entire route is a work of tremendous engineering, says Baron von Richtofen, in Col. H. Yule, *Marco-Polo*, vol. II, p. 26. It extended from the river Hwai opposite the district city of Pao-ki, to within a few miles of the Han river, near the prefectural city of Hantchung, (A. Wylie). It is curious that local tradition should attribute the authorship of this great work to wrong men. In Shensi, it is Liu pang the founder of the First Han dynasty in 206 B.C.; in Szechuen it is the great man of the country, Liu-pi the founder of the Third Han dynasty at Tcheng-tu in 226 A.D. It is possible that Liu pang had it repaired but he did not establish it, as the statement of Szema Tsiên is quite precise, and it existed previously ten years or more.
- 268) For instance in 255 B.C. King Tch'ao siang made a treaty with some chiefs of the Pa region, modern Tchung king, which was engraved on stone. Cfr. *Hou Han Shu*, Bk. 116, *Pan Tun*; transl. A. Wylie, *History of the Southern and South Western Barbarians*, p. 222, in *Revue de l'Extreme Orient*, 1882, t. I.
- 269) *Hou Han Shu*, Bk. 116, *Pa Nan*; A. Wylie, *ibid.* p. 220.



I have broken up this line into five groups for a reason to be indicated later on.

If we now take the Arabic alphabet and write it out similarly, putting all identical shapes in one place we shall get :—

I				V			IV			III				II		
ب	ا	ج	د	ر	س	ط	ع	ف	ق	ك	ل	م	ن	و	ه	
پ		چ	ذ	ش	ص	ظ	غ			گ*				ة		
ت		ح	ث	(ص)												
		خ	ث	(ض)												
1	2	3	4	20	21	22	16	17	19	11	12	13	14	6	8(?)	10
			5?	18?	7	15									9(?)	

In the bottom line of this second list, I have put the numbers corresponding to those of the Syro-Hebrew letters in the former table. One is inexplicably misplaced, viz. No. 8, for Arabic  $\text{و}$  really corresponds to  $\text{ו}$ ,  $\text{ט}$ , and the etymological equivalent of No. 8,  $\text{ו}$ ,  $\text{ט}$  is  $\text{ح}$  in Arabic. In other cases, numbers are missing, owing to the confusion of forms (7 with 20, 15 with 21) : in the latter case the sibilants are collected together, even though the forms are not identical. The Arabic moreover, has developed several new forms, and differentiated others, (e.g. the dentals, aspirates, &c.) Hence  $\text{ط}$  appears when we should expect  $\text{ث}$ , but the latter had to be given under the  $\text{ب}$  forms.

But taking the lines broadly, it is clear (1) that the first group of forms agrees in order in both ; (2) that the remaining four sections are in Arabic just *inverted*, thus : V, IV, III, II ; but (3) that in each of these four groups, the forms keep the same *relative* order among themselves.

One fact more to be noted is that the grammarians who arranged this alphabet seem to have had some difficulty in fixing the correspondences of the two systems, and not always to have taken the most obvious ones ; e.g.  $\text{ط}$ , which according to the order of shapes, ought to represent  $\text{ז}$  or  $\text{ח}$ , more properly is the equivalent of  $\text{ז}$ ,  $\text{ח}$ , whilst  $\text{ث}$  more generally corresponds to the former. I do not, of course, here enter into the broader question of the differing phonological equivalencies of Arabic with other Semitic languages, but am only concerned with the outward comparison of shapes.

I do not know whether the facts indicated in this brief note have been stated by former writers ; and I should be very glad to see some solution of the reasons or principles underlying the regular inversions set forth above.

L. C. CASARTELLI.

A BUDDHIST REPERTORY  
IN SANSKRIT, TIBETAN, MANDCHU, MONGOL & CHINESE.

(Continued from page 72).

SECTION XVII.

*Bstan dnos bzhi miñ-la.*

Names of the Four Goods proper to the Law<sup>1</sup>.

1. *Dānam*, gifts, alms. T. *shyin ba*, gifts received, merits of almsdeeds, or of acts of charity.
2. *Priyavādīā*, of agreeable words, affection. T. *śūan bar smar ba*, to speak agreeably to the ear. (The Buddhist mortified, benevolent, compassionate; never says any but charitable and benevolent words).
3. *Arthacaryā*, useful acts, benefits. T. *don spyod pa*, useful acts, good works, sacrifices, (Buddhists help one another, and the practice of the Law secures all advantages).
4. *Samānārtha*, communication of interests (in monasteries, or in consequence of universal benevolence). T. *don mthun pa*, identical, harmonising interests. (Religion community life, or aids procured by universal charity).

1) Goods obtained by practising the Law. Another classification gives three advantages; those of the world of man, of the world of the dévas and Brahma, and of Nirvāna.

SECTION XVIII.

*Stoñ pa bcu brgyan kyi miñ-la,*

Names of the Ten Kinds of Void.<sup>1</sup>

1. *Adharmaçūnyatā*,<sup>2</sup> Void of all that is contrary to the Law. T. *nañ stoñ pa ñid*, interior void, Ch. id. M. nature internally void. (The translators have read *adhyātma*, as is also suggested by the following).
2. *Vahirdhāçūnyatā*, Exterior Void (i. e. from all external influences). T. *phyi stoñ pa ñid*, id.
3. *Adhyarmarahirdhāçūnyatā*, Interior and exterior void at the same time. T. *phyi nañ stoñ*, pl. id. [read *adhyātma* ?].
4. *Çūnyatāçūnyatā*, Void of Void itself. T. *stoñ pa ñid stoñ pa ñid*, id.
5. *Mahāçūnyatā*, lit. great void. T. *c'en po stoñ pa ñid*, id.
6. *Paramārthaçūnyatā*, Void of superior principles, of superior or sacred interests.
7. *Samskrtaçūnyatā*, void of acts accomplished. T. *'dus byas stoñ...* void of united (*sam*) acts. M. Ch., void of acts.
8. *Asamskrtaçūnyatā*, void of all non-activity of what is not done. T.

'*dus ma byas*, absence of thought or desire as regards what is not done.

9. *Atyantagūnyatā*, infinite void. T. *mtha las 'dus pa*...void beyond all limit. M. Ch., extreme void. (The Void extends to the extreme possible limits of existence, and has no limits itself.)
10. *Anap rāgragūnyatā*, void without beginning or continuation (end). T. *thoj ma dan mtha ma med pa ston*...without beginning or end. M. id. Ch., without limit. (M. *anavarā*).
11. *Anarakāraḡūnyatā*, void without cessation, or interruption. T. *dor ba med pa ston*...void never abandoned.
12. *Prakrtigūnyatā*, void of individual nature, (subject to impressions, movements, &c.) T. *rañ bz'in med pa ston*...M. Ch., void of ones fundamental nature. (*Prakrti* is here opposed to *Paramārtha*. It is the individual nature, the illusion of phenomena which make one believe in particular beings).

1) The notions contained in this chapter repose on the essential principle of Buddhism,—the end and *raison d'être* of the doctrine is deliverance from Evil and re-births. Now, according to it, these evils and these existences are the consequence of *acts*,—these themselves being fruits of *ignorance* and *appetites*. It is therefore necessary, after having received the light and thus dissipated ignorance, to annihilate the agents of this ignorance, viz. passions and desires, and acts productive of existences and their evil. It is thus necessary to arrive at a *Void*: i. e. anemptiness of perception and thought, of appetite and act; thus is it necessary to despoil oneself of this nature, the source of so many evils and of all that can touch it,—the *ego* and the *non-ego*. The Vocabulary thus enumerates all the things in relation to which Void must be produced in oneself. Here as elsewhere the Buddhist doctors speculate rather on words than upon ideas, and do not trouble greatly whether or not each word corresponds to an idea. To every positive idea they oppose a negative, to every one its opposite; thus in No. 4, the *Gūnyatā* may perhaps also to be taken in a more abstract sense, as dissipating the unreality of all things, and not the void to be produced in one's self. Nos. 9 to 11, e.g., have rather the latter signification.

2) Or of *sanskarā*, the sum total of the compounds which form the individual being and act in it. The great void *mahāgūnyatā* is Void carried to its highest metaphysical expression, absolute and universal *Gūnyatā* alone has not this extension. (it is the bond or totality of atoms reduced to their simplest nature. *Mahāgūnyatā* also=*ākāśa*, the self-sustaining ether.) *Paramārtha* is for the Mahāyānists the essence of doctrine, that of the *ālaya*, or soul. absolute and abstract intelligence sustaining all individual phenomena, without egoity, or substantial subject. It is also the ideal being, absolute, opposed to samortt, existences or illusory concatenations.

C. DE HARLEZ.

(To be continued).



THE

# BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

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*Contributors are alone responsible for their opinions or statements.*

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## THE KERUBIM IN EDEN.

THE two dread guardians, who were placed at the Eastern gate of the Paradise from which fallen man was excluded, have long excited the attention of mythologists and commentators. The description which is given of these terrible sentinels is so brief that it leaves much scope for conjecture. Some light appears to me, however, to be thrown on the subject by a passage in one of the tablets of the Gizdhubar legends. The description given by the Hebrew writer is (Gen. iii. 24): "He placed at the east of Eden Kerubim and a flaming sword which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life." This description, meagre as it is, is, however, important, as setting forth the duties of the Kerubim. They were to guard the tree of life, being placed to the east of the land of Eden.

In the legends of the Chaldaean hero we read that, under the autumn and winter signs the Solar hero is represented as weak, and sinking slowly to his death beneath the dark winter clouds in the north. Wandering vainly in search of the secret of immortality, he comes to the mythic region of the mountains of the land of Masu, 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 where he encounters the strange Kerubim-like guardians of the gates of the Sun. Described as a mountain land associated with Khumbaba and Elam, and a region where the pine-tree grew, it must certainly be placed to the East, or according to the Babylonian system to the north-east of the land of Babylonia or Edina. Here, then, the hero encountered the two guardians of the gate, described as scorpion-men, whose heads tower to the dome of heaven, and whose feet rest in the shadow of the dark land of Aralie, the *Bit muti*, "House of death," of the Semitic inscriptions. In their appearance,

they present a remarkable resemblance to the Kerubim of Eden. "Of whom consuming (*raspat*) is their terribleness (*pulkhat*), their aspect death." The mention of their burning appearance and their death-dealing power, seems to imply some such power as the "flaming sword" of the Hebrew account. In the tablets we learn that Gizdhubar is "sick and weak, his progress is that of a god, his weakness is human." It is these two strange giant guardians whom he encounters on his way, and beyond whom is the beautiful garden. The description of this region given in the best preserved portion of Col. V seems to point to Paradise land guarded by these giants: "to the trees of the gods in aspect (*amari*) it was equal, emeralds it bore as its fruit, (*inbi*), the branches bend not to uphold a covering crystal (*aknu*) they bear as foliage (*khuzruta*) "pleasant to the sight." This last phrase calls to mind very clearly the description of the garden of Eden, (Gen. II. 9): "Every tree that is pleasant to sight and good for food."

The name given to these guardians is a peculiar one and somewhat difficult to explain  $\rightarrow\rightarrow\text{III} \leftarrow \text{E} \text{E} \text{E} \text{E} \rightarrow\rightarrow\text{III} \text{E} \text{E} \text{E}$ . The group  $\rightarrow\rightarrow\text{III} \leftarrow$  is the Sumerian name of the Scorpion *Gir tab* "double sting," which is explained in the syllabaries by *Ak-ra-bu* "a scorpion," while the second portion of the name seems to be a reduplication, both  $\text{E} \text{E} \text{E} \text{E}$  and  $\rightarrow\rightarrow\text{III} \text{E} \text{E} \text{E}$  being equivalent to *nisu* "a man," and I should therefore suggest some such meaning as guardian or protector, a title applicable to the kerubimic office of these creatures. I do not wish to confound these Kerubim with those of Ezekiel, which are clearly descriptions of the winged bulls, and there seems little reason from the Hebrew writings to suppose that the guardians of the Paradise were the same as those seen in the prophet's vision. These guardians of the royal palaces were called by the name of  $\rightarrow\rightarrow\text{III} \text{E} \text{E} \text{E}$  or  $\rightarrow\rightarrow\text{III} \leftarrow \text{E} \text{E} \text{E} \leftarrow$ , rendered *lumassu* "colossus" and *sedu* the Hebrew  $\text{שֵׁד}$  "spirit," demon. The analysis of the ideographic forms of the names proves them to be respectively "the strong god" and "the soldier god," the one representing the winged bull, the other the winged lion, the emblem of Nergal, the god of war and death. The description of the Kerubim here certainly brings them into accord with the Seraphim, the burning ones with whom they are so often associated.

The remarkable expression used in Genesis as to the weapon which, along with the Kherubim, guarded the entrance to Eden,  $\text{לְהַשִּׁיב הַחֶרֶב}$ ,  $\text{הַמִּן הַפֶּנֶת}$ , is one which seems to be of Babylonian origin, and may certainly with some reason be regarded as an interpolation.—The use of the unusual Hithpaal form, together with the rare word  $\text{לְהַשִּׁיב}$ , both of

which are common in the cuneiform inscriptions, may indicate a foreign origin. The verb *latu* in Assyrian has rather the meaning of "to destroy," perhaps in the sense of total destruction, as in the epithet *la-h'-it la-ma-ga-ri* "destroyer of the unrighteous," assumed by the Assyrian kings, and from the same root comes the word *latu* "a destroying weapon."—This last word occurs in the inscription quoted by M. Lenormant in his *Beginnings of History* (W.A.L., II. 19), where it certainly applies to the weapon placed in the hand of the god. We may therefore, I think, use the rendering of a "destroying sword" rather than that of "flaming," which certainly conveys a false meaning. It would be interesting if we could connect the *Khurub* in line 11 with the *Khereb* of Genesis, but it seems rash to do so. With regard to this self-acting destroying sword which guarded the way to the tree of life, we may perhaps see some trace of the same weapon in the lance-head which is represented as an emblem upon the altar, on the boundary stones from Balylonia. The use of the Hithpaal of the root  $\text{𐤠𐤢𐤠}$  in Assyrian *apaku*, "to overthrow," gives it a reflexive sense. From this root comes the common Assyrian word *apiltu* "overthrow," and thus we may clear up this obscure expression, I venture to think, by the rendering "a destroying sword, overthrowing all."

The scorpion men act like the guardians of Eden, excluding even the Solar hero from the access to the garden of Paradise and the tree of life, where he might restore his sick and declining frame. The path which leads to this beautiful region is, in Col. IV and 45, described as  $\text{𐤠𐤢𐤠} \rightarrow \text{𐤠𐤢𐤠}$ , *Khurran Samsi*, "the path of the Sun" or "orbit of the Sun" such as is described in the Creation legends. It is also called  $\text{𐤠𐤢𐤠} \rightarrow \text{𐤠𐤢𐤠}$ , *Khurran ariktu* "the long road", and these epithets go to confirm the Solar character of Gizdhubar. This long road leads to it by the great twin gates guarded by the pair of scorpion Kerubim without, as in the earth cursed after the fall all was waste and desert, and thirst. It is remarkable how the curse pronounced on the earth after the fall, is paralleled in the curse pronounced upon the land by the offended gods in the legend of Atarpi. I have not been able to find the tablet in the British Museum, so quote from the translation of Prof. Sayce, (*Chaldean Genesis*, p. 157). "I will look to judge the people; in their stomach let famine dwell. Let not the floods be carried in the canals. Let it withdraw from the fields the inundations. Let the corn give over increase, let blackness o'erspread the corn. Let the plowed land bring forth thorns. Let the growth of fruit perish,

let food come not forth from it and let bread not be produced. Let distress spread over the people. May mercy cease and good be not given."

Whatever may be the value of the text from a Biblical point of study, it undoubtedly shows a remarkable resemblance in mythological tradition.

## THE GIZDHUBAR LEGENDS.

TABLET IX. COL. II, 1-16.

1 [A]na ša-di-i še-mu šu Ma-šu . . . . .  
 2 ana ša-ad Ma-a-si ina ka-ša-di šu . . .  
 3 ša um-mi šam-ma i-na-aš-ša-ru a-ši Šam-ši  
 4 e-lu-šu-nu šu-mu-l-uk Šamie  
 5 sap-lis a-ra-li-e i-šid-šu-nu bi-da-ut  
 6 Akrab nisi i-na-aš-ša-ru babšu  
 7 ša ra-as-pät pu-ul-khat sunu ma in-rat su-nu mu-ut  
 8 raba-tu mi-lam-mu šu-nu sa-khi-ip khar-sa-a-ni  
 9 Ana a-ši Šam-su-u erib Šam-si i-na-aš-ša-ru am-si ma  
 10 i-mur-šu-nu-ti-ma Gi-zhu-bar pu-lukh-ta u-ra-ru-ba-ta i-te-lil pa-ni-šu  
 11 iš-bat dhe-eu su khu-ru-ub ma-khar šu-un  
 12 Akrab nisi a-na nesti šu i-sis-si  
 13 sa il-li-kam na-si seru ilani zu-mur-šu  
 14 Akrab nis nestu šu ip-pal-su  
 15 ulak-ta šu ilu-ma su-lul-ta šu a-mi-lu-ut  
 16 Akrab nis zi-ka-ru i-sis-i.

## TRANSLITERATION.

- 1 [Ana] ša-di-i še-mu šu Ma-šu . . . . .
- 2 ana ša-ad Ma-a-si ina ka-ša-di šu . . .
- 3 ša um-mi šam-ma i-na-aš-ša-ru a-ši Šam-ši
- 4 e-lu-šu-nu šu-mu-l-uk Šamie
- 5 sap-lis a-ra-li-e i-šid-šu-nu bi-da-ut
- 6 Akrab nisi i-na-aš-ša-ru babšu
- 7 ša ra-as-pät pu-ul-khat sunu ma in-rat su-nu mu-ut
- 8 raba-tu mi-lam-mu šu-nu sa-khi-ip khar-sa-a-ni
- 9 Ana a-ši Šam-su-u erib Šam-si i-na-aš-ša-ru am-si ma
- 10 i-mur-šu-nu-ti-ma Gi-zhu-bar pu-lukh-ta u-ra-ru-ba-ta i-te-lil pa-ni-šu
- 11 iš-bat dhe-eu su khu-ru-ub ma-khar šu-un
- 12 Akrab nisi a-na nesti šu i-sis-si
- 13 sa il-li-kam na-si seru ilani zu-mur-šu
- 14 Akrab nis nestu šu ip-pal-su
- 15 ulak-ta šu ilu-ma su-lul-ta šu a-mi-lu-ut
- 16 Akrab nis zi-ka-ru i-sis-i.

## TRANSLATION.

Of the mountains the name of Masu . . . . .  
 To the mountains of Masu in his course [he came],  
 Where each day they guard the rising of the Sun ;  
 Above them the vault of the heavens,  
 Below the tomb-land their foundation spreads  
 The scorpion men who guard its gate,  
 Of whom consuming is their terribleness, and their aspect death,  
 Great is their majesty, o'er shadowing the forests.  
 At the rising of the Sun and the setting of the Sun they guard the Sun.  
 Gizdhubar beheld them ; fear and terror rose in his countenance ;  
 He took his decision in the desert(?) before them,  
 The scorpion man to his female spake,  
 Who approaches bearing the flesh of the gods in his body.  
 The female the scorpion man inclined to ;  
 His progress is that of a god [but] his weakness is human ;  
 The scorpion man to the hero spake.

## LINE

## NOTES.

- 1) The mountains of Masu were probably the double or twin mountains represented on the gems, between which the sun rose. Smith, *Chaldean Genesis*, p. 124 *et seq.*
  - 2) *Ina kasadi su* : "in his approach" or "course." Compare the passage in the Descent of Istar, Col. I, line 12. *Istar ana babi mai la tairat ina kasadi sa*, "Istar to the gates of the land of no return in her approach (came)."
  - 3) *Ummi samma* : "each day." Compare the expression W.A.I., V, 35-6, *ummi sa-am-ma id-di-ni-ib-bu-ab*, "each day he is devising." Also V. 64, III, 14 : *arkhi sam-ma ina asi Šamsi u erib Šamsi* "each month at the rising and setting of the sun."
  - 4) *Sunuḫ*. The scribe has here written *subuḫ*, but the reading "vault of heaven" seems more suitable.
  - 5) *Arali*. Explained in V, 16-42, E-KUR-BAT, "house of the land of death," *mitum* "death."
  - 6) *Sakhip* : from *Sakhapu*, "to cast down." Heb. שָׂרָה. Here it is rather in the sense of towering over a fallen foe, reaching over the highest trees of the forest.
  - 7) *Rarubata* "terror." Compare W.A.I. 1, 38-42, *rarubat kakki Assur bile ya is-khu-up su-nu-ti*, "the terror of the weapons of Assur my lord had overcome them."
  - 8) *Khurub*. "Desert." Heb. חֲרִיב. Compare *Khuribtu* "desert." W.A.I. I, 24-28, *ina khuribte asabia* "in the desert I took" also *do* 26 *ana khuribte tarṣu panu su*, "to the desert he set his face."
- On the word *laṭu*. W.A.I., I, 17-19. *Šar-beli mu-la'-it iksate*, the king of lords destroying the wicked ; "also I, 37-8, *rab-bu la'-it la magari*," the chief destroying the unrighteous. Layard 63-4, *rabu la'it la magari musapriku zamani*, "the king destroying the unrighteous, and breaking in pieces the wicked." The passage W.A.I., II, 19-68 : *litti takhaz, albi gibbu mat nukurte nas-a-su*, "the destroying weapon of battle, sweeping? hostile lands I bear it." W. St. C. BOSCAWEN.

ORIGIN FROM BABYLONIA AND ELAM OF THE EARLY  
CHINESE CIVILISATION.

A SUMMARY OF THE PROOFS.

(Continued from page 141).

VI. ITEMS OF ASSYRO-BABYLONIAN, EGYPTIAN AND OTHER CIVILIZATIONS ENTERED INTO ANCIENT CHINA THROUGH LATER CHANNELS.  
(continued).

e) *The trade of Shuh=Setchuen.*

III.

After 320 B.C., the subjects of the Than, modern *Ts'in*, rulers had therefore a footing in the Shuh country, and could have a hand in the foreign commerce which was carried there; but we do not know how far they availed themselves of their opportunities. They certainly did so to a certain extent, and were enabled to get some geographical information on the regions of the south, and especially the region of the modern Burma. Some documents have existed about a route or routes from Ta Thanh, modern *Ta Ts'in*, as it was called at the time of its dominion<sup>275</sup>, and Indo-China, compiled apparently at the beginning of the Han dynasty; but they have been misunderstood by a Chinese compiler of about 350 A.D. who has applied them to another purpose, and they have reached us in such a garbled and mixed up condition that it would be an invidious and dangerous task to draw any inference of positive geography out of them. It is one of the most curious cases of misgivings in the system of mosaic literary work known as Chinese composition<sup>276</sup>.

As we have just said, a clear indication of this trade route is the geographical knowledge which was gained through it. In the Xth book of the *Shan hai King*<sup>277</sup>, an interpolated passage of circa 210 B.C. mentions the *Kwei-lin* region<sup>278</sup> and afterwards the *Peh-lu* country, the *Li-ni* country, the *Tiao-ti* country, and the *Peh-ku* country, all southwards of the Yu river, which is a southern affluent of the Canton river<sup>279</sup>. Now all these names are, descriptive of peculiar customs; *Li-ni*=Parted-years, *Tiaoti*=tattooed foreheads, or ethnic names, *Peh-lu*=Pray and Plow, *Peh-ku*=Pgho and Pegu, all formerly of the country which is now Burma<sup>280</sup>. A later work mentions tin as one of the products of the country of Peh-lu, sold to foreigners<sup>281</sup>; and this Peh-lu is apparently the same as that we have just quoted from the Canon of the Hills and Rivers or *Shan Hai King*.

Therefore at the time of the preponderance of the *Than* or *Ts'in*, i. e., after 320 until 209 B. C., and probably earlier, a trade-route had existed towards the south-west, passing through the principalities of Szechuen and Yunnan, notably through Yung-tchang in the W. of latter province, and hence by one of the two rivers, the Salwen or the Irawaddy, arriving to the smporia on the coast of Pegu<sup>282</sup>. We know from several testimonies, concurring to the same statement, that the coast of Pegu, was for centuries a seat of commercial activity. An ancient Hindu colony, Hinduic, not Buddhist, of merchants from Orissa under the lead of *Taphussa* and *Bhallika* had been founded in the Vth century B. C., in *Ukkalamanan*<sup>283</sup>, which comprised the region S. and S.W. of the extreme *Pegu yoma range*<sup>284</sup>. The foundation of the *Shwe Dagon* pagoda of Rangoon is attributed to them.

According to the *Mahá Rájáweng* or *Royal history* of Burma, with all reserve due to its trustworthiness, the upper part of the country had been colonised from India even before that time. *Abhirájá*, ruler of *Kapilavastu*<sup>285</sup>, abandoned his country and crossing the mountains eastward, founded about 300 years before the time of Gautama, a new kingdom with the capital at *Tagoung*, on the left bank of the Irawaddy, in about 23° 30' N. lat. While *Gautama Buddha* was alive, i. e. *circa* 515-435 B. C., a second band of *Kshatriyas* from *Gangetic India* arrived led by *Daza Rájá*, and settled east of the Irawaddy<sup>286</sup>. The thirty-second successor of *Abhirájá*, named *Bhiennaká*, and the last king of his dynasty, who lived about the commencement of the religious Buddhist era, was driven away by invaders from his capital, the old *Pagan*, which they destroyed, near *Tagoung*, and compelled to take refuge at *Malei*, on the right bank of the Irawaddy, and nearly opposite the present remains of *Lower Tsampenago*<sup>287</sup>. These invaders had come from a country to the east called *Gandalarit*<sup>288</sup>, in the land of *Tsin* or *Sin*, which corresponds with *Yunnan*.<sup>289</sup> Should the last name be contemporary of the event, and the "about the commencement of the religious era" indicate as it seems probable a somewhat later date,<sup>290</sup> namely the third century before the Christian era, if not later, we might have in this record a link with the genuine history of *Yunnan* which we have recorded. The Kingdom of *Tsen* had been established in 330 B. C., and it is very probable that the rulers of that state, enterprising as we know they were, have attempted if not succeeded to establish their sway towards the south-west of their dominion, and therefore have advanced eventually as far as the *Old Pagan*. This place, in some accounts was also called *Tzindue*,

<sup>291</sup> and it seems that this name was known to the traders of S.W. China in the second century before our era.<sup>292</sup>

Anyhow, in the third century B.C., the region of modern Burma must have been largely occupied with Hindu colonists; it was deemed of sufficient importance to be numbered among the nine realms where Buddhist missions ought to be sent; and after the great council held about 241 B.C. in the monastery of Aṣṣokārāma at Patna, Sona and Uttara were dispatched to Suvannabhūmi,<sup>293</sup> and according to probabilities, they landed at Golānagara,<sup>294</sup> north of Thatun.

We have now carried our historical investigation about the possibilities of intercourse between Shuh and the South and South-west, as late as the third century before our era. This period ought to be later than is required for the immediate purpose of the present work. The events of the two centuries which follow, are however so important in historical results and in clearer and more precise information on the matter, that we are compelled to examine them, before proceeding to our survey of the importation of western notions and ideas which have reached the Middle Kingdom through the S.W. channels.

NOTES. 275) In the *Shan hai king*, we find *Ta Thank*, i.e. Ta Ts'in, *Ta Tsu*, &c.

276) I refer to the description of *Ta Ts'in* in the *Wei lioh* by Yü-huan of the IVth century, a large part whereof refers distinctly to the old Ta Than (*Ta Ts'in*) of N. W. China, and to Thatun near Martaban, and dates from the short period of the *Than*=Ts'in supremacy; it was mixed up with data of later date concerning Dakshina or South India and the Ta Ts'in of further West. Tch'ang Kien knew nothing of Ta Ts'in. The description I discuss contains whole statements from the *Shan hai king*, (cf. II, 20, XIII, 1 and XVI, 4 of this work with sect. 77 of the description) which have crept into all the notices subsequently compiled, from the *Hōu Han Shu* downwards. The symbol *Ts'in*, which as I have shown in another paper (*B & O.R.*, I, 46), was formerly *Than* and in that capacity had been used to transcribe the names of Ta Than, later *Ta Ts'in*, of N.W. China, and of Thatun, later Sadun near Martaban, was gradually decayed to *Tsin* and in the latter value, was employed in the fourth century, with the same other sign *ta* great, for the notation of the name of Dakshina or S. India. Cf. the Chinese version of the *Samanta-prabhāsa-sūtra*, early work like the *Lalitavistara*, by Tchu Fāhu or Dharmaraksha, *P'u-yao king*, in 308 A.D., III, 7, fol. 5.—Another transcription for the same name was employed (Eitel, *Sanskrit-Chinese dictionary*, sub. voc.) afterwards, by Fang-yen and others but in that concerns the earliest reports the evil was done, and a case of error existed henceforth for future compilers. Much confusion has been brought about in Chinese documents by resemblances of names, and the use of well-known appel-



latives for names newly-heard of, because of a temporary and approximate similarity in sound, fancied by the transcriber according to his time and his own dialectal peculiarities. In the descriptions of *Ta T'sin* which the Chinese compilers have wrongly looked upon as that of one and unique country, there are several cases of such confusions and the result has been an inextricable entanglement. Dr. F. Hirth in his learned work *China and the Roman Orient*, Researches into their Ancient and Medieval relations as represented in old Chinese records, Shanghai, 1885, has published all these texts with translations and comments; but he has not recognized the extracts therein from the *Shan hai king*; he has premised that *Ta T'sin* applied to the Roman Orient only, and was shifting in the records according to the geographical knowledge of the time; with a considerable amount of learning and ingenuity which deserved better subject and success, he has attempted the impossible task of making many names fit countries and towns of Anterior Asia.—I find in my own notes that the name *Ta T'sin* refers to five different countries; *Ansih* to two; *Tiao-tchi* to three; *Li-kien* to three; and so forth. With reference to the old south trade-route and the documents about it which have been merged with later data concerning the Roman Orient or *Ta T'sin* in the *Wei lioh*, I remark the following names: *Tsih-s hih* (*Shan hai king*, II, 20, XI, 3; Legge, *Shu king*, pp. 127, 134; M. Guelmy, *Description de la Chine occidentale*, Muséon, 1885, IV, 618-9); *Hien* and *Tu* in S. Szechuen (cfr. Matouanlin, *Ethnographie*, transl. D'Hervey, I, 37, 56, 21, 175); *Ki-fu*, not *Sze-fu*, *K o-f u*, in Yueh sui S. Szechuen (Matouanlin, l.c. 147); *Sze-tao* in W. Kueitchou; *Tsie-lan*, E. of Tsun-y, Kueitchou (Matouanlin, l.c. 124); *A-man*=Ho-man of W. Yunnan (Matouanlin, l.c. 195); *Tiao-tchi*=*Ti a o-t i* of Upper Burma; *Li-kien*=*R a k h a i n g*, modern Arakan (A. P. Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 41); *Sze-lo*=*S a d a*, S. of Rakhaing, (Col. H. Yule, *Oldest Records of the sea route to China*, p. 5; Proc. R. G. S., Nov, 1882); *Sze-pin*=*S a b o n a* of Ptolemy=*Suvarna* (Lassen, in McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, p. 199); *Ta Than* later *Ta Tsin*,=*T h a t u n*, a local form (Phayre, o.c. p. 24) of *Saddhama* (Dr. Em. Forchhammer, *Notes I. The Shwe Dagon Pagoda*, pp. 3, 17); *Ansih*, at proximity of *Tun-sun*=*Tennasserim* (*Liang shu*, Bk. 54)=*A n d h r a* on the East coast of India; *Anku*=*A n g h a* of the same region; *Yü-lo*=*U d r a*, modern Orissa; *Lu-fên*=*T a p r o b a n e* or Ceylon and its flying bridge of 230 li across the sea,=*the Bridge of Rama*; and some others.—On *The Chinese name of the Roman empire*, cfr. my note in *The Academy*, 1 Oct., 1881; and Prof. Henri Cordier, in *Mélanges Graux*, 1884, pp. 719-721, *De l'origine des noms que les chinois ont donnés à l'Empire Romain*.

277) *Shan hai king*, Bk. X. fol. 1 r. On this curious work cfr. note 91, *suprà*.

278) The entry of this name which existed as a geographical appellation after 214 B.C. until the year 204 B.C. when it was conquered by the king of Nan-yueh, who was recognised as such and as a vassal of the Han dynasty in 196 B.C. The years 214-204 B.C. or little afterwards are therefore the period of the composition of the notice.

279) A. R. Colquhoun, *Across Chryse*, vol. I.

- 280) All names and customs found still among the Karengs. Cfr. Major Spearman, *The British Burma Gazetteer*, vol. I, pp. 162-173; also Col. A. R. McMahon, *The Karens of the Golden Chersonese* (1876), p. 43 sq. And my *Lang. before Chin.*, sect. 145-149.
- 281) The *Fu-nan tu hu* by Kang-tai, quoted in the *Tai ping yü lan* (983) Bk. 789, fol. 3 r.
- 282) This route was again used in the second and third century of our era, as described in F. Hirth. *China and the Roman Orient*, p. 179. In the *Hou Han Shu* Bk. 116, (transl. Wylie, Rev. Extr. Orient, p. 234; also F. Hirth, *o.c.*, pp. 36, 179) a state of *Than* or *Tan*, probably not distant from Yung-tchang, is recorded as having relations with the Chinese court in A.D. 97, and presenting to the Emperor in 120 A.D. some musicians and jugglers, whose feats are described, from Thatun (written *Tu Than*) a country in the S.W. with which the Shan or Tan had intercourse. M. Talboys Wheeler, the historian of India, has told me that the natives of South Burma are still most clever in the same tricks as those described by the Chinese annalist. On Thatun, cfr. note 276.
- 283) Utkalas was the classical name of the inhabitants of Orissa, E. India.
- 284) Cfr. Em. Forchhammer, *Notes on the Early history and geography of British Burma*, I. (Rangoon, 1883), pp. 6, 11, 12, 14 and 16. The author mentions, p. 6, that names occur in the geography of British Burma which are originally not Pali but Sanskrit, and suggestive more of ethnical and historical relations with Hinduic India than with Buddhism. Col. H. Yule has long before made the same remark. Cfr. his *Sources and authorities* in Dr. Smith's Atlas; and his *Notes on the oldest records of the sea route to China* (Proc. R.G.S. 1882) p. 11. Both scholars have remarked the transfer which has taken place of many Indian names to Indo-China.
- 285) Or Kapilanaagara, the birth-place of Buddha Gautama, identified by Gen. Alex. Cunningham with Nagar on the Upper Manurama or Cuni tributary of the Gogra. Cfr. his *Ancient geography of India*, p. 414 sq.—Abhiraja is said to have fled before the invasion of his country by the king of Kauthala or Oudh. (Dr. J. Anderson, *Mandalay to Momiën*, pp. 26-27.) The *Mahâ Râjâweng* says, the king of Peng-zila-riët (Major Spearman, *British Burma Gazetteer*, I, p. 236.)
- 286) On the ruins of Tagoung, cfr. Sir A. P. Phayre, *History of Burma*, 1883, pp. 14-15, and Dr. J. Anderson, *Report on the Expedition to Western Yunnan*, 1871, p. 206. Little of them is apparent at first sight, but explorations and excavations there would disclose certainly some most important data. Dr. Em. Forchhammer, archaeologist of the government of Burma, has just made an exploration of the magnificent ruins of New Pagan, and discovered some wonderful antiquities. Cfr. Col. Yule *Remains of Pagan*, and Dr. Forchhammer's letter in *Trübner's Record*, 1889, IIrd s. No. 1, pp. 3-4; also Yule's *Mission to Ava*, 1858, p. 33; Howard Malcom, *Travels in the Burman Empire*, June 27, 1836. Though Pagan is reported to have been built a long while after Tagoung, namely in the seventh century of our era, (*Burma Gazetteer*, p. 249) we may expect from Dr. Forchhammer's explorations some important disclosures on the inflation of the

*Mahâ Râjâweng* in respect to the date of foundation of the first town.

287) Cfr. *Burma Gazetteer*, I, p. 36; Phayre, *o.c.* p. 8; Ney Elias, *Introductory sketch of the history of the Shans*, p. 12.

288) Gandalarit is one of the many instances of transfer of the classical localities of Indian Buddhism to Indo-China, which is current in Burma. For the Buddhist horizon in the latter country, Yunnan represents Gandhâra, the country about Peshawar, and is still so styled in state documents of Burma (*Gandalavit*). Cfr. Col. H. Yule, *Marco Polo* 2 ed., II, p. 59, and *An endeavour to elucidate Râshiduddîn's geographical notices of India*, J.R.A.S. *n.s.*, vol. IX, p. 356. Cfr. also note 284 *suprà*.

289) Same authorities as note 287 all quoting the *Mahâ Râjâweng*.

290) Bhiennakâ was the 32nd ruler after Abhirâjâ who lived 300 years before Gaudama, let us say about 775 B.C. Now 33 reigns at an average of 15 years each make a total of 495 years, leaving 280 B.C. as a possible date for the recorded expedition from Tsen.

291) Thindû with the Burmese *thi* is nearly *Tzindû* which we have quoted in the text in order to avoid any misconception, cfr. Ney Elias, *o.c.* p. 11.

292) Cfr. below, end of section IV.

293) T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 227.

294) Em. Fœrclhammer, Notes I; *The first Buddhist Mission to Suranna bhumi*, pp. 1-6, and 10.

#### e) IV.

At the fall of the Than=(Ts'in) dynasty, 209 B.C. and the disorders which ensued, the allegiance to the Chinese government ceased to be recognised in the W. and S. W. of modern China proper; these countries were released and the ancient roads through Shuh were reopened," and "by this traffic the communities became wealthy and prosperous."<sup>295</sup> ...The four regions of Pa and Shuh had free communication with the Barbarians on the south and west, and by the interchange of commodities, were able mutually to supply their respective wants."<sup>296</sup>

The Han dynasty which had succeeded that of Than=Ts'in was too much engaged in repelling the attacks of the Hiung-nus in the North to take any interest in the S.W., and they had left everything there go adrift. It was only after 130 B.C., under the powerful rule of Wu-ti, that some efforts were made in that direction; the *Kinn* of Kien-wei was established or supposed to be so on the country connecting modern Hunan, Szetchuen and Kweichou with its centre near the modern Kia-ting fu, and the regions of Kiung and Tsoh W. of Szetchuen<sup>297</sup> recognized the Chinese supremacy, the meagre resources of the Empire not permitting to do anything further.<sup>298</sup> At that time it was learned by the Chinese that a country named Shin-tuh was situated about 2000 *li* to the West of Kiung.<sup>299</sup> When Tchang Kien returned in 123 B.C. from

his mission to the Yueh-ti, he urged his government to establish communications with Bactria through India. The North route was stopped by the Hiung-nus, and it was not possible to pass through the Kiang<sup>300</sup> i.e. the Tibetan tribes, who were inimical; so that he recommended to go straight through from Shuh.<sup>301</sup> Delighted with this suggestion, the Emperor Wu-ti gave orders that exploring parties should be sent out from Shuh and Kien-wei, by the four roads starting from there, with instructions to find their way through the S.W. barbarians, and endeavour to discover India.<sup>302</sup> These roads passed through the territories of Ma ng,<sup>303</sup> Jen, Sé and P'o of Kiung, and each advanced one or two thousand *li*; <sup>304</sup>which is certainly a gross exaggeration of the Chinese record. At that time the Mang and Jen,<sup>305</sup> both unsettled tribes, were located near the N.W. borders of Szetchuen, in what is now Mutchou.<sup>306</sup> The Chinese envoys who went North of these routes were stopped by the Ti tribes in modern prefecture of Lung-ngan in N.N.W. Szetchuen, and by the Tsoh tribes, S.W. of Ya-tehou in the N.W. of the same modern province. The southern routes passed through the Se, within the modern prefecture of Sutchou in C. Szetchuen,<sup>307</sup> and though the P'o of Kiung, corresponding to the territory of Yueh-hi or Yueh-sui, W. of the same prefecture. The exploring parties through the latter routes were stopped on the W. of the state of Tsen by the Kuen-ming and Sui tribes, in the modern prefectures of Tali and Likiang of W. and N. W. Yunnan. The Kuen mings were savages and they murdered the envoys. So that all the attempts had failed<sup>309</sup>

Some knowledge however had been gained. Several of the envoys had heard of a country about 1000 *li* to the West, named *Tsen yueh*, litt. Beyond Tsen.<sup>310</sup> where the inhabitants rode on elephants, and where the Shuh traders who carried a clandestine commerce with them, occasionally went.<sup>311</sup>

These statements which we take from the *She Ki* of Szema Tsien, 163-85 B.C., like all that we have reported on the subject, is interesting and important. We must understand that the travelling merchants of Shuh had remained apart and refused to reveal the secret of their route S.W. towards India, which they could not reach however without some private arrangement with the tribes who had stopped the Chinese envoys; and this explains how it happened that the exploring parties sent by the Chinese Emperor did not, in their expeditions, hear anything about the country of Shin-tuh which they had vaguely heard of before, as lying about 2000 *li* W. of the Kiung territory. The latter rumor which had

come to the Chinese previously to their attempts referred to the trade route of Shuh to Patna through the S.E. corner of Tibet. The region Beyond-Tsen of which they heard in their southern exploration, was northern Burma, as I have shown elsewhere,<sup>312</sup> and specially the region of old Pagan named also Tzindü,<sup>313</sup> but they did mistake it for India, because of the common habit of elephant driving which had been heard of by Tch'ang-Kien in Bactria as a peculiarity of India. Therefore they endeavoured to pass through the state of Tsen, central Yunnan, which as we have seen, had been conquered and established by a general from Tsu two centuries previously.<sup>314</sup>

On reaching the Kingdom of Tsen after having for four years vainly attempted to pass through the territory of the Kuen-mings who had closed the highways, the Chinese envoys were received by the King Tang Kiang who detained them on the ground that they were searching out the roads, and prevented them to pass. "Is the Han a greater Kingdom than ours?" said he haughtily to the astonished Chinaman. Other envoys sent with the same purpose to the ruler of Ye-lang, a country extending along the South of Kien-wei had a similar reception. No passage was possible; and to use the words of the Chinese annalist: "each of these princes considering himself sovereign in his own domain, was unconscious of the magnitude of the Han empire."<sup>315</sup> Nothing therefore could be done for the time being.

About twelve years afterwards, the HAN Emperor, relieved of some of his harassments in the North, was enabled to act more vigorously in the South West and the South.

In 111 B.C. he put an end to the state of Nan-yueh which established in 209 by Tch'ao T'o, a refractory general of the Ts'in dynasty had extended along the South from Fuhkien to Tungking, and he occupied a part of it, i.e. Kuangtung and the eastward, which were divided for administrative purposes into nine regions.<sup>316</sup> Then the various populations of whom we have quoted the names, and some others, all in the West and South-west, were admitted as vassals and Chinese officers were appointed as official overseers among them.<sup>317</sup> The territories received special names in the Imperial dominion, and in the absence of Chinese residents among them, special officers were appointed, with residences generally on the borders to superintend their intercourse with the Empire. The treatment of the rulers of Ye-lang and of Tsen was, however, different. The former received the Chinese investiture of ruler in his own Kingdom without much resistance: but the latter objected more strongly,

and he yielded only when he saw himself at the eve of being attacked. In 109 B.C. he received the royal seal from the Han Emperor, and in the words of the Chinese annalist,<sup>318</sup> "his people was still entrusted to his rule."

By these arrangements which with a few alterations and interruptions lasted until the third century, access and egress were secured in that direction for foreign trade with the Middle Kingdom. But the state of Tsen (now read Tien), then feudal, preserved by its geographical position its command over the trade routes towards the South, while the S.W. route to India through the S.E. corner of Tibet was also available to its people.<sup>319</sup>

The Tsen Kingdom for all that, deserves some attention. Its influence is still visible in the name of China itself which is derived from it, and thus far has won an everlasting fame. *T'sen* was the indigenous name of the region around the lakes of Yunnan fu and Tch'eng Kiang, of the town between them, and of the principal lake itself,<sup>320</sup> and its meaning in the native languages was simply the waters, as the said lakes are the largest expanses of water in the country.<sup>321</sup> For the Han dynasty this feudal state was included into the great circumscription called *Yh-tchou Kün* whose administrative centre was at the ancient capital city of Shuh, the modern Tch'eng-tu. Its king was under the immediate protectorate of the Han officer residing in the latter city. The Tsen Kingdom extended East and West of the lake region, but not at first as far in the West as the lake of Tali which was in the hands of the Kuenmings, but in 109 B.C. this region itself was added to the domain of the king of Tsen in compensation of some territory on the east which was withdrawn from his authority. In the South its frontiers are not known, and we are not in position to state how far they advanced in the direction of the modern Shan states. The tradition quoted *suprà* from the *Mahá Rájáweng* of Burma refers most probably to an expedition made by the King of Tsen against Old Pagan on the Irrawaddy.<sup>322</sup> And we may recognize perhaps a survival of the same name in that of the Shan state *Tsen pho* as called by the Laocians, not very far distant from the present Chinese frontier in a N.E. direction from Mandalay.<sup>323</sup> Referring to the Kingdom of Tsen in Yunnan, it was widely known under its name by its relations with foreign trade, and it was so for over five centuries. Established in 330 B.C., it lasted through some changes of fortune, in a state of submission to the Han dynasties or rebellion against them, until 224 A.D. Tchuko-liang, a general of the Minor Han dynasty<sup>324</sup>,

conquered the country and put an end to the old state of things, in redistributing the land to several native chiefs under the suzerainty of the Chinese.<sup>325</sup> The Tsen country could be reached<sup>326</sup> by the trade—

*a* ; from India: though the old route up the Brahmaputra to Sudiya, Rœma crossing the Lu-tze and Lan-tsan Kiangs,<sup>327</sup> and thence descending the Kin-Sha-Kiang :

*b* ; from Burma and the coast : by the Salwen river and perhaps the Kiu-lung unto Tchieng-hung=Tcheli, and hence westward through Sze-mao (S. Yunnan).

*c* ; from Tungking ; by Kattigara, the *Portus Sinarum* of Ptolemy,<sup>328</sup> and as a fact the nearest to and the real port of the Tsen country modern Kesho or Hanoi,<sup>329</sup> upwards the Red River unto Man hao, and hence straight north by land.

Let us remark that the foregoing sketch, simple as it is, gives us the solution of a long vexed question, that of the origin of the name of China which has been a puzzle for the inhabitants of the Middle kingdom as well as for many European investigators. All sorts of speculations have been made on the subject,<sup>330</sup> but it has been ascertained finally in recent years<sup>331</sup> that the first knowledge and the spread of the name *China*, did begin only in the first century of our era<sup>332</sup> through the southern sea trade, and not through the North and South at the same time. The arrogant and not unimportant state, then named Tsen had long been in existence at the time, and for centuries occupied a commanding position over the trade routes to the Middle Kingdom from Indo-China S.W. and S.E. Its name was spread far and wide under several cognate forms *Thin*, *Sin*, &c., and preserved for ever its predominance in the mouths of foreigners<sup>333</sup> as an appellative for the greatest empire of the East.<sup>334</sup>

The general survey we have just achieved in the present section of the historic evidence concerning the trade routes as means of communication from, through and beyond Szetchuen in antiquity, to the West, South West and South may be briefly resumed. We have thus been able to find indications of the six following routes :

- 1) From Szetchuen, to the Jade country in the Khotan region, from 1500 B.C. or earlier down to the ninth or eighth century B.C.
- 2) From Szetchuen to Patna in India, after that time and with intermissions.
- 3) Through Szetchuen from Shensi to Pegu, temporary, end of third century B.C.

- 4) Through Yunnan, from Szetchuen to India, third century B.C. and afterwards.
- 5) Through Yunnan, from Szetchuen to Burma, third century B.C. and afterwards.
- 6) Through Yunnan, from Szetchuen to Tongking, second century B.C. and afterwards.

The words however are bigger than the things and no illusion must be entertained with reference to these routes. None can be understood as having ever been regularly followed by caravanes going to and fro, and therefore as the means of steady interchange and intercourse between their extremes and along their courses. A thorough passage from one and to the other of any of these routes cannot have taken place except in isolate cases unknown to history in the ancient times. Trade was done in a second or third hand fashion, the goods passing from one to another, and being either blackmailed or increased in price along the way. In these conditions which are vouchsafed by the personal interests of the intermediaries, and the general laws of offer and demand in trade, it was only in the long run that something from one end of the route could be heard of at the other end, mangled and altered through the successive interpreters. The strictness of these observations applies of course more forcibly to the older than to the later times.

Let us now enumerate which items of western civilization did reach, and those which may have reached the Middle Kingdom through these secondary and imperfect channels. Material objects and goods may travel by them, but notions and ideas could not do so without the greatest difficulty; and besides the supply depended upon the state of knowledge in the countries which were reached by these routes.

NOTES 295) Szema Tsien, *She Ki*, Bk. 116, fol. 2 v.; Wylie's translation p. 5.—Cfr. also on this traffic, the Bk. 129 on trade in the *She Ki*, fol. 7.

296) *She Ki*, Bk. 116, fol. 3v, *ibid*; Wylie, p. 7. The traders of Shuh were carrying their commerce also with the east; for instance in 135 B.C. it was ascertained that they used to trade with the south east by the Si-kiang or Canton River, the *Tsangko* of the time. Cfr. *ibid*. fol. 3, and Wylie p. 5.

297) The name has been met with reference to the bamboo staves carried from there to India by the S.W., as learned by Tchang Kien in Bactria. Cfr. *suprà*.

298) *She Ki*, Bk. 116, fol. 3; *Li tai Ti Wang nien pien*, Tsien Han, fol. 6 v.—These arrangements lasted only a short time, as a few years afterwards, the *Tsoh* stopped the Chinese envoys.

299) *She Ki*, Bk. 116, fol. 4 v.



- 300) This must refer to a road through the Tsihsih (cfr. note 276) and the South of the Kokonor.
- 301) Tchang Kien's biography, in Pan Ku's *Tsien Han Shu*, Bk. 61. transl. A. Wylie, p. 48. *J.A.I.* August, 1880.
- 302) *She Ki*. Bk. 116. fol. 4 v.; Bk. 123, fol. 6 v.
- 303) It is the country misread *Long* in Matouanlin's *Ethnographie* II. p. 166.
- 304) *She Ki*. *Ta-wan lich tchuen*, 123, fol. 6 v.
- 305) In 111 B.C., until 67 B.C. the Han organised these two named tribes into a *Kian* which received the name of *Wen shan*. The Jen moved eastwards later on, and in the sixth century they used to intercept the passages of the *San Hia* i.e. the three Yang-tze-Kiang gorges. Their descendants the Jen Kia Man are now at Shih-tien and Yien-ho in the prefecture of Se-nan, in N.E. Kueitchou.
- 306) *She Ki*, *Si Nan y tchuen*, 116, fol. 1 v.
- 307) Cfr. G. Playfair, *The cities and towns of China*, N. 7635, and the other names *sub. roc.*
- 308) These savage tribes were probably kindreds of the *Ku mongs* Mishni tribes of the present day, who are still preventing free communications between Assam and China. The Kuen-ming seem to have been tribes of the same stock as the Hiung-nu, who had moved from N.E. Tibet southwards about the third century B.C., along the great exit of northern tribes to the South, which has been frequented in the same way from olden times to the present day.
- 309) *She Ki*. *Ta-wan lich tchuen*, 123, fol. 7.
- 310) Or still more literally "the Beyond of Tsen."
- 311) *She Ki*, *ibid.* fol. 7.
- 312) In two articles of *The Academy*, May 2, and Sept. 5. 1885: *Tsin-yat not India*, and *India from China*, which I confirm here. After the publication of my first article I saw that Baron von Richtofen, *China*, I, 427, had come to the same conclusion as myself. Prof. S. Beal, *Some remarks on the narrative of Fâ-hien*, J.R.A.S. XIX, 1887, p. 192 has suggested that this name might be Champa, but this is impossible because the Champa began only after 806 A.D.
- 313) Cfr. sect. e) III of the present chapter, and note 291 *suprà*.
- 314) Cfr. sect. e) \*\* and note 274 of the present chapter.
- 315) Szema Tsien, *She Ki* Bk. 116, f. 4 v.
- 316) *She Ki*, *Nan yueh tchuen*, Bk. 113, ff. 1-9.
- 317) *She Ki*, *Si nan y tchuen*, Bk. 116, f. 4.
- 318) *She Ki*, *ibid.* fol. 5 v.
- 319) For instance in the *Periplus*, 63 and 65, transl. McCrindle, p. 146-148, we see that the *Thinae* obtained from the Sesatai, *malabathrum* which was exported to India; conveyed down the Ganges to Gangé near its mouth; and also conveyed from the interior of India to Mouziris and Nelkunda, on the W. coast, for export.
- 326) It was transcribed by the Chinese with the symbol of their writing which is still used for the literary name of the Yunnan province, and in that acceptation is now read *Tien*. But the symbol with the reading *Tien* has the meaning full, a bundant and it is very probable that the significant sound has attracted the meaningless name in the subsequent corruption of the language. The *K'ang hi tze tien*

sub. voc., 85 + 11 gives some ancient authorities to show that the symbol was also read *tchen*, in the name of a district *Tchen-yang*. On the other hand the Chinese dialect which has preserved the most archaic phonesis, with exceptions, the Sino-Annamite, corresponding generally to 200 B.C., as shown in my historical scheme of the Chinese family of languages (*The lang. of Chin.*, sec. 205) has still the reading *tchan* for this symbol. It is composed of the determinative 85 water and the phonetic, 674 of Callery's *Systema phoneticum* which has kept the reading *tchen*. The same phonetic as shown by a rapid examination in Dr. Chalmer's *Concise Kang-hi's dictionary*, enters into the composition of 54 derivatives as follow: 15 *tchen*, 17 *tchen* and *tien*, and 22 *tien*. Such are the reasons which show that the Chinese symbol now read *Tien* for Yunnan, must have been used at first for the same purpose with the reading *tchen* or *tseu*. The latter was probably the original sound which has diverged into *tien* and *tchen*. Cfr. following note 321—M. G. Deveria, *La Frontière Sino-Annamite*, 1886, p. 119, gives *Xan=Shan* as the Annamite name of *Tien*.

- 321) This native word for water was connected with the following which have the same meaning: *Tchung Miao djen*, *Singpho net sin*, *Kakhyen in tzin*, *Munnipuri ishing*, &c., cfr. *Beginnings of writing around Tibet*, sec. 80.—The name *Tchen* has survived largely in the geographical onomasticon of the province of Yunnan and its central part, and is variously transcribed in Chinese; such as *Tehen-niung*, *Tehen-Kang*, *Tehen-nan*, *Tehen-yuen*, *Teh'eng-Kiang*, *Teh'eng-Kung* &c.
- 322) Cfr. end of last section *e. III* and notes 287-291.
- 323) The *Mung Siuen-wi*, i.e. the state of *Siuen-wi*, the *Thein-ni* of the Burmese and the *M-upang* of the Chinese. M. Ney Elias has given a brief sketch of the history of that state from the *Zabu-Oke-Saung*, a Burmese work. Cfr. his *Introductory sketch of the history of the Shans*, 1876, pp. 47-51.—And perhaps also the name of *Kiang Tsen*. Cfr. Holt S. Hallett, *Report on the Railway Connexion of Burmah and China*, p. 117.
- 324) Also called *Shuh Han* dynasty (221-263 A.D.) as called from its capital at *Tcheng-tu* in *Szeteluen*. Its dominion was one of the three kingdoms into which the Empire of the Eastern *Han* dynasty was divided after its fall.
- 325) *Shuh tchi*; *Tai ping yü lan*, 791, f. 5; cfr. also *Ethnographie de Matouanlin*, transl. D'Hervey de St. Denys, vol. II, pp. 153, 186.
- 326) All the modern researches as to the possibility of trade routes to China, from India and Indo-China have been carefully studied by M. M. Archibald R. Colquhoun and Holt S. Hallett. Cfr. A.R.C., *Across Chryse*, vol. II, pp. 219-240; H.S.H. and A.R.C., *Report on the Railway connexion of Burmah and China*, 1887.
- 327) *Kiu-lung* is the name in the Shan states of the river which is called *Lantsan Kiang* in the North, and *Mekong* in the South.
- 328) *Ptolem*, Lib. I, cap. 11, § 1; Lib. VII, cap. 3, § 3; J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, Bombay, 1875, pp. 9 and 245.
- 329) The modern name *Kesho* is most likely a corruption of the ancient appellation of the country which the Chinese transcribed *Ka o-ti* cor-

rupted into Kiao-tchi, with two symbols which are still read in Sino-Annamite Ka o-tje. The use of the sign *Kiao* has led to fabulous accounts as to a supposed antiquity of the people, 2000 B.C., which antiquity is not true. Cfr. my remarks *The languages of China before the Chinese*, sect. 89 and 90, and the addition p. 152 in the french edition.—Dr. F. Hirth, in his paper *Zur Geschichte des Antiken Orient handels*, G. F. E. Z. B., Berlin, 1889, which refers chiefly to the trade after the Christian era, has pointed out in the *Tai-ping-huan-yü-tchi*, K. 171, f. 6, a Chinese transcription *Kao-teh* which makes K a o-duk in the archaic sounds of the Sino-Annamite dialect, and therefore would be a nearer approach to the *Kattigara* of the ancients.

330) The most plausible suggestion was that which derived the name of China from that of a great state of N.W. China which from small beginnings about 909 B.C., reached the supreme power and having absorbed all the other states of the Chinese agglomeration, became the Chinese Empire in 221 B.C. The name was represented by a symbol which is read Tsin since the fourth century of our era in the N.W. As the same name was read *T'an* previously to that late time, there is an end, on purely philological grounds, to the suggestion, as I have shown in *The Sinim of Isaiah, not the Chinese*, III, in *B. O.R.* I, pp. 46-47. The ground being untenable for historical reasons as well (cfr. following note), another suggestion was made that the name may have originated with the frequent use of *jen* for man in Chinese; but this is another philological impossibility as the word is a recent corruption of an ancient *ran* or *lan* (*The land of Sinim not China*, III, uncorrected, *ibid.* pp. 186-188), and is opened to the same geographical objections as the previous one. The latest suggestion was made by Baron von Richtofen; it is only objectionable on philological ground, but the objection is altogether fatal to the proposal. The learned geographer thought, that the commercial relations with the Middle Kingdom having taken place through Tung-King, the prototype of the name of China which was revealed by this commerce in the first century of our era ought to be found there, and he suggested the name of Jih-nan as the antecedent wanted. The name indicated by this modern Chinese reading was really that of the southern most province of Annam as divided after the Chinese conquest in 111 B.C., and corresponds roughly to the modern province of Nghê-An. But at that time it was read Nitnam, and it is still read *Nhütnam* in Sino-Annamite. This simple fact puts an end for ever to the suggestion.

331 The identification of Kesho-Hanoi with the old Kattigara has been established in a masterly way by Baron v. Richtofen and Col. H. Yule. cfr. B. v. R.'s papers in the *Trans. of the Berlin. Geogr. Soc.* for 1876, and *China*, vol. I, 1877, pp. 504-510; Col. H. Y., *Notes on the oldest Records of the Sea-route to China from Western Asia* 1882, pp. 9-11 (Extr. Pr. R.G.S.), and *A Glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases*, sub. voc.

332) The name of *Thin i* appears for the first time in the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, 65, 66, dating about 80-9 of our era. Cfr. J. W. McCrindle, *The Commerce and Navigation of the Erythraean Sea*, Bombay 1879, pp. 147-149.

333) Cfr. my note in Col. H. Yule's Glossary, pp. 150--151; *B. & O. R.* I, p. 47; and my *Beginnings of writing around Tibet*, sect. 80.


334) China is called *Katai* in Russian, a survival of the name of the foreign dynasty *Kitan* which was ruling over the N. of China, when they became acquainted with it. In Indo-China, &c. the inhabitants of the Middle Kingdom are called as follow: Manipuri: *Khaqi*, Lolos: *Hagz*, Assamese: *Khei*, Siamese: *Khei*, Palsungs: *Kay*; E. Shans: *Hun*, N. Shans: *Kyei* or *Tchei*, Karenni: *He*, Menia-Sifans: *Ndzi*, Tibetans: *Rgya-rag*, Kakhyens: *Mowa*, Burmese: *T-rok*, Selungs: *Kien* or *Sien*, Khamens or Khomers: *Tshen*, Mosos, *Heh-pa*, Annamese: *Chéc*, &c.

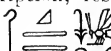
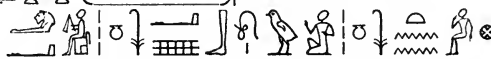

TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE.


(To be continued).

### THE INSCRIPTIONS OF SIÛT AND DÊR RÎFEH.

(Continued from p. 129).

Tomb IV of  i.e., Kheti, son of Tefab, for he is sometimes called Kheti only. The door-way was fully inscribed with blessings and curses, and with descriptions of the deceased. Inside, some traces of inscribed pillars remain. On the North wall was a long inscription, now half destroyed by blasting, followed by figures of Kheti, and of a Tefab who was perhaps his wife rather than his mother.


The inscription, restored from various sources, mentions the king Ra ka meri  three times, and Heracleopolis four times, e.g. . The nomen of the king unfortunately does not occur. The ka name, or so-called Standard, may possibly have ended  l. 3.

Tefab bore the same titles as Tefaba, and besides is stated to have been  governor of the nome of Atef, which probably included the two later nomes of Lycopolis and Cusae, i.e. all the land on the west bank between the nomes of Hermopolis and Hypsele.

From l. 8, it is probable that he claimed descent through "5 heqs, being son of a heq and son of the daughter of a heq," i.e., inheriting the rank of prince through both his father and his mother. He seems to have accompanied the king to Heracleopolis with an army and fleet on some great occasion, apparently on his return from an expedition to the South, in which the king was finally victorious. He was then commissioned to rebuild the temple of Apat. (Possibly interesting monuments of this obscure period remain even now under the rubbish mounds of Siût.)

The good order which reigned in his province became proverbial. There was no fighting and no need (for the gendarmerie ?) to shoot an arrow.

On the south wall opposite this inscription is an *unfinished* sculpture representing soldiers with long shields. Probably III and IV were made contemporaneously : into each were introduced some unpleasant reminiscences of the civil war, and the work in each was stopped and effaced by plastering: Kheti, son of Tefab (his mother) is very likely the dutiful son of Tefaba mentioned in Tomb III, and the constructor of his father's tomb as well as his own.

Tomb V is very much ruined. It seems to have differed slightly from the others. The entrance was not imposing. The most important relic is a false door in the west wall at the back of the tomb recording the name and character of the chief prophet Kheti. This ruler, though commander-in-chief(?)  of the armies in the South (l. 18) and a bold warrior (l. 16) seems to have had a comparatively peaceable life, in which he devoted himself to developing agriculture, raising stock, digging canals and reservoirs. As a child he was taught to swim with the royal children. He finishes his biography with the following important words : " Siût was satisfied with my administration, Heracleopolis praised me, the South land and the North said, 'these are the instructions? of a great man.'" They are the words that first suggested to me the Heracleopolite date of the tombs : Heracleopolis was then undoubtedly the capital, being placed between Kheti's own city and the country in general, and they prove that the dynasty still held sway when this tomb, probably the latest of the group, was constructed. Probably no one could now question the fact: time after time in III, IV, and V, the name of the city occurs in a civil, not a religious connection. Yet it lay a quarter of the length of Egypt from Siût. At Beni hasan, Bersheh and El Kab it is not found once.

It has been proposed to identify the king Ra ka merī with a Ra mer ka or Ra mer kau Sebekhotep of the XIIIth dynasty, but there is so much difference between the names that the identification would be extremely questionable on any ground : and it cannot form an argument of any weight whatever against the assignment of these tombs to the IXth or Xth dynasties.

There seems to be a political development marked in the inscriptions of these tombs. Tefaba (III) is half independent : Egypt is in confusion : he is engaged in civil war with the South and in reducing the country to a state of tranquillity by means of soldiers or gens d'armes. Kheti son of Tefab (IV) has seen the end of the civil war and is more completely dependent on the king, who commands him to execute the

peaceable task of rebuilding the temple. Kheti (V) was brought up at the court and devoted his life to improving the land for agriculture, as a herald of the greater engineering works of the XIIth dynasty. It was perhaps the agricultural taste of the rulers in Heracleopolis that led to the improvement of the neighbouring Fayûm.

A word about dynasties VI-XII.

VI. Powerful though apparently less *centralised* than IV and V. Tombs of local magnates are far more common than of the preceding dynasty. Monuments are found throughout Egypt.

VII. Memphite 70 days or 75 years, *blank*.

VIII. Memphite 146 years, *blank*.

IX. Heracleopolite 409 (or 100) years. First king the savage Akhthoes and 3,18 or 39 others, according to the different versions of Manetho.

X. Heracleopolite 185 years.

XI. Theban, 43 years (really much more) monuments of Sānkh ka rā only throughout Egypt.

XII. Theban. The monuments of the first king are found throughout Egypt.

I would suggest that, after the break up, there were powerful princes at Memphis, Heracleopolis and Thebes, the first being legitimate. The Heracleopolites overcame the Memphites and also mastered Thebes about the time that these tombs were constructed. Rā ka merī does not occur in any list of kings, but shortly after his time the dynasty may have legitimised its rule by marriage with a Memphite princess.

The Theban princes subject to the Heracleopolites gradually revived and threw off their yoke. The early kings were illegitimate, but the later Mentuhoteps and Sānkhkarā in their turn acquired a lawful claim as descendants of Rā.

Some have thought that the Heracleopolis of Manetho denoted the city of that name in the Delta, and have ingeniously connected with its dynasties the monuments usually attributed to the Hyksos. From our texts it is certain that the Heracleopolite kings reigned at H. Magna (Ahnas el Medineh).





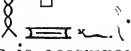
#### XIIth DYNASTY TOMBS.


Tomb I is perhaps the loftiest in Egypt. Its arched entrance-passage running westward into the cliff is 30 feet in height. The ceiling is painted with blue stars: the walls having lost the plaster show the mingled remains of inscriptions and scenes that have been superimposed and substituted or each other. The designers of these tombs seem never to have satisfied themselves or their friends until death put an end to experiments, and



222. It is clear that Hept'ef was one of the greatest and wealthiest of the feudal princes that owed allegiance to Usertesén I.

I have recovered 400 lines or fragments of inscription from this tomb: they are partly titular and descriptive of the virtues of the deceased, partly religious, of the type of the pyramid texts, but none are historical. However, the long declaration to the ka-priest, containing a record of 10 contracts which Heptef had made with the corporations of the temples of Apuat and Anubis, and with the overseers of the necropolis, to secure offerings and services for his statues, is of the highest importance, and, I rejoice to say, is now complete excepting only a very few lacunae.

The admirable sculptures of the shrine represent in duplicate on the two sides the offerings brought to Hept'ef together with his mother  Afiâat or Afi senior, his daughter Afi  and two wives  Sen (sic) and  Apa (l. 5-12). Two sons are amongst those who bear offerings: the name of the eldest is destroyed in both copies; the second is Hept'ef .

The leader of another row of figures is accompanied in one version by the inscription, . "The *χερ ἕβ*, the decorator of this tomb making it like a palace, Khetī son of Ptah m saf." It is seldom that an artist's name is recorded, but the scribe 'skilful in the art of decoration' who designed so exquisitely the tomb of Thoth-hotep at El Bersheh is named "Amenā-ānkhu." He held a royal office, being 'decorator of mummies? to the royal household.'

I will not stay longer over this tomb, except to say that, while there doubtless were several interments, I cannot see that the inscriptions are in honour of more than one individual. The palimpsest walls and alterations might be thought to indicate usurpation, but in several cases I was able to prove that that was not the case, there being corrections of portions of the texts or figures while the name was left intact. The inscriptions of the inferior chambers l. 160-170 and 180-185, if any, would commemorate other persons, but fragments of the first give the name Heptéfa and titles identical with those of the chief personage (cf. 238-241): unfortunately the mother's name does not occur. The second is in a different style from the rest of the tomb, and mentions a certain Sa Apuat son of Atef, but in a doubtful context.

F. LL. GRIFFITH.

(To be continued).



THE

# BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

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*Contributors are alone responsible for their opinions or statements.*

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## PEHLEVI NOTES.

### IV.—WHAT WAS *KHVĒTŪK-DAS*?

THE accomplished translator of Geiger's *Ostiranische Kultur im Alterthum*, lately published at Oxford,—Dastur Dârâb Peshotan Sanjana, son of the distinguished Parsi High Priest, (to whom we owe the important edition of the *Dinkart* now appearing in Bombay)—has lately issued (London, Trübner & Co.) an able pamphlet entitled “The Alleged Practice of Next-of-Kin Marriages in Old Irân.” This is the substance of papers read last year before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Dastur Dârâb ostensibly makes his pamphlet a reply to the Belgian orientalist, M. J. van den Gheyn, M.R.A.S., who touches upon the subject of *Khvêtûk-das* in his recent work “*Essais de Mythologie et de Philologie comparée.*” After quoting in detail the passage from this writer which he impugns, the Dastur adds :

“Such is the observation of the Rev. Mr. Gheyn. It is not, however, the outcome of personal investigations in the field of Irânian literature, but it is almost exclusively founded on the later sources of Oriental knowledge in the series of the ‘Sacred Books of the East’ planned by Prof. Max Müller.”

It might appear, after this, obtrusive on my part to interfere in the discussion, and preferable that I should leave M. Van den Gheyn to meet his very able opponent. But there are considerations which seem to throw on me the *onus* of a reply. For it so happens that the passage impugned by the Dastur Dârâb is not in any way based on the “Sacred Books of the East,” but occurs in the midst of a lengthy review of my

own memoir "Philosophie religieuse du Mazdéisme sous les Sassanides," published in 1884. Nay, the very passage in question is quoted *almost verbatim* from that source, and is in reality my own. It is inconceivable that the Dastur, if he has read M. Van den Gheyn's paper, should not have perceived this fact. I think that this will sufficiently justify my intervention in the discussion.

Let me begin by doing justice to the marked ability and learning of the Dastur's essay. It is quite the best and fullest statement of the modern Parsi view that has yet appeared. The interesting question at issue is this:—Is it true, as certain ancient writers assert, that closely consanguineous marriages (what we should call incestuous ones, e. g., between brother and sister) were practised and considered lawful in ancient Persia? Does the word *Qaetvadatha* in the Avesta, and the Pehlvi form *Khrētuk-das*—employed as the name of some virtue or excellent act—signify such incestuous union? Most European scholars answer the double question in the affirmative. Modern Parsis—who, as is admitted on all hands, far from practising, abominate the custom—emphatically say "No!" Dastur Dârâb sums up his own thesis in the following words:

"I. That the *slight authority of some isolated passages* gleaned from the pages of Greek and Roman literature is wholly insufficient to support the odious charge.

II. That no trace, hint, or suggestion of such a custom can be pointed out in the Avesta or its Pahlavi version.

III. That the Pahlavi passages translated by a distinguished English Pahlavi savant [i. e., Dr. E. W. West] and supposed to have references to such a custom, cannot be interpreted as upholding the view that next-of-kin marriages were expressly recommended therein. That a few of the Pahlavi passages which are alleged to contain actual references to such marriages, do not allude to social realities, but to supernatural conceptions relating to the creation of the first progenitors of mankind.

IV. That the words of the prophet Zarathustra himself, which are preserved in one of the strophes of the Gâthâ, chap. LIII., express a highly moral idea of the marriage relation" (pp. 6, 7).

Let me say here that, as far as the present paper is concerned, we might pass by the points I, II, and IV, in silence, or even with a *transeat*: just at present we are engaged with a purely Pehlevist question, referring to proposition III, which turns entirely on the meaning of the term *Khrētuk-das* and the explanation given to it in Pehlvi literature. We know that the term is *not* understood in the sense objected to by

modern Parsis nowadays ; it *might* be proved that the objectionable practice was unknown in ancient Erân, and that the Avesti *qaetha-datha* had another signification. Yet, logically, it may still be true that in Sassanian and sub-Sassanian times *Khvêtûk-das* meant what we maintain it to mean. Nay more, we grant that D. Dârâb is successful enough in showing that the Greek and Latin writers, as long as their authority stands alone, cannot be held to afford conclusive evidence in support of the charge ; also that the passages of the *Avesta* are not necessarily to be interpreted in the sense assumed ; nay, that these two authorities combined are inadequate, taken by themselves, to withstand the criticism of modern Parsi scholars. But we maintain that the Pehlevi literature itself, of Sassanid and post-Sassanid times, speaks so clearly, abundantly and emphatically on the point, that it is impossible to refuse its testimony, "and that this literature reiterates over and over again that *Khvêtûk-das* was nothing else than the practice of these incestuous marriages, between brother and sister, even between father and daughter, mother and son."

Dr. West has treated the question so exhaustively that it would be worse than useless to repeat what he has written. We have only to refer to Vol. XVIII of the "Sacred Books of the East," where the reader will find no less than fifty-two pages (pp. 389-430), mostly occupied with full translations of long passages from the *Dinkart*, certain *Rivayets*, Pehlevi and Persian, which prove beyond the shadow of a doubt the literal and grosser meaning attached up to fairly modern times. In my own memoir above referred to (pp. 148-150), I said :—

Depuis l' étude approfondie et judicieuse faite de cette question par M. West, il sera désormais impossible aux docteurs parses eux-mêmes de nier que la pratique du *Khvêtûk-das* dans son sens le plus strict,—c'est à dire le mariage entre parents et enfants, entre frères et soeurs,—était enseignée et recommandée avec véhémence par les prêtres mazdéens de l' époque Sassanide, et probablement aussi dans les tempes avestiques.

I then went on to quote as a sample merely a part of one chapter of the *Dinkart*, translated by Dr. West,—with only a slight verbal difference in which I did not agree with him,<sup>1</sup> but not affecting the sense,—a couple of sentences which still seem to be decisive. Dastur Dârâb makes an attempt to evade the force of this crucial passage by suggesting quite a different translation, (pp. 76, 77.) No Pehlevist, I venture to say, will be able to accept this newly proposed version. It would be impertinence on my part to step forward and defend so eminent an authority as Dr. West,—confessedly the first living Pehlevi scholar. in the translation of a

passage so clear and explicit. But I cannot refrain from remarking that, of the two paragraphs in point (§§ 12, 13), D. Dârâb omits entirely to give us a version of § 12,—certainly as important as the next one, and to be read in close conjunction with it. I purpose now to give in paralld columns the Pehlevi text, (based on Dastur Peshotan's own edition), my own rendering, and then D. Darab's new version. For Dr. West's translation, which scarcely differs from my own, I need but refer to pp. 404-5 of the volume of S.B.E. (XVIII) above mentioned :

## TEXT.

D. DÂRÂB.

## § 12.

And a light springing from the face of the Law is ever perceived at the time when there is produced the pleasure which exists when there is a child of one's child, even when it is by one of a different race or a different religion; *then how delicious must be that joy, that sweetness and pleasure which (proceed from) this that the son of a man should be born from his own daughter, and who becomes also the brother of this same mother ?*

Va rôshano jasto az rôî dâto hamâi khaditûn-açt yîn anbâmi aigha avir vashtano râmishnik mano - ash farzandiki farzand aît; hamateca men khadih-i gvit tukhmak va gvit dâto, zak - ac akhar cand vâyaz sâzit yehevûntano zak shâtîh va sîrînyeh va ramishno man'o benman i gabrâ men nafshman-ash dôkhtho zarnôit mano akh-ac yehevûnit va ham mâtar ?

[Not translated].

## § 13.

*And he who is born of a son and a mother is also the brother of this same father. This is the road of much pleasure, of blessing, and of joy ; and there is no harm therefrom which is more than the advantage, and no vice which surpasses the virtuous action.*

va zak-i men benman va mâtar zaranoit akh-ac yehevûnit va ham-abîtar. Hama raçi vesh râmishno nyâyishno va huravâkhn [inishn], lâ va aît patash hic zy-âno parâe men çûto lâça ahûki parâe men khûp-gar.

If a son be born of a son and a mother, he (the begetter) would be reckoned the brother as well as the father; that would be illegal and incestuous (—*ujeh*). If so, such a person has no part in the prayers (of the Deity) and in the joys (of Paradise); he produces harm, and does thereby no benefit; he is extremely vicious & is not of a good aspect.

I will say nothing of the reading of the vēsh (𐬯𐬀) as *va-jêh*, which of course might be maintained; but I will say that this sentence cannot possibly be severed from the preceding one, which fully explains it; and moreover that D. Dârâb's version involves such a violence to the construction of the simple Pehlevi sentences, as to be quite untenable. I am afraid the same verdict will have to be passed on the other crucial passages wherein he differs from West.

I have carefully gone over again the abundant evidence collected by the latter writer in the volume referred to, and after all D. Dârâb's ingenious and skilful attempts to explain them, I feel more impressed than ever with the correctness of West's views; and so I fancy will any unprejudiced reader.

I conclude that Pehlevi literature fully bears out the indictment that incestuous marriage was recommended and enforced as a meritorious and holy practice, called *Khvêtâk-daç* at least under the Sassanids and in following centuries. And if this be so, then there is at least a strong presumption that the Avestic *qaetva-datha* was a similar practice; and also that the Greek and Roman writers may not have been altogether mistaken or mendacious in attributing the practice to the Ancient Persians,—a practice for the rest which we know to have been followed for a time *e.g.* by the Egyptian kings, and therefore not unprecedented in history. This latter point is indeed touched upon by D. Dârâb; who in his zeal for his ancestors, has collected, with the aid of Mr. Justice West and Prof. Darmesteter (p. 11) samples of Greek incest and even cases from the Old Testament. But the learned Dastur quite forgets that in none of the cases cited are such unions extolled as acts of virtue, but rather the contrary: the Pehlevi literature stands unique in this respect. Besides to say that Lot was "married" to his own daughters is simply ludicrous, as anybody will see by reading Genesis XIX, 30-38. (To this case I shall have to refer in a subsequent paper).

It is perhaps right to add that D. Dârâb sees in *qaetva-datha* and *Khvêtâk-das* allegorical expressions, indicative of spiritual union between Creator and creatures, parents and children, &c. The explanations thus offered are ingenious; but I fear they will not stand in the face of actual texts, such as those quoted above.

#### NOTES.

1) This, it appears, is owing to a difference of reading in the MS. and the reading given in Dastur Peshotan's printed edition, as shown in the next note.

2) Dr. West translates : "Light flashed forth or unflashed is always seen at the time when it is much exposed." This is based, as he courteously informs me, on the MS. text :—*וּלְטוֹרָהּ נִגְלָה אֶת הַאֵשׁ* wherein D. D. has introduced the emendations *וּלְטוֹרָהּ עַ* (*az rōi*

*dāto*) for *aparvakhto*, and furtheron *וּלְטוֹרָהּ* for *וּלְטוֹרָהּ* Dr. W. adds : "against the first it may be urged that *עַ* 'form' is exceedingly rare in Pahlavi, being always replaced by *מִן* *min*, except in compounds." (Letter, Feb. 25, 1888). Of course this introductory clause does not in any way affect the rest of the passage, or the main question at issue.

3) The phrase *Khvêtūk-dasîh levatman bradâr va bentman vâdântan* ("to practise K. with brother or daughter"), for instance, is a difficult nut to crack. D. Dârâb suggests that it "might well denote the exercise of the gift of communion with the Almighty; or self-devotion, in association with our mother, daughter, or sister." Yes; but such a possible allegorical or spiritual interpretation will not stand in face of positive texts to the contrary. Again D. D. is obliged to admit the literal signification of K. as applied to the first progenitors of mankind (as with Mashya and Mashyoi),—as otherwise, of course, the procreation of the human race would have been impossible : *argal*, the term properly and literally does signify marriage or sexual union.

L. C. CASARTELLI.

### THE INSCRIPTIONS OF SIÛT AND DÊR RÎFEH.

(Continued from p. 168).

Tomb II. The façade, which was sculptured with figures was destroyed very recently (in 1885-6 ?). The tomb consists of one lofty chamber with pillars. In the back of the chamber are two doorways sculptured, but the passages have never been cut. On the south side are two entrances to vaults, the course of which is uncertain, owing to quarrying. The plan is curious, and seems to show an unfinished attempt to convert an earlier excavation into the system of the XIIth dynasty. One of the doorways still has a scrap of inscription, and there are traces of others on the walls. Those of the principal entrance copied by Marietta and De Rougé show that the person for whom it was constructed was Hept'ef son of Aḫi, who bears similar titles to those found in Tomb I. Possibly he was the grandson of Hept'ef of Tomb I, whose daughter was named Aḫi (see p. 168).

It is strange that the construction of all the great tombs of princes of

the XIIth dynasty dates from Usertesén I. to Usertesén II. Under Amenemhät I. wealth, perhaps, had not yet accumulated. Under the magnificent and active Pharaohs, Usertesén III, and Amenemhät III, both wealth and power were probably centralised and expended more for the glory of the monarch, the honour of the gods, and the benefit of the country. The power of the local chiefs being reduced, it was no longer necessary for the king to conciliate the feelings of a noble by granting him permission to excavate a princely tomb in his ancestral fief.

As I have stated (p. 167), Stabl Antar, 'Antar's Stable' is the name applied to Tomb I, and perhaps also to the grottoes in general. The following three names I did not hear myself, but take from some notes of Professor Duemichen, kindly supplied to me by Professor Erman. I suspect that they are modern inventions of cicerones, who require to distinguish between the tombs. Tomb I. (owing to its numerous chambers) Hammâm 'baths,' II Sṭabl Anṭar IV Kahf el 'Asâkir, 'cave of the soldiers' (owing to the subject of the sculpture within it).

As I did not make plans of any of the tombs, I have not attempted to describe them, but will call attention to a few special points with regard to the decoration.

The rock, which is the usual white limestone, is very faulty. The cracks were filled with cement, which has now fallen out or remains in a powdery state. Occasionally in Tomb I. gaps are seen where slabs of good stone had been inserted to replace faulty pieces. Frequently hard veins and nodules are left projecting; sometimes these have been very unskilfully chipped or hammered away, showing the inferiority of the ordinary tools and the rarity of good tools in the limestone district.

The sculptures and inscriptions are placed at a considerable height above the floor (about 6 feet in Tomb I.) The only exceptions are at the entrances to the smaller chambers of Tomb I. This common precaution of the ancient Egyptians is now rendered useless by the accumulation of rubbish which ought to be cleared out.

The inscriptions appear occasionally to have been cut directly into the stone and cement and then are very rarely left plain; usually they were painted blue or green as in Tomb IV and the doorways of Tomb I.

A finer surface was obtained by a thin coat of pale yellow stucco laid over the stone and cement. This stucco still holds together well, but is very liable to scale off in sheets or chips. The hieroglyphs and figures

were cut through the stucco into the stone: and are either left plain as in the shrine of Tomb I, or more often the incisions are coloured blue or green.

Or again, designs were simply painted in green or mixed colours on the plaster: e.g. in Tomb I all the ceiling and cornice-patterns (except the cornice of the shrine) together with many defaced scenes of fowling &c., and the admirable painting of Hept'ef adoring the name of Usertesen I.: in Tomb III the substituted inscription 16-40.

The method followed in the engraving of inscriptions may best be seen in the alas! unfinished inscription of Tomb III. The inscription is vertical. The *upper* portion of the lines were cut first, and it was while the workmen were engaged on that part that the order came to stop work. I suspect from the appearance of it that there were several masons engaged on ll. 16-40 alone on two stages of scaffolding, the object being to economise light and save the newly-finished tomb from being smoked. A third stage would have completed the inscription.

The first sketching was done in orange colour, the *limits* of the incision being marked out, thus even the dividing lines were double in the sketching. After the dividing lines others were drawn to mark the bounds of the broadest hieroglyphs, and then the hieroglyphs themselves were sketched in double outline. The sketching for two vertical lines is therefore



After the sketching the order of cutting seems to have been as follows: A workman roughed-out the hieroglyphs at the tops of several lines, keeping to about the same level and cutting well within the limits of the sketching. He was soon followed by a finer workman, who finished the hieroglyphs: the dividing lines were cut last of all.

A careful examination of this wall from the point of view of the mason might clear up some interesting points. The above are only intended as suggestions, some of the ideas having occurred to me while cleaning and copying the inscriptions.

The masons and those who filled the incisions with colour in tomb I. were alike ignorant of the meaning of the inscriptions, as may be seen by referring to I. 226 (a) and 300 (blank) where the latter have failed to correct the mistakes of the masons. In Tomb I blunders were rectified and alterations made by cleaning and re-plastering.

In III. 11 an erroneous sign is allowed to stand, but is left unpainted.

In III. 23 an omitted sign is inserted in paint on the plaster.



I. 380-417 (see plan Pl. III.) was substituted for a sculptured scene of the owner of the tomb or his statue in a boat. The wall was stripped and re-plastered, and this religious inscription incised. Some hieroglyphs were then found to have been omitted in several columns, which were again partly stripped, re-plastered, and re-cut more compactly. The plaster has now fallen off entirely. Thus (1) the scene, (2) the original inscription, and (3) the corrections are all faintly traceable together on the stone.

I. 260-324 and 210-249 have palimpsest traces: but fortunately the plaster remains on the greater part. The earlier inscriptions, incised and painted blue, are different from the upper ones, and appear to be interesting. I could not find a proper name in any of the visible scraps.

The figures about the principal doorway of I. have been extensively altered.

A considerable amount of damage already done to the tombs was noticed by the authors of the 'Description de l'Égypte.' They were informed that it was the work of the Beys whom they were fighting, but it probably dated from an early time.

In the first quarter of this century there must have been a terrible amount of blasting by gunpowder. The fronts of Tombs III, IV, and V. were entirely destroyed, and the others much damaged. Between 1834? (Arundale) and 1852 (Brugsch) further mischief was done. Again in 1886? the entrance of Tomb II. was blown away, and the whole of III, IV, and V. would have been destroyed if the quarrying had not been promptly stopped by the authorities at Bulaq. The exposure of the back wall to the sun in Tomb V. now causes a yearly loss of several flakes from the inscribed portion. Whole rows of the smaller tombs have been blasted away.

The inscribed portions of III. and IV. are covered with the names of tourists of all nations scrawled in pencil, or too often cut with the knife. The atmosphere, the limy exudations, the falling of plaster, the congregation of bats and birds (in Tomb I) have all contributed to make the texts imperfect and indistinct.

I will now commend to the attention of those who may have opportunities for research on the spot, certain definite points, the publication of which would tend to complete the study of the visible antiquities of Siût.

1. Photograph of the Siût hill from the road, showing the entrances of the tombs, the position of the ravine, &c.

2. Complete plans of all the great tombs, made with the help of the

Notes and Plans in the "Description de l'Égypte," and in the MSS. of Arundale.

3. Study of the painted decoration of Tomb I.
4. Photograph of some figures in the shrine and other parts of Tomb I, and of the figures in Tomb IV.
5. Photographs of the best preserved portions of each of the inscriptions as specimens of the style.
6. Study of the method of preparing the inscriptions in Tomb III.
6. Checking the copies in my plates. I have endeavoured to indicate the doubtful portions. But the corrector must beware of hasty alteration. The hard nodules in Tomb I, 260-325 require brushing to remove the dust, and a little water to bring out the colour. Arundale notes on I, 210-249, that he used a wet sponge for this purpose throughout that text. It seems to have done no harm even to the plaster.

#### DER RIFEH.

Proceeding southward from Dronka and the Siût hill we reach a bay in which the cliffs are edged with a considerable band of desert. Here and there a tomb or small quarry is seen. A more important set of cave-quarries has been taken possession of by the Coptic settlement of Dêr Dronka, some miles South of the village. There are no remains here except a few Coptic inscriptions, the tablets being sometimes set over the doors of the houses. A mile beyond Dêr Dronka there are several tombs low down in a slight ravine, one of them containing an unfinished statue. Another is excavated in a rock face at the inner end of the ravine which it spans from side to side. The front consists of a row of pillars, shortening at either end as the sides of the ravine rise, and supporting an eave in which the ends of wooden rafters are imitated. Within, a single large chamber has been commenced and left unfinished.

A mile further South is Dêr Rifeh. Here there is a long line of tombs, many of them very large, stretching about  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile along the cliff. The northern ones only are occupied by the Copts, and contain two churches and nearly all the huts of the village, the rest being encrusted on the rock face like the bee's nests that are so abundant there. The inhabitants seem to believe that their forefathers were driven by the Muslims out of the village of Rifeh which lies in the cultivated land, but now they cling to the Dêr although it is a mile from water over a burning strip of rocky desert. The tradition of the place and the


coolness of the deep caves no doubt are the influences that keep them there. To fetch water the women have to climb down a steep hill path of probably 200 feet, to cross the mile of hot sand and stones that separates them from the *fiñ*, fill their jars from a well at the edge of the cultivation, and then climb back each with the 70lb *ballās* poised on her head. This in the hot summer days must be a dreadful penance. Their funeral processions wind down the path at midday and skirt the burning desert for several miles before reaching the cemetery at Dêr ez Zauyeh. The health of the settlement I should think is bad, and death frequently strikes down a vigorous man in two days. Dêr ez Zauyeh lies in the plain at the southern extremity of the bay. I regret that I had no opportunity for visiting it.

The Copts are extremely ignorant, and know very little of their ancient language. Most of them can repeat the hymns and sentences which are used in their services, and will sing them while basking in the sun. Several could write the letters and spell words. I asked the most learned of them, the old *qummus* or deacon, (who, as was often the case in early times, was the *shêkh* of the settlement, and more important owing to his social standing and wealth than the priest *qasīs*), to write down the names of the neighbouring villages in Coptic, and I have his autograph in my note-book.

ⲣⲉⲫⲏⲓⲛⲉ	ريفه (Rife)	ⲉⲩⲣⲏⲕⲏⲉ	درونكه (not Dironke)
ⲩⲩⲟⲩⲏ	شطب (Shuṭb)	ⲙⲟⲩⲩⲏⲉ	موشه (Mûshe)
ⲛⲥⲒⲒⲐⲐⲟⲩ	اسيوط (Siyût)	ⲉⲩⲣⲏⲉⲩⲁⲩⲟⲩⲉ	دير الزاوية (no Coptic)

The good *qummus*' Coptic names are therefore systematic transliterations from the written Arabic, substituting ⲫ for final ة—.

We were told that the church of Dêr Rîfeh as well as that of Dêr Dronkeh was dedicated to the Virgin, but as Séverus, the Homousian bishop of Antioch and patron saint of the Copts about Odroneh (according to Maqrîzi), is actually mentioned in one of the tablets of Rifeh, this statement was perhaps wrong.

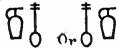


The huts of Dêr Rîfeh are built in the tombs of the magnates of Shashotep. This ancient city Shuṭb ⲩⲩⲟⲩⲏ  (Shas ḥtp) ⲩⲩⲟⲩⲏ is marked by a singularly red mound visible from the cliffs of Siût. It lies far from the river 3 or 4 miles SSE. of Siût and 5 or 6 ENE. of the Rifeh tombs. I visited the site but found no remains, the most promising part being covered by the modern village.




The nearest point of the cliff to Shuṭb is the necropolis of Siût which of course was not eligible as tomb-ground for the Hypselites. It was apparently these latter who began the tombs near Dêr Dronka, but finding the rock not to their liking, they turned still further South and made a great necropolis high up the cliff behind Rifeh.

There is a point worth noting as to the probable way in which these tombs were reached from Shuṭb. The cleared roadway to Tcmb I (by which the quarried blocks of stone were dragged down) points not to Shuṭb but to Rifeh. From this it seems probable that the road to the cliffs from Shuṭb lay by Rifeh, where the canal might be crossed and hence that both the canal and the village have existed from remote times.


There has been some ancient quarrying in the tombs. Tomb I of Nefer Khnum is of moderate size, consisting of a single chamber. The doorway was of the usual simple form and nearly as high as the chamber, (originally about 11 feet), the facade sloping slightly and ornamented with a few lines of titular and other inscriptions terminated by seated figures of the owner.

The chamber measures 32 feet  $\times$  37 ft. The floor as well as the south side of the facade has been quarried away. The pit in the centre of the back wall was originally 20 feet deep and is 3 ft. wide + 7 ft. long; at the bottom it was lengthened westward about 3 feet but cannot have held a sarcophagus. The interment was perhaps in a wooden coffin.

Small inscribed tombs of the middle kingdom are rare, but this is an instance of the kind. The inscriptions on the East wall incised and coloured green are in bad condition and contain several blunders of the engraver.  (Nefer khnum) son of  was, however, a very exalted personage,  'Prince of the nome of Shashotep'


 'acting administrator of the south country'  'relation of the king,'  superintendent of the prophets of Kunum of Shashotep. The remaining lines only describe his virtues.

The rest of the chamber was ornamented with scenes and inscriptions painted on the plaster, viz. on the North wall, scenes of fowling and of servants bearing offerings, continued round the corner of the West wall, in the centre of which, over the pit, is a false door painted green. South

of this is a colossal figure of the owner receiving offerings. On the South wall are soldiers and a boat. Scraps of inscription remain and over the false doorway is a  $\downarrow$   formula.

Tomb I, which is at the South end of the necropolis, forms the centre of a large group of about 150 tombs of small size and without inscriptions. They are in rows extending from about  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the height of the cliff almost to the top, and are generally of the same form as No. I more or less roughly cut, and often quite unfinished. A few consist of more than one chamber and in some the pit slopes inwards towards the West in stead of descending vertically.

Northward from this group the tombs are generally of large size and in a narrower band along the cliff. They often give the impression of having been originally quarries, which however had been cut with the idea that they might ultimately serve as tombs. The great rectangular cavern in which we lived had never been trimmed down, but while the blocks extracted were of the usual size for quarrying, and the inner half was nothing more nor less than a quarry, there was a row of square pillars and an architrave left rough near the entrance and evidently tomb-pits in the floor. The form of the entrance is uncertain, it having been destroyed, but this cavern bears a striking resemblance to the Heracleopolite tombs of Siût, which themselves, though more finished, bear clear indications of their double use, as quarries cut intentionally with a narrow entrance.

Many of these tombs are not inscribed. Tomb II, if not usurped, is of the New Empire. It has been carefully excavated, and the facade has been cut back into the slope of the hill. On the northern wall of the approach is a large round-headed stela, defaced. In the hall over an inner doorway is painted the bark of the sun; to the left of it Rameses III stands under a canopy with some red object in front; before him is an altar and his name which is the only cartouche that is found in the necropolis. Next, a priest? stretching out both arms, with one hand offers to the king, with the other in the opposite direction presents a figure of truth to a cynocephalus which is seated on a high pedestal. Behind the cynocephalus are Ptah (holding ) Horus and Amen (without names). Above this scene there are 13 short columns of hieroglyphics in black, almost illegible, and beneath it figures of Osiris and Isis (named). The central inner chamber before the shrine also has traces of painting.

A hundred yards beyond, when the Coptic village is reached, rock cut steps




Over a doorway outside this tomb is a broken marble slab with the inscription.

.... εϑαρεζ επωπεζ ππεσνητ πταϑυπρισε  
 ΔΤΣΑΠΠΡΟΠ

.... ηροσ ππαρχιεπισκοποσ πτησ πολεοσ Δπτιοχια  
 ιτ χϑ ω σαρακποτ οω

This evidently contains the name of Severus and the date 800 ? years of our era, with a parallel date, which I cannot read, from the Hegira.



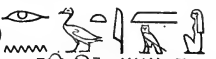
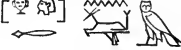
The lofty gateway of Dêr Rîfeh is now entered. Fixed in it is a tablet commemorating the deacon ΠΑΤΗΣΕ Patîcse.

Tomb V is a residence of the *qummu* and we could not obtain leave to enter it. It is of the chief prophet Nana  the son of a chief prophet.

Beyond is the great Tomb VI with its plain doorway showing traces of inscriptions which must have been cut in cement. The entrance has been widened by quarrying on the North side and then blocked by the Copts for better security. It has the Egyptian cornice over the door. It belonged to a superintendent of the prophets of Khnum of Shashotep, whose name is unfortunately hidden.

Last of all is a most imposing tomb of the middle kingdom. Two massive polygonal columns with square flat abacus support the roof of the entrance hall, which ends in a palm-beam eave. One of the two churches is in the hall, on the north side of which remain the fragments of a long inscription. Most of this was covered with plaster when we arrived, but the friendly Qummu after a little show of resistance allowed us to scale it off, and I may say that the appearance of the church was much improved by this attention.

The Copts have blocked the façade nearly to the roof. They enter the church by a small doorway at the top and descend by a flight of steps to the floor. The way up to the door leads by narrow winding stairs from the village beneath, and is carried over the housetops. The last step is a trial for anyone with a weak head. It is necessary to balance oneself for a moment on a high wall of mud only a few inches in thickness, which threatens to break and precipitate you 26 feet into the houses below. But the mud when well-tempered is wonderfully strong, and soon the stranger learns to consider it as safe for ordinary weights as a narrow wall left in the original rock.

Tomb VII which I am now describing belonged to the  l. 43 (or  l. 10)  l. 10, the prince Nekhtânkhu son of Sit Am : he was  l. 44. 'prince of the nome of Hypsele, superintendent of the entire South.' He had great influence also in Siût l. 45.



The inscription is very imperfect. It is incised in a coating of plaster. The rest of this great tomb is now bare.

I and VII are perfectly distinct from each other in style and must be quite without connection both in family and period. Both however, belong to the succession of dynasties comprehended under the term 'Middle Kingdom.'

As to the later tombs III-VI I can hardly attempt to fix their date but as far as I can judge they should belong to a period beginning at the end of the XIXth dynasty. Tutu is however a name that is met with under Khuenaten. Any one familiar with the necropolis of Thebes could no doubt form a correct opinion as to their age.

Above the Dêr is a small grotto with a painted inscription in Coptic difficult to read.

The first distinct reference to the tombs of Dêr Rifeh is from the pen of Dümichen ÄZ 1876 p. 26 where their connexion with the nome of Hypsele is also noted.

The only *antikeh* that I obtained at Dêr Rifeh is a frog  natural size, in fine blue-glazed ware with black streaks. I have a suspicion that it belongs to the same period as the well known hippopotami. The goddess Heqt  received more attention in early times than in later. The object is now in Miss Amelia B. Edward's collection.

My copies of the inscriptions of Siût and Rifeh will be published very shortly, with numerous annotations and additions from various sources. In the above notes I have inserted a few references to this publication.

F. LL. GRIFFITH.

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At the last meeting of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, a Prize has been awarded to Dr. Terrien de Lacouperie for "l'ensemble de ses travaux," several of which have appeared in the pages of the RECORD. H. M. M.



ORIGIN FROM BABYLONIA AND ELAM OF THE EARLY  
CHINESE CIVILISATION.

A SUMMARY OF THE PROOFS.

(Continued from page 164).

VI. ITEMS OF ASSYRO-BABYLONIAN, EGYPTIAN AND OTHER CIVILIZATIONS ENTERED INTO ANCIENT CHINA THROUGH LATER CHANNELS. (continued).

f) A *Résumé* of the Chapter.

§ 1.

The present section, as a conclusion to our long survey of the unsatisfactory, though various and successive, routes which permitted the introduction of western notions of civilisation in ancient China, subsequent to the great importations by the BAKS in their migration to the East, and have proved to be altogether ill-fitted if not impossible for anything strictly Assyro-Babylonian, must necessarily be little else than a rapid sketch and a short *résumé*.

The history of China in ancient times may be divided into six periods which we shall refer to for the convenience and clearness of our researches as follows :

1st period. From the settlement of the civilised Bak tribes arrived from the N. W. *circa* 2250 B.C. to the Hia dynasty *circa* 2000 B.C.

Though interspersed with native populations, the Chinese do not extend beyond the basin of the Yellow River, nor do they reach the sea.

2nd period. From *circa* 2000 B.C. During the Hia and Shang-Yn dynasties to *circa* 1100 B.C. Friendship with the native populations, and in some moments united strength, secure to the Chinese the predominance they are entitled to by their superior civilisation. A slight knowledge is gained of the whole country as far South as the Yangtze Kiang. The settlements are strengthened, some advance is made eastwards and the sea is reached about 1777 B.C. But there is no great extension of power through intercal difficulties, and the seat of the central government is shifted from place to place eleven times during the Hia and eight times during the Shang-yn dynasties. During the latter dynasty, the various principalities of the dominion, withdrew no less than six times from their allegiance to the Royal authority.<sup>335</sup>

3rd period. From *circa* 1100 B.C. to 770 B.C. ; the W. Tchou dynasty. An energetic and powerful race from the N.W. conquers the country

and ensures respect everywhere. Its dominion is firmly established West and East from Sheni to Tchihli and W. Shantung, and southwards at mid-way between the Hwang-ho and the Yang-tze Kiang.

4th period. From 770 to 481 B.C.; the E. Tchou dynasty so called because in 770 they were compelled by native tribes to remove their capital westwards. The various states forming the Chinese dominion are growing gradually independent and the central power is declining. The border states grow in importance.

5th period. From 481 to 221 B.C. The contending states. The declining authority of the E. Tchou is a mere shadow, and is put to an end by the W. state of *Than*—Ts'in. The period is one of struggle for the supremacy between the various states; they are successively conquered by the state of Than which succeeds in 223 B.C. to overthrow its last and most powerful competitor, the half-Sinised and southern state of Ts'u.

6th period. From 221 B.C. to 25 A.D. Establishment of the Chinese Empire by Ts'in She Hwang-ti over two-thirds of the modern China proper. This short lived dynasty disappears in 209 B.C. and the Former Han dynasty begins in 206 B.C. The Han succeed after a century of struggle to uphold the integrity of the Empire and rule gloriously; they are followed in 25 A.D. by the After Han dynasty, which ruled until 220 A.D.

Let us resume our enquiry in the progress of the ancient Chinese and their outside relations, with reference to these six periods.

NOTE 335) Under Yung-ki, 1649 or 1487 B.C.; Ho-tan-kia, 1534 or 1381; Yang-kia, 1408-1319; Siao-sin, 1373 or 1287; Tan-kia, 1258 or 1204; Ti yh. 1191 or 1111 B.C. The two dates are those of the chronology now usual in China, and of the Annals of the Bamboo Books. Under Yang-kia, the princes had not come to court for nine generations. Cfr. Szema Tsien, *She Ki*, K. III, ff. 6, 7, 7 v, 8 v and 9.

## § 2.

The object of chapters III, IV and V of the present summary has been to resume the various items of civilisation during the first period in sciences, arts, writing, literature, institutions, religion, historical legends and traditions, forming with a few exceptions, the important culture of Babylonian and Elamite Origin, and which they had acquired in S.W. Asia, through their relations with the country of Elam. This civilisation, nearly complete as it was, could not have reached China otherwise than it did, i.e. through the immigration of civilised tribes and in a wholesale manner, as no successive imports, like those which took place afterwards,

of shreds of western knowledge, could have produced such an homogeneous ensemble of obvious borrowings<sup>336</sup> from the most important civilisation of S.W. Asia. The demonstration, which is conclusive, refers chiefly to the first of the six periods we have just enumerated.

The first part of the present chapter in its five divisions and seven subdivisions (VI, *a, b, c, d, i, ii, iii, e, i, ii, iii, iv*), has been occupied with a survey of the various channels through which notions of civilisation from foreign countries may have reached the Middle Kingdom in times subsequent to the establishment of the civilised *Bak* tribes in the Flowery Land. We have been compelled by the difficulties of the case to go more deeply into historical details than in the former parts, because we had no longer any special papers previously published to refer to on the subject. Though eliciting not a few historical facts little known and of interest, and having to call attention to circumstances hitherto neglected or not yet extracted from their Chinese limbos, we have not been able to discover any regular channel or constant intercourse for the ingress of western knowledge in the principal state of the Far-East. The results of our enquiry so far have been most important for the purpose we are pursuing, since none of the various channels we have studied have proved to have permitted the introduction of anything better than mangled bits and bungled notions of civilisations from Central Asia (Khorasmia), India, Egypt, Oman, &c. Without entering fully into the details of acquisitions and progresses made by the civilisation of the Middle Kingdom during its third and successive periods, and therefore without benefiting of all that they will teach us, we have found historical evidences of six occasional and unsatisfactory inlets for foreign knowledge to have been brought in.

NOTE 336) In my fourfold list of these, I have omitted references to the artistic influence of Babylon and Elam on the early Chinese art. A few words only can be said here on the subject. On the most ancient bronze sacrificial vases still preserved, this influence is clear. The chief figure is the head of a horned monster, made as repulsive as possible and subsequently distorted in an ornamental manner so as to be past recognition. It was called *t'ao-t'iet*, or the "glutton," and it is now explained as intended to be admonitory against inordinate feasting at the annual sacrifices. Cfr. P. P. Thoms. *Ancient vases of the Shang dynasty*, London, 1851, p. 7. The *t'ao-t'iet* occurs on 23 out of the 42 vases reproduced in this work from the *Poh-ku-tu*, and on 9 out of the 20 vases reproduced in Pauthier's *China*, pl. 38-43 from the *Si-tsing-ku-kien*. As a fact the original object of the hideous figure was to frighten away a devouring demon. In the *Tchun-tsiu* of Lu shi (250 B.C.) it is said that on the ancient vases the *t'ao-t'iet* had a head and no body, to intimate that in devouring persons, before even they can be swallowed, destruction comes upon it. Cfr. *K'ang-hi tze*

*tien*, 184—9, f. 85. The design of the monster was traditionally preserved from that frequently represented in Chaldaea to scare away the demon of the south-west wind which was greatly apprehended there, because, coming from the deserts of Arabia, its burning breath dried up and devoured everything; the head was that of a skeleton but half decayed, and adorned with horns, *and the eyes still remaining*. The general idea was "to represent the demons under such hideous forms that it was sufficient for them to be shown their own image, to cause them to flee away alarmed." Cfr. François Lenormant, *Chaldaean Magic*, pp. 50, 52. The Chaldaean name of this demon is unknown as yet, so we cannot carry the comparison further than the resemblance of design and object. Cfr. for the figure: Lenormant, *Hist. Anc. de l'Orient*, t. v, p. 213; Perrot-Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art*, t. II, p. 496. Other creatures on a very small scale are also represented on ancient Chinese vases, somewhat like fancy birds which become gradually entirely distorted. Their peculiarity is that they go generally by pairs fronting one another, a feature originally peculiar to the Assyro-Babylonian art, according to Von Sybel and to Perrot-Chipiez, *O.C.* II, pp. 747—748. Another of the chief ornaments on the Chinese vases is that of buds, leaf-shaped, in rows, which appear on Chaldaean ornaments (cfr. Layard, *Monuments I*, pl. 6, 9, Perrot-chipiez, *O. C.* II, pp. 702, 771-2) of bronze dishes and embroideries. It is a conventional design of the cone-fruit which is represented on the monuments in the hands of genii and others, and which has certainly a symbolical meaning. F. Lenormant, *Origines de l'histoire*, I, 84, has pointed out a prescription of Ea to Marduk (*Cun. Inscr. W. A.* IV. 16, 2 and 29, 1) where the cedar-fruit is specially mentioned. cfr. T. de L., *The Tree of life and the Calendar plant of Babylonia and China*, n. 5, and *B. & O.* R. II, 156. On the other hand Dr. E. Bonavia, *The cone-fruit of the Assyrian monuments*, *B. & O. R.* II, 138, 170, and 173, has shown reason to believe that in some cases at least, the represented cone-fruit was a citron. And quite recently, Dr. E. B. Tylor, *The fertilisation of the date-palm in ancient Assyria*, Academy 8 June 89, p. 396 has suggested the cone-fruit to have been the inflorescence of the male date-palm, a suggestion which seems to me to be confirmed in some other cases, such as on the alabaster bas-relief of the Louvre, figured in Perrot-Chipiez, *O. C.*, II, p. 64. A classification must consequently be made of the monuments. Returning to the early Chinese art, the chief ornament is a sort of scroll, *grecque* or *méandre*, which is employed everywhere in all sorts of varieties, and seems congenial to the taste of the Chinese. They call it *yun-lei-wen*, i.e., cloud-thunder ornament, and explain it as derived from an ancient form of the symbol for cloud, as it appears duplicated in the composition of some ancient forms of the character for 'thunder.' Cfr. Min-Tsi-kih, *Lu shu t'ung*, II, 9, and Tung-Wei-fu, *Tchuen-tze-wei*, s. v. Though we may refuse to accept this explanation, there is no reason to discountenance the originality of this scroll in China, inasmuch as it is so very simple a pattern that it has occurred in several instances independently elsewhere. Curiously enough, it is almost unknown in Assyro-Babylonian Art, but it occurred frequently in ancient Egypt, Judea, Hissarlik, Greece, and in a curved form on the early bronzes of Denmark.—A peculiar form of hair-dress, represented by a small black stone object in the British Museum, *Nimroud*

*Gallery*, H, which has attracted the attention of Perrot, *O. C.*, II, 595n, which is exactly similar to that of important men in ancient China. Cf. with Pauthier's *Chine*, pl. 22, 36 and 51.

### § 3.

During the Second period there was no other channel than that of the eastern traffic of nephrite-jade originally from the Khotan region, this region which was to be Aryanised<sup>37</sup> from Khorasmia and Bactria through the passes of the Badakshan country,<sup>338</sup> about the end of that period, was yet uncivilised and could not be a source of knowledge to borrow from ; moreover, its nephrite jade did not apparently reach the Middle kingdom otherwise than after passing through several hands. And should the trade of that precious gem have been carried without intermediary, the information and notions available to be carried to the East were only those of Irano-Indian source, as the Indo-Aryans were then in occupation of the lands on the West side of the Badakshan passes and the Tsungling range. The Assyro-Babylonians had not reached them, and the influence of their civilisation on the latter has been nil or nearly so; even in India in later historical times, Babylonian influence has been at a minimum ; an interesting peculiarity which however is easily explained by the geographical conditions of the respective countries.<sup>339</sup> Any Assyro-Babylonian notion, to make its way eastward, had to pass through the Irano-Indians' mouths and minds, who were too highly spirited a race to have acted the part of middlemen and faithful transmitters of foreign ideas without stamping them anew.

The foreign relations of the Middle Kingdom, unimportant politically as the latter was at that time, were limited to native and border barbarian tribes,<sup>340</sup> with only two apparent exceptions, during the reign of Tai Mou of the Shang dynasty about B.C. 1466, and under the reign of Wu-ting, about B.C. 1269. In the tenth year of his reign, Tai Mou of Shang is said to have been visited by envoys of distant states, seventy-six in number according to one authority, and only sixteen according to another. No information whatever has been handed down, by tradition or documents concerning these foreign comers. They may have been trading parties magnified as is usually the case, into ambassadors from some remote countries or simply representatives of foreign tribes beyond the pale of Chinese influence. The same remarks apply to the six foreign envoys who came to the court of Wu-ting. Now one must not forget that the Chinese dominion, then within narrow limits, was surrounded on all sides by a great many communities of indigenous and independent tribes ; in the N.W. on the borders of Tibet, the Kiang tribes, some of whom submitted afterwards, numbered more than 120 ; and within

modern China proper, the number of non-Chinese tribes was over 400. On the other hand the records of the Hia and Shang dynasties are often a blank, and not much more than mere lists of rulers and inter-reigns; they were preserved indifferently in the states of Ki and Sung which had charge of them, and we know from the words of Confucius himself, that in his time they were already in a very dilapidated condition.<sup>341</sup> It is not at all impossible that at the above dates some notions from the West should have reached the Chinese through some trading parties, by the Jade traffic route; perhaps some calendaric and astronomical knowledge, inasmuch as Wu-hien prime-minister to Tai Mou, the king who received foreign envoys, is reputed to be the author of the first catalogue of stars.<sup>342</sup> This, however, is a mere hypothesis which no side lights support in the present state of our knowledge. No progress of importance, nor any new acquisition of civilisation seems to have been made by the Chinese at that time besides this catalogue, should it be so considered.<sup>343</sup> With the sole inlet we have mentioned, the reverse would be surprising, with reference to knowledge of foreign origin, and as regards the internal progress, the shaky condition of governmental affairs was not favorable to promote any advance. Astronomical studies were pursued, and the ancestral worship was extended to that of departed great men at the expense of the state.<sup>343</sup> The proper names of the living ruler were also tabooed for the time being;<sup>344</sup> the two latter features, which tradition has preserved in use, are rather suggestive of a lower standard of mind among the rulers at the time of their introduction than was formerly the case.

337) The region of Khotan has been looked upon by several scholars as one of the oldest centres of metallurgic trade, (cfr. D'Eckstein, *De quelques légendes Brahmaniques qui se rapportent au berceau de l'espèce humaine*, in Journ. Asiat., Oct. Dec. 1855.—Fr. Lenormant, *Essai de commentaire des fragments cosmogoniques de Berosé*, p. 315; *Origines de l'histoire*, vol. II, pp. 151-154). But the evidence collected in support of this view is very slight, and in my opinion cannot bear such a mighty construction. Legends of after time were fostered there because of its geographical position quite central. Abel Remusat has derived his *Histoire de la ville de Khotan tirée des Annales de la Chine*, Paris, 1820, from Chinese sources, and J. Klaproth, has followed a Turkish geographer in his *Histoire de la ville de Khotan*, in Mém. Rel. à l'Asie, vol. II, pp. 281-301; and these two works are the sole authorities on the subject referred to by D'Eckstein and Lenormant. The fertile imagination of D'Eckstein has gone too far in his inferences from the simple fact that Kuvera, the god of wealth of Brahmanic pantheon, corresponding to the Avestic Khshathra-Vairyā (on which cfr. C. de Harlez, *Avesta*, II edit. p. xciii) and also called a Vis Ravana or Vaisrava, moreover Ruler of the North, and described as a magnificent deity residing in the splendid city Alakâ (cfr. Edw. Moor, *The Hindu Pantheon*, N. Ed., Madras, 1864, pp. 180, 183, 192), otherwise

Khotan—Kustana. He was supposed to be a local deity of pre-Aryan origin, and was worshipped by the first king spoken of, in the Legends, whose date, according to Buddhist sources, was 234 years after the Buddha's Nirvana, or about 233 B.C. The same sources either collected from Hiuen Tsang's report or from Tibetan documents, make this king contemporary and victorious of a son of Agoka who had been sent there. (Cfr. *Si-yu-ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World*, transl. S. Beal, vol. II, pp. 309 sq.; Woodville Rockhill, *The early history of Li-yul* (Khoten) in his *Life of the Buddha, from Tibetan sources*, pp. 230 sq). It is usual with Buddhist sources to reckon the beginning of anything with or about the time of the Buddha, but in the present occasion as it begins with a failure of a son of Aëôka; the information may be trusted to a certain extent, since it does not record a success in the extension of Buddhism. And it is no proof as to the Aryanisation of the country which seems to have taken place about the XIIth century.—Baron F. von Richtofen (*China 1877*, I, p. 48a) previously to our disclosures, has put forth the view that the Khotan region was the original seat of the civilised ancestors of the Chinese, but this temporary hypothesis has fallen short of what we have shown to have been the case. The civilisation which these ancestors were acquainted with was the Babylonian-Elamite which never reached in the time of its greatest extension beyond the Zagros and Paropamisus ranges.

338) The direct route from Tokharestan to the Tarym basin, passing through Badakshan, was an important trade route from early times. Cfr. E. Bretschneider, *Medieval Researches*, vol. II, p. 65.

339) Cfr. *infra* Ch. VII.

340) Herewith the necessary résumé of these foreign relations. In these seven following statements except when otherwise stated I follow the words and dates of the *Tchuh shu ki nien* (a work of 400 B.C.)—(I) In his 8th year, i.e. 1845 B.C., Tchu the VIth ruler of the Hia dynasty, went on a punitive expedition towards the eastern sea, as far as *San-show* (central Shantung) and caught a fox with nine tails. As an instance of the magnifying and embellishing system of late Chinese compilers, here is the same event as reported in the *T'ung Kien Kang Muh* drawn by the too celebrated Tchu-hi (ad. 1130-1260), transl. De Mailla, vol. I, p. 152 : " Pendant tout son règne, Ti Chou jouit d'une tranquillité si grande que les peuples voisins se faisaient gloire de se soumettre à ses lois. Les insulaires même de la mer orientale, qui n'avaient pas paru depuis le grand Yu, vinrent lui offrir leurs hommages et se reconnaître dépendants de l' Empire." As many lies as words.—(II). In his 21st year i.e. 1710 B.C., the same ruler conferred Chinese dignities on the chiefs of six tribes of Y barbarians of the East.—(III). F a h the XVIth of Hia, in his 1st year, i.e. 1596 B.C.; various tribes of the same barbarians came and made their submission.—(IV). Kwei, the XVIIth and last of Hia, 6th year, i.e. 1584 B.C.; some Jung barbarian tribes of West China submit.—(V). T'ang, the first of the Shang dynasty, i.e. 1575 B.C., at his accession is visited by all the feudal princes, or chiefs of families and native tribes, to the number of 1800 with eight interpreters. At the beginning of the Tchou dynasty, which was much more powerful, their number was only 800, so that we may premise that the former figure has been magnified with the tenfold inflation so frequently met in Chinese literature, and therefore must be reduced to 180. The *T'ung*

*Kien Kang Muh*, says : "sa réputation de sagesse s'étendit si loin que les quarante royaumes que l'on connaissait alors avaient pour lui la plus grande vénération."—(VI). In the 19th year of the same king, i.e., 1557 B.C., the Ti-Kiang people (in Kansuh) made their submission. (VII). In the 10th year of Tai Mou, the IXth of Shang, i.e. 1466 B.C., 76 states from distant regions (*Yuen fang*) sent messengers with interpreters to his court, in admiration of his virtue. The statement is no part of the text, and is the object of a gloss. Other sources are at variance with it. The *Kang Kien y tchi luh*, a compilation of A.D. 1711 gives their number as 67 (Medhurst's *Ancient China*, p. 354. The *T'ung Kien Kang Muh* mentions 76 feudal princes of the empire and besides envoys of sixteen foreign countries (De Mailla, I, p. 192).—(VIII). In the 28th year of the same king, (i.e. 1450 B.C.) 'some West-Jung tribes (W. Shensi) made their submission, and he sent Wang Mong as his envoy with presents to these hordes. In his 61st year, i.e. 1414 B.C., nine Y i.e. eastern tribes made their submission.—(IX) under Wu-ting, the XXII of SHANG-YN, in his 6th year, envoys from six states, using interpreters came to court; since that time feathers of wild birds were much used on court dresses. The first of these two statements only I find in De Mailla, t. I, p. 221, while the two are made in the *Kang Kien y tchi luh*, l.c. p. 358, and none in the *Tchuh shu ki nien*.—G. Pauthier, *Chine*, pp. 67-8, and M. Paleologue, *Art Chinois*, p. 100, in his trail, have attributed by far too much importance to this fact. Pauthier was led to do so by a misapprehension. The mythological and unhistorical character of the legend reported by Greek writers concerning a conquest of central Asia by Sesostris, had not yet been proved in his time (1839), and the French scholar thought that this arrival of foreigners in China was a result of the supposed Egyptian conquest.

341) *Lun-yu*, II, 23, cfr. below ch. VII, §1.

342) On Wu hien, cfr. *Shu King*, V, xvi, 7; *She Ki*, III, f. 6.—And Mayer's *Chinese R.M.*, No. 861.—*Tcheou-li*, R. XXIV, fol. 19 gloss; transl. Biot, vol. II, p. 77.

343) In the *Li Ki*, XX, 9 we hear of Kaosin-Tikuh (who was chief of the Baks before Yao) as able to define all "the zodiacal stars and exhibit their times to the people." The *Tchuh shu Ki nien*, Part I, i i, states that Kao-Yang Tchuen-hiuh, predecessor of Ti-kuh, "in his 13th year invented calendaric calculations and delineations of the heavenly bodies.

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(To be continued).

There is at last it appears a probability of some valuable light being thrown upon the decipherment of the Hittite hieroglyphics. The sculptured remains found by M. O. Puchstein at Sinjerli in Western Armenia are accompanied by bilingual inscriptions in cuneiform and hieroglyphic characters. The smaller monuments have been removed to Berlin and casts of the larger have been taken and the inscriptions are being studied by the German Assyriologists. The cuneiform texts approach in script, the Cappadocian tablets discovered by Mr. Ramsey at Kaisariyah, and lead to a confirmation of the opinion expressed by Prof. Sayce and Mr. W. St. Chad Boscawen that in these inscriptions we have the remains of one branch at least of the Hittite language. There are no doubt other places in Asia Minor where such bilingual texts remain, and it is to be hoped that diligent search will be made for them.



THE

# BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

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*Contributors are alone responsible for their opinions or statements.*

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## VEDIC CHIPS.

### I. NĀSATYA.

*Nāsatya* in the Rigveda is a name or an epithet for the Aṅvins, often translated by *veracious*. We shall here investigate, in reference to this word : 1o, its real meaning in the Rigveda ; 2o, its etymology.

1. As to the first question, it should be settled whether *nāsatya* be a proper name or an epithet. A careful examination of all the passages where it is used, shows evidently that the poets did not intend to qualify the Aṅvins, by this word, as veracious ; nowhere does the context show any particular stress laid on the veracity of those deities. Now, it must be confessed that such an absence of the real connexion of an epithet with the context is not rare in the hymns ; but in our case, this circumstance is so general that it would be impossible to admit of it as possible, if the poets had really meant to celebrate by this word the veracity of the Aṅvins. This does not mean that they did not regard the word as signifying veracious (see below, 2) ; but that they knew it to be a proper name, and used it as such. Moreover, it may be said that the hymns to the Aṅvins constantly celebrate their veracity with the *nuance* attached to *Satya*, viz. "realizing the expectations of their worshippers ;" but, again, this character is in no way expressed in a particular way in the verses where the Aṅvins are called *nāsatya*. Positive proof of these assertions may be drawn from the following facts.

1. Of the 95 verses where the Aṅvins are called *nāsatya*, 54 may contain an allusion to their *veracity*, viz., if we regard as such every mention made in the same verse of their generosity, benefits, friendship. But this may as well be ascribed to the general character of the Aṅvins, which is essentially friendly and beneficent. In point of fact, the above investigation made into verses which do not contain the name *nāsatya* yields the same proportion. The hymns IV, 43--45 and V, 73--78

contain 66 verses addressed to the Aṅvins, V, 78, 7-9 being left out of account.

If we neglect those containing the name *nāsatya*, there remain 60 verses, out of which 32 contain some mention of the Aṅvins' veracity in the wide sense assumed above. These figures show evidently that no argument can be drawn from the texts as to the appellative use of *nāsatya*. On the other hand, several passages do not at all allow such a translation; e.g. VI, 11, 1; "O Agni . . . . ., direct to our sacrifice Mitra-Varuna, the Nāsatyas, Heaven and Earth;" V, 46, 2 :

" O Agni, Indra, Varuna, O gods,  
O host of the Maruts and Vishnu, reach us (boons);  
May both Nāsatyas, Rudra and the Wives  
Pūshañ, Bhaga, Sarasvatī be favourable."

The same may be said of VI, 11, 1; VIII, 19, 16.

Finally, there is one passage in which we may admit of an explicit interpretation from the poet's side of *nāsatya*=veracious, viz. I, 46, 5; where *nāsatya* is followed by an epithet *mata-vacas*, unaccented; this *a. λ.* may readily be interpreted as qualifying him whose speech consists of, is adequate to, his thought. This solitary instance cannot, of course, outweigh the foregoing facts, and may be easily interpreted as proceeding from the apparently obvious etymology of the proper name as *non-deceiving*.

However improbable becomes the admission of the adjective sense for *nāsatya*, one might object that the appellation had become so usual that its meaning was rarely attended to. The formula of this objection would be only another way of stating our thesis; for such is the manner in which proper names generally originate. Nor do we intend to deny that *nāsatya* had not originally this meaning; but even if this were fully demonstrated, we should not be allowed to translate it by its etymological meaning, any more than we are allowed to translate *Apollodoros* by *Apollo's gift*.

The Avesta also mentions a *Naōnhaitya*, named among other daevas (cf. de Harlez, *Avesta traduit*, 2nd edit., p. 122). This name, which corresponds exactly to our *nāsatya*, shows that a deity was known under this name in the Aryan period.

Our Veda also mentions one *nāsatya*. From this fact we may take advantage to rise the question whether this was not properly the name of one only of the divine couple. The fact that the Avesta knows only one deity of this name favours the affirmative. In later literature, says Muir, (V, 240) *Nāsatya* is the name of one Aṅvin; the other is Dasra; now *dasrú* is also an epithet (?) of the Aṅvins; once it is applied to the

Maruts, three times to Pūshan, once to Indra-Viṣṇu, but 44 times to the Aṅgins. The view of later literary documents may thus very well represent the primitive situation; nor would this assumption disagree with the vedic use of both words, *dasra* and *nāsatya*. It is a well known fact that Heaven and Earth, which appear generally as a couple, may equally well be expressed by either the dual of *dyaus* or of *prthivī*.

In the same way Vāja, the proper name of one of the three Rbhus, is put in the plural to designate the trio. From these facts it appears that the dual of *nāsatya* may have been used for both Aṅgins, although it be only the proper name of one of them. This view has the advantage of making plain: (1) the absence of any evidence as to the intention of the poets to convey the idea supposed to be expressed by the word: (2) to explain the one *naoṅhaitya* of the Avesta and: (3) the admission of later mythology.

2. The second part of our investigation bears on the etymology of this word. The Pb. dictionary mentions three imagined by the ancients; two of these have found credit in modern philology; one has been sustained by Bergaigne, another by Grassmann. The first scholar decides in favour of the opinion which derives *nāsatya* from *nāsa*, nose, and the suffix *tya*, (Religion védique, II, 508-509). This etymology is quite admissible from a purely phonetic point of view; and it may be true. But Bergaigne seeks to corroborate it by intrinsic arguments, viz., by establishing a parallel between the Aṅgins and the Sārameyan, Yama's two dogs; and in this we must utterly disagree with him. The facts he alleges are, as usual, most exact and beautifully combined, but they have this weakness that they consist of obscure and isolated expressions drawn from distant and often late hymns. All the ingenuity of his combinations cannot outweigh the fact that the character of the Aṅgins, as they appear throughout the hymns consecrated to them, is completely distinct from that of the infernal messengers: "aux larges narines" (*urūnasan*). Bergaigne confesses himself that the two myths have completely diverged; and his efforts to find some resemblance between both are only apt to show that his assertion rests on a needle's point.

Bergaigne rejects Grassman's admission of *nāsatya* = *na* + *asatya*, not deceiving, veracious, and so do we. This combination is rare in Sanskrit and unknown in the Rīgveda: *nārmin*, an ἄπαξ λεγόμενον, which Gr. explains in the same way is altogether uncertain.—To etymologize on proper names is generally difficult, and in proposing finally our own explanation we do not intend for more than to offer an hypothesis which

in no case can be regarded as a certainty, and is even open to some objection from the formal side. The sense of *nāsatya*, as it is often translated, is in full accordance with the constantly beneficent character of these deities; they fulfil the prayers of their worshippers and make true the hopes of those who confide in them; such, in fact, is often the meaning of *Satya* in the Rigveda. Now the hymns present us a word *nāvedas*, knowing, wise, evidently composed of *na + vedas*. Here the particle *ni* has not the negative, but rather an intensive sense. This particle is, perhaps, reduplicated in *nānā*. From these signs we incline to decompose *nāsatya* as *nā + satya*. Truly there remains to explain the variance *na, nā*; these forms may be both legitimate, or *na* may be the original form, in this case *nāvedas* would be for *nāvēdas*; the abbreviation would be the result of that search after the alternance of long and short syllables, so intense in the older language; in *nāsatya* (primitively *nāsatia*, this circumstance did not exist, and moreover the long *ā* would be retained by the influence of *Volksetymologie* which regarded the word as = *na + asatya*. In Greek we have the affirmative particles, viz. *νῆ, ναι* (*va + i*?) and in Latin *nae*, which may be in connexion with our prefix.<sup>1</sup> Of course *na* may also be the original form and *nāsatya* lengthened in its first syllable. No objection against this interpretation, can be taken from the Avestic *naōnhaitya* being a wicked daēva; this is only a particular instance of the general degradation of the daēvas, but the form of the Avestic name entirely discards the analysis *na + asatya*, because the Avesta ignores such combination altogether. As to the sense our etymology has the advantage of agreeing with the general character of the Aṅvins which, accordingly, would have been also the primitive character at least of the one to whom the name properly belongs.

1) Cf. also Greek *νήεμμος* for *νη, va + ἦεμ*. . ?

## II. KAVA—SKU.

1. *Kava* is not used as a simple word in the Rigveda. It occurs only once in the compound *Kavāsakhá*, which is wrongly translated by Grassmann *den Kargen gesellt*, companion of the avaricious. The passage in question is V, 34, 3.

He who, in serene, or in dull time

Presses Soma for Indra, becomes glorious.<sup>1</sup>

The mighty god, Maghavan who hates the avaricious.

Repels those who display themselves in bright array.<sup>2</sup>

In *Maghárā yáh Kavāsakháh* the relative and the epithet must be referred to *maghárā*, and not to the preceding accusatives, *lo*, because this last

construction is very harsh, 2o, because it yields no good sense. Indra is hostile to the proud and avaricious man. The avaricious man is not the priest who does not press for the rich, but the rich man himself; although the former might be said so in an indirect way. But why should we prefer a translation forced as much from the grammatical as from the ideological point of view, when the natural and obvious interpretation offers no difficulty.

The same sense of avaricious is well established for the cognates of *Kava*: *Kavatnu*, *Kavāri* and that of 'generous' for their contraries *ākava*, *ākarāri*. These words are related by Grassman to the root *kū* to look at, to consider—and this relation is probable; the same *gedan kengang* may be observed in French expressions *un homme regardant*, a man who is too sparing, and in the Dutch *er op zien*, *op iets zien*, litt. to look at something, i. e. to spare it.

As to the verbal root *sku* in the R. V. it occurs only in the intensive form, in the following passages:—

- I, 33, 3. With all (kinds of) arms, he has hung on his quivers:  
 Of which enemy soever he wishes, he drives together the cows.  
 O Indra, who conquerest so many good things,  
 Be not avaricious to us, O strong one!<sup>3</sup>

*Coskāyāmānas*, conquering, properly drawing violently to him, is translated by Ludwig as *aufhäufend*, by Grassmann as *bewahrend*. The first translation is not out of harmony with the context; Gr.'s, on the contrary, yields no connexion with the first part of the verse. Nor does L.'s account sufficiently for the violent way in which Indra is said to drive together the enemy's cows. Moreover, he neglects the senses of our verb outside of the R. V., which may be found in B.-R.

- V1,47, 16. The hero is heard of as subduing every strong one,  
 Exalting in turn one after another,  
 The king of both worlds, hating the prosperous,  
 Indra, *conquers* the human tribes.<sup>4</sup>

Here, both Ludwig and Grassmann translate in the same way: *schirmen*, *deckt schützend*. The context evidently recommends our translation.

- VIII, 6, 41. Thou art (Indra) the ancient born rshi,  
 Thou alone reignest by (thy) strength,  
 O Indra, thou *conquerest* thy goods.<sup>5</sup>

Again, L. and Gr. translate by *schirmen*, *hüten*. Here the context is less pressing than in the foregoing passages; but our translation is surely in better harmony with it. For the rest, the evidence of the two preceding passages makes it the only legitimate one. Let us add that the

general character of Indra as a god perpetually struggling and conquering good things for men gives an additional force to those reasons.

Outside of these passage *sku* is still represented in the Rigveda by its participle *ápratishkuta*, which has, in my opinion, the general sense of *insuperable*, from the etymological sense *who is not conquered in his turn*, Grassmann's translation *unaufhaltsham* may yield a good sense in the passages where it is used, and which cannot decide between these connected shades of meaning.

2. Are *kū* and *sku* two forms of an originally identical root? Several indications point to an affirmative answer of the question. The Greek *κῶεω* and *θυόσκοος* prove the existence of a root (*s*)*ku*, with the sense of *looking at, considering*. A similar root is deduced from the Gothic *skawjan*, viz. *sku*. In Latin we have *caveo* from *ku*. Another double set of words leads to the recognition of a root (*s*)*ku* with the sense of 'covering, darkening,' viz. :

a) *σκυθρός*, *scūtum*, *obscurus*, *scū(j*(an (Old High German), 'to overthrow,' 'to hide,' *κεν-θ-ειν*.

b) *κῦτον*, *σκῦθος*, *σκῦλον*, *cutis*, Goth. *hūps*, (hide, skin).

From the ideological point of view words for *skin* may as well be derived from a root signifying to tear (what is torn off, cf. *δέρμα*), as from one signifying 'to cover,' but, in our case, the English *to hide* and the Gothic *hūps* &c., form a link between the two series. On account of this circumstance, it will be safer not to think of a relation of our words for *skin* with the root *sku* taken in the sense of 'tearing, stripping,' which might be considered *in abstracto* as a development of the sense recognised, for good reasons, to belong to the Sanskrit root *sku*.

From the following data it may be seen that the various significations of the root (*s*)*kū* are distributed in each form in the following way :—

	<i>Sanscrit</i>	<i>Greek</i>	<i>Latin</i>	<i>Germanic</i>
<i>sku</i> ,	To cover	To darken	To darken	To look at
	<i>Tirer à soi</i> , to master	skin		To darken
	to conquer	To look at	skin	To hide
	To divide			
<i>kū</i> ,	To look at	To look at	To look at	To hide
		skin	skin	skin.

This list shows :

1st, that a root (*s*)*ku* exists in Europe with the sense *to cover*.

2nd, that the same double root exists in Greek with the sense *to look at*.

3rd, that in Germanic the form *sku* admits only of this latter sense, while

in Latin it is restricted to the form *ku coveo*.

4th, that in Sanscrit the two senses to *cover* and to *look at* are distributed respectively on the forms *sku* and *kū*.

The assumption of two roots originally distinct, *kū* and *sku* renders the facts observed in Europe utterly inexplicable. On the contrary, if a root *(s)ku*—with the moveable *s* observed in many other roots—be admitted with the double meaning of to *cover* and to *look at*, there is evidently no difficulty in these facts. If it be asked why each of the two forms *ku* and *sku* has not been specialized in one particular sense, the answer is easy; the root *(s)ku* existing in derivatives, verbal or nominal, already differentiated by this accessory elements, and moreover, expressing some determinate and often derivative meaning, the etymological connexion of these words was lost.

In Sanscrit, on the contrary where the root is conjugated in its simple forms, the distribution of the two meanings on the two forms has taken place. As for the two meanings attributed to one root, the Greek root, *skēp* in *σκέπω*, 'to cover,' and *σκέπτομαι*, 'to look at,' offers a striking parallel.

There remains perhaps a trace of the meaning 'to cover' for the Sanscrit *ku* in *karaca*, 'breastplate.'

3. This examination has started from the question whether the Sanskrit roots *kū* and *sku* may be taken as originally identical. The foregoing considerations may have made the affirmative probable; there remains still to consider the difference of the vowel-length. But in this respect roots are not so constant, that we should be obliged to admit two roots on that account. From *dhū*, for example, we have *dhūtā*, but also *dhutā dhuti*. Moreover *Sku* also forms its special senses by *nā*, which formation has so special a connexion with the long-vowel roots (cf. de Saussure, *Mém.* p. 260 sq).

Some additional light may be thrown on these facts by the Germanic roots *Skub* and *Skut*, which are most probably developments of our *sku*. *Skut* (to shoot) means properly to *direct* an arrow &c., against something. The Sanskrit parallels suggested by Kluge, (*Etym. Woerterbuch*), *kshud*, *erschüttern* and *skuyd*, *hervorspringen*, refer only to the derivate sense of the Germanic *skut*, viz., to rush, to shoot.

The root *Skub* Goth. *afskiuban*, *repousser*, may be dubiously referred to the Sanskrit *Skubh* which B.R. translates: etwa *abtrennen*, and which recalls the meanings of to draw, to divide which *sku* shows in Sanscrit alone.

## NOTES.

- 1) This is Grassmann's translation, which should be controlled by a close examination of the terms *ghramsa* and *ūdhar*. Geldner's suggestion (K. Z. x. 523) of *ūdhar*=frost in some passages, is not convincing; the texts he alleges may as well refer "to a naked man in wet or rainy season." Ludwig's translation "weiter und weiter schiebt C. die schöne geslechtsfolge . . .," is unallowable because the particle *āpa* denotes not simply prolongation, but separation, removal; unless, perhaps, we admit an etymologizing allusion to *apatya*; but there remains still the adventurous rendering of *karāsakhá* by "des weisen freund."
- 2) Yó asmaī ghramsá utá vā yá ūdhanī sómam sunóti bhávati dyumān āha-apāpa çakrás tatanúštim ūhati tanūcubhram maghāvā yáh kavāsakháh.
- 3) Nī sárvasena ishudhīnr asakta sám aryó gá ajati yásya vāshti coshkūyámāpa indra bhūri vāmám má paṣir bhūr asmád ádhi pravrd̄dha.
- 4) syv̄vé virá ugrám-ugram damāyānn anyám-anyam atinenyámānaḥ e dhamānadviḥ ubháyasya rájá coshkūyáte viça indro manushyān.
- 5) řishir hí pūrvaḥ ásy éka íçāna ójasā-indra coshkūyāse vásu.

PH. COLINET.

## PEHLEVI NOTES.

V.—A SIDE-LIGHT ON *KHVĒTŪK-DAS* CONTROVERSY.

In the various Pehlevi passages recommending or extolling the practice of *Khvētūk-das*, (whatever that may have been), there is frequent reference to this act as having been performed by Aūharmazd and his 'daughter' Spendarmat (the earth); by Gayomard, the first man, and 'his mother,' Spendarmat, the earth; or by the primordial couple Mashya and Mashyoi, brother and sister<sup>1</sup>. In all these cases the context is too clear to admit the shadow of a doubt that the expression refers to sexual union and the procreation of children. Of course, in the case of the first couple, the Creator and the Earth, the use of the term is metaphorical, purely and simply, as anybody will admit who is familiar with Mazdean religious ideas. Pretty much the same may be said for the primeval man and the earth, for the latter is, in Mazdean language the 'mother' of Gayomart merely by a figure of speech.<sup>2</sup> Dastur Dārāb, in his able essay referred to in my former paper, endeavours to draw from the fact of this allegorical use the conclusion that the union known as *Khvētūk-das* must be a purely spiritual or supernatural one, 'the gift of communion with the Almighty' or 'selfdevotion in association with ones mother, daughter or sister' (see



*Next of Kin Marriages in Old Irán*, p. 81). Naturally just the opposite is the case: the marriage relation is spoken of metaphorically in its application to the union of the Creator with the Earth, called his 'daughter' also by a figure of speech; even as in Christian language, a similar metaphor is used of the union of God with the soul, Christ with the Church, &c. (Cf. 2 Cor. XI, 2; Jerem. II, 2, and elsewhere). But this only confirms the fact that the original meaning, whence the metaphor is borrowed, is the literal one of actual conjugal relation; otherwise the figure of speech would have no sense.

The case is entirely different with Mashya and Mashyoi. Here nobody doubts that there is question of sexual union. But this is a case where such union is absolutely necessary, as it must be in the beginnings of the race. Such *Khvêták-das*, for instance, evidently must have taken place between the children of any primeval couple, such as Adam and Eve. Otherwise the continuance of the human race would have been impossible. Here, then, there is no doubt whatsoever about the signification of *Khvêták-das*. The Pehlevi doctors in their various treatises, seem to have cleverly taken advantage of these facts to justify and even advocate the continuance of the same extraordinary (and now unnatural) custom in their own times.

In re-reading Dr. West's interesting and valuable essay on the subject in Vol. XVIII of the Sacred Books of the East, in view of D. Dârâb's pamphlet, my attention was forcibly struck by a passage on pp. 418-9, translated from a Pehlevi *Rivâyet*. The significance of this to my mind is that it adduces a curious instance of *Khvêták-das* between brother and sister in the persons of Yim and Yimak. It is noticeable that in this case the union took place without the consent of Yim, and according to the desire of Yimak; who, strange to say, made use of exactly the same stratagem as did Lot's daughters, as recorded in *Genesis* XIX, 32-35. According to the Pehlevi doctors however this *Khvêták-das* was a virtuous and meritorious act, so that as a result of the "good work, many demons were quite crushed and died, and they rushed away at once and fell back to hell," (op. cit. p. 419).

The story is interesting. It shows that: (1) there was a popular tradition, utilised by these doctors in defence of their peculiar teaching, to the effect that the brother and sister, Yim and Yimak, became united as man and wife. (This tradition occurs also in the Bundeshesh, XXXI, 4, where their offspring is also recorded, a son and daughter, Mirak and Ziyânak, who also 'became husband and wife together,' and generated children).

(2) That this union was not according to the wish of Yim, but as we may presume contrary to his intentions.

(3) That it was brought about by the desire of his sister Yimak.

I have drawn out these points for the following reason. In the 10th book of the Rig-Veda, occurs the peculiar dialogue between Yama and his twin-sister Yamī, which has been referred to by more than one writer. The hymn (X. 10, al. 836), which is clearly comparatively modern, runs as follows :—

**SHE :** O that I might turn my friend unto friendship, even after having traversed a great flood! A pious father should get himself an offspring, mindful of the future upon earth. (1)

**HE :** Thy friend desireth not *that* friendship, that unlike should become alike. The sons of the mighty Asura, the (divine) Heroes, upholders of the sky, look round far and wide. (2)

**SHE :** Why, these immortals wish this—offspring namely from the only<sup>3</sup> Man. Thy soul hath been fitted into my soul! Would that thou as husband wouldst take possession of the body of thy spouse! (3)

**HE :** What formerly we did not, why now, calling it right, should we commend, though wrong? The Gandharva in the waters and the Water-goddess, they are our origin: this is our closest kinship (*jāmi*). (4)

**SHE :** Why, our sire, the divine Tvashtar, the originator who taketh every form, made us in the womb man and wife. Earth and sky,—we have evidence thereof,—by no means contravene his behests. (5)

**HE :** Who hath known of that first day? who hath seen it? who hath announced it here? Mighty is the creation of Mitra, of Varuna! why dost thou speak deceits, O bold one, unto men? (6)

**SHE :** Upon me Yamī hath come the love of Yama, to lie together on a common couch. As wife to husband would I give up (to thee) my body. Together let us roll as wheels of chariot. (7)

**HE :** They stand not still, neither do they slumber these spies of the god, who here go about. With some other than me go thou, shameless one! with him roll swiftly on as wheels of chariot! (8)

**SHE :** To him by night, by day she is kind.<sup>4</sup> (though) the Son's Eye for a little may disappear. To Heaven and Earth a wedded pair is like. Let Yamī bear from Yama the<sup>4</sup>un-brother-and-sisterly act' (*ajāmi*). (9)

**HE :** To such things let later generations have recourse, when blood-relations may perform the un-brother and sisterly act (*ajāmi*). Clasp thy arm around some husband; seek, O fair one, some other spouse than me! (10)

**SHE :** What is a brother when there is no resource? and what a sister when destruction sweepeth down?<sup>5</sup> Love-driven, loudly do I proclaim this: O unite thy body with my body! (11)

**HE :** Nay, neither would I unite my body with thy body. They say it is a sin whoso hath intercourse with his sister. With someone else than me fulfil thy lusts! Thy brother, fair one, wills it not (12)

**SHE :** False, alack! art thou Yama! nor have we won thy mind and

heart. Some other woman, forsooth, may gird and embrace thee like a girdle, as the creeper doth the tree. (13)

HE: And thou, Yamī, (get thee) another; let another man embrace thee as the creeper doth the tree! Seek thou his good will, and he thine, and make a happy contract! (14)

The sequel of this strange quarrel is not told us; unless perhaps we may guess it from the cognate Eranian legend, given above? If I have quoted it at length, it is because it suggests so many comparisons with the latter. In both the Hindu and the Persian tradition Yamī the sister appears as the advocate of the *Khvêtāk-das*, for of course the Vedic Yama and Yamī, correspond to the Pehlevi Yim and Yimak, the latter, however, not appearing in the Avesta. It will also be noted that one of the arguments urged by this strange wooer, viz., the mythical marriage of Heaven and Earth, (see vv. 5, 9) is strangely like that repeatedly advanced by the Pehlevi doctors, the mystic *Khvêtāk-das* of Aûharmazd and the Earth.

Yama in his reply stigmatizes the proposed incestuous union as *ajām*, literally 'not akin,' but canning, as Grassmann put it, "was Geschwistern nicht ziemt," as we may say 'un-brother-and-sisterly; and used here as well as in RV. v. 19-4 (al. 373-4), as an epithet of marriage. Its literal opposite is *jām*, blood-relationship, in v. 4. It is interesting to observe that this *ajām* is also the exact opposite in meaning of the Pehlevi adjective *Khvêtāk*, the Zend *qaethva*, which means properly 'related, akin, of ones own.'

It appears plain to me that this unique hymn of the Rig-Veda, evidently a very modern one, must have been written in consequence of some casuistical discussion regarding the lawfulness of these incestuous marriages. The hymn looks like an attack upon some such custom. The mythology contained in it (e.g. in verse 4) is apparently peculiar, and the legend does not seem to agree with other accounts of Yama in Vedic or Puranic literature. May it not very well be that the whole situation and scene is imaginary? or that the rishi who composed it may have had in mind the objectionable practice and arguments of some neighbouring races, and so have borrowed both the details of the legend and the arguments used from them? And if he was contemporary with a people who practised and extolled as *qaethva-datha* such illicit unions, perhaps on the very borders of his own land, we can well understand his object in the strange dialogue. A custom of *qaethva-datha*, understood in this sense, existing in Eran in Avestic times would fit in very well, I think, with such a supposition.

At any rate, the Vedic hymn throws this much side-light, on the ques-

tion : it indicates that men's minds were busy discussing cases very like *Khréták-das*, and with arguments very like those of the Eranian teachers, in late Vedic times. And that, I fancy, is a point of some significance.<sup>6</sup>

## NOTES.

- 1) For the relationship between these personages, see genealogical table in my *Philosophie Religieuse du Mazdéisme*, p. 175.
- 2) It is important to keep these facts in mind in dealing with Mazdean conceptions, and not to read in the polytheistic and realistic ideas of Hinduism into Eranian texts
- 3) According to this Yama and Yamī appear to have been looked upon as the primeval human pair, and therefore, as she argues, it would be necessary for posterity's sake (as in the case of Mashya and Mashyoi) that they should generate children. But from Yama's language and from v. 13, it appears that there were other men and women.
- 4) This is supposed to mean that she (the Earth) is ever ready to yield to the embraces of him (the Heaven).
- 5) This seems to refer to the idea in v. 3 referred to above. If they were the primeval pair, their marriage would be a case of necessity.
- 6) I had briefly hinted at this idea some years ago in my *Philosophie religieuse du Mazdéisme sous les Sassanides* 1884), see p. 180, "Il est très curieux de comparer avec l'enseignement de l'Avesta et les livres pehlevi, l'étrange dialogue entre Yama et sa sœur Yamī, se rattachant à ces mêmes idées, et même à ces arguments mythologiques, qui se lit dans la partie la plus récente du Rig-Véda; la doctrine qui y est développée est précisément le contre-pied de la théorie éranienne."

L. C. CASARTELLI.

## BABYLONIAN MEDICINE.

## I.—LEPROSY.

THE terrible disease of leprosy has for so many centuries been prevalent in the East, especially in Syria and Egypt, that we may expect to find some trace of the malady in the ancient records. The earliest mention of the complaint that we at present possess is that of the leprosy of Moses (Exod. IV. 6), which seems to indicate the terrible nature of the disease, which only could be cured by a miracle. It is curious to find this ailment associated with the Isralite leader; for, according to Manetho, (Josephus, *c.-Apion*, l. 26-27) it seems to have been a disease especially associated with the Hyksos and Asiatics, who are spoken of as "lepers" and "unclean people." It appears also to have been known in Egypt according to the Ebers medical papyrus, where it is called *ashten*. Although not mentioned in the earlier books of the Hebrew writings, there is little

doubt that it was wide-spread ; and we may therefore hope to gain some information from the monuments as to its prevalence and character in early times. Strabo states distinctly that there were medical colleges at Borsippa and Erech, and his statements meet with accurate confirmation from the tablets as regards the first of these. Professor Sayce has already noticed in the *Zeit. für Keilschriftforschung* (B. II. p. 1-14), a valuable tablet from Borsippa relating to medicine. This tablet is the first of the series, and therefore all the more valuable, because we gain the full colophon and title of the work. Professor Sayce has given a translation of the passage, but as I do not quite agree with his rendering I append my own.

First tablet of the series : " For the body afflicted (*alam*)<sup>1</sup> with sickness with depression (*kiz*)<sup>1</sup> of heart.....

The palace of Assurbanipal, king of Multitudes, king of Assyria, whom Nebo and Tasmitum have made wide his ears and made clear his eyes for the sight of precious things of the written tablets.

Which the kings going before me, none whatsoever of this writing its copy had engraved it."

Health (*pulṭi*) according to the master of the pulse (*bil uban*)<sup>2</sup> the foundation (*isdu*) of the road of Borsippa, for the skilful strengthening by the powerful medicines (*asu gallutu*) of Adar and Gula full of health (*basmo*).

This remarkable tablet, although only dating from the time of Assurbanipal in the seventh century, is of the greatest importance. It is manifestly a copy of an older document preserved in the library of the temple school at Borsippa, and used for the instruction of the students there. The existence of this school seems clearly to be proved by the expressions used in the colophon. Professor Sayce renders the group  $\text{-}\text{II} \text{-}\text{I} \text{-}\text{III}$  by *bil uban* "master of the lance"—but I am more inclined to regard it as the pulse—as in the dyspeptic ailments that would be a more sure test than the lance. This latter group is explained by the Sumerian *Dub-bi-in* and the Assyrian *ma-ša-ru*, *šu-up-rum ubanu* and *šu-um-bu*. (Strass. Alp. Zeich. No. 2044). The first three of these words seems to be connected with the fingers or the thumb—but the latter "the fly" may perhaps apply to the fluttering of the pulse. The "master of the pulse" would seem to be a more suitable rendering in this case if it is tenable. The expression *isdu urkhu Barsip*<sup>3</sup> "according to the foundation of the road or mode of Borsippa" seems certainly to point to a system of teaching in vogue in that university. Here medicine seems to

have been under the protection of two special divinities Adar or Ninid and his consort Gula. We know from the boundary stones as well as other inscriptions that Gula in addition to being the patroness of medicines was also the mistress of the most noxious poisons in these inscriptions she is invoked as: *Gula ummu gallatu beltu rabitu Khirat Adari* <sup>4</sup> *simma la azza ina zumri su lisabil ma dama u sarka* <sup>5</sup> *kima mie lirmug*, "Gula mighty mother—great princess wife of Adar (the southern sun) a poison irremovable into his body may she cause to flow, blood and matter as water may she mingle." It is evident from these passages that the doctors of Chaldea professed not only the healing art, but also the blacher art of the poisoner. Medicine is here called by the same name as in the sabbatical tablet (W.A.I. IV. 32).  $\text{𒍪} \text{𒍪} \text{𒍪}$  *A-su* the Aramean  $\text{אסר}$  "to heal." The expression which closes this sentence *ma-la ba-as-mu* ( $\text{𒍪}$ ) Professor Sayce seems to have confounded with the common phrase *mala basu*—but this seems hardly tenable. I prefer the rendering "full of health" *basmu* being connected with *basamu* "to be pleasant"—"beautiful" and it may be compared with that of *dumuk* "pleasantness" or "beauty" in the passage from the Deluge Tablet which I shall quote shortly.

This tablet, taken along with those relating to consumption, the *surpu* <sup>6</sup> or "wasting disease" and *murus kakkadu* "disease of the head" or madness—already described by Dr. Jensen show that medicine was practised in Chaldea. There is also in the British Museum a valuable tablet from the library of the temple of Nebo at Borsippa which relates to the sickness of children. This work, which is dated in the reign of Nabonidus, I propose to publish in a future paper. In the earliest days of the Chaldean civilisation the work of the doctor was assumed by the sorcerer (*Asipu*) and the magician (*Kasipu*), who by means of exorcism and charms, or the use of certain talismanic objects, sought to remove the disease. Many examples of the incantations and ceremonies of these people are found in the Chaldean tablets, and they form that section of the literature which the late M. François Lenormant has so well compared with the Atharva Veda of India. In these tablets we meet with mention of several diseases which are, however, difficult to identify. In a valuable fragment of this class, which has already been described with great care by M. Lenormant (*Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, vol. VI, p. 144), we have a list of various kinds of ulcers, or buttons, which afflicted the body. These ulcers are grouped under the sign  $\text{𒍪}$ , explained by the Assyrian *bu-an-nu*, <sup>7</sup> "ulcer," and many of these are given.

Now the ulcer or button was one of the most characteristic features of the disease of leprosy, and we may therefore expect to find some trace of it in this list, among the various kinds we come upon one described as SA-TIG, which is explained in Assyrian as *la-ba-nu ki-sa-di*<sup>8</sup>, "the white ulcers of the neck or breast;" which seems to correspond almost exactly to the Biblical expression "white as snow," one of the essential features of leprosy, especially to be noticed in the case of the leprosy of Miriam (Numb. XII, 10), which is described as *מצרעת כשלג*, or that of Moses (Ex. IV, 6). It was one of the special features the priest had to look for, the snow-white ulcer, (Lev. XIII).—The same ulcer is also described by the word *ba-ma-tum*.<sup>9</sup> "The ulcer" or the swelling, the uprising of the flesh, evidently the Hebrew *במה* *bamah*. This name was probably given to it because the swelling denoting leprosy was the most dreaded one. The nature of the ulcer seems to be described by the third rendering of this group, namely, *masku*,<sup>10</sup> which means "the dry or indurated ulcer," a distinct feature of the leprosy ulcer. It is this dry indurated ulcer which has so often caused leprosy to be regarded as a species of scrofula. There is known another name of leprosy which is given in the tablets, especially in the latter portion of the deluge tablet which I quote. Here Gizdhubar is said to be suffering from a disease called *𒂗 𒂗 𒂗* <sup>11</sup>*ma-lu-u*. This disease certainly appears to be leprosy, for the word appears to be derived from *malu* full, and indicates the swelling or puffy condition of the limbs which gave to dropsy an appearance of elephantiasis. This seems to be quite certain when we find in the list of diseases that one is described as *malu sa mi*<sup>12</sup> "fulness of water," a description which evidently denotes *dropsy*. The analysis of the old name AMUT-A-SIGI indicates that it was a disease in which the blood turned to water and filled all the body. In the diagnosis of these complaints the early doctors of Chaldea sought to describe the most characteristic features, and they certainly seem to have attained a considerable degree of accuracy.

The most complete description of the character of leprosy, and the cure to be applied, is that found in the deluge tablet. Here Gizdhubar is afflicted with a loathsome illness which nothing that man knows of is able to cure; to restore his health he goes his long and weary journey to the land where dwells the translated sage, Samas-napisti. There is little doubt the writer of the Babylonian epic in afflicting the hero with leprosy (*malu*), chose that disease which to his mind was most terrible, and which only the gods or one like unto the gods could cure.

The dialogue between the companion of the sick hero and the immortal one, commences thus (Col. IV, 21) :---

1. *Amilu ša tallaka panāssu*  
the man before<sup>13</sup> whom thou hast come.
2. *Iktasū<sup>14</sup> malū pagarsū.*  
Full of leprosy is his body.
3. *Mašakū uktattu dumuk seri-šu*  
Leprous skin destroys the health (beauty) of his body.
4. *Likišu-ma Nis Ea ana namsē<sup>15</sup> bil su ma*  
Take him *Nis Ea* to the washing place lead him.
5. *Mali-šu ina mie kima ell<sup>16</sup> limsi*  
His leprosy in the waters like glistening snow may it be cleansed.
6. *Liddi maškīšu-ma libil tamtu tabu lušabu zumur su*  
May he cast away his leprous skin, may the sea bear it away, may health o'er spread his body.

From this passage there is little doubt as to the disease which is described as a loathsome complaint resembling, if not actually the same as, leprosy; and this seems to secure additional support from the next time of the text, where the loss of the hair, so typical a sign of leprosy, is especially spoken of, *Lūddus parsigu<sup>17</sup> sa kaḳḳadišu*, "may there be restored the hair of his head!"—baldness as we known, from Levit. XIII, being a special feature of the complaint.


These directions are given: *Adi illaku ana ali šu*, "that he may go to his own city," which indicates clearly the banishment of the leper from his city. This long purification, which had lasted six days and seven nights, (line 33) "was undergone that the road he came he may return in peace (*šulmi*)." It would seem that the taint of the disease extended not only to the person of the leper, but also to the clothes which he wore; for the command which follows seems to imply this: *tedik lulabis šubat paltesu*, "cast away the robe which covers his loins," no doubt from fear of infection and spread of the disease.

In the preceding tablet, the Xth of the series, this illness of Gizdhubar is also referred to, and its affinity to leprosy is to be noticed (Tab. x. col. I. 4—7) *Ku-tu-um mi-kiit-tu ga-ma-[i?]* . . . . . D.P. *Giz-tu-bar ut-tag-gi-lil? ma* . . . . . *Mas-ka la-bis bu-[an-ni]* . . . . . *i-si siri-ili*, which appears in its broken condition to read "a burning covering all . . . . . Gizdhubar is cast down! . . . his skin is covered with ulcers; he carries the flesh of the gods in [weakness"].

Fragmentary as these notices of the disease are, they seem to show that it was known to the Babylonians as a terrible affliction, and its most prominent features appear to have been recognised.



## NOTES.

- 1) *Alam*. This word is rendered in W. A. I. III, 60, 52, by *za-la-mu*, "image," or shade. Here it appears to mean the o'ershadowing with sickness like *zalmoth*, "the shadow of death."  
*Kiz libbi* may mean, as Lenormant suggests, (*Trans. Soc. B. A.*, vol. VI, 149), "palpitation of the heart," and be the Aramean כִּזְלִיבָא.
- 2) *Bil-uban*, "Master of the thumb." Compare also the expression in the Dunga Tablet, col. III, 50, *Ilani kima zumbie eli bel niḫi*, "the gods like flies over the master of the sacrifice gathered." It would seem from this that 𒍪𒍪 described a class of individuals, in the one the chief priest, in the other the physicians.
- 3) "The road of Borsippa." This expression *urkhu Barsip* indicates rather the way of learning—the mode of instruction, and its confusion may have given rise to the statement of Herodotus that the sick were brought out into the streets and placed there for any to give advice.
- 4) *Simma*, "poison." In K 2061–21 the ideogram  is explained by *Sim-i-mu*; it is therefore an equivalent of *muruṣu*, "sickness," and *kibtu*, "affliction," and may be compared with the Arabic *sam*, "poison."
- 5) *Dama u sarka*, "blood and puss;" compare the expression in the fragment of an inscription of Esarhaddon published by me in *Trans. Bib. Arch.*, Vol. IV, p. 84-96), also in W.A.I. IV, 2, IV, 32, *akil dami* "devourers of blood," see also 23 same text *másaznin dami* "pourers forth of blood,"
- 6) *Surpu*, "consumption," from verb *rapu* to "enfeeble."
- 7) *Buanu*, "ulcer." See Haupt. (A.B.K. Haft. I, p. 15, 216), which Dr. Oppert has already pointed out is from the root בער "to swell, to boil." See its use in Sargon Cyl. 41, *mupaššiku bua'ne* "healing the ulcers."
- 8) *Labnu kisadi*. This explanation is found in W.A. I. II, 27, II. From W.A.I. III, 66, II 7 ag. It would seem as if *Labanu* was the god of leprosy, for here he is associated with *Isum mutaliku*. "Isum the traverser" the fever god, and thus with Nera or Dibbara the pestilence god.
- 9) *Bamatu*. This explains the group SA-TE "the prominent ulcer," or as TE is explained by *dakhu*, perhaps the "ulcer of contact." In W.A.I., vol. II, 32, 12. There is a phrase which is important *šir bamatum malu*, "upon the ulcer of leprosy," as it seems to show the dread of this ulcer.
- 10) *Mašaku*. The use of this word in the deluge tablet and in the Xth tablet of the same series seems to attribute to it some more definite meaning than skin, probably some species of cutaneous disease.
- 11) *Malu*. See note 9. 12.) *Malu ša mie* for explanation and analysis see Lenormant. *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, vol. VI, p. 147, where the Sumerian *amut a-sigi*, "blood as water (is) poured out" i.e. full of water=dropsy.
- 13) This expression is illustrated by the seals where the supplicant is always introduced by a priest or some person to the presence of the god.
- 14) *Iktasu*. Iftaal Aorist of *kasu* root כסה.
- 15) *Namsi*. Washing place (מִסְחָה). No doubt in the cities a special place of purification was appointed.

- 16) *Elli*. Some bright object, crystal or snow; the latter is chosen on account of its resemblance to Hebrew ideas.
- 17) *Parsigu*. "Hair" a word apparently of Sumerian origin. In the *Zeit. f. Assy.* (Band III, pp. 100 and 231), Professor Sayce and Mr. S. Alden Smith have some notes on the word *parsamati*. In *W.A.I.* II, 24, 59, *parsugal* probably decaying into *parsuga* is explained by *galtabu* "to shave," Heb. גַּלַּב; this passed into Assyrian as *parsama* 'a changed one,' due to dialectic influences (*m* and *g* interchange often in Akkadian and Sumerian) with the meaning of hair or beard, as in the passages quoted by Mr. Smith: *ardi su u paršume ša bitišu* "his servant and the bearded ones of his house," and again *paršumâte ma ziknišunu limur*. "May he see hair on their chins." The use of this word, as in the case of others, shows that the scribe made his copy from older editions in which the Sumerian words were used.

W. ST. C. BOSCAWEN.

### A BUDDHIST REPERTORY

IN SANSCRIT, TIBETAN, MANDCHU, MONGOL & CHINESE.

(Continued from page 144).

[\*With the consent of the author, we have divided and distributed his work, completed a year ago, according to the convenience of the paper].

#### SECTION XVIII (cont.)

13. *Sarvadharmaçûnyatâ*, void of all law.<sup>3</sup> T. *c'os thams-cad stoñ*.
14. *Svalakṣhaṇaçûnyatâ*, void of all the characters peculiar to ones nature. T. *rañgi mc'un ñid stoñ pa...*M. Ch., void of the individual principle of ones nature. (The *lakṣhaṇas* are what cause illusion or *avidya*.)
15. *Alambhaçûnyatâ*, void of all non-acquisition. Ch. id. T. *mi dmig̃ ba stoñ...*void of all thought. M. void of all manifestation of thought. <sup>4</sup>(M. *anuphal*).
16. *Scabhâvaçûnyatâ*, void of ones own substance. T. *ño bo med pa stoñ...*void of ones entity, or essence. M. void of ones fundametnal non-nature, (or : void by the privation of ones being or fundamental nature.)
17. *Abhâvaçûnyatâ*. Void of ones non-Substance, or non existence. T. *dños bo med pa stoñ*, id.-(Void of the *non-ego*).

18. *Abhāvasvabhāvaṅyatā*. Void of ones own nature and of ones non-nature, (indifferent to ones non-existence) T. *dños-bo med pa ño-bo ñid stoñ pa ñid*, id.<sup>5</sup> M, &c. id.<sup>6</sup> Void of the ego and non-ego.
- 3) All particular existence and all action ceasing, there is no more Law.
- 4) The Sk. word apparently ought to be *ā lambha*. Void of all acquisition gift, &c. The Tibetan word, on the contrary, indicates *ālagvana*.
- 5) This is probably the meaning of Nos. 16 and 17, in the mind of the translators who have here misunderstood *svabhāva*, though they render it correctly in No. 18.
- 6) According to the Tibetan, the meaning of *abhāva* might be (void of) the *non-ego*. The 'self' here means the whole *samskāra*, the human compound and its acts.

## SECTION XIX.

*Dan rgyalgyi min-la*

Names of the Pure Conqueror,<sup>1</sup> [Buddha, M. Pratigabut.]

1. *Khangvishānākalpa*, having the form of a rhinoceros (horn, or, elephants' tusks<sup>2</sup>) T. *Bse-ru lta-bu*, having the nature of, like unto a rhinoceros. Ch. M. id.
2. *Vargācarī* [read *varga*] going in a troop, (i.e. with a troop of disciples). T. *tc'ogs dan spyod pa*, living in community. Ch. M. like Sk. (Cf. *Sārtharāha*, Section VIII, n. 8.
- 1) This short section is composed of two apparently incoherent terms, taken from the sum of Buddhistic epithets, and united here for want of better. Their point of resemblance is their relation to the animal race. The term employed in Mandshu, *pratigabut*, indicates a Sk. *pratīka bhūta*, image, resemblance. Still I am inclined to think that under these images is hidden the contrast between the Pratyeka Buddhas and the ordinary Buddhas, or Saviours. The former of supernatural origin, live isolated, work only for themselves, and save themselves alone. The others, destined to save intelligent beings, live in the midst of them, attracting crowds of disciples, and appear in the midst of a host of Bodhisattvas, &c. The former are compared to the rhinoceros which lives isolated; the others are *vargācārinās*.
- 2) *Khanga* is properly a rhinoceros. *Vishāṇā* is applied to both animals.

## SECTION XX.

*Ñam thos kyi gañ zaggi min-la.*

Titles of the Disciples (of Buddha)<sup>1</sup>

1. *Srôtāpanna*, involved in the current. T. *rgyavn du zugs pa*, fallen into the current. M. Mg. *sardaban* [transcription] Ch. *suto yuen* [imitated].<sup>2</sup>
2. *Sakrdāgamī*, coming but once (in the world re-born but once.) T. *lon gcig phyir 'oñ*, returning, reborn but once. M. *Sagerdekhem*.
3. *Anāgamī*, not returning again, not born again, having having at-

- tained Nirvāna. Ch. M. Mg. *anageme*. T. *Phyir mi 'oñ*, id.
4. *Ekavācīnka*, once-trying<sup>3</sup> T. *bar c'an gcig*, *pa* once impeded, stopped, (held in danger in the intermediate space between the world and Nirvāna, to be sent back into this world by a new birth. Here the soul is taught what it must do to enter nirvāna. M. *het uren*, id.
5. *Urdhvasrotā*, following the current upwards<sup>4</sup>. T. *goñ du hō ba*, transporting oneself upward. M. id. (rising in the current—See No. 1—towards nirvāna.)
6. *Ḫradhānusarī*, following the path of faith. T. *dañ ba hi rjes su brañ ba*, walking after (*anu=rjes su*) the faith. M. following with devotion (and thereby advances and approaches the final form.)
7. *Prajñāvimukta*, arrived at deliverance by knowledge. T. *ḡes-rab gyis rnam par grol ba*, id. (*rnam par=vi*.)<sup>5</sup>

1) These 7 qualifications form 7 degrees of perfection which the disciples of Buddha must attain to arrive at the last—deliverance or nirvāna. Ignorance being the productive cause of individual beings, of acts and all their fatal consequences, Knowledge puts an end to these evils and existences and plunges one into Nirvāna. 2) Carried into Nirvāna The three first degrees belong to a special order—those which the disciple must pass through to arrive at the highest point of sanctity constituting the Arhat and beyond, up to Nirvāna. Each has two stages. The convert resolved to learn and to practice the Law is “involved in the current.” When he has broken the three inferior bonds which attach him to the world, to evil and to transmigrations, (viz. illusion which makes him believe in the *ego*, doubt concerning the Law, and faith in religious practices). he enters the *second* degree. When he has broken the three bonds, and weakened the next two (viz. desires and malevolence) he arrives at the 3rd degree, where there is no re-birth. When entirely liberated from the 5 bonds he is completely *anāgamī*; he is not re-born, he passes to the degree of Arhat; when he has broken the five superior bounds (viz. love of existence, whether here below or in heaven; pride; complacency in one's virtue; ignorance) he has reached the degree of Arhat. The perfect Arhat is styled *asekah*, he is ripe for Nirvāna. According to the *Mahāparinibbāna Sūtra*, these conditions must be retarded by one stage: the breaking of the three bonds producing the *Srotāpanna*, and so on. Our seven degrees are not seven steps, of which no one can be passed by, but seven different states.

3) *Vācīnka* does not belong to the known Sk. Perhaps we ought to see in it *vi-ci*—to try. This epithet ought to be No. 3.

4) The current of life, of the time in which we may escape; or rather, with the Buddhists, the current carrying out of this world toward Nirvāna.

5) The Tibetan word *nam thos* is an infelicitous imitation of *Ḫravaka*, hearer, disciple. *ḡru*=to hear is both confused with and distinguished from *ḡru*=to flow. *Nam*—current, torrent; and *thos* is to hear. M. *sarvaka*, Mg. *Sirrang*.

## SECTION XXI.

*Ñam thos kyi miñ-la.*Names of the (principal) Disciples (of Buddha)<sup>1</sup>.

1. *Açvajit*, Tamer of horses. T. *rta thul*, id. M. Mg. Ch. *Ashvatze*.
2. *Mahânâmâ*, of great renown. T. *miñ c'en*, M. &c., id.
3. *Kâlita* [read *Kôlita*] joyous, amorous. T. *pañ nas skyes*, born from the bosom.
4. *Uruvilvakâçyapa*, Son of Kâçyapawith the wide *vilva*. T. *ston rgyan 'on ba sruñ*, preserving wide-reaching splendour. M. id.<sup>2</sup> Mg. *Urubila Kesip*, and Ch. transcribed.
5. *Nâdikâçyapa*, Descendant of the river-Kaçyapa. T. *c'u klun 'on ba srun*, preserving the splendour of rivers. M. id. Mg. Ch. transcribed.
6. *Gayakâçyapa*, Descendant of Gaya Kaçyapas. T. *gaya 'on ba srun*, preserving the splendour of Gaya. Mg. *Keke-kesib* (transcribed), Ch. id.
7. *Gavâmpati*, T. *ba glañ bdag*, chief of oxen, or herds. Mg. Ch. transcribed.
8. *Vâspa*, T. *rlans pa*, Vapours. M. id. Mg. *Paspi*; Ch. transcribed.
9. *Xudrapanthaka*, of small paths. T. *lam-prañ ba stañ*, showing himself on small roads. M. id. Ch. going by narrow ways.
10. *Mahâpanthaka*, of great paths. T. *lam-c'en ba stañ*, showing himself a great road.
11. *Kunda*, [M. *Cunda*], T. *skul-byed*, who warns. M. id. Ch. transcribed.
12. *Çrônânkôtîvinça*, [read *Çrônak.*] With 2,000 million stars of Çravana (the eagle). T. *gro bz'in skyes ba ñi-çu pa*.
13. *Udâyi*, rising, appearing, visible. T. *'c'ar-ba*, id.
14. *Çrônakôtîkarna*, with the hundred million ears of Çravana. T. *gro bz'in skyes rna ba bye ba*, id.
15. *Upâti*<sup>2</sup>, T. *ñe bar 'khod*, who lives near to.
16. *Mahâkoshîla*, large-breasted. T. *gsus pa c'eu*.
17. *Vakkula*, T. M. Mg. *Bakula*, Ch. *Pakuli*.
18. *Gopâ*, chief of flocks. T. *sa 'es'o ma*, who lives on earth. Mg. *Gopaki*. M. earth-born.
19. *Dharmadînnâ*. T. *c'os kyi byin*, blessing of the Law. M. beneficent Law.

1) Ch. Names of the Venerable Disciples (i.e. arhats).

2) These two versions render *uru*, *kâç*, and *pa*.

3) Here we have the names of the principal disciples of Buddha, in a more or less chronological order. We cannot give their history, even in abridgment; it will be sufficient to recall in a few words the rôles of the principal among them.—Açvajit, Kunda (Kondanya), Mahânâma, and Vaspa are the four sons of Brahmins who, being admonished of the high destiny of the young Siddhârthas, retired into the desert with Bhadrâjit (not mentioned here) to await the time of the preaching of the future Buddha and to arrive at deliverance. Açvajit went over the whole Jambûdvîpa to announce the mission of Çâkyamûni. On his way he met Kolita and Upatisya, young princes occupied in searching for deliverance, and he instructed them in the apparition of the Master; they immediately went and attached themselves to him. Kaundamya obtained from Buddha the title of "saved," because he had understood the word of the host and the master of the house. The three Kâçyapas were surnamed Uruvilva, Nadi, and Gaya, from the name of their place of abode. At the end of a long discourse on Mount Gaya, the eldest of these three brothers, an aged ascetic, became a convert, bringing to the Master 500 disciples. The two younger soon after followed his example, and each brought him 250 disciples. Legend has taken up their history, and embroidered it in every kind of way.

The history of Çrônakoçivînça is told in the *Mahâvâstu*, v. 1. The Stûpa where he is said to have been buried used to be shown at Konkana-Udayî, was attached to the Court of Çâkyamûni's father. Sent by the latter to ask his son to come to Kapilavastu, he was convinced by the Master's preaching, asked to be initiated, and succeeded in leading him to his father's capital. Upali was the king's barber. Going in the company of some princes who were visiting Buddha, he was initiated with them and became one of the principal *literati* of the new religion. An edition of the Vinaya-piçaka is attributed to him.

Koçikârna appears as an author's name in the *Divyâvâra*. Vakkula is the name of a class of 500 priests dwelling in Sakaspûra and converted by the preaching of Çâkyamûni, or rather Gôtama Buddha, who appeared to them suddenly summoned by their chief. The two last personages are women. Gôpâ was Buddha's wife, whom he obtained by giving proof of consummate wisdom, knowledge, and skill in a sort of test he had to undergo to show himself worthy of her hand. For Dharmadinnâ, see Mémoires de l'Académie de St. Pétersbourg, t. vi.: Schiefner, *Lebensbeschreibung Çâkyamûni's*, p. 270. Gavâmpati figures at the beginning of the Lalita Vistara among the 12,000 monks who listened to the preaching of Çâkyamûni in the garden of Anâthapindada at Çrâvasti, with the other Âyushmats quoted here, viz.: Açvajit, Vâspa, Mahânâma, the three Kâçyapas, &c.

## SECTION XXII.

*Rten 'brel bcu gñis kyi min-la.*

The 12<sup>1</sup> Causes of Existence<sup>2</sup>.

1. *Avidyâ*, ignorance, false knowledge, illusion. T. *ma-rig-pa*, ignorance, error, illusion.

2. *Sanskâra*, T. 'du-byed, complete action, composition. Ch. M. action, creation of the imagination, false conception.
3. *Vijñâna*, intelligence, distinct knowledge. T. *rnam-par* = v.) *çes-pa*, id.
4. *Nâmarûpam*, name and form, (the constituent principles of erroneous belief). T. *min dan gzugs*, name and form. M. &c., id.
5. *Shadâyatanam*, the totality, or domain of the six senses. T. *skye mc'ed drug*, the six senses. M. the six efficient causes of birth.
6. *Sparça*, touch, contact. T. *reg-pa*, touching with perception.
7. *Veðanâ*, sensation, perception. T. *ts'or-ba*, id.
8. *Trshnâ*, desire, appetite, natural affection, feeling of want and desire of satisfying it. T. *sred pa*, id.
9. *Upâdânâ*, acceptance, receptivity, taking. T. *len pa*, id. M. *gong-gibu*, taking objects to enjoy them. (The mind seizing and appropriating exterior objects creates for itself an illusory existence).
10. *Bhava*, existence. T. *srid-pa*, id., reality of concept; state, place, condition of existence, nature. M. *bisire*, "esse."
11. *Jâti*, birth. T. *skye ba*, id. M. *banjire*, to be born.
12. *Garâmaranan*, old age and death. T. *rga-çi*, id.
13. *Lôk*, [read çôka]. T. *mya-nan*, grief, pain.
14. *P ridêva*, [read *Paridevanâ*] lamentation, complaint. T. *smre snags 'don pa*, to utter magic words, or lamentations. M. to sigh, be miserable; deep sigh.
15. *Du:kham*. T. *sdug basnal*, misfortune, misery, suffering.
16. *Dâormanasyam*, [read *dâurm*] grief of heart, ill-disposed heart. T. *yd mi bde ba*, heart not at rest, unhappy. Ch. troubled heart.
17. *Upâyâsa*, effort, struggle, adversity. T. *'khrugpa*, trouble, painful emotion. Ch. id. M. trouble.

1) It will be remarked that the title announces only *twelve* causes, while the book gives really *seventeen*. This arises from a divergence in the Buddhist books. The editors have preserved the consecrated title, but drawn from all sources, thus repeating the same idea under different forms.

2) Here ends the list of 12 causes. Our book adds 5 other notions,—those of griefs and evils which overwhelm existences, and from which *moksha* or *nirvâna* delivers for ever, and is alone able to do so.

3) From *upa + â + yas*.

C. DE HARLEZ.

(To be continued).

## STUDIES IN AVESTA AND PAHLAVI.

## I.—ON FARG. IV, 1-2.

THE text forming the subject of our present note is one of peculiar interest, but also one of great difficulty. Of all the translations hitherto published, the best seems to be that of Prof. de Harlez; according to him *nemañh* is "demande," and both etymology and tradition support the views of the distinguished Avestā scholar.

Our text may be restored metrically as follows:

- v - - - v - - - v
- 1) *yo nairē nēmañheñte*  
*noid nemo pai ti baraiti*
  - 2) *tāyuñ nēmañho bavaiti*  
*hazañha nemo - barahē.*

In my opinion *hazañha* is an instrumental of *hazañh* "by violence;" *nemo-bara* cannot be "bearing a demand," cp. old-Persian "*takabara*, *šarastiba-a*;" *nemo-bara* is "the bearer of a demand" and is to be translated here, as a genit. object: towards the man, who asks. The following paragraph (3), which cannot be restored metrically is an insertion.

It may be permitted to communicate, here, the translation and views of M. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, the well-known Dāstur, which I obtained by my friend M. Arthur Gebhard, Elberfeld.

Lit. transl.: He who does not carry duty (*nemo*) towards a man, to whom duty is due (*nēmañheñte*) becomes a thief through deprivation of duty (*nēmañho*) from him to whom duty is due (*nemo-bara*).

*Nēmañhañd* is a man to whom one owes a duty; *nēmo* is the duty due to that *nēmañhañd*. The two words are used in a very wide and general sense; *nēmo* is duty in the widest sense of the word. Prof. Spiegel, de Harlez, and Darmesteter take the word in a limited sense, and ascribe to it one or other of the meanings, in which the Pahlavi commentators use it, rather as illustrations. But the word is properly understood and translated by Mr. K. E. Kanga, a well-known Parsee scholar, in his standard Gugerati translation of the Vendidad. It means duty, and includes all the cases of duty as translated by the above-named European translators. In this sense it includes the duty of a child towards the parent, of a wife towards the husband, of a pupil towards the teacher, of a debtor towards his creditor, etc., etc., and vice versâ.

W. BANG.



THE

# BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

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*Contributors are alone responsible for their opinions or statements.*

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RIGIN FROM BABYLONIA AND ELAM OF THE EARLY  
CHINESE CIVILISATION.

A SUMMARY OF THE PROOFS.

*(Continued from page 164).*

VI. ITEMS OF ASSYRO-BABYLONIAN, EGYPTIAN AND OTHER CIVILIZATIONS ENTERED INTO ANCIENT CHINA THROUGH LATER CHANNELS.  
*(continued).*

CHAP. VI. *f*) *A Résumé.* § 4.

During the third period i.e. the Tchou dynasty (*circa* 1100-770 B.C.), the situation is quite different. An important focus of astronomical and astrological lore had been established by a branch of the Aryan races in Khorasmia about 1304 B.C., and it is only what could be expected to find that the Tchou a people of Kirghize origin<sup>346</sup>, who had settled for centuries on the N.W. borders of China, were acquainted with some shreds of knowledge from that source. The success of the Tchou may have been an incitement to the Jade traffic; some more notions from the same quarters, in a more or less dilapidated condition, have reached the Middle Kingdom at a subsequent date, through the route of Khotan then Arya-nised—and the Badakshan passes. For instance, Muh Wang<sup>347</sup> (circ. 1000 B.C.) who made an expedition westwards<sup>348</sup>, was presented with nephrite-jade (of Khotan), and asbestos-cloth<sup>349</sup> (of Badakshan); the possibilities of intercourse, however, were partially stopped by the rising in the IXth century, of the then semi-Chinese and uncivilised state of Than,—later Ts'in on the N.W. of China, that same state which we had so often occasion to mention in the preceding sections of the present chapter. The Jade-traffic was carried on nevertheless, with increased difficulties and through Tibet, by the merchants of Shuh or Sze-tchuen, but not for a long time. Their attention was soon attracted towards the south-west by a greater facility in the communications and trade. Although no regular intercourse was established with the South, some parties of traders from Yunnan West and South, enticed no doubt by the reports of

intermediary tribes about the power and wealth of the rising dynasty, came to the Chinese court with a monkey of India<sup>350</sup> and probably some goods of the same country, which fact seems to show that intercourse between the Malabar coast and Burniah had already begun. These trading parties were the real openers of the communications which we shall have to mention during the following period.

The sea trade through the Arabian sea and the Bay of Bengal, which later on, was extended to the Chinese seas, and imported a few western notions to the native states of the East in Shantung, through which they passed to the Chinese, seems to have begun about that period.<sup>351</sup> The first enactments concerning currency were issued about 1032 B.C. by a prime minister named T'ai Kung of Ts'i, an eastern barbarian less fettered to tradition than a native Chinaman, while some rules mentioning the ring-weight money were established about 947 B.C.;<sup>352</sup> it seems difficult not to connect this remarkable progress with the influence of foreign trade which began about this time.

Under the guidance of the founders of the T'chou dynasty, a thorough organisation and systematization took place. Some advance and certain changes were made under the combined influence of newly-imported notions and internal progress, difficult to distinguish as to their respective importance.<sup>353</sup> The use of the sexagenary cycle and that of the Jupiter cycle of twelve, both of ancient date,<sup>354</sup> was improved; so were those of the clepsydra, the stile of which was divided into 100 *ki* for a day, and of the sun-dial, the gnomon of which was pierced at the top. The latter permitted circa 1100 B.C., some observations to be made at Loh-yang with such accuracy that they have been verified by Laplace and Biot in the present century,<sup>355</sup> and found exact, without any possibility of being the result of any retrospective calculations. The knowledge of the 28 *siu* or stellar mansions and their use for prognostication, was also an acquisition made at the beginning of the period,<sup>356</sup> grafted upon former notions of astronomy; their close similarity with the 27 or 28 *Nakshatras* of India, and the 28 *manazils* of the Arabs is not genealogical in one direction or the other, but simply one of common descent from an older system,<sup>357</sup> now known to have been systematized in Khorasmia,<sup>358</sup> for astrological purposes, and made to begin with the Pleiades, features which have survived long in China. The beginning of the day was fixed at midnight, while under the Shang dynasty it was at noon, and under the first dynasty at sunrise, as in Chaldæa<sup>359</sup>. The beginning of the year was also altered; the Baks had brought with them the Chaldæan habit of

commencing the year at the vernal equinox; under the Shang, the last month, and under the Tchou, the second month of winter were made the first month<sup>360</sup>; but the irregular system of intercalary months seem to have somehow brought them into confusion. In arts they became also acquainted with the process of tempering iron<sup>361</sup>.

In religion we see them adding Earth to Heaven in the denomination of the Supreme deity<sup>362</sup>, and among other customs we remark the sacrifice of a dog which is run over by the king in his chariot when he goes out of the kingdom<sup>363</sup>. Both features may be due to the Indo-Aryan influence which had undoubtedly reached the mass of the Tchou people, notwithstanding the alliance and sinicisation of their leaders reported in their legendary history.

We have also to mention the development of the use of proper names a practice due apparently to a similar influence. The notion of the five elements, which appears at the beginning of the dynasty was, however, an old idea which must be traced back to a different source<sup>364</sup>.

344) Here are two facts from the *Tchou chu Ki nien*, in support of my statement concerning the extension of ancestral worship to departed great men: Yuh-ting the Vth of SHANG, in his 8th year i. e. B.C. 1521, appointed sacrifices to Pa o-hang, temple name of Y-yu chief minister to the founder of the dynasty. A notice of this eminent man is given by Mayers, *Chinese R. M.*, No. 233. Later on, Wu-ting, the XXIIInd ruler of SHANG, in his 12th year, i. e. 1262 B.C. offered a sacrifice of thanksgiving to *Shang-Kiah Wei*, a former minister of Sieh, the Xth king of Shang.—Under the Tchou dynasty the royal temple of ancestors was seven-shrined (*Shu King* IV vi, 10; *Tchung yung*, sec. 4), and there is no intimation in any writings of high antiquity that the practice was different under the Hia and Shang dynasties. But in the second century, J. C. Wen Yuen-shung put forth the view that under the Shang dynasty, the shrines were only five; cfr. J. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. III, p. 218 notes.

345) The custom of tabooing proper names has arisen among not a few communities in a low stage of mental development from the difficulty for the undeveloped mind to separate, the subjective meaning from the objective value of a name, or in other words, the thing from its term. Appearing among the Chinese at that time, we take it as an influence of the pre-Chinese population yet in occupation of the greater part of the country. Its name is *pi-hwuy*, which in the archaic phonetism of the Sino-Annamite dialect is still pronounced *ti-bi*, and bears a resemblance to *tapi* of Tahiti, a similar custom. Cfr. the notes 2, 3, and 4 § 8 of my paper on *The Djurtchen of Manchuria*, J. R. A. S. 1889, vol. XXI. Prof. R. K. Douglas in his useful *Chinese Manual*, just published, has a special section, pp. 372--376 on the tabu-ed characters of the present dynasty of China, and a few others.

346) We must remark about that name which was afterwards explained by mythological legends (Girard de Rialle, *Mémoire sur l'Asie Centrale*

- p. 88) that it appears in the history of the Tchou; the grandfather and really historical ancestor of Wu Wang was *ki-lik* (for Ki-rik, Kirk, &c., which cfr. to Kirgh-iz.).
- 347) We have already mentioned this expedition; above ch. VI, sect. b., and notes 167-171. In the *Kuoh-yu*, Part I, and in the Annals of the after-Han dynasty, it is reported that Muh Wang made a punitive expedition in the West against the *Jung Tek* barbarians and smashed their five chieftains. He seized four white deers and four white wolves, and afterwards pursued the Tekes to the great source or *Tai-yuen*, perhaps in that case the sources of the Huang-ho. Cfr. *Tai ping yü lan*, R. 792, fol. 2 v.—E. Reclus, *Asie Orientale*, p. 146, records that the Mongols sacrifice every year seven white spotless animals at the sources of the Huang-ho.
- 348) P. Gaubil was of opinion that some new notions of astronomy from the West had reached China at the time of king *Muh*. Cfr. his *Histoire de l'Astronomie Chinoise*, p. 381.
- 349) As recorded by Lich-tze, 400 B.C. Cfr. *Tai ping yü lan*, K. 820, f. 8, also *suprà* VI, b and notes 168-169. On the *asbestos* of Badakshan, cfr. Aboulféda, *Geographie*, p. 474. Badakshan is the mountainous region including the upper part of the valley of the Oxus, on the N. of the Hindu-kush. Cfr. note *suprà*, and the following chapter.
- 350) Cfr. *suprà*, ch. VI, d, I.
- 351) This sea-trade was carried on from remote times along the shores of the Erythrean sea, (i.e. Red sea, Arabian sea, and Persian gulf) by the Kushites, a Caucasian race (une race blanche, says G. Maspers, *Histoire ancienne*, ed. IV, p. 105) brown skinned, (*ibid.* p. 196) which in course of time lost of their unity by intermingling with populations negroïd or lower in type were they settled. They have left their name in many places as land marks of their settlements between Ethiopia and Gedrosia, but this name has been subsequently altered by folk-etymology in the various localities. (Cfr. my paper *The Kushites, who were they?* §6 and for a completion of these land marks, J. S. Stuart Glennie, *The traditions of the Archaïan white races*, §5.) They had reached S. Egypt and repelled the negroes to the South at the time of the VIth dynasty, but their seats were in South Arabia where they had several emporia, which multiplied in course of time were the points of departure and arrival of their trading ships, with Egypt, Babylonia India, &c. On the history of this trade and its extension eastwards, cfr. a special section in ch. VII.
- 352) Cfr. *suprà*, note 172.
- 353) Dr. Stern, *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen* 1840, p. 2026, in his criticism of Ideler's had pointed out already eight astronomical analogies in the knowledge possessed in Chaldea and China.
- 354) The supposition of the Rev. Dr. J. Chalmers that those notions were introduced into India from China, has no basis, since India did possess them only in the Christian era, as we shall have the occasion to see further on.
- 355) On the sun-dial, gnomon and clepsydra, cfr. a special section in the next chapter.

- 356) Cfr. G. Schlegel, *Uranographie Chinoise*, p. 391.
- 357) Long discussions have taken place on the subject, cf. Ed. Biot.: *Journal des savants*, 1837-40; *Etudes sur l'astronomie Indienne et chinoise*, 1862, pp. 249-388.—Prof. A. Weber: *Die red'schen Nachrichten von den Nazatra* (Mondstationen), I, II, Berlin, 1860-62.—Prof. W. Whitney: *On the views of Biot and Weber respecting the relations of the Hindu and Chinese systems of Asterisms*, pp. 1-94 of J. Am. Oriental Society, 1866, vol. VIII, and pp. 382-398.
- 358) Cfr. Albiruni, *Chronology of the ancient nations*, pp. 342 and 227.
- 359) Already pointed out by Dr. Stern, *l.c.*—It was so in the calendar fixed by Tehwen-hiuh, second successor of Hwang-ti, but we do not know how it was under the last named and former ruler.
- 360) Under the Ts'in it was the 1st month of winter. For the Chinese changes. cfr. J. Legge, *Chinese classics*, t. II, p. 162, t. III, pp. 41, 154, 215.
- 361) Under Muh-wang at the time of his expedition beyond the western borders. It was not an Indo-Iranian notion at that time; cfr. Wilh. Geiger, *La civilisation des Aryas*, p. 635, in *Muséon*, 1884, vol. III, pp. 430-438, 627-652.
- 362) They said *T'ien Ti*, Heaven and Earth. Cfr. *Shu-king*, V, I, 1, 3. Cfr. the Indo-Aryan *Dyāvāprithivya*, from *dyu* the sky, and *prithivā* the broad earth, when invoked together. And also the hymn to the Earth in the Rig-Veda, I, 22, 15. Cfr. Max Müller, *India, what can it teach us?* p. 158. And also A. Pictet, *Les Aryas primitifs*, t. I, pp. 666-7.
- 363) *Le Tchéou-li*, XXXVII, 1; t. II, pp. 364-5. The sacrifice seems to have originated to propitiate the two monstrous dogs, guardians of the road from which there is no return, a belief, we hear of among the early Indo-Aryans. Cfr. A. Barth, *Religions of India*, pp. 22-3. On a mythological notion of the same kind in Assyro-Babylonia, M. W. St. Chad Boseawen kindly communicates to me the following note: "The double headed dog often represented on the boundary stones was the emblem of the god Tutu or Merodach as the god of the morning and evening dawns, "the begetter and restorer of the gods, like the Indian Yama or dog-headed god of death and the dawn."
- 364) In the counsels of the great Yu forming the third chapter of the *Shu-king*, water, fire, metal, wood, earth and grain or the six stores, are specially enumerated together, §§. 7, 8, as requiring regulations for the welfare of government and people. In the *Ts'o tchuen*, Wen Kung, year VII, 10, where the statement is quoted, they are also called the six *fu* or stores (of nature). It has been stated by the Rev. Dr. J. Chalmers that this six fold list must have come from the Avesta (*Origin of the Chinese*, p. 26) where according to his statement, the six *Amesha Çpentas* rule over a somewhat similar arrangement. And pursuing his remarks the same writer, dropping one of the six, finds a closer agreement with the five elements of the Chinese. These hasty comparisons and derivations cannot, however, stand criticism, notwithstanding the Rev. Dr. J. Edkins, *The five elements in Persia*, in *China Review*, 1888, vol. XVII, pp. 49 sq., who has upheld the same views, and some more such as an identification of the six *Amesha Çpentas* with the six *tsung* of Shun whom we have found

simply, as proved by their names to have been a survival of the six great gods of Susiana. The two writers of China, above quoted, falling into the fault usual to Chinese authors, have neglected the strict conditions of accuracy and chronology required in historical research. Now the notion of the five elements, *Wu heng* as usually translated from the Chinese by Europeans, is mentioned in the *Shu king*, III, ii, 3 under the reign of K'i the successor and a son of the great Yu. Later on at the accession of the T'chou dynasty, Wu Wang the first ruler was presented by Ki-tze, a follower of the former dynasty, with the *Hung fan* or great Plan, a combination of numerical categories in which were embodied the doctrine of the times of the great Yu. (*Shu-king*, V. iv). The five *heng* enumerated therein are the following: water, fire, wood, metal, and earth. Therefore the theory of the six *fu* and of the five *heng* is reputed, apparently with some reason, to be as old as 2000 B.C. in China, a date much earlier than anything Avestic and Persian and which would reversedly suggest a derivation from China to Persia, should any close identity exist; such, however, is not the case. Herodotus I, 131, says that the only deities whose worship had come down to the Persians from ancient times were:—the vault of heaven to which they offered sacrifices without images, temples or altars on the loftiest mountains; the sun and moon, the earth, fire, water, and the winds. At the time of the Greek historian the Persians were still a new nation, and he duly remarks how eager they were to embrace foreign notions of civilisation. Modern research confirms these comments; the Persians have added successively to their native Aryan notions, ideas and beliefs, others from the Magi, from Khorasmia, from Elam, from Assyro-Babylonia, from Asia-Minor and even from Egypt. Such, for instance, in the latter case is the remarkable threefold head-dress of Cyrus on the monuments, which cf. in G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. I, p. 256; Perrot-Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. I, p. 723; M. Marcel Dieulafoy, *L'art antique de la Perse*, 1884, vol. I, has pointed out the Græco-Lycian influence ruling the Persian architecture which originated after the overthrow of Cræsus about 554 and the conquests of Cyrus; although the workmen were Persian, the architects were originary from Asia-Minor. Media had been organised towards 700 B.C. and transformed into the Persian kingdom in the VIth century. Zoroastrism had begun long before at an unknown date and was flourishing among the Hyrcanians and Caspians S.E. and S. of the Caspian sea with its chief seat at Raghā, and not at Bactra as stated in a tradition of the middle ages. It triumphed in Persia only after the accession of the Sassanides, i.e. 226 A.D. Cf. C. de Harlez, *Le calendrier Persan et le pays originaire du Zoroastrisme*, 1881; and *introduction à l'étude de l'Avesta et de la religion Mazdéenne*, 1881.) The Magi, the inheritors of Zoroaster formed a part of the Persian nation, but their doctrines and the numerical categories referred to above had not yet at the time of the compilation of the *Avesta* i.e. probably between 700 and 200 B.C., reached their final development. (Cf. Fr. Spiegel, *Eranische alterthumskunde*, vol. III, p. 787; also Ph. Keiper, *Les noms propres Perso-Avestiques*, Muséon, 1885, vol. IV, pp. 211-229, 338-358, C. de Harlez, *Observation sur l'age de l'Avesta*, *ibid.* pp. 230-1; and *Origines du Zoroastrisme*, Paris, 1879;

J. Darmesteter, *Haurvatât et Ameretât*; Paris, 1877; *Ormuzd et Ahriman : leur origines et leur histoire*, Paris, 1877. The six Amesha Spentas are creations of the Mazdeism, and at first were only personifications of moral notions, such as is yet the case with four of them in the Gâthâs, (cf. C. de Harlez, *Introduction*, p. 90), which forms the oldest part of the Avesta, and whose special date of composition later by several centuries than that of the Rigveda, is fixed at the utmost by some between 1500-1200-900 B.C. (cf. L. H. Mills, *The Zend Avestâ*, part III, 1887, *Introd.* p. 37.) Even in later times, when the Amesha Spentas and the Yazatas were attributed a more precise control on parts of nature, no regular categories of the five elements, as in China, is apparent. Cfr. C. de Harlez, *Avesta*, *Introd.* pp. 88-111, where their attributes are described at length. Therefore there is no relationship between them and the six and five Chinese categories, and the similarity claimed by Dr. J. Chalmers and the Rev. J. Edkins rests only on misconceptions and misinformation. It is more likely a fact that the six *fu* and five *heng* were part of the Elamo-Babylonian categories and notions received by the early civilisers of China. We must wait for further light on the subject, when more inscriptions of ancient Susiana are discovered and deciphered. Such ideas may have been an amalgamation of Chaldean and Elamite views, and be the same that afterwards made their influence felt in Mazdeism. We may expect also some further information from the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions relating to numerical categories.

TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE.

(*To be continued*).

#### ANOTHER DISCOURSE OF KING CHOSROES THE IMMORTAL-SOULED.

In two former numbers of this review (vol. I, pp. 97 sqq., vol. II, pp. 33 sqq.), I have given versions of discourses attributed by Persian tradition to the great Sassanian king, Chosroës styled Anôshak-rûbâno, or the Immortal-Souled, but popularly known as Anoshirvan; whom national legend cherishes as at once a Solomon, a Justinian and a Harûn-al-rashid. In the second paper, I referred to the numerous speeches, letters, answers, and other oracular utterances credited to the Wise King, many of them preserved in the great national epic of Firdusi, (where anybody can now read them in the charming Italian version of Prof. Pizzi, just bought to completion). Others are to found in Pehlevi tracts (such as the one reproduced here after Dastur Peshotan's edition), or in foreign writers (as the brief speech already translated in these pages from the great Syrian historian Barhebraeus or Abû'l-faraj). Since then, I

have come across yet another and similar piece in a chapter of the 5th vol. of the *Dinkard*, lately issued by my friend the indefatigable Parsi high-priest, Dastur Peshotan, (Bombay, 1888). This little tract forms the 201st chapter of the Dastur's edition of the celebrated work ; and I venture to again present my readers with a transcription and an attempt at translation, for the reasons stated in a former paper,—viz. : the great divergence of the Parsi manner of reading and rendering from that of European scholars. This vagueness of the Parsi versions has the further effect of obscuring altogether the symmetry of arrangement and construction, so characteristic of the Eranian style ; to say nothing of the want of accuracy and often intelligibility to the reader which marks such translations.

The present piece curiously enough bears the title of the " Ten Commandments" (10 *Andarjo*),—or precepts or counsels,—of King Chosroës. These are all in reference to the due observance (*dastobarîh*) of the Mazdean faith, the ' Good Law ' or religion (*shapîr dîn*), both by internal personal purity and goodness, and by external obedience to its precepts, rites and ceremonies, encouragement and propagation of it among men, and severe repression of heresy and idolatry. Herein King Chosroës plays the part of an Eranian King Açoka. It will be noted that each precept is expressed by a verb in the infinitive mood, which ends the sentence, or in some cases each member of a compound sentence. This point, which is the key to the whole construction—the infinitive governing all that precedes—seems to have been quite missed by the Bombay translators.

The first precept I find very difficult to construe satisfactorily. The meaning is pretty clear, I think. The whole foundation of true religion is very justly laid in personal holiness ; and the phrases (obscure in their construction) seem to require (1) the union of a good mind or conscience (*Mînishno, ahû*), with bodily purity (*avîjak gôsh*); and (2 as a consequence a harmony between obedience to temporal sovereignty and to the supreme sovereignty of God. The idea is very beautiful, though its expression is difficult owing to its peculiar conciseness. As remarked in the foot-note, the word *ahû* really seems used in two senses,—perhaps even there is a *jeu de mots* suggested.

The other precepts are fairly easy to understand, though here and there, an obscure or doubtful word occurs (see §§ 2, 6, 8), and I do not know what country Kûlâno (§ 5) is. It is stated to be the birth place of the celebrated Prime Minister and high-priest Atarpato-Mârespandân, the



same who underwent the ordeal of molten metal in order to bear testimony to his Faith, and the author of the code of religious precepts still professed by Parsis at the present day.

It may hardly be necessary to again emphasise the evidences which point to this part at least of the *Dinkard*,—perhaps I ought to say, of this little treatise embodied in the *Dinkard*,—as being composed in Sassanid times. The manner in which the ‘earthly lord’ (*stîh ahûo*), the ‘sovereign belonging to the (true) faith’ (*dinôik daçûpato*), is spoken of can only belong to a period when the king of Eran was still a Mazdean ; and the admonitions concerning the persecution of heresy and its expulsion from Eranian countries, point clearly to the same conclusion.

## [TEXT].

Mehim 10 Andarjo-i Anôshak rû-bâno Khûçro-i Malkâno Malkâ-i Kavâtâno val A râno hanjaman-igâno pavan dastôbarih-i Aûharmazd Dîno.

Aivak minishno varjino nafshman ahûo vatâr<sup>1</sup> val avîrtar stîh ahûo<sup>2</sup> dînoik daçûpato (minishno) varjino valman ahûo vatâr val avartûm mînoi ahûo dâtâr Aûharmazd awîjo goshtîhâ<sup>3</sup> patvastano va pavan patvastakîh-i minishno pavan avîjak goshthîh avîjak goshthîhâ patvastano avartar avartûm ahûo dânakîhâ bûnik<sup>4</sup> va twakhshakîk gûbishno kûnishno aiyarîh 2-ahûânîk nadûkîh spûr khvêshnîtano<sup>5</sup>

Aivak shapîr dîno pavan ahûo patvand minishno râstîh pavan hûdânâkîhâ gûbishno va râstîh pavan pâhlûm vajîno kûnishno hûstîgân shaikakûntano.<sup>6</sup>

Aivak dîno Mâzdayaçto cigûn mehîm pûrintkêshânô dûrvçto pûhal yîn mato val çâr pavan ham râvrîkânô pûhal patvastano.

## [TRANSLATION].

Concerning the Ten Precepts of the Immortal-souled Chosroës, King of Kings, the Kobadian, unto the Members of the Assembly of Eran, concerning the observance of the Religion of Auharmazd.

1. First,—To unite the mind—which renders its own nature the means of tending towards the superior Master of the material World, the Sovereign belonging to the (true) Faith ; (the mind) making the nature of the latter the means of tending towards the Supreme Spiritual Master, the Creator Auharmazd,—with a spotless flesh ; and in (this) conjunction of the mind with the spotless flesh, to effect a conjunction in the spotless flesh of the superior with the Supreme Master ; and in an intelligent manner to possess good and effective speech and action (as) an assistance to perfect virtue belonging to both worlds.

2. Next,—to propagate (among) the good material creations the True Religion in thought conformable to nature ; justice in speaking according to correct knowledge ; and justice in acting according to the best choice.

3. Next,—as the Mazdayasnian Religion stretched across to believers (like) a firm bridge, (so) to make it a bridge unto help for the faithful believers.

Aivak asharmokâno cāshtak 4. Next,—to destroy with crushing severity the teaching of heretics, from out of Eran.

Aivak cāshishno dino mânçarak<sup>9</sup> 5. Next,—to carry out the scriptures of the Law and worship and performance, as far as God gave the rite of old in the teaching of the disciples of Atarpatō-Mârespandân who was of the country of Kûlâno (?)

Aivak patirashnō gabrâano-i alar- 6. Next,—not to suffer to die out of Eranian lands the entertainment of just men, the careful tending of the salutary fire, the purification of the holy waters.

Aivak dino dānākīh ahūo mīnīshno 7. Next,—to procure the growth of the knowledge of the Law, meditation on the Lord, the communication of goodness by means of virtuous activity; and in prosperity to exercise generosity unto strong faith; and to protect (it) by means of support against wicked heretics.

Aivak yazishno kartakân-i Yaz- 8. Next,—to secure the increase of the worship and the rites of God in full measure in Eranian countries, also to smite, smash up and overthrow the diabolical and violent and idolatrous (?) disobedience [to the Truth] which may co-exist..

Aivak val zak-ī lanman dāto pavan 9. Next,—to commit to this our Religion, in advancement and progress and propagation of thoughts of religious rites, both the body and the vital principle.

Aivak zavar-i âtâno<sup>23</sup> val khvêshīk 10. Next,—to conjoin the strength of your own (friends) with the assistance of your own Sovereign; and to cut off from yourself feelings of vengeance against your adversary.

## NOTES.

- 1) Lit. passage, ferry, M.P. گدار.
- 2) I cannot make sense out of the passage except by taking *ahūo* alternately in the two different senses which it can have, viz. (1) of nature, natural principle, and (2) of master, protector.
- 3) This is properly an adverb from *gosht*, flesh; lit. "to unite the mind . . . spotless-fleshily, or spotless-materially," i.e., with spotless matter or body.

- 4) Lit. fundamental; often means simply 'good.'
- 5) **אָנאַטאַטאַט**, i. e. *Khvêshînâtân*, apparently with the idea 'to make one's own, appropriate.'
- 6) **אָנאַטאַט** Clearly a Semitic verb. There is a verb **אָנאַט**, 'to run eagerly about.' Can this be from a 'pael' form **אָנאַט** = to cause to run about, or be diffusèd?
- 7) *Câshân* is to teach. *Câsh*to *Karto* occurs below, and seems also to be a compound expression.
- 8) **אָנאַטאַט**. I have merely followed Pesh.'s reading, and cannot explain it.
- 9) The *Z. Mânthra*, sacred formula, Scripture.
- 10) The word generally means 'non-worship,' but in the D. K., as West remarks, it is the same as *yazishn*, and he then reads it *âizishn*.
- 11) Sem., **קָדַם** &c. For the long vowel see my *Traité de Médecine Mazdéenne*, p. 39.
- 12) The Prime Minister of Shahpûhar (Sapor) II, A.D. 309--79, and a celebrated high priest.
- 13) Pesh. translates this: 'from the city of Gilân.'
- 14) Cf. *bareshnîh*; bearing, carrying.
- 15) This is Peshotan's reading; perhaps he is thinking of the Arabic Persian **نسخ** = 'obliteration'?
- 16) Also *austovâr*. Cf. *Z. starra*, P. **استوار**.
- 17) From *râtih*=liberality. 18) Cf. *posht*=backing, support.
- 19, 20) **אָנאַטאַט** and **אָנאַטאַט**; Pesh. reads them *aoj-dehî* and *aoj-daç-i* taking the former as=Zend *uzdista*, and as meaning 'idol' or 'idolatry.' But the word for that is **אָנאַטאַט** *uzdêçtâr*, or **אָנאַטאַט** *âzdêzar*, or **אָנאַטאַט** *uzdîst*). I cannot make out his of the second word. Neither reading, however, nor interpretation meaning, is clear.
- 21) Cf. *Z. açrusti*, abstract noun, disobedience, the not-hearkening; or *açraosha*, adj. not hearkening.
- 22) For *nîrang*, religious formula, ritual.
- 23) "Vis tuorum," *atân* as pl. of **אָנאַט**.
- 24) *Kîn*=hatred, vengeance; *Z. kaèna*, P. **کین**. Perhaps it may be *Kînratân*.
- 25) The *l* is bracketed thus by Pesh. It seems required.
- 26) Variety of *bûrâtân*.

*NOTES ON EARLY SEMITIC NAMES.*

IN the study of the early stages of the life of an ancient people, one of the most fruitful sources of information is to be found in the proper names of individuals. Among ancient nations, especially those of Oriental origin, the name given to, or assumed by, a person is of very great importance, and carries with it a considerable historic or religious record. The names found in the ancient writings of the East, such as the Hebrew Scriptures, the early Assyrian Babylonian and Egyptian records, constitute an almost inexhaustible mine of wealth to the student of social and religious history; and it is most important that each example should be carefully studied. Oriental names may be divided into two main classes: 1) Religious names, those which embody some religious aspiration or dedication, and in which the name of a certain deity formed a prominent element; 2) Secular names, those derived from professions, trades, or from objects in nature.

The first class is extremely valuable, as from them we are able to gain the Pantheon of the tribe or nation to which the people belong; while in the second section indications of social life and natural surroundings are preserved. The earliest lists available for study hitherto have been those valuable genealogies preserved by the Hebrew authors of the book of Genesis, which always has been regarded as the most valuable aids to the student of Semitic peoples. The genealogy (to ledoth) has always been one of the most important features of the Semitic people—for centuries handed down by oral tradition—until finally, often in varying versions embodied in literary form,<sup>1</sup> these precious historical records have preserved as it were the skeleton of national or tribal history.<sup>2</sup> It is one of the characteristic features of Semitic nomad life, and one which centuries of time have never effaced. Many of these lists are rather ethnographic than genealogical records, the analysis of the names showing them to be those of tribes, clans, or particular classes of the Semitic family. Valuable as these early lists are, they do not take us back to a very remote antiquity, and any names which will carry us nearer to the childhood of the race will be of still greater value. Fortunately the ancient records of Chaldea have supplied us with a most important catalogue of early Semitic names current in the twenty-third and subsequent centuries. The traditions of the Hebrew race, the historians of the Semites, all converge in the birth place of Terakh, the

eponym of the nation, in Ur-Kasdim, one of the earliest cities occupied by the Semites<sup>3</sup>—Among the inscriptions discovered in the mounds of Mukeyer, which mark the ruins of this important city, were a few inscriptions written in Semitic Babylonian; but owing to the very slight exploration which the mound has undergone, these are not numerous. A most important find, however, was made in a mound not far distant. In the mound of Sinkara which marks the site of the ancient Larsa, Mr. Loftus discovered<sup>4</sup> a large number of tablets of the class known as contract tablets, dated in the reigns of Rim-Sin, Khammurabi, Samsi-iluna, and other monarchs of the Babylonian dynasty, whose reigns may be placed about B.C. 2300. Several of these have been published by the able pen of Dr. Strassmaier in the Proceedings of the Berlin Oriental Congress<sup>5</sup>; but no analysis of the extremely valuable list of names of witnesses and contracting parties seems to have been attempted. I propose in these Notes to deal with a few of the most important, reserving my fuller analysis of some fourteen hundred names collected from these and other documents for a larger work which I have in preparation.

The religious names occurring in these valuable catalogues reveal to us a very simple and at the same time important pantheon, consisting of Sin the Moon god; Šamaš the Sun god. Rimman the Rain and Storm-god, and Istar the Lunar and Stellar Venus. This is just the simple pantheon of the Southern Arabian Himyaritic inscriptions and Temanite inscriptions published by Mr. Doughty and Dr. Eüting<sup>6</sup>. From the non-Semitic pantheon of the Chaldeans the Semites, at least the common people, appear to have borrowed very few divine names, Ea Marduk only appearing a few times, and the name of Nergal but once. This simple pantheon, with the supreme divine Ilu or El at its head, formed the whole religious world of the Semites who preceded Terakh in his Chaldean home, and who collectively appear in the names<sup>7</sup> under the appellation of *Iluni*, "the gods," (a phrase recalling the *Elohé Teman* in the inscription of Zelem Sezeb of Teman).

These settlers in the fertile plains of Chaldea, occupied as simple traders, do not appear as yet to have shaken off their desert and nomadic life and its nomenclature, as is revealed by a remarkable pair of names which are found in the lists; *Sin-bula-nazir*, "the Moon god protects the cattle," (B. 88) and *Ilu-su-bula-nazir*, "His god protects the cattle." Here we have a name which savours in every respect of the nomadic desert life, when the tribal god, the Moon-god, protects the cattle in the stall or sheep-cote. This couple of names exactly agrees with the lines of the

remarkable hymn to the Moon-god of Ur. (W.A.I., vol. IV, pl. 9)<sup>8</sup> in which stall and sheep-cote, flock and herd, are placed under his divine protection. Among the divine names in these tablets, by far the greater percentage are those compounded with the name of the Moon-god, who is always, as Golaziher<sup>9</sup> has shown, the chief patron of the nomad, who loves the cool dewy nights. Some of these names are very expressive, and embody the epithets employed in the important hymn I have already referred to. Among them I may quote; *Sin bel ili*, *Sin-abum*, *Sin-asarid*, *Sin-gamil-anni*, *Sin-nazir*, *Sin-magir*, *Sin-nubanit*, *Sin-mušalim*, M. is lord of the gods," "M. is the father," "M. the firstborn," "M. is my benefactor," "M. is the protector," "M. favours," "M. is the creator," "M. is the saviour." In the same way *Sin-esses* and *Sin-ašū* the new moon and the rising moon,—shew the attentive observation of this orb in these remote times as among the Arabs of the present day. The prominence of names of a lunar origin, in these early Semitic names of the population of Babylonia, seems to throw some important light upon the peculiar character of the names in the Terakhite family, most of which are epithets connected with the Moon. The name of Terakh, תרך<sup>9</sup> is now usually explained by the Syriac, a species of gazelle. This explanation receives an important side-light from the fact that the gazelle was the totem of the Moon-goddess Istar, and is frequently represented on the gems beside figures of that goddess. It is to be noticed that on the gems from Nineveh, on the royal or sacred sword of Rimmon-nirari which I have published, (*Trans. Bib. Arch.*, vol. V,) and on the royal standard of the Assyrian army (Bonomi, *Nineveh*), the gazelle is the crest or totem. We may, therefore, perhaps take the gazelle to be the totem of the Terakhite branch of the Semites; and this similarity of totem may account for the association of Eber and Assur (Gen. X. 22, Number XXIV. 24). Such names as Ab-ramu, "High father," and its later form Ab-raham, probably a softening of the older form Ab-rakham אברךם, the well known epithet in the hymn already mentioned. *Abu-rēmu*, (אברעים)<sup>10</sup> "Merciful father," appear probably to be derived from lunar epithets, as do Laban—the Babylonian *Labanu*—the name of the Moon god of Kharran, Milkah, Babylonian *Milkatu*, and Sarah, *Sarratu*; at once recall the *Meleket h'a*—"Samaim," the Queen of heaven " (Jer. VII, 18)," and require no explanation. The name Nahor, however, seems as yet hard to class with the others, and I offer, but only as a suggestion, that it may be a corrupted form of Nannar. Animal names are found frequently in these texts; *Ailum*. Bell-

wether, *Zabitu* ; Gazelle, (Tabitha) *Khamširum*, (Heb. *Khazir*, Arab. *Khanzir*) ; *Kalbu* Dog ; *Zenu*, Sheep—names which seem to be survivals of *totem*-worship among these early settlers. It is to be hoped that careful lists of these valuable records of early Semitic life will be made by those who have access to these records of the people of the bygone past. It is curious to notice that at this period there is no trace, so far as I can ascertain, of the name of the prophet-god *Nebo*—a name which no doubt was of much later origin.

## NOTES.

- 1) Compare the two genealogies of Shem (Gen. x, 21–31 and xi. 10–32.) The list of Edomite dukes (*alluphim*) in Gen. xxxvi. is in all probability a very ancient specimen.
- 2) It is told of the Kalif Omar that he said: “Learn your genealogies, and be not as the Nabatheans of Al Sawād, who, if one ask one of them where he comes from, says this or that town.”
- 3) The use of *uru* for “city” among the Northern Semites would almost seem to indicate its possible origin in the form *uri* ; no doubt the city had other names.
- 4) *Chaldea and Susiana*.
- 5) *Proceedings Oriental Congress*, Berlin, 1881. These have been supplemented by tablets brought to England by Mr. Rassam and by private collectors.
- 6) *Corpus Inscrip. Semiticarum*, part II.
- 7) See Neubauer in the *Studia Biblica*, in loco.
- 8) The whole tone of this remarkable hymn is so Semitic, and so closely resembles Hebrew and Arabic literature, that, although accompanied by an Akkadian translation, I am inclined to regard this as a later work; of this I shall give proof in my proposed volume.
- 9) *Mythology among the Hebrews*, where many proofs are given.
- 10) See Robertson Smith, ‘Kinship & Marriage in Ancient Arabia,’ p.220, where this subject of early Hebrew names and the evidence of Islamism is very fully dealt with. See also same author in *Journal of Philology*, vol. xi. The ibex or gazelle seems certainly to have been the sacred animal of Istar, and, on a Phœnician gem in the collection of Mr. Greville Chester, it is figured along with the crescent moon and star emblems of Astarte. On an Assyrian gem in the British Museum Istar has two gazelles and a palm-tree, as well as a star as her symbols.
- 11) The expression *Abu rēmu* in the hymn line 40 is an exact equivalent. The conjecture of Renan (‘History of Israel,’ vol. i. p. 77) that *Abu-Orkham* is in any way the origin of this name is quite untenable. The reading of the name on the early bricks cannot be distorted to this: it is *Ur-bahu* or *Amil Absu*.
- 12) See some previous notes of mine on this question, *Journal of the Victoria Institute*, vol. XVII, ‘Historical Evidences of the Migration of Abram.’

W. ST. C. BOSCAWEN.

## A BUDDHIST REPERTORY

IN SANSKRIT, TIBETAN, MANDCHU, MONGOL &amp; CHINESE.

(Continued from p. 215).

## SECTION XXII (cont.)--NOTES.

4) Causes which produce all effects realised in the universe.—We have here the outlines of all Buddhist ontology and biology, the *nidāna*, or causes of existence and vicissitudes. Buddhism never applied itself to unveil the mystery of the origin of beings ; it denies creation and the varying development of a personal, eternal being ; but affirms nothing and does not seek any logical basis for its system. It takes all beings just as they are and explains only particular existences. For it, in all that we see and perceive, there is neither soul, personality, nor substance, but only successive phenomena which produce different apparent beings, by a series of combinations of substanceless elements, engendering only *form* and *name*, and by no means any real *supposita*. These phenomena, or successive formations produce only evils and griefs, and the principle of them must be arrested and destroyed to arrive at repose and negative happiness.—Each individual being is an aggregate of elements called *skandha*. This aggregate is formed by means of the inherent force which causes phenomena to be perceived, a want to be felt, its satisfaction desired (*trshṇā*), its element necessary to this satisfaction to be apprehended and reunited, in order to be assimilated to ones self. The principle which causes this force to act is illusion, or error, which makes believe the reality and permanence of the elements and beings thus formed, and in the good which they can procure. This illusion existing, there arise from it also the two intellectual acts,—one that of reunion, comparison, comprehension (*sanskāra*), the other that of division or distinction (*vijñāna*),—both illusory. Their product is the form and name of beings (*Nāmarūpam*) which constitute their entire reality ; and this name is not a simple appellation, but an entitative condition. These phenomena being produced, there arise the faculties and objects of perception ; the five senses and the perceptive principle (*Manas*), which form the six āyatanas (*śhadāyatana*), and which are here, as in Brahmanism, general phenomenal entities, and not individual faculties. The six senses being engendered, come into contact *sparṣa* with the name-forms, and hence arise perceptions and sensations (*vedanā*, §7), which cause to be felt wants and the sentiment of good,—and the desire of satisfying the former and possessing the latter (*trshṇā*, thirst, §8) the being produced by the resultant of these forces then seeks to obtain and appropriate the objects perceived and desired, and by this appropriation realises his nature (*bhava*) and is born (*jāti*), assumes a distinct existence and life, subject to a thousand vicissitudes and evils until old age and death. Birth or the formation of the being have been brought about by the aggregation of particular elements (*skandha*, sect. XXXIII) : the destruction at death



is caused by the disintegration of the *skandhas*, which are not annihilated: they fall back into the *avidyā*, whence comes forth a new being, whose condition is determined by the acts of the preceding, his faults, or virtues. Does the new contain anything of the old one? is there a sort of continued personality from the one to the other? For the primitive Buddhist and the Hīnayānist, the affirmative seems certain, the legends suppose it, or simply that the different lives of a given person rest on one and the same *suppositum*. The terms *pudgala*, *purusha*, used to signify these individual beings, prove the same.—The negative is equally certain for the extreme Mahāyānists: for them though, mind does not exist *in se*, but is born and disappears with sensation. The mind does not apprehend itself, but can only see its own transitory and successive character.

5) These 12 causes produce their effect according to the world in which the phenomenal being is born, and the condition assigned to it by the acts of its anterior life, whether as *dēva*, man, *asura* (evil genius), damned soul (in one of the hells), *prēta*, or animal. (See II, sect. 31).

## SECTION XXIII.

*Bden bzi-hi rnam-pa bcu drug.*

The 16 Species of the Four Principles.

1. *Du:kham*, misfortune. T. *sdug bshal*.
2. *Anityam*, non-perpetuity, instability. T. *mi rtag pa*.
3. *Ānyam*, emptiness. T. *ston pa*, M. *untuhun*, id.
4. *Anārmakam*, [read *anātmakam*]. T. *bdag med pa*, absence of personability, non-self. M. Ch. non-ego.
5. *Hētu*, productive cause. T. *rgyu*, id. M. *acabun*; Ch. cause.
6. *Samudamam*, what excites, produces by uniting together. T. *kun 'byun*, total (*sam*) cause. M. any cause. Ch. re-union (*sam*), (the aggregate of the elements which produce *sanskāra* and birth. Burnouf, *Lotus de la loi*, 517 sqq. M. *samudayan*.)
7. *Prabhava*, birth. T. *rab-skye*, id. (*rab=pra*). M. *umesi (pra)*. Ch. birth.
8. *Pratyaya*, foundation, fundamental or causal principle. T. *rgyan*, support, guarantee. M. aid, Ch. Connexion (what ensures and aids the causative action, existence and its vicissitudes).
9. *Nirodha*, stoppage, impediment of the causative action. T. *'gog pa*, to take away by force. M. *gukuhun*. (Stoppage brought about to destroy the principle of self and to arrive at exstasy or nirvāna).
10. *Ānta*, calm, interior silence, produced by the repression of appetites. T. *z'i ba*. Ch. internal void.
11. *Praṇīti*, exemption from passion.<sup>1</sup> T. *gyo nom pa*, contentment, being satisfied. M. Mg. tenderness, affection. Ch. marvel, perfect, mysterious.

12. *Niparaṇa* : T. *ñes par 'byuñ ba*, sure or perfect (*ni*) exit or means of traversing.<sup>2</sup> M. id. Ch. to quit, go away. (M. *ni* : *saranam*).
13. *Mārga*. T. *lam*, way, manner, conduct, precept to follow ; path to Nirvāna.
14. *Nyāya*, wise conduct. T. *rigs pa*, morals, conduct. M. intelligence. Ch. rectitude, well-regulated conduct.
15. *Pratipatti*. T. *sgrub-pa*. Completion ; complete obtaining of the end to be obtained by repression and contemplation.
16. *Nātyānika*, perpetuity. T. *ñes par 'byin pa*, real (and not transitory) production ; assured, true existence. (Condition of eternal existence in the great void attained by the rules above indicated<sup>3</sup>. M. *nāiry-apika*).

1) In classical Sk. = act of leading. Cf. *prāṇāyāya*, exempt from desires,

2) i.e. the current of the world and of passions, so as to follow the way of the Law.

3) The greater part of these terms have a different meaning in classical or Brahmanical Sk., and it would be superfluous to indicate them here.— The 16 varieties are divided between the four principles, four by four. These principles or truths are (i.) That existence proceeds from the evil of ignorance and want or desire ; that all existence is only a series of pains and painful efforts, (ii.) That the origin of all evil is in *trshnā*, the desire or appetition of what is believed to be good, and the repulsion or rejection of what is thought to be evil, (iii.) That an end must be put to the state of suffering and pain by annihilating appetites and repulsions, and producing void in oneself, (iv.) That the only means of obtaining the mediate and immediate effects, is to embrace the Buddhist Faith, to follow the law and to walk on the way which it traces until the complete accomplishment of the work and perpetual existence in Nirvāna.

#### SECTION XXIV.

*Slob ba gsum.*

The Three Teachings.<sup>1</sup>

1. *Adhiṣṭam*, Superior (or internal) morality. T. *ltag pa hi 'ul khrims*, law, religious superior.
2. *Adhicittam*, T. *ltag pa hi sems*, superior reflexion or intelligence.
3. *Adhiprajñā*, T. *ltag pa hi 'ces rab*, superior knowledge,

1) The three fundamental titles of the whole Buddhist morality, the object of the efforts of the faithful : good conduct, meditation reaching to empty extasy, and the knowledge of the reality.

## SECTION XXV.

*Byañ c'ub phyogs kyi c'os so bdun las dran-pa ñer bz'ag bzi-ki miñ-la.*

The Four Means of Employing the Intellectual Faculties according to the Exercises of the Law relatively to Bodhi [=the perfection of Wisdom and Virtue which fit one to become Buddha]<sup>1</sup>.

1. *Kāyasmṛtyupasthānam*, T. *lus dran pa ñer bar bzag pa*, Exercise of reflexion on the corporal being, (to recognise its impurity, emptiness, illusoriness).
2. *Vedanāsmṛtyup...*T. *ts'or ba dran pa...* Reflexion on one's sensations and perceptions (to understand the miserable state of man and the falsity of his perceptions).
3. *Cittasmṛty...* T. *sems dran pa...* Reflexion on ones thought, on the acts of the intellect,<sup>2</sup> particularly on instability, birth and death.
4. *Dharmasmṛty...* T. *c'os dran pa...* Meditation on the sacred Law.

1) i.e. the objects of the meditations of the Buddhist which are to lead him to the knowledge of the true nature of beings of the Law, and thereby to destroy *avidyā*, with the existences proceeding therefrom, and to lead to *nirvāna* (cf. *Udān varga*, IV, 2, *Com.*)—*Smṛti* is in Buddhist parlance conscience, reflexion which discusses and discerns internally good and evil, leads towards the former and repels from the latter. *Smṛtyupasthānam* is the foundation, the presence of an object in ones conscience

2) The Buddhists distinguish 55 such special acts, which it would be superfluous to indicate here. Sometimes only 37 are reckoned. The last term *dharmasmṛty...* has for its special object the knowledge of the inconstancy of human being and the illusion which makes one believe in the *ego*. The 37 elements are indicated in section XXV, XXVII, XXVIII, XXIX, XXX, and XXXI.

## SECTION XXVI.

*Yañ dag par spon ba bzi.*

The Four Things to be sincerely avoided<sup>1</sup> (M. Ch. id).

1. *Anutpattānām pāpakānām akuṣalānām dharmānām anutpādāyachandam janayati*: To prevent the birth of evil, unhealthy doctrines not yet born.<sup>2</sup>
2. *Utpattānām pāpakānām akuṣalānām dharmānām prahānāyachandam j...* Desire to avoid or abandon evil and unhealthy doctrines (already) born.
3. *Anutpattānām kuṣalānām dharmānām utpādāyachandam j...* Desire to cause healthy doctrines not yet born to succeed.
4. *Utpattānām kuṣalānām dharmānām cchintāya-bhūyob havāya asampramoshāya paripūrnāyachandam j...* (M. *schitāya*)—Desire (to see)

good doctrines which have risen up become confirmed, developed, not perish (but) to arrive at their full development.

## TIBETAN :—

1. *Sñigs-pa mi dge ba hi c'os-ma skyes-pa rnam mi skyed pa-hi phyir 'dun pa skyed do.*
2. *Sñigs-pa mi dge ba hl c'os skyes-pa rnam spæd ba-hi phyir bduan pa skyed do.*
3. *Dge-ba-hi' c'os-ma' skyes-pa rnam-ba skyed pa hi phyir 'dun pa skyed do.*
4. *Dge bahi c'os skyes-pa rnam gnas-pa dan phyir z'in 'byu n-ba dan ñams bar mi 'gyur ba dan yoñs su rdzogs pa phya 'dun skyed do.*

5. *Vyāyacchate*, to make efforts. T. 'bad do, to do ones best. [litt. "he does..."] M. id. Cf. XXII, 17.
6. *Vāiryam ārabhati*. T. *brtson grus brtson mo*, to display zeal and enegy, (litt. "arms himself with courage.")
7. *Cittim pragrhnāte*. T. *sems rab tu 'dzin-to*, "he applies himself to meditation." M. "he fixes his heart with firmness." Ch. "he fixes himself according to the rites."
8. *Samyak parāyāti*. T. *yañ-dag par rab-tu 'zog go*, keeping oneself entirely in a state of recollection. M. really recollected. Ch. mastering oneself, fixing ones thoughts, meditating. (M. *pradadhāti*.)

1) This title ill corresponds to the contents of the section. It must have been taken ready-made from some place, and the section put together without reference to it. The two first item only belong to the title,

2) Or behaving oneself according to truth and duty.

3) All this is composed of entire sentences, with finite verb, copied from some Buddhist book. The meaning is : 'to engender the desire of preventing,' &c. The title ought to be "the eight things which a jealous Buddhist does." (Read *anupannānām*.)

## SECTION XXVII.

*Rdzu-'phrul gyi rkañ pa bzi hi min-la.*

The Four Bases of the Riddhi.<sup>1</sup>

1. *Chandasamādhi*. T. 'dun pahi tiñ-ne 'dzin. The profound contemplation attained by desire.
- [2] *Prahānasasñskāra samānyagato rddhi pāda*,<sup>2</sup> basis of supernatural power obtained by the abandonment of acts. T. *spoñ pa-hi 'dn byed dan ldan pa-hi rdzu 'phrul gyi skañ pa*, id, M. *rddhi* accomplished by the abandonment of acts. (M, *Samannāgato*).
2. [3] *Cittasamādhiprahānasasñskarasamānyagato rd...* *Riddhi* attained

- by abandonment of acts and the contemplation of reflexion or memory. T. *sems kyi tiñ-ñe 'dzin spon ba-hi 'du-byed dan...*
- 3 [4]. *Vīryasamādhiprahāna-saṅs*.....T. *brtson 'grus-kyi tiñ-ñe 'dzin...* ...Riddhi obtained by regeneration and energetic efforts, or zealous exercise of contemplation, (contemplation concentrating all the forces in ecstasy).
- 4 [5]. *Mīmāṃsāsamādhiprahānasaṅs*.....Riddhi attained by abandonment and the contemplation of the intelligence. T. *dpjyon pañi tiñ-ñe 'dzin*; Riddhi attained by reflective meditation. M. *cincilan* ('telescope'), profound contemplation. Ch, *hwoei*, rendered elsewhere by *prajñēndriyam*=organ of knowledge, intellect.
- 6<sup>1</sup>. *Anupalambhayogona bhavati* [read *yogena*]<sup>2</sup> (he) meditates without the adjunct of imaginative concept. T. *min-migs pa-li ts'ul gyis bsyom mo*, meditation without distinct concept. M. to reflect, practise meditation according to the law without particular concept (*jorigan ako*). Ch. abandoning all wish of taking (anything) or receiving, he manifests his thought.
7. *Vivekanasrti*, perfect distinction of what is true and false, good and bad, (also solitude). T. *dben pa la gnas pa*, dwelling in solitude. M. dwelling in purity. Ch., rest in silence and repose.
8. *Vīraganīrtam*, penetrating into the absence of passion. T. *'dod-cags dan bral lag gnas pa*, fixed in the absence of desires. (M. *Vivēkani-ḡrt'am*).
9. *Nirodhanīrtam*, plunged into the work of extinguishing passions or arresting activity.<sup>5</sup> T. *'gog pa la gnas pa*, penetrating into destruction. M. Ch. id.
10. *Vyavasargapariṣatam*, (entirely) bent on renunciation. T. *rnam par spon ba bsgugs pa*. M. (he) governs or directs himself sincerely by complete renouncement. Ch. straight and sure way of renouncing evil.

1) Magic power, as the Tibetan indicates, by means of which the advanced Buddhist disposes of his body at will, takes different forms, transports himself wherever he wishes, &c. Sk. *rddhi pāda*.

2) *Chanda* is not only the desire, but the determination proceeding from it and causing it to produce its effort. Probably we ought to read *prahāna*...The first and second phrases ought to be united, so as to read: *Chandasamādhiprahānasaṅskāra*... and to translate, "obtaining by the abandonment of Sanskāra and the contemplation by desire," &c. Burnouf joins *Samādhi* with *prahāna*, makes of *Saṅskāra*, 'concept', and translate "portion of the riddhi accompanied by renunciation of the meditation of desire." It is just the contrary.

3) This section ought to stop at No. 5, which is in reality No. 4. The title indicates only the supernatural state of powers produced by the four progressive species of contemplation,—by desire or affection, reflexion, concentration of efforts to produce interior quiet, and exstasy or simple beholding. The five last terms indicate special means for arriving at the common end: void produced in the thought by purely abstract contemplation, solitude, repression of passions, and their suppression or renunciation.

4) Another fragment of a sentence with a finite verb, *bhavati*=est, fit. "(The Buddhist) meditates. Ordinarily only four *pādas* or degrees are reckoned, viz.: *chanda*=desire, *virya*=effort, practice; *citta*=reflexion *nimānsa*=contemplation. The Ch. has only these four terms.

5) Arrest or suppression of the *saṅskāra* and the *udādhi*, acts and attribute, and their operations causing suffering.

## SECTION XXVIII.

*Dbañ po lña*, The Five Senses.<sup>1</sup>

1. *Çraddhendriyam*<sup>2</sup>: sense, foundation of faith. T. *dad pa hi dbaṅ pa*. M. Ch. id. Perhaps also: desire, appetite.
2. *Viryendriyam*: sense of energy in efforts and exercises. T. *brtson 'grus*, activity, energy. Ch. ardour to advance, *tsi'n*.
3. *Smrtendriyam*: T. *dran pa*, memory, consciousness. (See sect. XX).
4. *Samādhindriyam*: sense of contemplation. T. *tiñ-ñe 'dzin*.
5. *Prajñendriyam*: sense of knowledge, intelligence, intuition, knowledge of the great truths which lead to possession of *Nirvāna*. T. *ṣes rab*.

1) In these two sections there is question of the superior senses, of the principles which lead to the acquisition and employment of these intellectual goods, principles which in the eyes of the Buddhists are faculties with a distinct subsistence of their own.

2) *Indriya* is the seat of the faculty or power; *balam* is the active power itself. *Indriya* is in Ch. *kān*, foundation or root.

## SECTION XXIX.

*Stobs lña*. The Five Powers.

1. *Çraddhābalam*. Power of faith.
2. *Viryābalam*. Power of energy.
3. *Smrtibalam*. Power of memory.
4. *Samādhībalam*.<sup>1</sup> Power of contemplation.
5. *Prajñābalam*. Power of intuitive knowledge.

1) The *Samādhi* (see sect. I.) has regulated and graduated exercises, called *dhyāna* (meditation) and *samapatti* (immersion), each of four kinds like the four layers of the world of forms and the invisible world. The intelligent being engaged in the *way* may thus successively refine and elevate his nature to such a point as to reach the condition of the highest and most powerful supernatural beings. In the *dhyāna* there



*Ahšatā*, untroubled, from the root *xan*, *k'shan*. Cf. in the Avesta *k'shānman*, translated by Nergosaugh "anānandamanas," Geiger, Handbuch s.7., but also de Harlez, Manuel<sup>2</sup> s.v. *k'shānméné*.

*Arakadriš*. It is incertain, whether this word is to read Arakadriš or, perhaps, Arakadariš. Cf. Susian Arakadarris, Assyr. Arakatri.

*Arika* is a better reading than *araika*, cf. Susian *harrikas*.

*Uvāhšatara*. Prof. Oppert (*Médes* pag. 22.) thinks, that the meaning of this name was, 'celui qui a de beaux mulets.' I suppose that it comes from the root 'vahš', to grow, + *u*, good, formed with the suffix *a* and 'tara.' Cf. *ὄροσάγειαι* and 'u-varez=*εὐεργέται*. Hesychius and Photius: *σωματο-φύλακες βασιλέως*. Nymphis *ζένοι βασιλαιοι*.

*Gaubarwa*. Fr. Müller proposes to read this name *Gaubruva* and compares *Gobryas*. Cf. Sus. *Gobarva*. Assyr. *ku-bar-ra*. "Gau" may recall the Indian and Avest. *gāuš*, and *baruva* may be formed from the root *bar* with the suffix *va*. For the "u" in *baruva*, not being primitive as it is affirmed by the Susian form of the name, is a certain example: *duruj*=*ḍruj* in the Avesta.

*Cašma*, as given by Oppert, is, it seems, the best reading. Cf. Sansc. root *caksh*.

*Mā...Beh*, II, 22, may be completed "Maruš." Cf. Susian *Maru-us*, Assyrian *Ma-ru-*<sup>2</sup>; also in *Mar-gu-*<sup>2</sup>=old Persian *Marguš* is the Assyrian *ḥ*-<sup>2</sup>=š.

*Paruzana* is not "populous" (Bartholomac and Brugmann) neither, at least literally translated, "multilingual" (Oppert and Sayce, *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* III, 471), but "consisting of diverse nations." I cannot compare the old Persian 'zana' to n. Pers. 'zebān'.—*Yanaiy* seems to be a locative of a stem *yanā*; *yanā* is formed from the pronom. stem 'ya,' as *yāta*, and the suffix *nā*, meaning "but." cf. *avahyarādiy*.

*Haumavarka* is a better reading than *Humavarka*, cf. susian *Umurgap*. Assyrian *u-mu-ur-ga-*<sup>2</sup>. W. BANG.

#### BEH. IV. 66.

In a larger essay, I wrote for the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, I have already treated this very difficult passage. I knew then not any complement for line 66. The imperfect word after "hya" may be completed to "viyanāsaya"; the commencement of the word is altogether lost, but it must necessarily be *ni* "or *vi*." *viyanāsaya* is a causal of *nas+vi*: *hya viyanāsaga avam ufrastam aparsan, qui (iis) detrimentum attulit, eum severe punivi*. Cf. with *viyanāsaga pahlavi v anās, vanāskār, vanāskārīh, pārsi, persian gunāh*.

Oppert. *Médes* pag. 182, *viyanāthata*. Müller, *Wiener Zeitschr.* I pag. 60, *āniyatā*. Cf. with *viyanāthata Spiegel, Vergleich. Gram.* pag. 122 num. 3. W. BANG.



THE  
BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

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*Contributors are alone responsible for their opinions or statements.*

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THE GATES OF SUNRISE IN ANCIENT BABYLONIAN  
ART.\*

IN a noteworthy contribution to volume third of the *American Journal of Archaeology*, Dr. William Hayes Ward of New York advances convincing considerations in favor of interpreting a certain representation often recurring in the ancient Babylonian gems as referring to the Gates of Sunrise and to the coming forth of Shamash, the Sun-god, from them. No competent student of the subject can well doubt that the explanation is at once strikingly original and correct.

§ But where in ancient Babylonian thought were these Gates of Sunrise located? Not "above the Median mountains" to the East of Babylonia, as Dr. Ward implies, and as any one unmindful of the peculiarities of ancient cosmology would inevitably suppose. In my opinion, not on the Eastern, but *under* the *Northern* horizon stood the twin mountains and the Sacred Gate.

§ The Egyptians had a similar Gate of their Sun-god, Ra. As Maspero says: "La Porte Sacrée est représentée dans les vignettes du *Livre des Morts*, tantôt ouverte et laissant paraître entre ses deux montants le disque solaire ou le dieu Tounou à forme humaine, tantôt fermée et verrouillée."<sup>1</sup> And where was this Sacred Portal? Under the Northern horizon of Egypt, reached by the sun six hours after his apparent setting and left by him six hours before his apparent rising.<sup>2</sup> More precisely it was "au point où Shou souleve le ciel," (p. 274); consequently, though

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\*The Committee of Publication, though admitting that Dr. Warren had a right to be heard, beg to remind the readers of the *B. & O. R.* that, as stated on the first page of the Magazine, the authors alone are responsible for their opinions and statements, and therefore that Dr. W. is *alone responsible* for his North-Pole theory.

below the horizon of Egypt, it was I think at the true summit of the Earth, the Northern Pole.<sup>3</sup>

§ The twin mountains represented in the Shamash cylinders are doubtless the twin (*mási*) mountains referred to in the second column of the ninth tablet of the Epic of Gisdhubar.<sup>4</sup> They appear to have been terminal peaks of the mountain of the world," which like the Harâ-berezaiti of the Iranians was "the support and mother of all lesser mountains." Professor Sayce is quite right in making the Babylonian "mountain of sunrise" and "mountain of sunset" one and the same;<sup>5</sup> nor need he have hesitated as he seems to have done to identify that one with the "mountain of the world."<sup>6</sup> In the bilingual hymn appended to Dr. Ward's article, it is abundantly identified with "that great mountain," "the mountain of fate," "the place of destinies."<sup>7</sup>

§ But though, to a person in the latitude of Babylonia or Egypt the mountain of the sunrise was below the local horizon, it was not properly in the Underworld. *In its own latitude* it was the dazzling summit of the special earth, the only stairway to the abode of the gods. Hence speaking with reference to the true heaven,—the heaven of the gods, the poet could with perfect consistency sing of the sunrising as in a heavenly region, in "the Navel of Heaven," and allude to the Sun-gate as a gate of the sky.<sup>8</sup> Failing to recognize the like sphericity of the old Egyptian earth, whose mountain of sunrise exactly corresponded to the Babylonian, Maspero involves himself in difficulty and finds the sun at midnight at the gate of the abode of Osiris, but this gate at one and the same time beneath the Northern horizon and yet high in the North or North-eastern sky.

§ In perfect accord with the real ideas of ancient Egypt and Babylonia, Plato locates Apollo, the god of light, at the North Pole, and Hesiod in his Theogony places in the same locality his Gate of Day. Naville has shown that in Egyptian thought the geographical On was only an earthly copy of a heavenly one—the heavenly sanctuary of Ra. This like the Palace of Mithra in Avestan thought, and the Shrine of Agni in Vedic thought, was at the top of the polar mountain of the gods, a mountain based upon the whole earth but piercing the first of the heavenly spheres. There also was the Dionysian Nysa, and what Wolfgang Menzel long ago described as the *Sonnengarten am Nordpol*." The present writer has little doubt that the remarkable Stone Tablet of Abu-habba will eventually be recognized as a representation of Shamash, seated in state in his sanctuary upon the summit of "the mountain of the world," precisely as Plato

has represented Apollo ; that the solitary *timeru* (column) will prove to be the Atlas-pillar, the Shu-support, of the world ; that Siru, the over-arching serpent, will be recognized as the guardian constellation Draco ; that the so-called "sun-wheel"<sup>10</sup> upon the altar will be found to be the Earth-navel with the sign of the Quadrifurcate Waters ; and, finally, that the study of the inscription *Ina pût apsi*, and the related expression *pi-i nahri* in the Epic, will at length teach the teachable that in this ancient language, as in more than one other, there are indications that originally in early poetic and mythologic expression, the "mouth" of a river was in immediate connection with its "head," and was in fact but another name for the fountain from which it drew its nourishment.<sup>11</sup>

§ The importance of the study of Ancient Cosmology to all persons engaged in archæological and mythological researches cannot easily be overstated. Even those who only aspire to enjoy the fruits of such researches will find the pursuit indispensable.

## NOTES.

1. *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*. Paris, 1887, p. 274n.
2. *Ibid*, p. 275.
3. See the six theses in Egyptian cosmology in *Boston University Year Book*, vol. X. p. 33 : or in *Paradise Found*, p. 173.
4. Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 363 n.—If, as Brugsch has conjectured, the "Four Props of Heaven" in Egyptian mythology were terminal peaks of their polar *Weltberg*, answering to the four contreforts of Mount Meru in the four cardinal points, it is likely that the Babylonian Khar-sag-kurkura also had four such peaks and that the two represented in the Shamash cylinders are those which in Puranic geography stand in the N.E. and S.E. corners of Ilâvrita. In starting upon his Eastward journey it would be between these two that the Sun-god would naturally issue forth from the *Sonnengarten am Nordpol*.
- In this connection it should be noted that the Egyptian picture given by Brugsch and others, in which Nut is represented as supported at four extreme points by feet and hands, and at the "Navel" by Shu, is not, as usually understood, a picture of the sky above Egypt, but is according to my views a representation of the polar heaven of the gods. The hands and feet of the goddess are the "Four Props." Shu, at the "Navel of Heaven" (and "Navel of Earth"), is the prototype of Atlas and the Atlas-pillar. The passage of the sun through her body represents, not the twelve hours of an equatorial night, but the briefer transit of the child of Nut through the heaven that overspans Ta-nuter.
5. *Ibid*, p. 361.
6. *Paradise Found*, pp. 123-137.
7. Ward, *ibid*, p. 56 ; Sayce, *ibid*, p. 515. On the last expression see Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, pp. 39-133
8. *West Asian Inscriptions*, IV, 17. Translated by Sayce in *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 171. On the "Navel of Heaven" see *Paradise Found*, pp. 202-224.

9. Maspero, *ut supra*, p. 275. Also his essay, "Egyptian Souls and their Worlds," in the *New Princeton Review*, July, 1888, pp. 23-36.

10. There is high authority for considering an entirely different figure—the lozenge—the proper sun-symbol in Babylonian art. See the *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. iii, p. 385.

11. See for representations of the tablet the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. viii. p. 164; Menant, *Pierres Gravées*. Tom. i p. 243; Ward, Notes in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. iv., 341-343.

WILLIAM F. WARREN.

### THE INSCRIPTIONS OF SIÛT AND DÊR RIFEH.

(Continued from p. 184).

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY. (SIÛT.)

I HAVE looked through most of the books and manuscripts that seemed likely to contain matter relating to the ancient necropolis of Siût, and select the following for explanation or contradiction.

NORDEN, *Voyage*. 1755, vol. ii., p. 137.. At Siût in November, 1737. In the "mountain called *Tschebat ell Kofferi*" are "grottoes called *Sababinath*." He describes the tombs (apparently confusing Tomb I. with the pillared tombs II-V), and continues: 'l'endroit de la montagne ou l'on voit sept ouvertures par une même ligne se nomme les *sept chambres*. Il y a une ancienne tradition que ces chambres ayent été habitées par *sept vierges*.'

Now Norden was ignorant of Arabic and, moreover, states that he did not himself visit this part of the hill, but obtained the information from a person who knew the place. It is not difficult to arrive at the facts which Norden partly misunderstood. Sababinath (Seb'a benât) is of course the same as 'sept vierges.' According to the *Description de l'Égypte* (Planches Ant. IV, 'pl. 46, fig. 9; Text IV, p. 150; Explication des planches p. 404), 'sur la gauche de la montagne' and 'plus au nord que la précédent,' there was a row of seven standing figures, apparently female, and a child, sculptured in very high relief: an irregular excavation divided them into two groups, five being on one side of it and two with the child on the other. These no doubt formed the ground of the tradition. With regard to their situation, 'la précédent' is Tomb II, and it may be men-

tioned that Jomard, who was responsible for the drawings and notes on pl. 46, in another case on that plate wrote the word 'nord' where 'sud' is required by the facts; and I suspect the same mistake here. Wilkinson, the only other authority who mentions the figures says, (*Modern Egypt and Thebes*, p. 88): 'On the lower part of the hill are 5 standing statues in high relief.' Three had therefore been destroyed before that time, 1830? Possibly a trace of them will be discovered if the debris of blasting is ever cleared away. These statues were probably carved on the back wall of a passage cut parallel to the cliff-face, such as is found in tombs of the *maštah* period (Vth dynasty?). *Tschebat el Kofferi* should be corrected to *jebel el káfirín* or some such expression 'hill of the unbelievers.'

Norden's view of the hill in Pl. LXXXIV is a confused patch-work, the abrupt cliff face being borrowed from the ravine on the South.

Pococke, Description 1743, wrongly identifies Siût with Antaeopolis.

DENON, who accompanied Napoleon's expedition in 1798 but preceded the other scientists attached to it, (voyage 1802, Text p. 117-119), found no antiquities in the town; the account of the tombs is very general and the amount of inscription is immensely exaggerated.

Pl. XXXIII. 2, view and plan of Tomb I: the surroundings are incorrect and in the plan the shrine is misunderstood; 'tout est couvert d' hieroglyphes,' (vol. I, p. IX), is another exaggeration: compare the detailed account in the following work:—

DESCRIPTION DE L' EGYPTE 2nd ed. 1822. The commission stayed several weeks at Siût from the 28th March, 1799. The tombs being the first monuments seen by the authors in Upper Egypt were described by them with unusual fulness. M.M. Jollois and Devilliers compiled the account from their own drawings and notes together with those of Jomard and others: and as there was no great accuracy in any of the materials and much inaccuracy in some, two different plans or drawings sometimes appear of one subject. However notwithstanding all kinds of error and confusion, we must gratefully acknowledge that the work has preserved many valuable facts, while their successors must own to have nearly equalled the old antiquaries in mistakes. I have endeavoured to correct the attributions as follows: assigning to the figures the equivalent numbers in my edition.

Planches Antiquités IV, pl. 43, view of cliff from the edge of the town: the hill should be steeper. 1-1 Tomb I: 2-2 Tombs III-V: Tomb II is seen on the left of these: 3-3 quarries, beneath which is indistinctly

marked the entrance of the uninscribed tomb which I have mentioned above at the bottom of page 126; 5·5 ravine; 6·6 bridge near the base of the cliff, above which on the right is a great ruined tomb (see above, p. 126).

- Pl. 44. Tomb I, plans sections etc. with its sepulchral chambers.  
 Pl. 45. „ „ sacrificial scenes from the shrine (Siût and Dêr Rifeh Pl. II.) now destroyed.
- Pl. 46. (by Jomard) fig. 1-8 Tomb IV. facade, plan, figures of soldiers etc. The last, if not partly imaginary, then in better condition than now.  
 fig. 9 the Seb'a Benât of Norden (see above). destroyed.  
 10 Tomb II facade.
- Pl. 47 fig. 1 Tomb II facade.  
 2 „ „ plan.  
 3 plan of an uninscribed tomb, possibly that mentioned above, at the bottom of p. 126.  
 4-7, plans etc. of chambers, same tomb.  
 8, 9, Tomb V, plan and elevation.  
 10, Tomb II insc. (Siût, Pl. XI, l. 3-10) destroyed.  
 11, Tomb I, insc. ( „ Pl. IX l. 330-336) damaged.  
 12-13 uncertain insc. ( „ Pl. XIII, l. 41-44) destroyed.
- Pl. 48 fig. 1-2 plan and elevation of tomb with Coptic **TΘNMAY** (sic).  
**ΜΑΡΙΑ**  
 graffito destroyed.  
 “ 3-4 Tomb IV, plan and elevation (see also Pl. 46)  
 5 „ „ insc. (Siut Pl. XIV, l. 61-87) destroyed.  
 6-8 plan etc. of decorated and inscribed tomb near 47, 3-7 and 48, 1-2, destroyed or imaginary?  
 9, Tomb III plan.  
 10 „ „ elvation (two horizontal lines marked over the door instead of three).  
 11 „ „ insc. (Siût Pl. XII, l. 65-71) destroyed.
- Pl. 49 fig. 1 Tomb IV. insc. (Siût Pl. XIV, l. 53-60) destroyed.  
 2 „ „ ( „ Pl. XIII, l. 1-34) partly destroyed.  
 3 „ „ ( „ Pl. XIV, l. 45-52) destroyed.  
 4 „ „ ( „ Pl. XIII, l. 35-40).  
 5 Tomb II. „ ( „ Pl. X, l. 20-21) destroyed.  
 6, 7 Tomb V, „ ( „ Pl. XV, l. 41-48).  
 8, 9 Tomb II. „ ( „ Pl. XII, l. 57-64).  
 10, 11, 12 Tomb I, portions of scenes from shrine.

Text tome X. Explication des planches, pp. 399-408. The notes are often wrong e.g. that on pl. 49, 5. (p. 407).

Text Tome IV, Antiquités, description, p. 125-157.

p. 133-142. Tomb I. The incorrect statement, p. 134, that the ceiling of the entrance-passagc is decorated with yellow stars on a blue ground has been copied by high authorities (Brugsch, Reiseberichte, &c.). The stars, contrary to our notions, are blue; but the ground colour is more uncertain; one portion would make the observer suppose it to be pale yellow, but I think that the deep greenish-black which covers most of the surface is the original tint. It is more than 30 feet above the floor.

p. 142-4. Tomb III 'au bas des deux colonnes verticales de chaque côté de la porte (Siût and Dér Rifeh, pl. xii. l. 65-71) on a omis de graver deux figures d'Isis assise et allaitant Horus. Ces deux figures se regardent, et forment de part et d'autre un petit tableau de 1m, 20 de hauteur sur 0m, 50 de largeur. La pose des personnages est gracieuse, et la forme du siège est très-agréable (p. 143). This, whether true or not, reminds one of the figure which sometimes represents the royal tutor nursing a young prince. It is certain that Tefaba, the proprietor of Tomb III was a man, not a woman. Figures of Isis and Horus would, of course, be entirely out of the question in such a place.

p. 144, 'l'hypogée situé a droite de celui que nous venons de décrire' (Tomb III) should be Tomb IV, but the description agrees only with Tomb V.

p. 144-5, Tomb II.

p. 145-8, Tomb IV.

p. 148-150. Group of three tombs, two of which are elaborate, and the third (Pl. 48, 1 & 2) contains a Coptic graffiti. One of them (plan Pl. 47, 3) seems to be the elaborate uninscribed tomb mentioned above on p. 126: but if any tombs exist round it they are now covered with rubbish. Another (plan Pl. 48, 6) is said to have been the most beautiful of all in its decoration; but I suspect an error, for the French savants give no specimens of the scenes and inscriptions.

p. 150. The Seb'a benat of Norden.

p. 150-1. Another fine tomb, compared by the discoverer to those of Minyeh, (meaning not Zauyet el mayitin but Beni hasan), but its existence is extremely doubtful. In some of the descriptions two or more tombs seem to be confused together.

The wholesale destruction of the façades, etc., probably took place before 1820, certainly before 1828.

CAILLAUD, (travelled 1819-22). Arts et Métiers (a complete copy of this very rare work is in the Bibliothèque Nationale), Pl. XIX. a *painté*

scene of the slaughter of an ox from Siut resembling the incised scenes of the shrine in Tomb I. Unfortunately there is no inscription with it. Possibly there is a mistake as to locality.

BURTON D., c. 1820. MSS. in British Museum.

Add. MSS. 29, 814fo. 71-100, sundry views of Siut and the neighbourhood.

87, facade Tomb II dated Jan. 1825.

90, 92, 93, drawings of figures in Tomb IV.

91, drawing of a figure in the shrine of Tomb I(?)

94, elaborate plan of Tomb I.

95, some details of the same.

WILKINSON. Modern Egypt and Thebes, 1843, p. 83-90, p. 88, five statues (the seb'a benât, see Norden.) p. 87, 'half way up the hill is a defaced stela on the rock above a square pit lined with brick.'

p. 90. Mentions the Rifeh tombs but had not visited them.

His earlier works, Topography of Thebes, etc., give few details, but the observations recorded above were made probably before 1830. In Murray's Handbook, 1847, p. 312, and subsequent editions the same account is reproduced.

Ancient Egyptians, (new edn. by Birch), vol. I, pl. VIII, 47 and 20, patterns from ceiling of Tomb I.

*Ibid.* vol. I, fig. 262, soldier from Tomb IV.

CHAMPOLLION le jeune. At Siut, Nov. 1828. Lettres, Paris, 1833, p. 8, cf. Notices II, p. 468-9, after his long sojourn at Beni Hasan could not spare time for these ill-preserved tombs. Much had been destroyed since Napoleon's expedition.

ARUNDALE about 1835. MSS. in Hay colln., British Museum.

Add. MS. 29, 847 fo 17 Siut. Tomb IV l. 6-40 partly destroyed.

18 ,, Tomb I design of ceiling, and l. 330-336. damaged.

19 ,, ,, plan and elevation.

68 ,, Tomb II l. 19-21 and 23, Tomb I l. 330-336. damaged.

69-70 ,, Tomb I l. 210-249.

71-74 ,, ,, l. 261-325.

75 ,, Tomb IV l. 6-40. partly destroyed.

NESTOR DE L'HOTE, 1839. Lettres p. 83, wrongly supposed that all the tombs mentioned in the Description de l'Egypte had been destroyed except two (no doubt I. and II of which he has left some notes in his MSS. at the Bibliothèque Nationale, vol. III, ff. 140-141, viz. : Tomb I scraps, II 19, 20. He had however visited them all with Champollion eleven years before.



LEPSIUS, Sept., 1843. (Briefe, p. 89).

Denkmäler, II 150, *g*= Siut Tomb IV, l. 21-23.

*h, i*= „ l. 35-40.

AMPÈRE, 14th Jany., 1844, (voyage Paris, 1868), visited Siut with the artist Durard and perhaps made some drawings. His incorrect statement that the personage in Tomb I was a priest of the Nile has been copied in some later books of travel.

BRUGSCH H., September 1853, (Reiseberichte, p. 99-104), attributes all the tombs to the XIIIth dynasty.

Recueil Pl. 11 1=Siut Tomb II l. 11.

„ „ 2 Tomb I l. 305-307.

„ „ 3 „ l. 297.

History of Egypt second English Edn. 1881, p. 223-224, attributes the tombs of Siut to the XIIIth dynasty. "Hapzefa son of Ai (sic) filled offices at the royal court, which at the command of the king carried him as far as Elephantine (sic)." There is no reference to Elephantine in the inscriptions either of Tomb I or II. Can it be taken from Tomb III, (l. 16), which in his Wörterbuch is confused with Tomb I by Herr Brugsch?

MS. copies of msny inscriptions in Tombs I-IV revised in 1881.

MARIETTE, Monumens divers Pl. 64-67=Siut Tomb I l. 261-324.

68 *a*= „ „ l. 80-85.

„ *b*= „ „ l. 20-25.

„ *c*= Tomb II l. 3-10

„ *d*= Tomb V l. 1& 9-24.

69 *a, b*= Tomb IV l. 6-37.

MS. (or part of it) in possession of M. Maspero.

E. DE ROUGÉ. c. 1869, (Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques 1878) principally a revision of the plates of the preceding work).

Pl. 271-283 Siût Tomb I, l. 261-313.

284 l. 314-315 and l. 330-336.

285 l. 316-324 a d l. 351 and 353-359.

286 Tomb II l. 11-18


287 l. 3--10.

288-289 Tomb V l. 9--24.

290-292 Tomb III l. 2-20.

293 Tomb IV l. 28-40.

MS. in possession of M. Maspero? (S.B.A. Trans. VII, p. 11.)

LIEBLEIN. AZ. 1874, p. 8ff. (meaning of )

DÛMICHEN. AZ. 1875, p. 26. Notice of visit to Siût and Der Rîfeh in 1875.

MS. copies of many of the inscriptions (transcribed by Professor Erman.)

RENOUF. Visited Siüt 1875.

MS. copies of large portions in Tombs III, V.

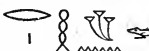
MASPERO. S. B.A. Trans., 1880, vol. VII p. 16-36, translation, with critical notes, of I, 269-324, the text restored from Mon. Divers and Rougé's MS.

PETRIE 1881. Photograph no. 154, Facade of Tomb II, since destroyed.

BRUGSCH H. 1881. Revised portions of the MS. of 1853 and added Tomb V. (MS. transcribed by Professor Erman.)

*Passages cited in the Wörterbuch.* As I have said, the Siüt tombs have been singularly unfortunate and many of the examples cited by the great lexicographer need correction. Tombs I and V, are confused together under the name of Stabl Antar and III, IV under the name of 'tomb of Tefab.' II does not appear.




Wörterbuch Supplement p. 21, *ás'r n áf* &c. I, 302 referred by error to p. 97. *ánt nt mnt* I 314. [Denderah. 326. *t'ábt uḥat* I 292.

734.  'at Siüt, name of the crocodile I'

This is undoubtedly a mistake. In the first place *ru ḥn*, meaning perhaps 'crocodile's mouth,' can hardly have been applied to the whole animal; secondly, my copies are complete and the word occurs only in III, 30, where it evidently has the usual geographical meaning. The inscription is mutilated and the determinative is indistinct, I therefore suspect that our author placed by the side of the group in his copy an enlarged drawing of the crocodile and afterwards supposed that the name was attached to a sculptured figure of the animal.

There is no other authority for the meaning in question, so it falls to the ground.

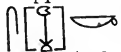

Wtb. Suppl. p. 1024, V. 24.




„ 1179. IV. 29.  is wrong. As to  I tried to discover this usual determinative but could see only traces apparently of .


„ 1198. *S'nt'ti* I 296, etc. Here as elsewhere the lexicon fails to distinguish Aput from Anubis.







„ 1213. I. 293.

„ 1256. The upper halves of two lines I 295-6 joined by error.

„ 1404. IV. 24.  is the reading to be expected, but unless I am mistaken I found that the lacuna admitted rather a sign of the form . The lacuna is in all copies from Arundale downwards.

1407. III. 10. As far as I could ascertain the first  was crossed by a faint stroke, making ;  therefore perhaps disappears, but I am not quite satisfied about it.

1407. IV. 32.  is incorrect, and there is no other authority for the compound group.


1416. IV. 33.  disappears, and so does  faintly traceable.    Herr Brugsch's earlier reading, Wtb. 936.  is

Thus at least four non-existent words or meanings may be expunged from the published vocabulary. This is not the occasion to speak of the numerous key-passages in the Siût inscriptions now become available for determining the meaning of rare words.

ERMAN AZ. 1882, p. 159 ff. Translation with critical notes of I 273-324, text from Mon. Div.; Rougé Insc. Hierog.; Brugsch MS. and Düm. MS.

MS. compiled from those of Brugsch and Dümichen, and from published sources, (collated for my edition.)

WIEDEMANN, Gesch. Aeg. 1884, p. 271, would identify Râ ka meri with a Sebekhotep of the XIIIth dynasty, cf. above, p. 165.



p. 272. "Jahr 13" is evidently taken from an indistinct group in the 'Description,' IV, Pl. 49, 2, corresponding to the first sign of the line IV, 9 in my edition. There is in reality no date, but the word  'hour.'

MASPERO, Mission archéologique, Mémoires 1885 p. 133., states his belief in the Heracleopolite date of (all) the tombs of Siût.

ERMAN, Aegypten, 1885-7 p. 210-212, also p. 139, 177, 237, 369 394-6, 434, 692 refers to passages in the tombs of Siût.

l. c. p. 67. The author seems to follow Ed. Meyer (Geschichte p. 142) in making the Heracleopolite dynasty rule at Heracleopolis parva in the East of the Delta instead of at H. Magna. There was no little plausibility in the theory, but it is now once for all negated. Cf. above p. 166.

GRIFFITH. Siût and Dêr Rifeh, 1889. Some errors have unfortunately escaped correction.

p. 10. first column, l. 4 for  read 

l. 22. for 209a read 309a.

l. 25 for a portion is palimpsest read a portion is engraved, in plaster over a palimpsest.

l. 4 from below, for thus read there.

p. 11. first col. l. 28. for L.D. pl. 130 read L.D. II pl. 130.

#### ERRATA.

P. 122, l. 3. read of expeditions.

„ l. 16. „ (Siût II, III, IV).

„ l. 21. „ returned from Lower Egypt to Siût.

„ l. 25. „ very numerous; and then, returning to Siût I.

123, l. 7. „ and, picking up.





„ l. 8. „ lent me, proceeded.

„ l. 27. „ further, in the mosques or elsewhere.

124, l. 9. „ (especially at Naucratis) who

125, l. 28. „ Siût.

127. l. 7 from below, read and





southward,	179 l. 19	<i>read</i> times, was the
127 l. 7., which, if the 'Description' is to be trusted,	180 l. 11	„, Shutb lay
129. l. 10. „, sketching.	180 l. 20	<i>read</i> 32 feet × 37 feet.
165, l. 12. <i>read</i> tomb, recording.	l. 22	„, wide × 7 feet.
166, l. 2 from below, „, for each other.	l. 26	„, (incised and coloured green).
167 l. 12 fr. bel. l. 246, Hept'efa	l. 32	„, Khnum.
l. 222 and	182 l. 4	from bottom „, l. 19.
167 l. 3 fr. bel. V, 43).	183 l. 5	„ „ inches.
168, l. 18 for  <i>read</i> 	184 l. 4	for  <i>read</i> 
„ l. 20, <i>read</i> P'tah m sa' (l. 132)	p. 244.	The number of standing figures in the Plate of the Description de l'Egypte is <i>nine</i> , eight of them representing adults, the remaining one a child. Notwithstanding the difference of numbers, I think that these statues must have given rise to the story of the Seb'a benât.
„ l. 31 „, 160-174.		
174 l. 13 from bel. „, figures, was		
„ l. 12 „ „, sculptured doorways		
176 l. 5 „ „, I. 227 (a)		
„ last line „ „, III. 13.		
178 l. 6 from bel. „, the rest of the huts being		

F. LL. GRIFFITH.

## NOTES ON THE WRITINGS OF THE LYCIAN MONUMENTS.

A---THE LYCIAN WRITING (*cont.*)(*Cont. from Vol. II, p. 288.*)

## VI. THE LETTERS IN THE FORM OF UPSILON.

These were the signs , ,  and . Their frequent occurrence gives to the Lycian writing a quite special character. These letters are usually engraved, sometimes between two consonants, sometimes at the end of a word, but after a consonant, (for example **N** or **T**,) they have therefore been looked on as vowels. I have nothing to object to this idea, but I cannot in the same way allow to pass the hypothesis according to which the four characters in question express a single and identical vowel which amounts to saying that three of these signs are pure graphical variants of the fourth. Let us always proceed from the known to the unknown and assert nothing without proof. Accordingly we have, for our guidance, the standard monument of this epigraphy, that is to say, the obelisk raised in the market-place of Xanthus in honour of Krêis, son of Harpagos. The inscription engraved upon that grand stèle is a *chef-*

*d'œuvre* of patience and method : each letter has its place fixed, and it is not allowed to go out of the ranks ; columns of figures for addition are not more regular than these vertical columns of letters ; it is the triumph of *στοιχηθεον*. You can imagine that, with such a frame of mind, the individual caprice of a workman is dismissed, and consequently there is no chance of meeting, even were it here and there, with pure graphic variants. Everywhere there is the monotony, the rigidity, of the letters of our printed books. For the hypothesis of Schmidt and Savelsberg<sup>61</sup> to be true, it would be necessary that the inscription on the obelisk should only present one of the four characters in the form of upsilon ; is this so ? No ; the stone-cutter admits three characters  $\Psi$ ,  $\downarrow$ , and  $\downarrow$ . I recognize without difficulty that he has not made use of  $\downarrow$  ; but in spite of that I persist in believing  $\downarrow$  is also a letter quite independent of the three others—a special letter.

This first point on the distinction to be maintained among these four characters is therefore settled. Let us see now what each of them expresses.

1.  $\Psi$  has a very nearly constant form ; its only graphic variant is  $\Psi$  ; for I believe that  $\Psi$  of Antiphellus I, which also gives  $\Psi$ , may be a special vowel (become  $\Psi$  on the obelisk ?). M. Six points out to me a relationship of form between the Lycian  $\Psi$  and the Cypriote  $\Psi$  (= *u*) ; this latter, on arriving in the country of the Termiles, would have been reversed  $\downarrow$ , perhaps because they confounded it with M. Nevertheless, as under this new aspect, it would have been much too mistakable, they have left the vertical line in the lower part ; that became  $\Psi$ , and, in consequence of its relation of sound with  $\hat{u}$ , they have abstained in order to recall this vowel, from prolonging the said line upto the angle. Thus the new vowel  $\Psi$  is formed. That such modifications are not unlikely, here is another example :  $\Xi$  (=  $\tilde{n}$ ) must have been originally the Asiatic character *ni*, which remained in Cyprus under the form  $\downarrow$ . The Ionians did not know this second *n*<sup>62</sup>, but, having adopted already for the character *si* ( $\downarrow$ ) the letter  $\Xi$ , which they maintained up to the time of Alexander, upon the coins of Asia Minor before the conqueror, they renounced it for its similar  $\Xi$ = $\tilde{n}$ . In Lycia the contrary took place ; they arranged, as they could in expressing *x*, whether by  $\Psi$ II,  $\Psi$ ss,  $\downarrow$  even, but they reserved,  $\Xi$  for the consonant  $\tilde{n}$ .

That  $\Psi$  should equal  $\tilde{o}$ , is what seems demonstrated by the name  $\text{ΠΑΡΜΕΝΟΝΤΟΣ} = \text{P}\hat{\text{I}}\text{P}\text{M}\Psi\text{N}\hat{\text{I}}$  (Limyra, 19).—To this example we could wish we were able to add that of  $\downarrow\hat{\text{I}}\text{P}\Psi\text{E}$

THE LYCIAN ALPHABET, WITH THE TRANSCRIPTIONS

The characters cut in the Xanthian Obelisk.	Varying forms of these Letters and Signs, drawn from other Monuments.	Some similar Characters in Asianic Writings
1 P	R F A A	Phrygian A
2 B	B B b B	Phr. B
3 . . .	<	
4 Δ	Δ	Phr. Δ
5 E	Π E B	Phr. Π
6 F	^	Phr. ^
7 I		
8 ↑	A A	Cypriote * (e)
9 †		
10 I		Phr. I
11 K	K K F O P	Phr. K E
12 ^		Phr. ^
13 M	M m m	Phr. M
14 N	N M W T S	Phr. N M
15 E		Phr. E (ni)
16 O		Phr. O
17 P	P V P P P	Phr. P
18 P	q P P	Phr. P
19 S	S S S )	Phr. S E
20 T	F	Phr. T
21 V	Y Y Y	Phr. Y Y
22 X	X	Cypr. X (me)
23 ↓	V E <	
24 X		Cypr. X (za)
25 )(		Cypr. )( (va)
26	X Y W	Phr. W (e)
27 W	W Y Y Y Y Y Y	Cypr. W (u)
28 ↓		Cypr. ↓ (o)
29 Y		

Undeciphered letters M \* W \*  
on the Obelisk.

Interpunctuation : : : ) : ?

Signs of numbers : 1 2 III 3 II—12? → 0 → C I 7

USED BY SEVERAL SCHOLARS SINCE 1868.

Moritz Schmidt (a)*	Savelsberg (b)	Transcriptions by Hübschmann (c)	Deecke (d)	The Author of this Notice
a	a	a	a	a
b	b	β	b	b
g	g		χ	χ
d	d	δ	d	d
i	i	i	e	i
f, v	v	v	v	f
z	z	z	z	z
e	ä	ä	ā	e
h	h	h	h	h
y, j	j	y	i	y <sup>(1)</sup>
k	k	k	k	k
l	l	l	l	l
m	m	m	m	m
n	n	n	n	n
i (=iñ)	i (=iñ)	<sup>N</sup> ΞT (=Nd)	n <sub>o</sub>	ñ
o, u	u	u	o	u
p	p	p	p	p
r	r	r	r	r
s	s	s	s	s
t	t	t	t	t
u, ü	o	ô	ü	û
á (=am')	a (=am')	<sup>M</sup> Xr (=Mb)	m <sub>o</sub>	m̄
c, χ, g	k'	χ	χ	χ
th	t'	θ	θ	θ
u, v	w	w	u	v
u, ü	o	ô	ü	o
u, ü	o	ô	ô	ô, œ
u, ü	o	ô	ü	ô
v, n	v		u	v

\* Quotations should be found in Note 1 concerning *Schmidt's Essay* (a); note 2 for *Savelsberg's Work* (b); note 52 *Hübschmann's Review* (c); and note 3 for *Deecke's Paper* (a).

Signs of numbers are explained by Deecke and Six.

transcribed **KPHIS** in the Greek epigram of the obelisk; unfortunately this latter reading is not certain. If it be confirmed by the discovery of other monuments, the long **H** is explained by the contraction of the first syllable, which ought to have been **KĒ**, and **KĒPEIS** would very quickly become **KPHIS**. Here again, the group **EIS** answers to the diphthong **ΨΕ**. Besides the frequent exchanges of **Ψ** with **Ϸ**, which we shall see to be *ó*, permits us to think that the sound of the first letter was intermediate between *o* and *e*. That is why I adopt the transcription *ō* or *œ*.

2. **Ψ** is presented in the name of the Ionians **EIVNEIΞ** with which the reading *Iyónisū* only agrees; the Persians said *Iavana*, and the primitive form of the name is *IáFores*; the digamma has disappeared, and the two vowels *a* and *o* are then changed into an elongated *o*.<sup>63</sup> **Ψ** has as its origin the Cypriote **Ϸ** (= *o*). This derivation, still visible, may serve to demonstrate how chimerical would be a reading of **Ψ**=*au*. For my part, I shall resist transcribing the name of Athens or the Athenians (**ΑΤΨΝΑΤΣ** *Ataunas*, **ΑΤΨΝΑΤΙΕ** *Ataunazi*).<sup>64</sup> Lastly, no example of a letter expressing a diphthong has been found.<sup>65</sup>

3. Since the Lycians have an omega, which is **Ϸ**, have they not also an omikron (which would be **Ϸ**)? I do not think that omikron was absent from their alphabet. In any case it is not **Ϸ** the pronunciation of which is *u* (= *oo*, *w*). The obelisk appears, however, to have used **Ϸ** in the names where the omikron stood; at least, the word **ΙΡΡϷΔΟΜΕ** = *Σαρπηδων* would make this seem likely, for in the Greek name the *w* ceases in the other cases as the nominative. But there is an example where the stone-cutter writes the omega **Ϸ** in place of the omikron; that example is the word *Χερσόνησος* which became at Xanthus **ΚΡΙΙΨΝΑΤΣϷ** (*Krzónase*). That betrays the action of the scribe in passing from the omikron, and in replacing it by the corresponding long **Ψ**, unless he practises the exchange with **Ο**=*u*, consequent on a mute pronunciation. Now this action coincides with the absence of the character **Ϸ**.

Some epitaphs use in place of each other the letters **Ψ** and **Ϸ**. Sura does not know **Ψ**, while Rhodiopolis abounds in it, in the same words where **Ψ** was inscribed on the first monument. Yet **Ϸ** is not a graphic variant of **Ψ**, for Rhodiopolis itself inscribes this last character in the first line **ΡΞΜΡΨ**, in the 8th line, *b*, quite near a **Ϸ** (**ΜΓΡΕΙΡϷΨΜΕ**). From all this, I deduce the value *o* for **Ϸ**.



There remains  $\Psi$ , which, as it is exchanged with  $\Psi$ ,  $\Psi$ , ought to have some resemblance of sound; that is why I admit provisionally the value  $\hat{u}$ ; in a manner to complete the table of the Lycian vowels:

1. Long :	$\Psi$ $\Upsilon$ $E$ $\Psi$ $\Psi$
	<i>a e i ó ú</i>
2. Short :	$\Psi$ $I$ $\Psi$ $O$
	<i>ö y, i̇ o u.</i>

## NOTES.

I beg the reader to turn to the list of words published by Moriz Schmidt, in the work already quoted, *Neue Lykische Studien und das Decret des Pixodaros*, Jena, 1869. This catalogue gives the references and renders it unnecessary to make them anew.

## ERRATA.

Vol. II, p. 211, read: DA Ri Ya ( $\Psi$ ) V U Sh.

P. 212, l. 5 from bottom, read:  $E|\Psi ME \Gamma \Xi$ , *Eiünesn.*

P. 213, l. 11 from bottom, read; "where O is equal in his view to u.

P. 214, l. 18, read: "does not serve to represent F, but  $\Psi$  directly drawn, as its form attests, from . . ."

Note 1, l. 2, read; "Cypriote inscription of Milkiathon;" l. 7, read: pp. III—X of *The Lycian Inscriptions*.

Note 6, l. 2, read; "Teoöifeibi;" l. 3, "133 to 136."

Note 13, l. 7, "Pericles" appears to have been "dynast of that city".

Note 19, read:  $\Psi \Gamma \Gamma \Delta \text{OME}$ .

Note 20, l. 10, read *zmrunazn.*

Note 21, l. 4, read *Kuprli.*

- - l. 5, read *Krzzónase.*

- - l. 10, read  $\Psi$ .

P. 279 l. 2, read  $\Psi \Upsilon \text{N} \Upsilon \Psi \text{O} \Upsilon$ .

P. 280, last break, replace everywhere  $\text{K} \text{P} \text{O} \text{I} \text{S}$  by  $\text{K} \text{P} \text{H} \text{I} \text{S}$ .

P. 281, in the middle, read "hrppi prñezi;  
for the *oíkētos*.

cence:  $\chi \eta \tau \alpha \text{fata}$   $\chi \epsilon \rho \dot{\iota} \chi \epsilon \eta \epsilon$ ,  
he was hyparch of (the lady?)  
Cerice.

„ l. 12 from bot., read:  $\Psi \Upsilon \text{P} \text{E} \Upsilon \Upsilon \text{I}$  or  $\Psi \Upsilon \text{P} \text{E} \Upsilon \Upsilon \text{I}$ .

„ l. 9, from bot., read:  $\Psi \Upsilon \text{P} \text{E} \Upsilon \Upsilon \text{I} \text{E}$ .

P. 282, l. 7, read: (*Ἀρπαγος, Ὑρτιος, Ἐκατομνας.*)

„ l. 8, read: *Iyónisñ.*

P. 283, l. 6, read; *ön, on, un, (=oon).*

„ l. 14, read:  $\Psi \Xi \text{T} \text{I} \text{N} \text{O} \text{B} \text{I} \text{I}$ .

„ l. 9 from the bottom, read; "Likewise  $\text{P} \text{P} \text{E} \text{N} \text{P}$  the city of Xanthus, . . ."

N. 28, p. 284, l. 5, restore:  $\text{T} \Psi \text{N} \Upsilon \Psi \text{O} \Upsilon$ .

N. 34, l. 5, read: *χssadrapahi.*

N. 37, l. 5 read: "aus dor. *ναυρος*."

N. 39, l. 12, 13, 16, insert *Καρης* and *Κρηις*.

„ l. 15, read: *in the 9th ἀπεμύσαντο.*

I have dealt with this lacuna in the *Muséon*, Jan. No., (*Lettre au*

*Directeur du Muséon*).

N. 40, l. 6, read (one word only): “ερσιπάλην.”

Verse 3: “ἀγοράς.”

Verse 4: νεῖκ]εων καὶ πολέμου μνημα.

Verse 5: Ἀρπάγο.

Verse 6: χερσιπάλην.

Verse 7: ἀκροπολες.

N. 44, l. 6, read: wife of Xerœi (Obel. South, 26).

N. 48, l. 3, read; Fexssere.

N. 50, l. 2, read; χερiv’.

l. 3. read; χερiv’αζῶ.

N. 51, l. 2, Saglio et Daremberg.

N. 58, l. 6, read: ΤΡΧΜΕΞΞ (Tr̄m̄m̄is̄ñ).

N. 58. *Bezzenberger's Beiträge*.

N. 60, l. 1, Οὔτω ἢ Ξανθος ἐκαλεῖτο.

61) For Schmidt, these four letters recalling strongly a type  $\Psi$  are “u” in the *Commentatio de nonnullis Lyciis inscriptionibus*, Lipsiæ, 1876 and “o” in his *Commentatio de Columna Xanthica*, Jena, 1881. Her, e.g. is his transcription of some Lycian words, in the first style: *ebuúnu: prináfu: mene: prináfatu* (Myra, 7), with  $\Xi=i$  and  $F=i$ . In 1881, o replaces the u reserved to the Lycian letter O, while ú transcribed  $\Psi$  and g transcribed  $\Psi$ .—Savelsberg (*Beiträge z. Entziff. der lykisch. Sprachdenkm.* I) has dedicated a fine essay to  $\Psi$  and  $\Psi$ , and he proves that one ought to recognise the sound o; unfortunately he has not been resolved to distinguish the four characters from upsilon, and one must go as far as Deecke in order to have  $\Psi$  recognised as independent, with the value ö.

62) The place of  $\Xi$  after N in the Greek alphabet has no other explanation; the fact has struck Schmidt and Ewald; see the article that this last dedicated in the *Götting. gelehrt Anzeig.*, 1868, about the *Lycian Inscriptions after the accurate Copies of Schoenborn* (p. 20).

63) On the name of the Ionians, see Fr. Lenormant, *Origines de l'histoire*, t. II, part ii, Paris, 1884, pp. 24 and ff.

64) M. Savelsberg has shown the curious correspondence between η and ω; while  $\Pi\xi\omega\delta\alpha\rho\sigma$  becomes “ $\Pi\chi\hat{\iota}\delta\alpha\rho\alpha$ ,” and  $\text{Απολλωνιδης}$  becomes “ $\text{Αpu}\hat{\iota}\nu\text{id}\alpha$ ,”  $\text{Ἀθῆναι}$  inversely becomes “ $\text{Ἀτόνας}$ ,” ( $\text{ΑΤΨΝΡΣ}$ ) “exchanges,” remarks the learned German scholar, “entirely analogous to that which takes place in Greek for  $\text{Ἀπόλλων}$  and  $\text{Ἀπέλλων}$ , (Doric),  $\text{οδόντες}$  and  $\text{ἑδόντες}$  (Eolian),  $\text{πιώσσω}$  and  $\text{πήσσω}$ ,  $\text{εὐφρών}$  and  $\text{φρήν}$ ,  $\text{Μαίωτις}$ , and  $\text{Μαι τις}$  (Eustathius ad Dionys. Perieg. V. 163). *Beiträge z. Entziff.* 1874, p. 10.

65) It is sometimes very tempting in spite of what I have said to the contrary of that at p. 283, vol. II to give to  $\Psi$  and  $\Psi$  a nasalised pronunciation *ön, on*. It is this which causes to arise in the mind the aspect of certain words presented in this passage of Deecke's studies:

“ $\Psi\text{TE}$ , noch etwas 5mal vorkommend, ist eine den genitiv regierende präposition, *zunächst veruandt mit gr. αυτι*, das auch in der Bedeutung “für” gebraucht wird; vgl. oben lyk.  $\Psi\text{TPE}$  “der vordere, untere,” von demselben stamme.” (*Lyk. Stud.* II, p. 323).—However, it is sufficient to remark that the nasalisation may be provoked by the presence of the dental, as takes place in the Persian, and it would not be im-

possible that the name of satrap ΠΑΤΡΑΡΤΑ on the 8th tomb of Xanthus may have been pronounced *Rantapata*, in such a style that we should have the satrap *Οπου-τοβατης*, son-in-law of Pixodaros, in the time of Alexander. The Lycians would appear to have neglected to write the *n* before **T**; doubtless, in order to say *ōntri* (approaching to the Latin *intus*) it was sufficient for them to write *ōtri*. In every case, the groups so frequent, *ōi*, *ōi*, compel us to see in **ω** and **υ** simple vowels. I reject, therefore, once more the transcription *on*, which we should be at first disposed to adopt for *Iyōnisū*.

J. IMBERT.

#### NOTES ON POTTERY FROM EGYPT.

THE recent expedition of exploration conducted by that able archaeologist, Mr. Flinders Petrie, has been productive of one of those strange and astonishing surprises of which the Nile valley has afforded so many examples. The discovery of the tablets at Tel-el-Amarna has revealed to us the prevalence of foreign influence at the court of Khu-en-Aten and the Pharaohs of the XVIIIth dynasty. The close relationships which existed between the court of Egypt and those of the Hittite and Syrian princes, and the rulers of the more remote kingdom of Babylon, has done much to show the foreign influences which were produced by, or subsequently to, the important Hyksos age. The presence of aliens of varied nationalities, during the period of the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties, has long been known to us, and they presented no mean foes to Rameses II, Rameses III, and Merenptah. These foreigners, the Keta, the Mauna or Mæonians and allied tribes of Asia Minor, and the dwellers in the Greek Isles, were in both military and commercial contact with the Egyptians at this period. Prior to that age certain bands of foreigners, under the name of the *Han-nebu* those who follow their lord," evidently wandering marauders who visited the Delta of the Nile, had been known, but their point of departure or their character had not been ascertained

with any degree of certainty.







Mr. Flinders Petrie has, however, obtained material from an unexpected source, which will probably enable us to identify these wanderers, and to restore most important links in the chain of connection between Oriental and Greek history. The field of labour assigned to Mr. Petrie during his last two expeditions has been that of the rich province of the Fayum, where he has already made important discoveries at Hawara and Biahmu. The province of the Fayum, called by the Egyptians *Ta-she*, "the region of the lake," is a small oasis of the Lybian desert about forty miles from Cairo. It is separated from the Nile by a low strip of land, which has a gradual fall from the river, until the wider space of the basin of the basin of the Fayum is reached, where it is some twelve feet below the level of the river. The waters of the river have, therefore, at high Nile open access into the region—flooding it with fertilising alluvial, and emptying themselves into the lake of Birket Karun, which is situated at a depth of some 200 feet below the river. There are clear geological evidences that this region has been occupied by man from a very remote period, and no doubt it attracted the attention of the Egyptians on their first settlement in the country. It was, however, during the important period of the XIIth dynasty, the culminating age of the early empire, that the region received most attention from the Pharaohs and their officials. Amen-em-hat I., the founder of the dynasty, built a great rampart or dyke to control the waters, and two of the kings of this dynasty, Amen-em-hat III and Usertesen II, are buried in brick stepped pyramids erected there, the former at Hawara, and the latter at Illahun. It was in the pyramid temple and the adjacent workmen's town of the latter ruler, at Illahun and the village of Medinet Kahun that Mr. Petrie made some most important discoveries. In the temple attached to the pyramid were the foundation records of Usertesen II, together with those of his daughter and heiress Sebekhotep. Attached to the wall of the temple, on the North side, was a small and beautifully planned town for the men who had been employed in the construction of the public works. The town with its regular and parallel streets, with houses constructed on the same plan, each with its corn store, was one of the most perfect examples of the life of the age of the XIIth dynasty (B.C., 2600). From the houses of this primitive town, which has been explored with the utmost care and thoroughness, Mr. Petrie has obtained a large number of relics illustrating the life, manners, and customs of the period. It is, however, not in connection with these objects, such as bronze and flint tools,

implements of various trades and occupations, which I propose to deal in this brief notice, but with smaller objects of less artistic, yet far greater archaeological importance. In exploring the houses, a large quantity of pottery was discovered, much of it of the usual style of that of the period of the XIIth dynasty; but along with these and together with dated records of the time, such as wills and other legal documents, the former in the 44th year of Amen-em-hat III (B.C. 2550), was found a class of pottery of a very different character. This is of a ruder description than that of the Egyptians, the work being characterised by a peculiar mode of stroking the inside of the vases upward when moulding, a custom which is still preserved in some of the North African and Algerine tribes, and which seems to be a survival of the ancient custom of building the jars, before the invention of the potter's wheel. The outlines of the pottery are remarkable for the short necks of the jars, with full shoulders, and for the thick hemispherical form of the bowls. The style is evidently that of a foreign race, and one less advanced in artistic culture than the native Egyptians. An examination of these fragments reveals a curious systems of potter's marks which are different from any found on the Egyptian pottery. Placed upon the shoulder of the vase in many cases, in single signs, but in some cases in groups of two or three, they resemble the arrangements of the characters upon the vases from Cyprus, and those from Hissarlik. A very casual inspection of these markings shows a remarkable resemblance to the characters of the Asiatic syllabary. This syllabary, in use in most of the states of Asia Minor, Phrygia, Karia, Lycia, and preserved until Persian times in conservative Cyprus, has recently attracted considerable attention among archaeologists. It seems manifestly to be connected with the Hittite hieroglyphic writing, on the one hand, and with the markings upon the whorls and pottery found at Hissarlik, by Dr. Schliemann, on the other. The writing we know is spread throughout the whole of North Syria and Asia Minor, of Jerabis, the ancient Carchemish on the Euphrates, to Karabel near Smyrna on the shores of the Egean sea. Southward, in a slightly varied form, it is found throughout the Orontes valley. In other journals I have already shown the resemblance between these characters in their simple forms and those upon the pottery and whorls from Hissarlik. Still further progress was made by Professor Sayce who, in his able appendix upon the inscriptions from Troy in the work of Dr. Schliemann, "Ilios the country of the Trojans," showed that these markings were not mere scratches, or unsystematic signs. Their occurrence in regular groups, the frequent repeti-

tion of the same signs, and their clear affinity with the characters of the Asia Minor syllabary, entitled them to be considered as having some meaning. I do not propose in this notice to enter fully into the comparisons which may be made between the various groups of these writings of Asia Minor. I merely intend to show how greatly important is Mr. Petrie's discovery if, as I believe it does, it establishes a connection as early as B.C. 2600 between the Egyptians and the Asiatic wanderers from the shores and islands of the Mediterranean.

The markings on the pottery which are most common are:—



The first of these appears to be the Cypriote , while the second is common to both Lycian and Phrygian, where it has the value of *me*. Numbers 3, 4, 5 (apparently a variant of 4), 6. Almost all of these signs appear in the syllabaries of Lycia and Cyprus, such as 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9; others, however, are peculiar. The sign  does not appear to belong to this class, and may perhaps be compared with the Hittite . This is one of the only signs which appears to me to have any relationship to masonic signs. It bears a close resemblance to the signs found upon certain votive tablets in the foundations of the temple of Nin-gir-su at Sergul in Babylonia. These seem perhaps to represent the sign of a house. The sign  with variants  and  again seems to resemble the Hittite fir branch. There are no doubt other signs which may be quoted, but to compare these we must wait until such time as Mr. Petrie's work upon the discoveries appears, when paleographers will have a rich field to work upon.

The resemblances between these characters are not mere casual similarities, the result of employing linear forms, but appear to indicate a closer connection. It is not only manifest that these signs are employed as letters, and syllables; but that they are used to spell words or syllables is shown by their occurrence in numbers. The most striking examples of this is, however, afforded by an object which serves still more closely to connect the writing with that of Troy, and with the objects most frequently inscribed, namely the clay whorls whose shape and construction leave no doubt as to their use, and upon one of these is a group of five characters arranged round the whorl, so as evidently to represent a word or sentence. Of these four are to be found in the syllabaries of Troy and Asia Minor.

Here, then, were a people



who in like

manner with the colonists at Hissarlik inscribed their whorls, probably with dedications to some unknown god. The writing is thought to have some connection with the mason's marks; but these which are in most cases derived from hieroglyphics, have some signification or meaning as to the disposal of the stones. Indeed another question arises: are these so called mason's marks always of Egyptian origin? may they not in some cases be those understood by the foreign labourers employed in the works, as the makers of this pottery were at Medinet Kahun? One other point remains to be noticed as to the foreign character of these workmen. Among the objects found were several stone weights which, when weighed, gave a scale or measure—not that of Egypt—but evidently of foreign origin. Here, then, we have certain clear evidence pointing to a body of people living in Egypt, and employed as workmen by Useresen and other rulers of the XIIth dynasty, who use a system of writing having a close resemblance to that employed by the Trojans and other Asiatic tribes. This writing they marked upon their pottery on their spinning whorls, as did the early inhabitants of Troy. They employed in their commercial transactions stone weights of a standard differing from that of Egypt as the Trojans employed a talent corresponding to that of the Hittite standard of Carchemish.

These foreigners seem to have remained in the region for more than a thousand years, and very important evidence was discovered of this fact. In his excavations at Gornub, which were the ruins of a town built during the time of XVIIth dynasty, were remains of buildings erected by Thothes III, (B.C. 1600). In these excavations was found a large number of fragments of pottery bearing the same marks as that from Illahun, which shewed the presence of these people, who no doubt remained there until the expulsion of the foreigners by Merenptah, (B.C. 1200). Along with this later pottery were found numerous fragments of the same class as that of the proto-Greek period, similar to that from Thera, Mitylene and Mykenæ. This find, then, enables us to say, with considerable certainty that the period between the deposits at Hissarlik and those found at Mykenæ is one of about a thousand years; the one being placed about B.C. 2600 the other B.C. 1600. Although this is as yet only an approximate date, it is a great addition to our

archæological knowledge.

These discoveries are so important that we are tempted to proceed a little further, and to ask: May there not be some means of identifying these "strangers in the land of Ham?" "In an inscription of the period of the Ptolemaic time," says Dr. Brugsch, (*Ilios*, p. 746), "the Han-neb are described as the inhabitants of the islands and the coasts of the sea, and the numerous and great peoples of the North." These people are included in the list of the Nine Nations, a confederation which, prior to the time of the XVIIIth dynasty, was pressing hard on the northern provinces of Egypt. They certainly appear to have come from the north and north-west, to have been well armed, and to have acted as marauders. In the time of Rameses III they are divided into two groups, the Pulosata (Pelasgians, Philistines), the Tekkari (Teucrians), the Danau (Danai); while the second group, who bear the epithet of "those of the sea," comprise the Shardana (Sardians) and the Shakalsha and Nasha. These latter appear in alliance with the Libyans at the battle of Prosopis. This invasion is some thirteen centuries later than the time of the foreigners, whose residence in the Fayum is now proved. It is possible, then, to see in these foreigners the advance-guard of the greater invasion of the European and Asiatic tribes of centuries later. If so, were they Aryans? Judging by their pottery, they were inferior to the Egyptians in civilization; they therefore, were probably familiar only with stone weapons. We can trace the men of the dolmen building age from the north passing south through France and Spain to Africa, and, from the earliest dawn of history, we are faced by the same phenomena of countless hordes of northern men streaming eastward, southward and westward.<sup>1</sup> May not the colonists of the Fayum be some who had found their way into the Nile valley, and become the servants of the more civilised Egyptians? This is only a suggestion; yet Egypt, with its still unexhausted mine of surprises, may have in store an answer in the affirmative to our question.

It is to be hoped that Mr. Flinders Petrie, who has just started for Egypt, will this year be able to more thoroughly investigate this important subject of the relations between Egypt and the Mediterranean.

W. ST. C. BOSCAWEN.

1) *The Cradle of the Aryans*; by Gerald Rendal, M.A.



# BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

*Contributors are alone responsible for their opinions or statements.*

## A LIFE OF THE BUDDHA :

*translated from the P' U-YAO KING, by the late*

Prof. Dr. S. BEAL.

*(Continued from Vol. II. p. 178).*

### KIEN I.--SECTION 1.

#### DISCOURSES ON THE DESCENT OF THE SPIRIT OR THE DIVINE BEING (cont.)

Moreover, Buddha spake thus to all the Bhikshus: "At this time Bodhisatwa, think about and divining the meaning of these heavenly notes, went forth from his palace, and entered a great preaching Hall called Yen-shi-fa (Abundant-Charity-Law), and there ascending the Lion-throne. Then all the Devas, who were instructed in the principles of the great Vehicle, and were influenced by the principle of Love, entered also into this preaching Hall and each one taking his seat, successively sat down. Thus, dismissing the crowd of female deities and the other Devas (who believed not), these who were of one mind with Bodhisatwa coming together formed an assembly of 66 kotis of hearers. The subject of their discourse was the approaching birth of Bodhisatwa in the world, and of what family he should be born--on which subject they said: "He shall be born in the country of Magadha as being the most fertile and rich of all countries, and of the family of Vaidehi. Now then Bodhisatwa must descend to that country, and be conceived in his mother's womb." But others replied: "Bodhisatwa ought not to be born in that country for this reason, that although his mother (or the female line) is pure and virtuous, yet the Father's line is not so--but on the contrary it is stained with blood, heated and restless. Such a descent is not to be derived (for Bodhisatwa), it is not propitious for fostering the seeds of virtue; moreover the land itself and the towns possess no beautiful lakes or parks for recreation, it is not right that Bodhisatwa should be born within the limits of that frontier kingdom." Then others said: "The family of Kosa(ia) is of great private wealth and influence, Bodhisatwa might be born there, descending as a spirit." But others replied: "It is impossible and for this reason, the origin of

Kosa (or, of the race of Kosala) was from the Matangas. Both of the Father's and Mother's side the caste of their family is dishonourable and ignoble, this is not a race in which our Lord (Heavenly Master) can be fostered or bring forth virtuous fruit. However, the country itself is not an agreeable one, it produces no gems or different objects of value, but is poor and its parks and lakes are small and inconsiderable this frontier country is not suitable for our Honoured one to be born in."

Then others replied : " The great country of Wo-sha (Vatsa), the king of this country is of right-descent (*i.e.* of pure or legitimate family-descent) the people are prosperous and the land rich in grain (the 5 cereals), our Bodhisatwas may descend there as a spirit to be born." But others replied : " Not so—for the king of that country is of mixed descent, and the land is not of such high degree as to be free from that mixed blood of strangers so that neither on father or mother's side is there perfect spolessness, nor true independence—so that our Lord cannot be born there." Then others continued : " The unsurpassably great city of Vâisali the people of which are so prosperous and happy, and the land so productive and fertile, covered with costly buildings and gates and covered columns of magnificent appearance—possessing parks and lakes—around which both men and women wander in perfect happiness, their houses interspersed in the midst—sure here our Bodhisatwa may be born." But others replied :—" Not so ; for the people of that country are quarrelsome and litigious, they are of an impure disposition—they have an outward appearance (of good) but nothing within, they do not practice the Law, do not distinguish a true Teacher from a false, each one exalts himself as a teacher (or, Lord), and so they do not submit to be taught or to be ruled, and therefore arrive at no eminence. Our Maker cannot be born there.

Thus all the Bodhisatwas and the Devas having severally examined into the kingdoms of the world and the characters and family qualification and royal dignities of the kings thereof, having thus enquired into these things found that there was some fault in each case (so that Bodhisatwa could not be born in either place named).

Now in the assembly there was one Devaputra named *Chwang-ying-ling* (standard-excellent-conduct) Bodhisatwa, perfect in wisdom, intimately acquainted with the principles of the Great Vehicle, who addressed the assembled Bodhisatwas and the Devaputras and the other worthies (Bhadrās) and said that they might all go personally to Bodhisatwa and enquire of him in what family he would take his last and final birth, and

for the last time be incarnated in the womb. Then they all, with hands clasped, went to the place where Bodhisatwa was and, standing before him respectfully, enquired of him thus. "Excellent Sage! would that you would say where you are willing for the last time to be born by descending as a Spirit, in what family possessed of what eminent distinctions?" To whom Bodhisatwa replied: "The country and the family (or, the family of the country), in which Bodhisatwa can be born, must be distinguished by sixty excellences. Then for the last time I am willing to descend spiritually and be born (in such a place and family.) Now what are these excellences: 1. The country must be ample and wide, the family quiet and peaceable. 2. It must be honored of all. 3. It must be pure from any family taint. 4. It must be of the highest descent. 5. The family name (or, the family or clan itself) must be true and honorable. 6. Male and female regular birth. 7. Firm in purpose. 8. From first to last one husband. 9. Ever practicing superior works. 10. Its conduct unexceptionally correct. 11. Feared and respected by all men. 12. Universally esteemed and praised. 13. Firm and resolute in thought and act. 14. Superior to others who are eminent. 15. Without equal in thought and action. 16. Distinguished for female purity. 17. Abounding with male children. 18. Without fear in any. 19. Without family broils and envyings. 20. Distinguished for highest wisdom. 21. Skilled in many arts. 22. Avoiding wicked indulgences. 23. Moderate in drinking and eating. 24. Ever aiming to obtain independence. 25. Flourishing in possession of true wisdom (virtuous friend.) 26. Although there are noxious insects and beasts, without any fear or annoyance. 27. Members of the family of a gentle disposition. 28. Longing for power (or, grace) to practice the acquisition of Bôdhi. 29. And yet without a remnant of covetous desire. 30. Without passionate temper. 31. Cherishes no foolish or gloomy thoughts. 32. Delights in that which is good (not foolish.) 33. Distinguished for personal beauty (characteristic signs of body.) 34. Simple and sincere in whatever is done. 35. Rejoices in charity. 36. Resolute in leaving home (becoming an ascetic.) 37. Excelling all others in fulfilling vows. 38. Exceedingly distinguished for gracefulness of gait. 39. Never refusing to instruct others. 40. Honor'd by the Gods. 41. Obeyed by spirits. 42. Believed in (or, sought after as a refuge) by disembodied ghosts. 43. Involved in no angry quarrels. 44. Renowned through the universe (ten regions.) 45. Eminently connected (family and class, eminent.) 46. Independent in natural disposition and in action. 47. All those of the same kin, able-

bodied and strong. 48. No family cabals or factions. 49. Every branch of the family, much distinguished. 50. Obedient to parents. 51. Respectful to Shamans and Bralmans. 52. Abounding in wealth. 53. Abundant treasure (jewels) and stores of grain. 54. Possessed of the seven precious substances in plenty. 55. Numbers of elephants and horses. 56. Tu-po yu-'sz [I cannot possibly translate this except *Tu-po* be the Sanscrit tubha=a goat, and yu-'sz be for ushtra=a camel.] 57. Possessed of innumerable slaves and workmen of all sorts. 58. Invincible in the exercise of discriminative knowledge at will. 59. Universally diffusing the influence of their virtue and love. These are the sixty. [Only 59 however are given.] Then all the Bodhisatwas and the Devaputras hearing these sixty marks of purity of family, were filled with joy and greatly exulted to know such particulars—and then still standing before him they addressed Bodhisatwa further and said: “And what family is there so distinguished and so gifted with all those excellences (of which Bodhisatwa has spoken)?” To whom he replied and said “This family of the Sâkyas at present is rich, prosperous, flourishing and at peace and rest, its numbers are exceedingly great, and largely endowed with every virtue. Their place (origin) is Kapilavastu, the people are all in agreement, from the highest to the lowest knit together in good offices, their thoughts being ever how to protect one another heartily so as to increase the three kinds of treasure, to put away every misfortune, to banish heresy; all these Sâkyas aim after a due reverence for the one vehicle, they venerate the great, and the noble—whilst they themselves are all distinguished for their personal beauty. The King Suddhodana both in disposition and conduct is virtuous and advanced before others (*badhra*), his wife untainted (in mind), full of grace in person, and gentle in disposition; her virtue and tenderness the object of universal attachment, incomparable in appearance, her heart steadfastly purposed, as yet childless, loathing the rude ways of the world, unwearied in the pursuit of wisdom (or, religious doctrine), like a Heavenly Devî (*apsara*) beholding whom it is impossible not to feel joy, whose perfect loneliness (purity, whether of mind or body) no human language can describe, without any remnant of coarseness, entirely free from all feeling of anger or resentment, with no preference for this person or that, delighting in charity, observing every religious rule without the least failure. (reverencing her husband fully and yet knowing how far to go, with no preference elsewhere, always in a tranquil and happy state of mind, her hair of an auburn (reddish blue, compare *κυανοχάιτης*) color, her eyebrows

perfectly level and equal) without frown, *qu'elle ne fronce jamais*. Foucaux). Her words spoken after forethought always agreeable with perfect virtue, her deportment always easy and correct, perfectly modest in her ways, without levity, without boldness, pretence or artifice perfectly patient, her hands and feet delicate as the lotus leaf, guarded as adamant in the exercise of thought, word and deed; like a Devi (apsara) (possessed of every) precious adornment—perfectly pure, for 500 generations previously the mother of Bodhisatwas; so after one night more will Bodhisatwa descend as a spirit and be incarnate (for the last time) in the (womb of this lady of the) Sākya tribe—and so the Gātha says:—

“The perfectly pure Being (man) meditating on the Law, occupies the Lion throne of the Law. Of their own accord the Devas assemble around him, in deep reverence for this Bodhisatwa; whilst these assembled in the preaching Hall they think—“what family is so perfectly excellent and pure as to be worthy of Bodhisatwa’s descent (into some member of that family) as a Spirit—perfectly untainted both on the father’s side and the mother’s?”—And so minutely examining into the various Kshatriya families of the world, they found that the Sākya family alone was without taint.

Suddhodana, rāja (of all kings) the most excellent, standing alone among Princes, prosperous, wealthy and pure, reverent in his conduct and always acting according to (the precepts of) the Law, revered and looked up to by all, who themselves strive after the purity and the harmony of the Sākya race. It is to this country of Kapilavastu (*Kia-wei*) abounding in elegant preaching-Halls and gardens for contemplation that (the Bodhisatwa) ought to descend spiritually. It is here he will accomplish fully the effect of his mighty vow, endued with the strength of an elephant in the 32 points, by means of his enlightenment he will save men to the very utmost (wou-kih), sacrificing himself (for the good of others) without any feeling of personal hurt, [here follow three lines which are untranslatable, literally rendered as follows:] “Suddhodana giving up his own personal greatness, the chief among the three thousand worlds, in thought and joy like the Heavenly King”—if however the first two characters “*pih tsing*” do not represent the proper name Suddhodana, [and if they do, the symbol “*Wang*” 王 ought to follow] then the passage may refer to Bodhisatwa himself and be translated thus “perfectly pure, giving up his own greatness, the first in the three thousand worlds in thought and joy like the Heavenly King”—but at best the passage is obscure, (and probably the text is corrupt).

His wife's name untainted (Kieh) and excellent (miao) (or, unpolluted excellence) in beauty like one of the Devis, in form and body most pure; all the Devas beholding her, are never wearied in their work, spotless as a gem, truthful and agreeable in speech, perfectly modest, without any rudeness or roughness of disposition—her face always cheerful, attending to the duties of religion with humility and womanly reserve, without pride or carelessness, truthful and without flattery, always intent on charity, freed from all false opinions on religious points (free from heresy) her conduct perfectly virtuous, ever guarded in deed, word and thought, in comparison with other female forms wonderfully (miraculously) superior, not desirous for any worldly indulgence, unequalled amongst Nâgas or men, sure she is the one who ought to bear in her womb the great Holy one. And so through 500 births she has been (in previous ages) the mother of Bodhisatwa and Suddhodana the father. Here then (or, in her then) ought the power (virtue) of the spirit (God) to descend—her views correct, her conduct earnest, always reverent and obedient in religious duties, persistent in her desire to remain pure (without desire) for 32( months). In whatever place she stops, or sleeps or moves, there beams forth the glory of her presence, overpowering every evil influence by its brightness, wherever she is no Deva or spiritual Being can conceive a lustful desire in her heart, beholding her stainless behaviour they regard her in the light of mother and child. In consequence of the pure conduct of this excellent Queen, the domains and the dignity of the king continually increase, his renown is not surpassed by any, his fame is everywhere diffused, just as the Queen (wife of the King) is a suitable vessel, so does the Honorable (the incarnated Bodhisatwa) shine forth with inconceivable glory. There then I will be born, there will I descend as a God, no where else in the world is there one worthy to bear the Holy one, only the conspicuous qualities (virtues) of this illustrious queen can entitle her to such an honor. Thus all the Devas in consultation with the Great Holy one, Bodhisatwa the perfectly pure and wise, intimate that he will be born of the Queen belonging to the Sâkya race.

## SECTION II.

### DECLARING THE GATES OF THE LAW,

Moreover, Bodhisatwa addressed the Bhikshus and said: "Thus was selected the place where Bodhisatwa should descend as a spirit to be born. Now again this Tusita heaven has a spacious heavenly palace called "Kaochong" ("high or elevated standard" *Outchadhradya* (Foucaux)

2560 lis in length. In this Hall Bodhisatwa constantly resided for the purpose of explaining the Scriptures to the Devas there assembled. At this time then, Bodhisatwa, ascending up to this Hall, addressed the Devas generally and said: "There is a Sûtra which is called 'that which heals and destroys all sorrow, root and branch.' Now then come go up and assemble at the Hall and listen from my mouth, as I ascend for the very last time the lofty throne, the words contained in this excellent Sûtra."

Then all the Bodhisatwas and the Devis agreed to come up and listen. At this time Bodhisatwa beholding the countries of the four regions caused to appear (appositionally) a lofty throne composed of all the countless precious substances known in the world (the four continents), so perfectly beautiful as to bring joy to every heart, far excelling in splendor any bed or couch throughout the Kama or the Rupa worlds. Such was the power of Bodhisatwa's presence in the Tusita heaven). Then ascending the Lion throne resplendent with gems, draped with heavenly coverings, perfumed with incense, surrounded by flowers of every kind, glittering with countless pearls, adorned with richest hangings from the bells of which proceeded pleasant sounds, he sat down on the throne thus resplendent [as before] whilst countless thousand Apsaras and Sakras and Brahmas (inhabitants of the worlds presided over by Sakra and Brahma) came and prostrated themselves before Bodhisatwa [Lacuna 1.]

Bodhisatwa thus seated addressed the Devas and the whole assembly thus: "Excellent ones! look around at the ten regions of space and at all the Devas occupying the Tusita Heaven (and see how they regard him) who now in his last form desires to descend spiritually to be born on earth, behold these countless myriads of Divine Beings surrounding him on every side, waiting to hear from him the discourse on the illustrious (brightly shining) gates of the Law." And then the spiritual power of Bodhisatwa caused all these Devas to behold the vast assembly from the ten regions of space who surrounded him as he sat, all prostrate in worship each with flowers and incense to offer to him who in his last form of existence was about to become perfect Buddha. All these Devas prostrate on their hands and feet and touching the ground with their foreheads loudly exclaimed in terms of praise: "Well indeed! (sadhu) how incalculable the excellences (virtue) of Bodhisatwa, who thus enables us to behold with our bodily eyes these countless Bodhisatwas!" At this time Bodhisatwa again addressed all these Devas and said "Virtuous ones!

listen then to that discourse which is called the "bright gates of the Law." On which, as they all attended, he proceeded thus: "These are 108 divisions of the bright gates of the law which (Bodhisatwa), when about to descend spiritually to be born, repeats for the sake of all the Devas. What then are the 108 divisions? Perfect faith (or, sincerity) is a gate of the Law, the nature that is perfectly versed in it, cannot be overthrown; supreme joy is a gate of the Law, it cheers the heart at evil times. Lightness of disposition is a gate of the Law, when perfected it strengthens faith; sedateness is a gate of the Law, it indicates a heart naturally pure; to guard the body is, &c., it purifies the three offices (of the body); to guard the mouth is, &c., it preserves the four excellences (of speech?) to guard the thoughts is, &c., it destroys envy, anger and doubt (moha); to remember Buddha (i.e. to call upon him) is a, &c., (it opens the eyes to) behold the Buddhas of the ten regions (i.e. the universal spirit, or spiritual substance which underlies all things and is the one existence); to remember (or, ponder on) the Law is &c., to behold the Law (leads to) perfect purity: to remember (or, invoke) the assembly (church) is, &c., (it leads) directly to Nirvāna; to think on (i.e. to practice) charity is, &c., it is the diffusive excellence (point or extreme) of the majestic Spirit (Divine spirit); to recollect moral duty is, &c., it leads to a full accomplishment of prayer (vows); to remember Heaven (God) is, &c., it composes the heart; charity in the heart (or, a loving heart) is, &c., it has a transforming power and strengthens virtue: pity is, &c., it is the very best preservation from injury: gladness is, &c., it does evil to none; personal defence (self-respect) is, &c., it leads a man to despise and abhor the gratifications of desire (lust); impermanency (i.e. to understand its character) is, &c., it enables a man to transcend (the world of) Desire, (the world of) Form and (the world in which there is) no Form (i.e. it leads to the perfection of Being known as Nirvāna); to perceive the Nature of sorrow is, &c., it excludes any interruption in prayer (or, in that which one prays for—but it might better be rendered freely "it is ceaseless prayer"); to perceive the character of the non-existence of a personal soul (anātma) is, &c., it leads to independence; to perceive sound (Ch. Kwan-yin) is &c., it excludes that which is not true and upright; to perceive shame is, &c., it excludes inward action (vain imaginations?); to perceive modesty, &c., it moderates outward conduct; to perceive sincerity, &c., it leads to sincerity with God and man; to perceive truth, &c., to admit of no self-deception; to perceive conduct is, &c., it conducts to a scrupulous attention to religious duties; to perceive



the three gems, &c., it leads to the destruction of the three evil (modes of birth); to perceive (the character of) complete insight (intelligence) is &c., it prevents the loss of the root of virtue; to perceive the character of one's actions, is, &c., it prevents one despising another: to understand oneself is, &c., it prevents self-destruction; to understand men is, &c., it leads one to avoid contradiction; to understand distinction is a &c., it leads to a respectful attention to the Law; to know the right time (for doing anything) is &c., it avoids the danger of futile work; to suppress self-importance is &c., it secures the possession of sacred wisdom; to get rid of hatred is &c., it prevents differences between one and the other; to get rid of entanglements is &c., it prevents disappointments; to love happiness (or perhaps lightheartedness) is &c., it does away with gloomy doubtings; to hate wrangling is &c., it does away with wordy disputations; [here follows a gate of the Law which can scarcely be genuine "not clean or uncleanness" is a gate of the Law, it destroys covetous and lustful thoughts," whether this refers to the absence of gaudy dress, unguents, or whether it is a misprint in the Text must be left undetermined, the Tibetan seems to be "the absence of wickedness &c.,"]; an occupied mind is &c., it prevents inward sadness; religious insight (Ch. principles of the Law) is a &c. it leads to a knowledge of all truths (or, principles). To delight in the Law is &c., it lends (or, gives) glory (or, lustre) to Religion (Law); to desire to hear is &c., it leads to a quiet consideration of all laws where "laws may be either 'religions truths' or "the world and its phenomena" (ye damma). A motive [I borrow this from the Tibetan, the Chinese 'ying', in the second tone, may have the meaning 'propriety' or, "suitableness"] perfectly correct is &c., it leads to consistency of conduct to distinguish between nâma and rûpa is &c., it enables one to cross (or, escape) all obstacles and dangers? to despise wealth (jewels) is a &c., it leads to a solid method of deliverance (Ch. it perfects the foundation of the Salvation (deliverance or freedom) [wrought by] wisdom; to let go all reliances is &c., it enables one to act independently and indifferent to good report or bad report; to penetrate into secret principles is &c., it enables one to distinguish evil modes of conduct (in others; body and thought (or, personal thought), it leads to composure; to be mindful of bodily ailments (the passages through which the bodily functions act) is &c., it guards against pain and disease; mental reflection (heart-going) is &c. it enables one to see that the mind and its operations are only as a mirage (illusion); the mind resting in the Law

(Religion) is &c. it is a wisdom which dispels all gloom; discrimination is &c., it directs one how to discard that which is evil; the investigation of personal (or indwelling) spiritual faculties is &c., it makes the mind and body light and accordant, the organ (indriya) of faith is &c., it renders others help unnecessary; the organ of perseverance is &c., it leads to (the acquisition of) the light of wisdom enabling one to choose well; the organ of thought is &c., it leads to a virtuous performance of the deeds of wisdom (good works); fixed thought is &c., it frees the mind from all bondage; divine wisdom (or, supreme wisdom) is &c., it leads to actual perfect illumination (a present, perfect, thorough knowledge); the force (bala) of faith is &c., it enables one to foil the bewitchment of the devil; the force of perseverance is &c., which forbids apostasy (backsliding); the force of thought is &c., it prevents forgetfulness; the force of fixed meditation (samadhi) is &c., it destroys all foolish thoughts; the force of knowledge is &c., it surrounds you whether going or coming; thought as an adjunct of Wisdom (Bodhiyanga) are &c., by these the highest truth is understood; the investigation of causes (fa) as an adjunct of Wisdom, is &c., by this all laws are rendered plain (pou-yaou); perseverance as an adjunct of Wisdom &c., this leads to advance in Religious knowledge; joy as an adjunct of Wisdom &c., this tends to even conduct; faith as an adjunct of Wisdom &c., this prepares the way for doing that which is done; meditation as an adjunct of Wisdom is &c., this permeates (or, equalizes) all religious action; watchfulness (defence) as an adjunct of Supreme Wisdom is &c., it delivers from all forms of birth;<sup>1</sup> Right sight (samyagdrishti) is a gate of the Law, it leads to peace; right thought is &c., it discards every sort of consciousness (personal consciousness); right speech is &c., it leads to a clear conviction that all sounds proceeding from all sources are but as the passing breath or the (unreal) echo. Right government is a gate &c., it requites not with evil, that which merits it; right works constitute a gate of the Law, they help to remove all obstacles and offences; right effort<sup>2</sup> is a way &c., it removes all lustful thoughts. Right thought is a gate &c., it leads the way to spontaneous reflection (or, remembrance independent of will); right composure is a &c., it tends to the acquisition of perfect quietism, in which there can be no feeling of anger or resentment; the heart of Bôdhi is a gate of &c., it forbids any distinction in the teaching of the three precious objects of worship (i.e. it maintains the unity of the three gems i.e. Buddha, the Law, the church) a pure nature is a gate &c., it has no delight in the distinction of methods of Salvation (vehicles, or

religious systems) Sacred (or, Holy); penetration is a gate &c., it renders plain and illustrates the Law of Buddha and frees the mind from all embarrassments; to adapt or adjust time is a gate &c., it completely accomplishes all duties (fâ); the highest degree of<sup>3</sup> charity (the páramitá of charity or dána) &c., it makes way for the perfect development of the characteristic marks, it completes a period of time known as a land (bhumi) of Buddha, during which he maintains a perfectly pure line of conduct and exhorts others to transform their lives and to put away all grudging and envious feelings.<sup>4</sup> The perfect accomplishment of moral duty (sila) is a gate &c., for it is this which completely delivers the subject of it from the position (chü) of one liable to the various evils and the eight calamities (fire, disease, storms &c.,) of life—arresting (or, restraining) all who live in open violation of their duties. The perfection of patience is a gate &c., for it is this which leads a man to put away all contention, quarrelling, anger and strife, and restrains all thoughts of envy and resentment. The perfection of perseverance &c., for it is this which cherishes all good principles and restrains all tendency to inertness and careless conduct. The perfection of contemplation (ecstasy or dhyana) is a gate &c., it reveals all things, opens the gate of “the one heart” (i.e. spiritual union) fixes the mind on the spiritual faculties it possesses and removes all confusing thoughts. The párami of wisdom is a gate &c., it removes all ignorance, darkness and obscurity of thought, it disperses all heretical teaching, and as in a net captures all wicked doctrines. Good method (or, plans) is a gate &c., it places in their true light all things which are good, and widely implor the Holy wisdom of all the Buddha. The four graces<sup>5</sup> are a gate &c. they tend to lead all flesh to the condition of Buddha. The four equal (virtues) are a gate—love pity, joy, and equanimity, by these four all combinations opposed to good are taken away, all the gates of the Law are perfected, and vows made by any one are not broken; to defend<sup>6</sup> the Law is a gate &c., it is this which removes all worldly influences (dusts) and impediments (anxieties). Accumulated virtue is a gate &c., all creatures honor and respect it. The condition (section or division) of Holiness (or of a Holy one—a sage) &c., it includes in it the ten forces (bâlas). Perfect quiet is a gate &c., it leads to the fixed composure of Tathâgata. Personal reflection (or, introspection) is a gate &c., it is (as it were) the eyes of wisdom in teaching; the power of distinction is a gate &c., it perfects the eyes of the Law. Obedience to superiors is a gate &c., it tends to the acquisition of the eyes of Buddha. The repetition of sacred sentences (dhâranî) is a

gate &c., it supposes a respectful attention to the commands of all the Buddhas. Dialectical skill is a gate &c., it is a mode of gratifying persons, by making plain that which is capable of being explained. Submissive patience is a gate &c., it reconciles and transforms all things (laws) [here follow two words signifying "not" "make."] Patience of the Law, (religious submission;) is a gate &c., it leads to the certain fulfilment of religious destiny (prophecy). The earth from which there is no return (*puh t'ui chun*) is a gate &c., it prepares one for the discharge of the laws of all the Buddhas. (The knowledge of) the successive heavens (firmament above firmament) is a gate &c., the heaven known as Avaiivartti is the place in which those reside who have attained the highest wisdom. The principle of "no remnants" (anupādiseso) is a gate &c., this refers to the circumstances of Buddha's conception, asceticism, residing under the tree (used by all the Buddhas) &c.

Thus have I declared the 108 illustrious gates of the Law, delivered on the occasion of the approaching spiritual descent of the great Teacher Bôdhisatwa for the sake of all the Devas—on which occasion 84,000 Devaputras attained the condition of the "unsurpassable heart," whilst 30 myriads and two thousand Devaputras received assurance of future perfection (as Buddhas), whilst innumerable others cast off all the trammels of impurity and obtained religious insight. Then all the Devas of the Tusita Heaven, filled with joy, scattered flowers knee-deep, and Bôdhisatwa on their account continued his discourse in the following hymn of praise:—

[Lacuna 2].

#### NOTES.

1) The last of these Bodhyangas is generally given as "indifference" or by Hardy as "equanimity" (vid. *Lotus of the Good Law* p. 799, and *Manual of Buddhism* p. 498). but the Chinese renders it by "Defence" (hu) or "guardedness". The quality of this principle is that it delivers from (chu) that which (admits of) birth.

2) Pien 便 an office of nature, or an effort.

3) The Chinese expression 'wou-kieh' seems to agree with the meaning of pāramī in the sense of "perfection" and not with the later rendering of pāramitā—"gone across."

4) This is the meaning of the original.

5) Charity, gentle speech, true conduct, and consistency of conduct.

6) The word "hu" may mean also "watchfulness over" or "jealousy for" (the Law).

(To be continued).

A BUDDHIST REPERTORY  
IN SANSKRIT, TIBETAN, MANDCHU, MONGOL & CHINESE.

(Continued from p. 215).

SECTION XXX (cont.)

5. *Prasradhisam*<sup>0</sup>, [read *prasadhi*.] T. *çin tu sbyaṅs pa yan*...do. of the exercises or practices of the law. M. serious exercise, full of effort. Dh. producing repose. [Or else, *praçrabdhi*,<sup>3</sup> suppression of trouble and acts, which produces repose (Pāli, *passadhi*. Burnouf, confidence.)
6. *Sāmādhisam*<sup>0</sup>, do of contemplation. T. *tin-ñie 'dzin yan*. M. Mg. *Samādi*. Ch. *teng*, contemplation, or recollection.
7. *Upekha'sam*<sup>0</sup>. Insensibility to objects desirable in this life, renunciation. T. *btan sñons yan deq*...indifference to events; *sarropapatti*, Lal. Vist.

3) The Lalita Vistara has *praçānti*, repose, interior immobility, like the Ch. transl. and *praçrabdhi*. But the gloss brings us back to our first meaning "to do what one ought to do."

SECTION XXXI.

*'Phags yan-dag brgyad*. The Eight Truths, or True Things.

M. The Eight Degrees or Stages of The Heavenly Route.<sup>1</sup>

1. *Samyaksadrśhti* : suitable, complete, clear intellectual view; orthodoxy. T. *yan-dag pahi ltu-ba* : suitable, veritable view, conformable to the truth. M. Ch. id. Virtue of distinguishing true from false, good from evil.
2. *Samyaksakalaya* [read *saṅkalpas*]. T. *yan-dag pahi rtogs ba* : perception, conception conformable to truth; true meaning. M. suitable preoccupation. Mg. *onol*, suitable comprehension or intelligence. Pāli, *Kalpanara*.
3. *Samyakvākram* : speech always suitable and true. T. *y...dga*. Also, faculty of reproducing exactly all sound and words uttered in all the worlds.
4. *Samyakkarmānta* : suitable action, conformable to principles. T. *y...las*, conduct always perfectly conformable to the law.
5. *Samyakjīvanā* [read *Samaygy*<sup>0</sup>] life conformable to the law. T.. *'thso ba*, especially ascetic and monastic life.
6. *Samyakejyāyāma* : suitable efforts at self-repression. T. *y...c'ol ba*. M. zeal, care, activity. Complete and constant practice of the rules of asceticism.

7. *Samyaksmr̥ti*. Intact memory, conformable to the truth. T. *y... dran ba*. Retaining the law without fail. Pāli, *sihi*.
8. *Samyaksamādhi*: suitable contemplation, conformable to principles. T. *yañ-dag pahi tiñ-ñe 'dzin*: ecstatic contemplation, wherein all intellectual act is suppressed.
- 1) *Aṣṭanmarga*, the way with 8 paths or means of attaining the dignity of an *arhat*.

## SECTION XXXII.

*Bsam-gtan gñis*. The Two Kinds of Contemplation.<sup>1</sup>

1. *Āmātha*: interior recollection, complete inactivity of the mind and its absorption in the idea of Buddha. T. *z'i-gn 's*. M. fixing (the mind) gently, in repose.—This is inert ecstasy.
2. *Vipaṣṣyanā*: T. *lhag mt'on*, transcendent view. M. Mg. Ch. perfect intelligence, distinguishing all things perfectly.—Knowledge or ecstatic view without any action of the mind; internal or intellectual view produced by meditation.

The former is the perfection and the final term, the latter analyses the ideas further and represents them in a lively manner, as in a picture, according to some.

- 1) Sect. XXXI leads to perfection by contemplation; sect. XXXII gives an explanation of the subject and indicates two kinds.

## SECTION XXXIII.

*Phuñ po lna*. The Five Elements<sup>1</sup> [Constituting Beings].

1. *Rūpaskandha*: element of external form. T. *gzugs*.
2. *Vēdanās*<sup>0</sup>: sensation produced by exterior objects, perception. T. *ts'or-pa*.
3. *Sañjñās*<sup>0</sup>: knowledge of ideas abstracted from sensations, reflexion, consciousness. T. *'du-ces*.
4. *Saṅskāras*<sup>0</sup>: action. T. *'du-byed*. M. *weilen*, act, &c.
5. *Vijñānas*<sup>0</sup>: T. *rnam-par-ces*: distinguished knowledge, judgment. M. *ulhibun*.

1) *Shandha*, lit. trunk and part. They are considered not only as qualities but as real elements and constituents. In place of *saṅskāra*, *karma* is often used.

*Rūpaskandha* comprises the four elements, the senses and their objects, the principles of vitality, sex, speech, gesture, &c.: altogether 28.

*Vēdanāskandha* comprises the physical and mental impressions of pleasure, dislike and indifference.

*Sañjñā* is the perception of objects proper to the sense, or of an intellectual notion.

*Saṅskāra* comprises the various internal acts, joy, fear, shame, and other moral qualities and vices.

*Vijñāya*, or consciousness, comprises all the perceptions and different states of the mind, and other special ideas too long to enumerate. The Buddhist books distinguish as many as 89.

These five entities by their union compose the whole existence of a living being. Man is formed in this manner so soon as, by means of the force called *upādāna*, his being has appropriated the *skandhas*. Where, in what, and how they exist before constituting an individual, is what Buddhism does not tell us. In this it resembles Brahmanism, which postulates the entitative existence, e.g. of the various senses, but does not offer any further explanation as to the manner. For the pure Mahāyānists there is nothing but these *skandhas*; at death they are dissolved to form a new individual, retaining nothing but the influence of the acts performed by the preceding aggregate and the remembrance of these acts. But there is neither soul nor permanent substance. The Hinayānists admit in the *pudgala* or *puruṣa* a permanent principle.

## SECTION XXXIV.

*Dbañ-po lña*. The Five Senses<sup>1</sup>.

1. *Cakshurindriyam* : sense of sight. T. *mig*, eye.
2. *Śrōtendriyam* : of hearing. T. *rna*, ear.
3. *Ghrāna*...of smelling. T. *sna*, nose.
4. *Ṣabda*...sound, voice. T. *lee*, tongue. (M. *jihvā*).
5. *Kāya*...body, touch. T. *lus*, body.

1) The inferior senses, material senses, existing in themselves, independently of the sentient being.

## SECTION XXXV.

*Yul lña*. The Five Objects of Sense<sup>1</sup>.

1. *Rūpam*, form. T. *gzugs*.
2. *Ṣabda*, sound. T. *sgra*.
3. *Gaudha*, odour. T. *dri*.
4. *Rasā*, taste. T. *ro*. (M. *rasa*).
5. *Sprashṭavyam*, touch, what can be touched. T. *regbya*, the palpable.

1) M. properties. Ch. atoms, particles infinitely small, making themselves perceived by the organs of sense.

## PART II.

## SECTION I.

*Rig gnas lña*.

The five kinds of Science.

1. *Ṣabdavidyā*, T. *Sgra rig-pa*. Science of sounds and names, as characteristics of natures; study of words and their derivations.
2. *Heruvidyā* (read *hetu*). T. *gton tsigs-pa*. Science of Causes, of Causes and relations. M. of Causes and principles. Ch. of Causes.

3. *Adhyatma-vidyā*, (read *ātma*.) Science of the Interior of the Soul. T. *nañ rig-pa*. Science of the interior (of the esoteric law destined for the initiated). Ch. id. M. of the internal law.
4. *Cikrpa-vidyā* (read *cikitsā*). Art of Healing T. *gso rig-pa*, Science of healing (moral evils). M. Science of medical remedies. Ch. of medicines potions,
5. *Cilpaçcānavidyā*, Science of principles of the arts and trades. T, *bzo-hi rig-pa* id. M. Ch. of artisans (*faksi*, *Kong*). M. *Çilpasthāna*).

## SECTION II.

*Phags nor bduñ gyi m. b.*

The Seven Eminent Treasures.

1. *Çuddhadhānam* (read *Çuddhi*). Treasure of purity. T. *dañ pa-hi*. nor &c. id. Ch. treasure of faith (from a reading *çradha*) M. respect, piety, faith.
  2. *Çiladhānam*, treasure of moral virtues. T. *t'sul-khrims*. id.
  3. *Hrīdhānam*. Shame, modesty, shame of evil. T. *ño-ts'u*, shame which turns away from all fault (*hiri*).
  4. *Apatrāsyadh<sup>o</sup>*. Fear (trembling which keeps away from evil (for fear of the consequence). M. Ch. id. T. *Khrel yod pa*, id.
  5. *Çutradh<sup>o</sup>*. (read *çrūti*, *çrōtra*). Good of hearing the precepts and sacred books. T. *thos-pa*. (M. *çruta*).
  6. *Tyāgadh<sup>o</sup>*. Treasure of renunciation (of goods and pleasures). T. *gton-ba*
  7. *Prjāñādh<sup>o</sup>*. Treasure of knowledge, enlightened intelligence. T. *çes-rab kyi nor*, . . . treasure of knowledge, understanding (the things of the Law). M. of clear understanding.
- 1) *Vidyā*. These five names are the titles of five treatises (*vidyāçāstra* called "the five treatises" in Chinese *Wu ming*, the 4th (*Cikitsā-vidyā* is merely a treatise of occult science and magical formula.
- 2) *Dhānam*, Nos. 1 to 4, and 7 are part of the *Saṅskarakandha* Sect. I.). *Çuddhi* is purity, removing from the mind all impure desire. *Çīla* is the observation of the 8 or 10 commandments, according as laymen or religious are in question. *Prajñā*, opposed to *avidyā*, is the wisdom which reveals what is good or evil, the true nature of beings, destroys illusion, and makes the Law understood. It is the highest point of knowledge, superior to *Vijñāna*, which makes known only the nature of actual beings. All these are treasures, because leading to the acquisition of the supreme good.

## SECTION III.

*Byin brlabs 'bzi hi min la*. The 4 principles or foundations of blessing (*Adhiṣṭhāna*)<sup>1</sup>.

1. *Patyādhiṣṭhānam* [read *Satyā*] Foundation of Truth. T. *bden pa-hi*



- byin b....* M. Ch. id., Knowledge of the Truth of the four great principles, viz., illusion, miseries of the world, &c.
2. *Tyāgādhi*<sup>o</sup>: Abandonment, total renunciation. T. *gtoñ pa*. M. Ch., liberality alms-deeds.
3. *Upasamādhi*<sup>o</sup> [read *gam*]: Interior repose, calm without any movement. T. *ñe bar* (upa) *z'i pa*, interior repose. M. silence, complete interior repose. Ch. profound meditation, wherein the soul is fixed and immovable.
4. *Prajñādhi*<sup>o</sup>: Knowledge. T. *ces-rab*. Ch. Knowledge and perspicacity, (See Sect, II, No. 7.)

## SECTION IV.

*Gaṇ zag gi mñ la*: Names of the pudgalas<sup>2</sup>.

1. *Dama*. T. *gdul-pa*. Repression of passions. M. Ch. Sweetness, goodness.
2. *Tapasdhi*. Penance, asceticism. T. *dga-thul*<sup>3</sup>. Ch. M., painful effort, penance (M. *tapasvī*).
3. *Prati* [read *Pratti*], Remuneration. T. *brtul z'ugs cañ*, one who gives himself up to penance. M. Mg., of perfect moral conduct. Ch., virtuous, meritorious acts. (M. *vratī*).
4. *Yogācāra* [read *Yoga*]. Practice of *yoga*<sup>4</sup>. T. *rnal 'byor spyod pa*, id.
5. *Yogī*. T. *rnal 'byor pa*: Who practises yoga. M., &c. id.
6. *Yoga*. T. *rnal 'byor*. The yoga (i. e. the system itself). Ch. *yn-ka* (merely transcribed).

1) M. Mg. *Adisht*, transcribed. Ch. 𑖀 𑖁 𑖂 𑖃 𑖄 from which Rémusat gets the translation "things taken and given," which has no sense. They are rather the four degrees which must be passed to arrive at liberating knowledge, viz: to recognise the truth, to abandon the *ego* and the world, to produce the void in oneself, to become illuminated.

2) M. *Butgeli*, a transcription of *pudgala*. Ch. longevity, whence Rémusat has "things to prolong life." *Pudgala* is generally the individuality prolonged across successive re-births. Here it has another meaning, peculiar to the *yogacāra*.

3) The *Muni*, the happy penitent.

4) Originally a Bramanic term signifying "union with the Supreme Being by penance, contemplation, and the conviction of universal identity." To the Buddhist it is simply contemplation which unites with its object or transfuses into the void.

The ideas contained in this section belong to the sect of the *yogacāras*, whose principal doctor was Arya-Saṅha, in the 7th century, A.D. Their doctrine is an amalgamation of Brahmanic, Buddhistic and Çiavitic ideas. They made most use of *tantras* or magic formulae.

The three first terms indicate the conditions preparatory to the Yoga ;

the three last refer to the same conception of the Yoga in its nature, its practice and its subject. It is no doubt this subject which is the *pugda* spoken of in the title.

C. DE HARLEZ.

(To be continued).

NOTES ON EARLY SEMITIC NAMES.

[SECOND ARTICLE].

IN my former paper on this subject I dealt principally with those names found in the inscriptions of the twenty third century before the Christian era, from Southern Chaldea. I now propose to consider some of a more important class which seem to be of considerable importance in the study of Semitic religion. The word *El* in its various forms is common to all branches of the Semitic family as the divine name or the name of the one supreme god. In the cuneiform inscriptions it is equated with the Akkadian and Sumerian *dingir* and *dimmir*, both of which are rendered by the Semitic *ilu* or *ilani*, and representative of the well known ideogram  $\text{𒌷}$ . The occurrence of such names of place as *Bab ilu* "Gate of God" *Dur ilu* "Fort of God" proves that the word was used in the abstract signification of God in just such a manner as that of the Hebrew *El* in *Beth-el*, or *Pani-el*. The use of the word as a formative particle in proper names however presents a still more important resemblance to its use in personal names in other Semetic languages. There are very early examples of the use of this element in personal names, the earliest probably being that upon a very archaic fragment in the British Museum, which is certainly as old if not older than the Sargon whorl which is usually assigned to the remote date of B.C. 2800. In a fragment of a sacrificial tariff written in the archaic linear script and with the same curious system of cup numbers as that upon the monuments from Tel-lo, the name of  $\text{𒌷} \text{𒌷} \text{𒌷}$  *Ib-ni-Ilu* "God has made," occurs a name in harmony with that of *Ibni-sarru* upon the seal of Sargon. In the valuable list of names

from the contract tablets of the time of Khammurabi-Eri-Aku and other kings of the period (B.C. 2500-2200) of the early empire this element is of very frequent occurrence, and these names are of particular interest.

The following list contains some of the most important:---

1. *Ilu-ba-li-it* God is the life giver.
2. *Ilu-ba-ni* God is the maker.
3. *Ilu-na-si-ir* God is the protector.
4. *Ilu-šu abu-šu.* His god is his father.
5. *Ilu-šu-ba-ni* His god is his creator.
6. *Ilu-šu bu-la-ua-sir* His god protects his cattle.
7. *Ilu-šu-ib-ni-šu* His god has made him.
8. *Ilu-šu-na-s'r* His god is his protection.
9. *Ana-pa-ni ilu* Before god.
10. *Arad ilu* Servant of god.
11. *Ismi-ilu* God has heard.

To almost every one of these names we may find a Hebrew equivalent in the Old Testament, and they are evidently constructed on the same lines of thought as such names as Paniel, Ishmael, Elkanah—Abdiel &c. Throughout these names the element *Ilu* or *El* is represented by the sign  $\overline{\text{II}}$ , but there is another class of still greater interest namely those in which the divine element is represented by the group  $\overline{\text{II}}\overline{\text{II}}\overline{\text{II}}$ . In W.A.I. vol. II, pl. 3, this group is explained by the word *i-li* in the left hand column, and in the right hand column by the words  $\text{EII} \text{—} \text{II} \text{—}$ . To read this group as *zi-na-bi* seems to afford no clue, its reading is probably *zi-na-bi*, and to be rendered twice repeated referring to the reduplication of the sign  $\overline{\text{II}}$ .

We may probably connect the form *Nini* with the Akkadian *Nin* "lord." Of the names of this class several are particularly interesting, *Ardu-ilu*, *Gamil-ilu-šu*, *Apil-ilu*, *Ilu-ibni*, *Ilu ikisum*. These names seem to show the use of this component element *Ilu*, in exactly the same manner as the Hebrew forms in *El*.—The names found with the name of the Sun god as component elements, also are important. *Samaš-gamil*. *Samaš-bani*, *Samaš-mubanet*, *Samaš muscib*, *Samaš turam*, *Somaš-nazir*. "The Sun god is the benefactor"—"The Sun god is the Creator"—"The Sun god is the Creator"—"The Sun god is the Saviour"—"The Sun god exalts"—"The Sun god is the protector." To the same class may be assigned the name *Mukhaidu*, "the patrol," which was an epithet

applied to the Sun god. The remarkable pastoral character assigned to the heavenly bodies in the inscriptions has recently been shown by some of the hymns published Mr. Brunnow. Here we find the Sun god addressed by the title *riu saplati nakidu itati*. "Shepherd of all below, herdsman of all on high"—a phrase which recalls the Arab poet's description of the sun as the "shepherd of the stars."—These names taken with those given by me in the previous article seem to show the existence in Babylonia in the time of Khammurabi of a Semitic population, who had lived a nomad life prior to their settlement in the country, and who gave themselves name of a similar class to those of the Hebrews, and who had at the head of the pantheon a Supreme god Ilu or El, whose name entered into the composition of proper names as in Hebrew.

W. ST. C. BOSCAWEN.

### KETCHUP, CATCHUP, CATSUP.

BY T. DE L.

My attention was called lately by my friend Col. Sir Henry Yule, to this word for which a Chinese origin has been suggested. W. H. Meddhurst, in his dictionary English and Chinese, published at Shanghai in 1847, and which, unhappily cannot be always trusted, gives as the rendering of *catsup*, the Chinese 魚 豉 汁 which he reads *K'ae tsēz*.<sup>1</sup> The same scholar elsewhere reads the same symbols *Kwei* and *chih*.<sup>2</sup> Therefore he has not derived his information as to this expression, from his usual source the *K'ang hi tze tien*<sup>3</sup>; an inference which this dictionary confirms by its silence on the matter under the two symbols respectively. It has come to him from another and apparently dialectal (Shanghai) source, on which unhappily the Shanghai vocabulary at my disposal gives no information<sup>4</sup>. And it is curious, should this expression be current and well known, that it should not occur in any of the numerous dictionaries and vocabularies I have consulted. It is another term which is used for the purpose: 豆 豉 汁 *shü-yü* in Mandarin<sup>5</sup>, *shü-yau* in Cantonese<sup>6</sup>; in Fuhchou<sup>7</sup> and elsewhere<sup>8</sup> the same term is used for 'soy.'

The *Keae tsēē* of Meddhurst, then, is the sole and rather unsatisfactory evidence. The symbol *Keae* is that of the fresh water white porpoise; "its liver is reckoned to be unhealthy and the Cantonese avoid eating it."<sup>9</sup> The statement is as old as the Han dynasty; referring to the *K'ang hi tze tien*<sup>10</sup> I find that the authority for it is the *Lun heng* or 'Critical disquisitions' by Wang Teh'ung who lived A.D. 19-90. With a belief as deeply enrooted in the Chinese tradition, it seems curious that the name of the poisonous *Keae* should have been selected *bonâ fide* for a part of the appellative of a relish<sup>12</sup>. It looks much more like a transcription written contemptuously by a Chinese scribe, with reference to a non-genuiey Chinese article of food. The second symbol read *tsēē* is that which is commonly used for 'gravy or juice'; it is uttered *tchǎp* in Cantonese, *tchiap* at Shanghai, *tchaik* at Fuhtchou, and *tchiap* at Amoy. The two symbols would make *Kwai-tchǎp* at Canton and *hai-tchiap* at Shanghai, but they are not found like that, as a compound expression in the vocabularies of these dialects<sup>13</sup>. The Cantonese *Kwai-tchǎp* might be the antecedent of the English word, but it results from the unsatisfactory evidence of various sorts here adduced, that the etymology is altogether theoretical. My impression is that the word may have a Chinese origin, but not from China<sup>14</sup>. It may have come from Australasia or the Malay peninsula, where the Chinese colonists of southern China are so numerous. The expression may have been made there, with a local acceptance unknown in the mother country.

#### NOTES.

- 1) *English and Chinese dictionary*, p. 206.—The spelling *catsup* seems to be on its way to a popular etymology *cat's soup*.
- 2) *Chinese and English dictionary* (Batavia, 1842), pp. 439 and 1395.
- 3) The *K'ang hi tze tien*, 195 + 6 s.v., and 85 + 2 s.v., does not give any instance of the term.
- 4) J. Edkins, *A Vocabulary of the Shanghai dialect*, 8vo. Shanghai, 1869.
- 5) J. Doolittle, *A Vocabulary of the Chinese language* (Foochow, 1872, vol. I.) p. 272.
- 6) J. Chalmers, *English and Cantonese dictionary* (Hongkong, 1870, 3rd ed.) p. 69.
- 7) R. S. Maclay and C. C. Baldwin, *A dictionary of the Chinese language in the Foochow dialect* (Foochow, 1870, 8vo), p. 773.
- 8) S. Wells Williams, *An English and Chinese vocabulary in the Court dialect* (Macao, 1844, 8vo.) p. 267.
- 9) Wells Williams, *A syllabic dictionary of the Chinese language*

(Shanghai, 1874, 4 to) p. 482.

10) 196 + 6 s.v. fol. 12 v.

11) E. Bretschneider, Bibliography in *Botanicon Sinicum* No. 497, (Shanghai, 1882).

12) In the *Kwang yun* a dictionary of the VIIth century, the same symbol is contemptuously used with the sound of *hi* in composition with another symbol <sup>菜</sup>*tsai*, for the expression *hi*-*tsai* proper to the Wu people i.e. of Tchekkiang, for food, flesh and vegetable together.

13) The dialectal sounds are taken individually in the various dictionaries quoted above.

14) Since the above was written, I have read the following :—

*Ketchup*, a corruption of the Japanese *Kitjap* a similar condiment sometimes sold as soy but not equal to it, in Brewer's *Dictionary of phrases*. The piece of information is somewhat *en l'air*, as the expression is not met with in the Japanese dictionary of Hepburn nor in that of Satow. The sounds of the two characters in Sino-japanese would be *Keishifu*.

### THE TEL EL AMARNA TABLETS,

It is strange to find so able a scholar as M. Ernest Renan casting a doubt upon the authenticity of the inscriptions from Tel-el-Amarna, but such from a statement recently made by him before the Académie-des-Inscriptions seems to be the case. In our first number we raised the question as to the possibility of the fabrication of forged tablets, and it may therefore not be out of place to defend these valuable documents against such a charge. M. Renan says that it seems very suspicious to find despatches from Canaanite governors to the Pharaohs of Egypt written in cuneiform characters. It is indeed strange but nevertheless in no way against the grounds of probability. The discovery of the Cappadocian tablets prepared the way for the Tel-el-Amarna, tablets and show clearly that the cuneiform script in a modified form was the diplomatic and commercial hand writing used throughout Western Asia, or is this difficult to explain. The Babylonians far more than the Egyptians were a commercial people and carried with them the commercial script of

the country introducing it into the regions where they traded. Now both Aram Nahrain or Mitani. North Phœnicia or the land of Alasiya as well as the more Western regions of Cappadocia were all regions to which the Babylonian traders and occasionally armies had carried their influence. Phœnician religion and mythology, Hittite art and mythology, and the religion of Kharran, the central metropolis of Aram Nahrain, are all manifestly permeated with the teachings of the schools of Babylon. If they had exerted this powerful influence upon the minds of the people it is not very surprising to find them also teaching them a system of writing.

The style of the writing is that of the Babylonian which we find in the commercial tablets of the period of the Babylonian dynasty of Khammurabi, which was the period when the writing passed from the more archaic into the hieratic stage, and is well represented in the inscriptions on the commercial tablets from Sinkara, published by Dr. Strassmaier. This style of writing has been little studied by scholars, excepting Dr. Strassmaier and the M. M. Revillout, and would therefore hardly be such as forgers would choose, who must have had their syllabarium before them to write the documents. The use of ideograms is very slight; and hardly any unknown signs are found. One more point serves to complete the chain of external evidence. The clay of which the tablets are made is certainly a very crucial test. The tablets from Mitani and from the Phœnician correspondents are different in shape—different in material from the letters of Kurigalzu and of a nicety which forgers, especially if of the school of Baghdad, (the chief centre of such work) would hardly have thought of. Now let me direct attention to a few points of internal evidence.

In the first place, a forgery, however brilliant, must be based upon a demand for such documents, and founded more or less directly upon some existing class of inscriptions. The Moabite Stone is protected, as none more readily would claim than M. Renan, by the fact that no such documents, even of a less lengthy class, were in existence before, and no desire existed for the production of such a text. The Hittite boss of Tarkutimi was known twenty years ago, when there was no desire for a bilingual Hittite and Assyrian inscription, and no known Hittite monuments upon which the forger could model his intaglio and its accompanying inscription. In the same manner with regard to the Tel-el-Amarna Tablets, there was no great desire in the world of science,

that correspondence between Amenophis III. Amenophis IV, and the kings of Babylon, and Aroscha or Alusiya and Mitani should be produced. We knew from Egyptian inscriptions that these great Pharaohs were closely connected with the rulers of Western Asia ; but no one expected the recovery of these documents, the existence of which was never hinted at in the hieroglyphic texts. In addition, the finding of the docket upon one of the tablets stating their removal from Memphis to the Heretic city of Khu-en-aten, would render the documents worthy of credence.

One much more important piece of evidence is that of the salutations which commenced the documents. Those of the Phœnician correspondents Rib-Addu Aziru &c., are manifestly those of men acquainted with the titles used in the hieroglyphic texts. "To the feet of my Lord seven times seven I prostrate myself," "to the King my Sun-god," "(I am) the dust of thy feet," are certainly less Semetic and more Egyptian than those of the Aramean rulers of Mitani and the North. In these latter the address. "My peace with thee, and thy wife, and thy children, thy house, and thy chariots and horses ; upon all thy possessions may there be peace." This latter salutation occurs in no known Assyrian or Babylonian inscription, and is so manifestly Semetic that the idea of its being composed by a forger is no way tenable. These formulæ could hardly have been invented. In the same manner the tablets in the unknown tongue must be also forgeries, and this seems still more impossible.

Another and concluding point remains in the correctness of the geographical details, especially in regard to those relating to Southern Palestine, which go to so strongly to confirm M. Renan's own premises that Hebron was the centre of a confederation, and that it was possibly from some document preserved at Hebron, and possibly still there, that the valuable historical record in Genesis XIV. was obtained. In conclusion, we may say that although we have made vast progress in the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions, neither we nor the forgers have as yet attained to a degree of skill sufficient to write documents such as those from Tel-el-Amarna.

W. ST. C. BOSCAWEN.

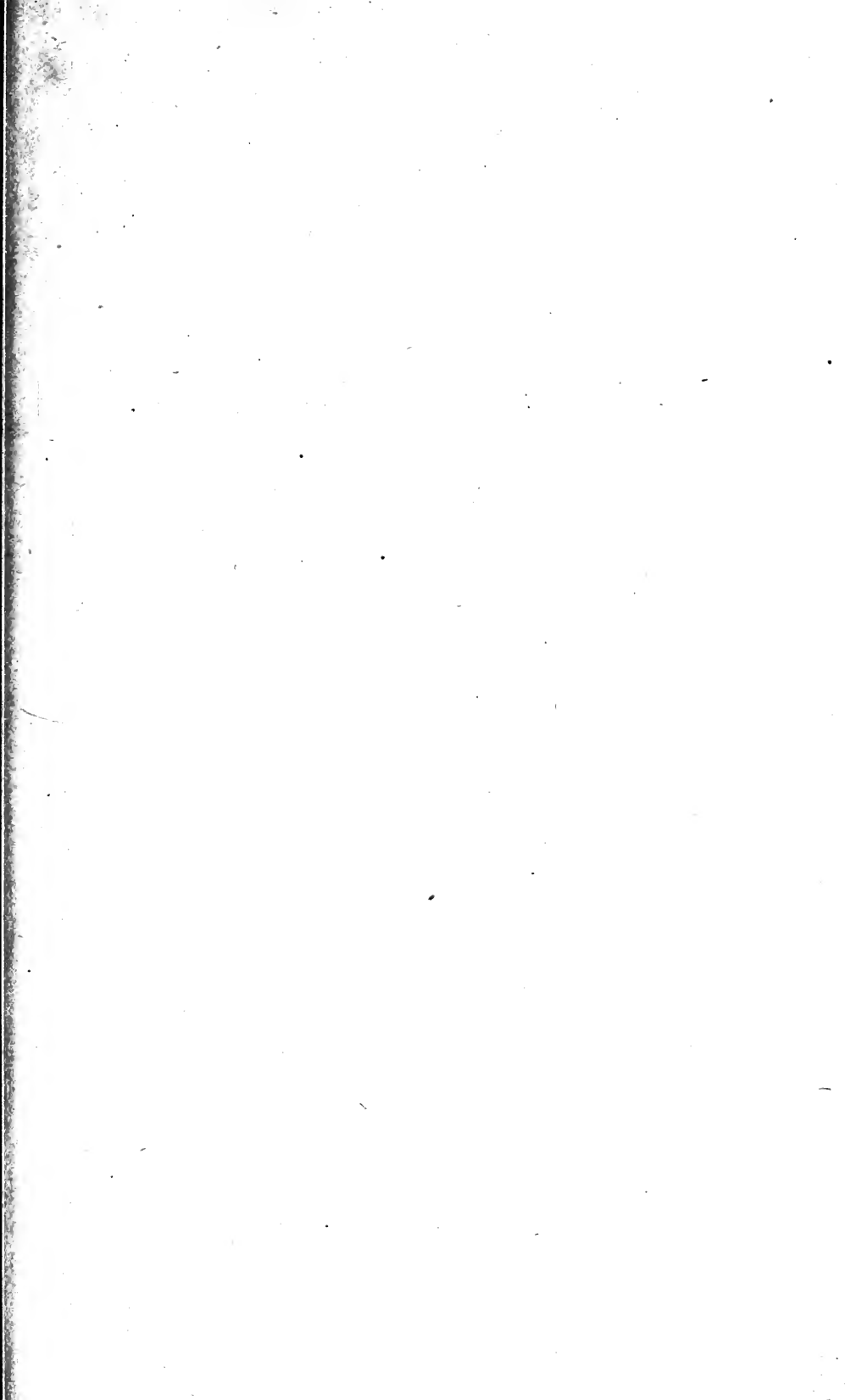
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