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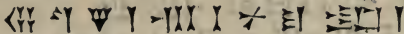
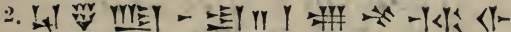
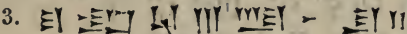
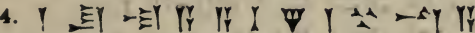



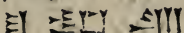
THE BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

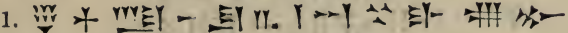
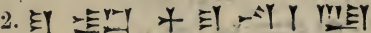
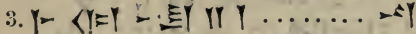

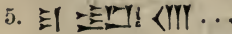

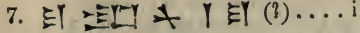


Contributors are alone responsible for their opinions or statements.

SOME UNPUBLISHED CONTRACT-TABLETS.

THE Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford contains four Babylonian Contract-tablets, numbered 93, 48, 52 and 77. As these have not been published I send copies of them to the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*. They are for the most part much injured, and therefore difficult to read. I have transcribed them in Assyrian characters; the original forms of the characters will by this time be well known to students through the publications of Dr. Strassmaier.

93.



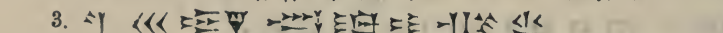
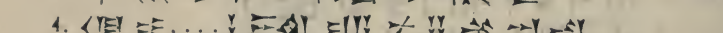




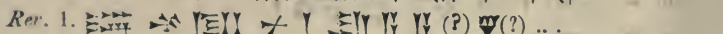


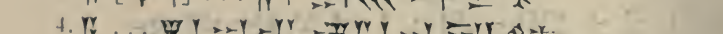
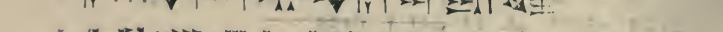
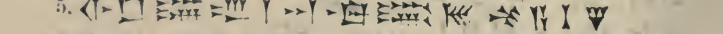
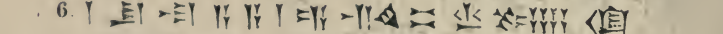
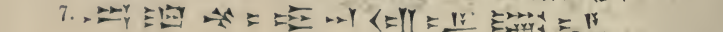
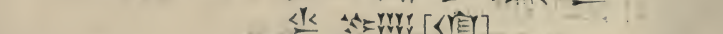
- Obv.* 1.  I
2.  I
3.  I
4.  I
5.  I
6.  I
7.  I
8.  I

- Rev.* 1.  I
2.  I
3.  I
4.  I
5.  I
6.  I
7.  I
8.  I
9.  I

- Obv.* 1. Kašpa sa d.p. Bil-su-nu ma-khir
 2. bašû (?) DHU ina qatâ d. r. U-mu-ibas-si
 3. ma-khir bašû (?) III DHU ina qatâ
 4. d. r. Su-la-a abil-su sa d.p. Sad (?) -na-a
 5. ma-khir VIII bilar kašpi
 6. ina qatâ d.p. AN Nergal-bal-idh
 7. abil-su sa d.p. A-du
 8. ma-khir-ru.
- Rev.* 1. VII BAR DHU ina qatâ d.p. AN Sadu-rabu-yu-sir
 2. ma-khir BAR ma-na I DHU
 3. sib-dhi ina qatâ d.p.na
 4. abil-su sa d. r. Sadu-rabu-yu-sir
 5. ma-khir XIII.....
 6.abil-su sa d.p. Akhe-e-a
 7. ma-khir napkharis I ma (?).....
 8. I DHU sib-dhi kašpi sa d.p. Bil-su-nu
 9. ma-khir.

There is no indication of the temple to which the silver was "presented" by Bil-sunu.

48.

- Obv.* 1. 
 2. 
 3. 
 4. 
 5. 
 6. 
 7. 
 8. 
- Rev.* 1. 
 2. 
 3. 
 4. 
 5. 
 6. 
 7. 
 8. 
 9. 


- Obv.* 1. VI ma-na kašpi sa d.p. Ki-na-a abil-su sa d.p. Irpiti
 2. ina elip.p. Ban-a abil-su sa d.p. Na-din-abla d.p. Ki-šu-a
 3. yumu XXX KAN sa arkhi Nišanni i-nam-din

- Rev. 1. amil mu-kin-nu d.p. Šu-a abil (?) sa (?)....
 2. d.p. Ba-sa-a abil d.p. Nur-Sin d.p. šō-Maruduk
 3. abil-[sa].....a d.p. Sin-na-din-zira
 4. abil.....sa d.p. Bel-sur abil d.p. Ilu-da-kin
 5. u amil šangu d.p. Nabu-akhe-iddin-abil-su sa
 6. d.p. Su-la-a abil d.p. E-gi-bi Din-Tir-ki
 7. arkha Nišanna šana II 𒀭𒀭 Nergal-sarra-utsur sar
 Din-Tir-[ki].

It will be seen that the deed, which relates to the loan of 6 manehs of silver to Banâ son of Nadin-abla, son of Kišna by Kinâ the son of Irpiti, on the 30th day of the month Nisan, has been recovered by "the priest Nebo-akhe-iddin, the son of Sulâ, the son of Egibi, at Babylon, in the month of Nisan the 2nd year of Nergal-sharezer king of Babylon."

52.

1. ...
2. ...
3. ...
4. ...
5. ...
6. ...
7. ...
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9. ...
10. ...
11. ...
12. ...
13. ...
14. ...
15. ...
16. ...
17. ...

1) In the original  $\triangle \times$.

18.
 19.
 20.
 21. []
 22. []
 23. []

In spite of the mutilated condition of the tablet we may gather that a piece of land was sold to Nadin-Marduk the son of Basa the son of Nur-Sin for 5 shekels of silver by Nebo-bal-idin the son of Nadin-Sumi and Ban-ehpak (?) the daughter of Samas-ibni his wife. The deed of sale was registered by a scribe who calls himself the son of Bel-ibni and who wrote it in the city of Sakhrin on the 13th day of Adar in the 2nd year of Nabonidus.

* * *

77.

1. []
 2. []
 3. []
 4. []
 5. []
 6. []
 7. []
 8. []
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 14. []
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 18. []
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 20. []

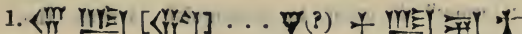
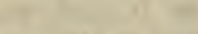
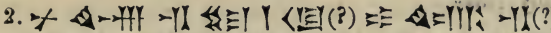



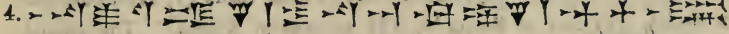
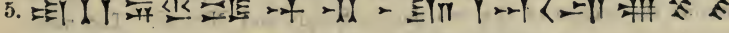

1. ...[ma-]na VI sikli kašpi...ina ali A-man-nu- [KI]
2. [D.P. Nabu-] akhe-iddin abil-su sa D.P. Šu-la-a
3. [abil] D.P. E-gi-bi ina qatâ D.P. Ud-da-a
4. amat bit Sag-gila û D.P. Bel-senu (?) ...
5. binâti sa D.P. Samsu-yu-dam-mi-iq
6. III BAR Šik-ši im-khû-ru ina pa-ni
7. D.P. Nabu-akhe-iddin pa-kid D.P. Khum-mi-ba (?) -am
8. amil ku-mes sa e-šir a (?) -na akhe-ga (?) -rib (?)
9. ina lib-bi X sikli kašpi iddin
10.
11. ina qatâ D.P. [Nabu-] akhe-iddin ...
12. Din-tir-ki sa sana VIII KAN D.P. Nabu-nahid-sar.
13. Din-tir-ki sa D.P. Nabu-akhe-iddin.
14. amil mu-kin-nu D.P. lēti-Samsi-baladhu abil-sû sa D.P. Nabu-suma
esir.
15. abil D.P. E-gi-bi D.P. Nabu-yahin-zira abil-su sa D.P. Bel-bal-iddin
16. ...ni a ... te lak (?) abil-su sa D.P. Nabu-sur
17. ... amil šangu D.P. Nergal-yu-se-zib abil-su
18. [sa Bel-] i-a abil D.P. Šu-kha-û
19. ... [arkha] Aba yumu XV KAN
20. [sana VIII, KAN] sa D.P. Nabu-nahid sar [Babili].

The mention of the "woman" or rather "handmaid" of the Temple of Saggila is interesting. The ideographs ku-mes are probably to be read *zarâtû* and not *sabâtû*; "the tentmaker who binds together the" The name of Belia in ll 18 is restored from Dr. Strassmaier's tablet. It will be noticed that the name of his father Šukhâ means "the Shuhite."

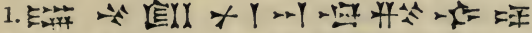
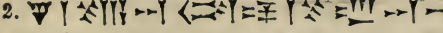


* * * *

I add a copy of a tablet in my own possession dated in the 22nd year of Darius.

Obv.

1.  [KI] . . . (P) + 
2. +  (P) = 
3. <  > 
4. >  >
5.  >
6. 

Rev.

1. 
2. > 
3. <  >
4. > 

JĀTAKA BĀVERU.

(Translated from the original Pāli).

(No. 339.)

‘UNTIL they saw a peacock.’ This the master told at Jetaraux about the Sophists who had lost the alms and honours previously bestowed upon them. For the sectarians until the Buddha had arrived received much alms; but after he had come they received no longer either alms or honours, but became like glowworms after the rising of the Sun. Now the brethren were talking in the meeting hall of what had happened to them. And the Master coming up asked them what they were talking about as they were thus seated together. And when they told him, he said: “Not only now, my brethren, but formerly also have the unworthy received alms and honour so long as the worthy had not come; but after the worthy had arrived, then were their alms and their honours alike cut off.” And so saying he recalled the past:—

Once upon a time, when Brahmadata was reigning in Benares the future Buddha was born into the peacock race, and in due course he grew up, and in great beauty wandered through the woods. Now certain merchants, bringing a common crow with them, had come on board a ship to the land of Bāveru. At that time, they say, there were no such things as birds in that land, and country folk, visiting the ship from time to time, when they saw the crow perched on the mast head, began straightway to praise it: “Look! look at its glossy colour, at its beautiful neck, and its beak, at its eyes like balls of gems!” And they said to the merchants: “Good Sirs, do but give us this bird, for we want it so much; and you can get another when you get home.”

‘Oh you may have it if you like to pay for it,’ said they.

‘Well then, sell it us for a penny.’ (Kahāpana).

‘We can’t part with it for that,’ said the merchants, and kept on raising the price. But when a hundred pieces were offered they said; ‘Well, it has been of much service to us; but we want to be good friends with you’; and so sold it for the hundred pennies.

And the others, taking it away, put it in a golden cage, and fed it upon tit bits of meat and fish, and on fruits and seeds. Thus in a

place where no other birds were found, did even the crow, with all the ten faults he has, enjoy the highest honour and the best of alms.

Now those merchants, the next time, got a fine peacock (a peacock king) and trained it to sing in heavenly notes, and to answer to the sound of the clapping of their hands, and brought it with them to the land of Bāveru. When the people of the place had gathered together, the bird stood on the forecastle, spread out his feathers, gave forth sweet sound, and danced the while. When the folk saw that they they we rehigly delighted and said :

‘ Good Sirs ! do let us have this king of birds, so full of beauty, and so highly trained.’

‘ We had a crow before with us, and that you took. Now that we have a peacock, you want that too. No one with any kind of bird can come to this land of yours.’

‘ Well, be it so, Good Sirs. But you can get another in your own country. You might let us have this’, said they and went on raising their offers till they got it for a thousand pieces.

Then they put it into a cage inlaid with all the seven kinds of precious gems, and tended it carefully with tit bits of fish and flesh, with fruits and seeds, and with honey too and fried corn, with jiggary and sweets molasses.

Thus did the peacock come to have the highest honour and the best of alms. And from the day he arrived the alms and honour paid to the crow fell off, till no one even so much as cared to look at him. Then the crow, no longer getting his supplies of food either hard or soft, hopped off crying ‘ Karh Karh’, and perched upon the dung hill.

It was after the Master had become the Buddha that he brought these two events together in the verses :

- 1 Until they saw the peacock—so well trained,
So beautiful in song—they honoured there
With tit-bits and with fruits a common crow.
But when the peacock, skilled in song and dance,
Had once appeared in Bāveru, the old crow
Lost at a stroke his food and honour too.
- 2 So here too when no Buddha had appeared
The king of righteousness, the Enlightener,
They honoured Brahmins, or the Sophist crew;
But when the Buddha came and in sweet tones,
Made manifest the Truth, the sophist tribe
Lost at a stroke their food and honour too.

And when he had uttered those verses the Blessed One showed the connection between the tale of old and the then event by saying: 'At that time Nizantha of the Natha clan* was the crow, but the peacock was I myself,'

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

* The founder of the Javu sect.

[This jāta-ka has been done into English for the readers of the *B. & O. R.* by Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids at my special request, for the very reason that the land of Bävêru, where on a second occasion the sea-merchants bring from India the first peacock for sale, is probably no other than Babylonia. This was suggested for the first time by Prof. J. Minayeff, who saw in the Bavêrujataka, the oldest direct trace in India of Phœnicio-Babylonian intercourse (cfr. *Buddhistische fragments*, p. 589, in *Mélanges Asiatiques de St. Petersbourg*, 1871, vol. VI, pp. 577-599). The present translation differs in several points from that of the Russian scholar. Prof. A. Weber, *M. K. A. W.*, 1871, 613-632 has remarked that *Bavêru* with *r* instead of *l* militates against a Phœnician and is in favour of a Persian mediation in the legend, because we have *Babiru* in the old Persian cuneiform texts.

The amount of historical truth underlying the story cannot be but small, though not without importance, as it refers to the beginnings of a direct maritime intercourse not long before the Buddhist era between India and Babylonia, while previously the intercourse, when any, was, as we know, carried indirectly and through the emporia of South Arabia. T. DE L.]

THE GENUINENESS OF THE CYLINDER OF UR-BAU.

Doubts having been cast (as I understand) on the genuineness of the well-known cylinder of Ur-Bau, which was presented to the British Museum by C. D. Cobham, Esq., H. B. M. Commissioner at Larnaca, Cyprus, in 1880, I venture to make a few remarks upon the subject. merely observing, by way of preface, that I have neither read nor heard anything as to the nature of the arguments which have been brought

against the genuineness of the Cylinder. My judgement is, therefore, quite independent, and if it coincides with any conclusion that has been already arrived at, such coincidence must be regarded as the natural result of a careful, unbiassed consideration of the matter.

The cylinder is of jasper, of a dark greyish green colour, 2 in. and $\frac{1}{2}$ high, 1 in. and $\frac{3}{8}$ in diameter. It is nearly a perfect cylinder, the amount of concavity or gradual thinning down in the middle being very slight indeed. It is chipped on both the upper and lower edge of the cylindrical part, and also on the flat part at the top and bottom, near the edge, a good sized flake having disappeared in one place. On the cylindrical part, the border only has been injured by the fragments chipped away. The work, though a trifle rough, is very clean, and the inscription is very clear and correct. It was in consequence of seeing this cylinder that I was enabled, on its coming to the Museum in 1880, to read *Ḥaṣḥamer* instead of *Ḥaṣṣimir* as the name of the viceroy, and I believe that Prof. Hommel read the name of the scribe correctly as *Iškun-Sin* from the reproduction given in the *Guide to the Kouyunjik Gallery* (*frontispiece*), printed in 1883.

The style of the work is pure Babylonian, the figures are deeply cut, but the edges are a little rounded. At the top, above the seated figure, a portion of the border is rubbed away, and the same thing is noticeable at the bottom, but to a much greater degree, the base on which the chair rests having been ground away, together with one of the legs of the seated deity, making it probable that a comparatively unskilled hand has, at some early period, tampered with it. Apparently he had begun to reduce the surface without allowing for the thinning down in the middle. The whole has a newish appearance.

Having lately had an opportunity of seeing some real modern forgeries, good of their kind, but such as would deceive no one but a novice, I have come to the conclusion, that this cylinder can not be a modern forgery. (1) The figures are too well done; (2) they show too much technical skill and knowledge of Babylonian art; (3) the Babylonian style is perfect; (4) the inscription is faultless; (5) what a forger could not do today he could not have done ten years ago, and (6) still less at the time when Ker Porter published a reproduction of this object, in his book (*Travels*, Vol. II., pl. 79, 6).

This being the case, I am therefore inclined to regard the object either (1) as being ancient, and of the date of *Ur-Bau* and *Ḥaṣḥamer*, or (2) as being an ancient Babylonian copy, made before 500 B.C. If it

be of the time of Ur-Bau, the object must have been kept very carefully and very little used, and this is not impossible, if, as is likely, it was regarded as of historical interest. Though rare, cylinders of green jasper, apparently of about the same date as that of Ur-Bau, and in as good a state of preservation, exist in various collections, and the British Museum possesses an ironstone cylinder, also of the same period, which is even better preserved. If the object be an ancient reproduction (which I am inclined to doubt), its excellent state of preservation is fully accounted for. There are no signs (except the ground-out portions above referred to) of its being an ancient cylinder touched up or re-engraved by a later Babylonian artist, though such a thing could have been done, and with great success, by a skilful workman.

THEO. G. PINCHES.

M. Joachim Ménant, the well-known Assyriologist and author of the *Recherches sur la Glyptiques Orientale*, 2 vols, 1883--5, in two communications to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Aug. 2 and Sept 20 of the present year, has contested the genuineness of this cylinder, for which he keeps the anciently-guessed name of Urkham. His objection cannot be said to have no leg to stand upon, as indeed it has one, said to be a bad one, the very hinder leg of the throne figured in the design.

M. Ménant maintains that this foot, shaped like a *pied-de-biche*, is objectionable to the peculiar art of the time, as he has himself never met any other similar instance.

In his second communication, less affirmative than the first and made after the letter of M. C. Delaval Cobham, who, writing from Larnaca, Cyprus, Aug. 24, stated that this cylinder was handed to him by a legatee of the original owner. Dr. John Hine, the French scholar, is ready to concede that the fabrication of the cylinder may be much older than he supposed at first, and date from the second Chaldaean empire.

In partial support of the latter view we may cite a chalcedony seal in the British Museum, belonging probably to one of the Egibi family or of that period—say 700--650 A.C.—and representing an eunuch sacrificing before an altar which stands on feet, two visible, shaped as *pieds-de-biche*. On the other hand is it quite safe, with the little we know of the art at the time of Urbau (=Urkham, Likbagas, Urbagas, Urbabi) to deny absolutely the possibility of a such shape for the feet of a throne? A connection has been shown between the ancient art of Chaldaea and that of

Egypt. Now let us remark that the wooden throne of the queen Hatshop-situ, sister of Thothmes III, of which parts are now in the British Museum has feet exactly similiar to that figured on the monumental cylinder. The outcome of these facts viewed with the criticisms of M. Joachim Ménant and the remarks of Mr. Theo. G. Pinches is that, according to all probabilities, there was a cylinder made in the time of Hāshamer and Urbān, of which the present specimen is a copy, more or less faithful, and dating of the second Chaldean empire. T. DE L.

A LIFE OF THE BUDDHA :

translated from the P'U-YAO KING, by the late

Prof. Dr. S. BEAL.

(Continued from Vol. III, p. 274).

SECTION III.

THE REVELATION (OF BODHISATWA) UNDER THE FORM OF AN ELEPHANT.

Buddha thus continued his discourse. "On this occasion Bodhisatwa, with a view to the conversion of the Devas who had attended to his discourse, proposed the following question to them. "Under what form should (I) descend spiritually into the womb of my mother"? Then some replied: "In the form of a sage," others said: "in the form of Sakra or Brahma" others said "in the form of Mahêrvara, others said: "in the form of "sih-i" Devarāja (Vaisravana?) Others said: under the form of an Asura or a Gandharva, others said a Kinnara, or Mahôraga, or under the forms of Surya or Chandra, or as others said, under the form of the golden winged birds (Garudas).

On this occasion there was a certain Deva of the Brahmakâyikas whose name was (terrible-dignity) Agratejas, who had come to be born in heaven after birth as a Rishi on earth, having almost attained to Supreme Wisdom. This one addressed the Devaputras thus "after examination had of the sacred writings of the Brahmans I find that "Bodhisatwa ought to descend spiritually into the womb of his Mother," (i.e. to be spirit-

ually incarnated)—and if it be asked under what form he should thus descend, the reply is, “the elephant form is the best.”—This form by the elephant is that provided with 6 tusks, with its head white, and its form altogether graceful and dignified,—moreover this elephant will be marked by the 32 superior signs, as an indication that amongst all creatures that cross the water, the white elephant, in comparison with the hare or the horse, is able to pass over on foot with safety—which is only a proof that the Bôdhisatwa in comparison with the Sravaka and the Pratyeka Buddha is like the elephant able to pass over the stream of life and death—in much better case than the hare or the horse.

So then Bodhisatwa residing in the Tusita Heaven having looked abroad everywhere through the world moved by a desire to descend and to be incarnated in the palace of the King Suddhodana. At this time in the Palace of the aforesaid king eight miraculous signs appeared—the first was this—in the midst of a dry and barren land suddenly of itself appeared a profusion of flowers, perfumes and agreeable herbs; secondly, all the various birds that inhabit the snowy mountains [names given] came to the Palace of the king and perched in various places warbled forth their various notes, in token of their complete happiness. The third sign was this—in the gardens of Suddhodana raja at the end of winter and commencement of spring, unnumerable flowers of every kind burst forth into blossom.—The fourth sign was this, that on the various ponds which were provided with houses for religious contemplation all these ponds spontaneously brought forth large Lotus flowers, with blue petals, large as a chariot wheel, the petals themselves 100,000 in number. The 5th sign was this—that (whatever provision there was in the Palace of the King) whether ghee, oil, honey, or other kinds of food, all these remained undiminished (though used.) The sixth sign was this, that all the musical instruments in the palace of the King discoursed the sweetest music without being touched. The seventh sign was this that all the precious substance, (pearls, diamonds, &c.,) and jewelled garments, though concealed in the Royal treasure house, came forth and presented themselves to sight. The eighth sign was that with within and without the palace there was diffused a light more brilliant than that of the Sun or the Moon.

(At this time Mâya Devi) surrounded by 20000 attendant women filled with joy and contentment proceeded to the place where the king was, and beholding him seated she took her place at his right hand on a seat ornamented with precious hangings, and there with a smiling

and joyous countenance she addressed him thus: "Hail (Sadhu) mighty king, (mahârāja) deign to listen! I¹ have undertaken a great vow under the most propitious circumstances², and on this account I am, filled with joy, now whilst there is Peace among all nations it is right that I should observe a strict watchfulness over every appetite³ and ceerish in myself a loving heart, permitting no angry feeling (to dwell there), instructing myself to love my fellow creatures⁴, rejecting and discarding every feeling of envy or jealousy, cherishing a desire to see all false Teaching (erroneous views) removed or corrected, and the consequent evils, the confusion and discord which afflict the great mass (of men) for ever terminated. How can I but be filled with joy having entered on this true and correct line of action, resolved to cherish no feeling of hatred, and not to allow in myself either of the ten evil ways of conduct which are common in the world. Virtuous king! feel for us! establish us to the utmost to give up every impure thought, not for a moment to countenance a slanderous word or a double tongue against this one or that. My desire is to follow the strictest rules of abstinence, to suppress every evil thought, to walk uprightly and virtuously, to find my delight in truth (righteousness). We desire also to regulate our outward life according to right-rule, to do away with all foolish and polluting practices, and to hold fast by a joyful and happy heart, and to this end we would remove from us all the pleasures that generally surround us (dancing and music) so that we may have abiding rest; we would give up scattering flowers and burning perfumes. That pleasures shall no longer distract the heart, for seven days, and night by night I desire to remain at rest and without discomposure, our minds desire no more the gratification of sense whether of sight (beauty) or sound, or smell or taste, we desire only and covet most to hear the good news (voice) that men and women are aiming at perfect virtue (or becomingly perfectly good), even as the gods who ever go about rejoicing to confer benefits. I desire not either jewels or necklaces, or gaudy couches or sumptuous feasts at the hands of the king. I would keep in my heart virtuous meditations, and rejoice continually in these, at perfect rest and free from all distraction. Now then, mighty king! let me regard all the people in the light of an only son."⁶

The king having heard these words was filled with joy, (and said) "let nothing interfere with your wish, fulfil thoroughly your vow." At this time the king bestowed upon the women of the Palace every kind of gift as they chose, he commanded that (the palace) should be

perfectly adorned, that flowers should be scattered, and perfumes burnt, that hangings of silk and streamers should be suspended (from the walls): and moreover he appointed 20000 men fully armed with all military accoutrements to keep guard on the right hand and the left, whilst their attendants continued to sound every kind of musical instrument, to protect the queen and commemorate her vow. Then the women of the Palace gathered around (her chamber) and the Apsaras closed about her person bringing with them garments sprinkled with heavenly perfumes, jewels and adornments, whilst concordant music sounded forth on all sides. The queen having ascended her couch (seat), countless thousands of flowers of every kind fell down from heaven, and covered her richly adorned and sumptuous bed, whilst the heavenly visitors gathered close around, holding pitchers full of perfumed water, and scattering flowers and burning incense.

NOTES.

1) There is some difficulty here in the construction, it might be rendered "Mahārāja, listen to the words of your of your wife O King! I have undertaken &c.," but this is an unusual construction of a Chinese sentence so that I prefer taking "tsih yen wang" as a repitition "the wife then addressed the king, I &c."

2) The propitious circumstances (sui ying) are the miraculous events before referred to.

3) "pa kwan," "the eight passes of the body," The version of M. Foucaux is altogether unintelligible,

4) *Pi* = other than myself.

5) The Chinese throughout indicates that not only had Naya resolved in this abstraction from pleasure, but her attendant women also.

6) It might be the queen desired the king so to regard the people but the continuity of of construction seems not to admit of the change.

(To be continued).

THE DELUGE-TRADITION AND ITS REMAINS IN ANCIENT CHINA.

1. THE only historic account of the Deluge is that of the Bible, and whatever may be attributed in it to the moral complexion of the event which the author had in view, there is such a ring of truth in his recital that much of it must have as a basis the genuine tradition of a momentous catastrophe and does not permit us to accept the views of some recent writers who have looked upon the whole as a myth susceptible of a meteorological explanation of the solar and storm-theories. Since then, an

independent testimony has come forward from under the dust of ages in the shape of a single line on a long list of early Babylonian kings, where a distinction is made of certain kings *who ruled after the Flood*.¹ This proves that such an event was looked upon by the Babylonians as a fact of importance in their history² and not at all as a poetical legend³. The statement is so precise that it must cause mythologists to pause before persevering in their fable-explanations.

2. On the other hand, and the fact is not unimportant, it has been often stated in recent years that no account of the Deluge is to be found in Chinese legends or traditions. This absence having been supposed to concur with a paucity of similar vestiges among the yellow race at large and with a complete lack among the Negro race in general, speculations have been rife to explain the case. The suggestion has been that these two races were not represented by any of their ancestors at the time and in the neighbourhood of the historical event of the Deluge nor of the focus from where the tradition was spread.

3. With reference to the Chinese these conclusions from another point of view would be very remarkable, and would deserve the special attention of Assyriologists and Sinologists alike, when looked upon in the light of recent research. It seems that they would stand in opposition, and as one extraordinary exception to the numerous souvenirs and remains, survivals and traces that we are now enabled to disclose in Chinese documents from olden times; many of these souvenirs and legends dating from the pre-Chinese period of early relations with western culture and early intercourse of the future leaders and civilisers of the Chinese, the BAK tribes, when in the vicinity of Elam, with the countries of Babylonian civilisation.

4. But has the proper method of dealing with the subject been followed? And as to the hasty inferences we have mentioned, are they justified? Have their authors taken into account, the respective value of the traditions in chronology and order of derivation? We are afraid not. The problem indicated by the title of the present paper requires to be discussed more scientifically, and at some length, before such conclusions may be established or disproved.

5. Many questions come to the front and trouble the enquirer for a solution. Do the various forms of the Deluge traditions refer to one and the same event of which some of them would be independent souvenirs⁴? Are they corruptions, or transformations and derivations

from one sole and fixed tradition? Is the Biblical account on historical souvenir of a deluge without antecedents? Is it an adaptation of a local event to a vague souvenir of a remote catastrophe which was disastrous to mankind? Is it not possible that some peculiar traditions of this remote catastrophe should have been transmitted by populations in their migrations? May not some isolate episodes of this catastrophe or of the Deluge itself, have been separately spread previously to their systematical incorporation into late accounts and traditions, and be found as survivals in ancient literatures? We hope in the course of this paper to find the proper answer to some of these doubtful points.

- NOTES. 1) On the first column of the tablet of sixty lines, the first thirty of which are missing, the following statement occurs on the 51st line between two linear divisions: *Annutum šarrī ša arki abubi ʕna saṭir aḥamaš la šaṭru* translated by T. G. Pinches: "These are the kings who after the flood as to the order of each other wrote not." Cfr. *Notes on a new list of early Babylonian kings*, in *Proc. S.B.A.*, 11 Jan. '81, p. 38. W. St. Chad Boscawen translates: "These are the kings ruling after the deluge (abubi), who according to their relative order wrote not." Cf. *From under the dust of ages*, 1886, p. 101. Prof. Tr. Hommel translates: "Die sind die Könige, welche (von denen) nach der Flut in (chronologische) Reihe untereinander nicht gereiht sind." Cfr. *Die Semitischen Völker und Sprachen*, t. I, p. 337. As usual on similar tablets (cfr. *Proc. S.B.A.*, Dec. 7, 1880), pp. 21, 22, the remark must apply to the names preceeding it.
- 2) M. W. S. C. Boscawen was I think, the first to call attention on the importance of the statement. Cf. *loc. cit.*
- 3) We shall have to speak further on of the poetical account given in the Gizdhubar epic and the sort of confirmation it bears on the Biblical tradition.
- 4) We leave entirely aside all the legends which may receive a local and independent explanation.

I.

6. So much has been written on the universality or non-universality of the Deluge, and the importance of its souvenir for primitive humanity as shown by the supposed cosmopolitan character of its tradition, that the various aspects from which the question must be studied, have been neglected. Scientific criticism has not always been allowed an independent examination, and unhappily, prejudiced views according to the advocacy of the writer narrowly clerical or systematically antagonistic to

any thing that concerns the Bible, have too often coloured the exposition of the traditions and of the facts.

First of all let us say for the satisfaction of many of our readers, and the sake of our independent views, that the credibility of the Biblical report is in no way correlative of the conclusion that may be gained from a critical study of the distant tradition of the Deluge. The veracity of the Flood tradition in Genesis rests on other basis than the shaky crutches which have been sought for it in the legends we shall have to mention.

7. We are afraid however, that those who attach a high value and some importance to a supposed universality in this tradition, as a confirmation of the veracity of scripture, run the risk of being deceived by the progress of research.⁵ An existing tradition of the Deluge, among the past or present lore of a people, is not necessarily a souvenir of their own. It has been too easily taken for granted that it implies the direct emigration of the ancestors of that people from a common focus with other nations in possession of similar traditions. And therefore that the large extension of the Deluge tradition is at the same time a double proof of the historicity of the event, and of the common origin of mankind from one and the same region after the Deluge⁶. Such a confusion must be avoided and the independent testimony of the traditions with reference to the historic event must be disentangled from this imbroglio, so convenient, but so unscientific. It is certainly an error of appreciation and a delusion as to the relative value of things, and the sooner we get rid of it, the better. The disappearance of an error is a progress as well as the gain of a new fact.

8. A wonderful phenomenon it would be that the independent preservation of the Deluge tradition by the descendants, all the world over, of the former witnesses of the event, during the six or more thousands of years which have elapsed since that time. Illiterate and rude, how could these men have kept intact more or less, or at least in a not unrecognizable form, a souvenir of this sort, as well if not better than some more fortunate of their sister races who were enabled in olden times to embody it in writing. This is certainly most improbable. The preservation in America, Polynesia, Central Asia or in any part of the old world, distant from Chaldea, of the Deluge tradition, more or less incomplete fragmentary and adulterated by influence of new surroundings, does not imply that it exists in direct line of descent. The nations in possession of it are not necessarily the direct descendants of those who have witnessed

the event or were made acquainted with it by their immediate ancestors. Should they be such descendants, unless they could write down their traditions, it is difficult to believe that in the course of ages and their own subsequent displacements, they would not have forgotten much if not the whole of the primitive tradition, in the same way as they have generally forgotten all about their beginnings.

9. With the superimposition and dislocation of races, the successive waves of migration and the numerous displacements of population which have taken place in the course of ages, changing their horizon and modifying their physical surroundings, not much could have remained even in remote antiquity of the arrangement of races which followed the period of the historic Deluge, and by whom or among whom its primitive tradition was spread. And so it is now commonly recognized and accepted, that the Deluge was confined to a certain region, it is not a direct consequence of the event, that its knowledge should have been carried away in the age immediately following it, all over the world. The tradition must, in that respect have followed the fate of other traditions and stories which have been spread all round according to chance and facilities. And therefore many may have received it who were not in the person of their ancestors, witnesses of the event.

10. Should we, as we believe, be right in these premises, *many of the fragmentary or diverged forms of the Deluge tradition which have been found here and there, are simply traces of ulterior intercommunications, direct or indirect, occasional or regular, with one or the other of the two or three ancient nations which had preserved it.* Consequently the greater is the resemblance, the more modern is the borrowing; the greater the divergence, more probable is a connection in remote times.

11. As an instance of the false conclusions which might result from the system of reasoning we protest against, let us examine what would happen with the Biblical traditions, or better, the traces of Biblical traditions which have been found in possession of the Karengs and Karennis of Burma.⁷ They are peculiarly interesting for the object of the present paper because of their original relationship with the Chinese. When Christian missionaries went among them, some sixty years ago, they were greatly surprised to see them acquainted with the creation of the world⁸ by Ea-pay (Yaveh) the stay of *Tha-nai* (Adam) and *E-u* (Eva) in the garden of Paradise, the tree of knowledge, temptation by the dragon, the Fall, the curse, notions of Satan and Angels, and of the dispersion, the latter only in a somewhat indistinct allusion. Now, it cannot be

doubted that these legendary accounts are derived from the Biblical traditions, and from none other, while a reference of an uncertain character to the Deluge cannot be ascribed to the same source⁹, and if genuine is a secondary derivation of an episode, from another form of the tradition.

12. Surely we shall not infer from these peculiarities that the Karengs have emigrated from the Biblical lands some time after the loss of the Garden of Eden and long before the Deluge. It is quite evident that they have been acquainted with the Biblical traditions by some missionary teaching or other, and that this teaching has stopped short for some unknown reason. These traditions have been brought within their reach in the course of history, though it may be difficult in the present state of our knowledge to point out exactly through which source they have received them. It was not previously to their settlement in Indo-China, as there are reasons to believe that their migration from China took place before the Christian era.¹⁰

13. Now the Jews had penetrated into China,¹¹ according to probabilities and their tradition of their descendants in that country, about the first century A.C.,¹² when they had a settlement in Central Szechuen not far from the supposed original seat of the Karengs.¹³ The date of the displacement of the latter, though still a matter of uncertainty may have happened long before the arrival of the Jews should certain speculations be verified by further research.¹⁴ Failing the influence of the sons of Israel in China, the Karengs may have learned the traditions under consideration, i.e. the Biblical notions which underly them, from Nestorian teachings in their present demesnes,¹⁵ still unknown to history. Once fixed in Burma, these populations stood on the great road of trade from the South and the sea, used for centuries before the Christian era and afterwards¹⁶, and therefore have been since within the reach of enterprising missionaries, Christian or Mohammedan.¹⁷ And besides modern spread of Christianity began before 1600, and we hear about 1604 of a hundred thousand converts in Southern Burma¹⁸ under Portuguese pressure. Therefore there was no lack of opportunities for the Karengs to become acquainted with Biblical lore. And no other construction than a late spread of this lore among them can be put on their possession of these traditions.

14. That which has happened with the Karens must have happened elsewhere, *mutatis mutandis*; and considering the migratory habits of man and the long series of ages which have elapsed since the time of

the Deluge, many intercommunications which have taken place are unknown to history. A close examination of the *épisodic* features of the traditions and their probable transformations in comparison with the numerous legends of a similar character, may enlighten us on their respective value. Anthropologists¹⁹ have come to the conclusion that in former times man has always travelled much more than is commonly supposed, and that the earth is inhabited but by colonists.

- 5) In the course of his investigations on the subject, the views of François Lenormant who was one of the foremost amongst the scholars having collected the Deluge traditions, have undergone a serious modification. In his *Essai de commentaire sur les fragments cosmogoniques de Berosé*, published in 1873, he says: "La tradition du déluge est la tradition universelle par excellence, parmi toutes celles qui ont trait à l'histoire de l'humanité primitive." Several years later, in his *Origines de l'histoire*, vol. I, pp. 489-491, we do not find him as affirmative. Besides its absence among the negro race, he admits with Bunsen, that the tradition is not indigenous among the yellow race, that its existence doubtful in Polynesia, is an importation in the New World. And finally that the tradition belongs independently and as a souvenir of former times, only to the three races, Aryan, Syro-Arab and Kushite, the only ones mentioned in the Bible as the descendants of Noah.
- 6) The following opinion, largely different from that of Lenormant is interesting as an ingenious attempt at explaining away the discrepancies in the Deluge legends. M. Stanislaus Wake, in his *Chapters on Man*, 1858, p. 263, says: "For although this flood (the Deluge) was not universal, still, as it was a central one, possibly some branch of every race then existing would be affected by it, and as the remnant of each race would escape at different points round the margin of the flood-basin, the incidents of the escape would differ with each. Cut off from all other human beings, everyone of the surviving tribes would suppose themselves to be the only remaining inhabitants on earth, and thus as the Semitic race thought its ancestors alone had been saved from the fury of the Deluge, so the Lapua race of Australia have the same opinion as to themselves."
- 7) On the ethnic position of this race, as a part of the Kuenlunian family, cfr. *The Languages of China before the Chinese*, pp. 84-87 and 135; and for a description of them A. R. McMahon, *The Karens of the GoldenChersonese*, London, 1876; also H. R. Spearman, *British Burma Gazetteer*, vol. I, pp. 162-173.
- 8) The Red Karengs or Karennis have it in the following short and striking form:

"The earth at its origin,	Ea-pay created.
"The heavens at their origin,	...Ea-pay created.
"Man at his origin,	...Ea-pay created.
"The sun at its origin,	...Ea-pay created.
"The moon at its origin,	...Ea-pay created.
"The trees at their origin,	...Ea-pay created.

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| "The bamboos at their origin, | ...Ea-pay created |
| "The grass at its origin, | ...Ea-pay created. |
| "The cattle at their origin, | ...Ea-pay created." |

Another version runs as follows :

"God created heaven and earth.

"The creation of heaven of earth was finished.

"He created the sun. He created the moon. He created the stars. The creation of the sun, the moon and the stars was finished. He created again—man, and of what did He create man." He created man at first from the earth. The creation of man was finished.

"He created a woman. How did He create a woman? He took a rib out of the man and created a woman. The creation of woman was finished.

"He created again life. How did He create life? Father God said,— 'In respect to my son and daughter, I love them; I will give them my great life! He took a little piece of his life, breathed into the nostrils of the two persons, and they came to life and were real human beings. The creation of man was finished.

"He created again food and drink. He created Rice. He created water. He created fire. He created cows. He created elephants. He created birds. The creation of animals was finished."

All these and other traditions are given in Mason's *Burmah*, vol. I. Cf. also in McMahon, *The Karens*. pp. 190, 196, and H. R. Spearman, *O.C.*, pp. 164-165.

9) "It thundered, tempests followed. It rained three days and three nights, and the waters covered all the mountains. "Anciently when the earth was deluged with water, two brothers finding themselves in difficulty, got on a raft. The waters rose and rose till they reached to Heaven; when seeing a mango tree hanging down, the younger brother climbed up it and ate; but the waters suddenly falling left him in the tree." Cfr. McMahon, *O.C.* pp. 194-195. We must see here apparently a survival of an episode of the Hindu form of the legend.

10) Cfr. T. de L. : *The cradle of the Shan race*, (1885), p. 27.

11) Their existence at Kai-fung fu in Honan was made known in Europe by a letter of P. Gozani, 5th Nov. 1704. (*Lettres édifiantes*, VII, 1.—The most important publications on the subject are: S. de Sacy : *Notice d'un MS. du Pentateuque conservé dans la synagogue des Juifs de Cai-fong fou*, Notices et Extraits des MS. IV, pp. 592-625.—E. C. Bridgman; *Jews in China; notices of those in the East by Josephus, Peritsol, Benjamin de T' dela Manasseh and the Jesuits*, (Chin. Rep. III, 172 sq.—James Finn; *The Jews in China*, London, 1843, 12mo.—Rev. George Smith; *The Jews at K'ae-fung foo*, Shanghai, 1851.—S. W. Williams: *A Narrative of a mission of Inquiry to the Jewish Synagogue at Kai-fung fu* (Chin Rep. XX, 436-466.—*Fac-similes of the Hebrew manuscripts, obtained at the Jewish Synagogue in K'ae-fung foo*. Shanghai, 1851, 4to.—W. R. B.: *Hebrew MSS. from K'ae-fung foo*, N. and Q. on Chin. and Jap., II, 57-59, April, 1868, describes a Ms. on skins sewed together, ninety-five feet long and probably 16 or 18 feet longer when complete, containing from Genesis XXIX, 30 to the last verse of Deut. XXXIV, written

without vowel points nor accents.—Rev. W. C. Milne, *Life in China*, London, 1858, pp. 403-410, gives in fac-simile a fragment, Exodus, XXXVIII, 21-23, from another MS. with vowel-points.—Alex. Wylie : *Israelites in China*, 1863, (The Chin. and Jap. Repos., 13-22, 43-52.)—G. Pauthier, annotated a French translation of the preceding in *Annales de Philosophie chrétienne*, 1864.—Rev. W. P. Martin ; *Account of a visit to the Jews in Honan*, February, 1866, in Journal N. Ch. Br. R.A.S., n.s. III, 26-39 and *The Chinese, their education, philosophy and letters*, London, 1881, pp. 287-306, has found them impoverishing and on the way to disparition.—(J. Liebermann) : *Notes on the Jews in China*, in The Jewish Chronicle, July 11, 1879.—W. Williams, *The Middle Kingdom*, R.E., II, pp 271-274.

- 12) An inscriptions outside the gateway of the synagogue at K'aifung fu says : "The founder of this religion is Abraham, who is considered the first teacher of it. Then came Moses, who established the law and handed down the sacred writings. After his time, during the Han dynasty, this religion entered China." Cfr. Milne, O.C., p. 409, and further on : "...It came originally from India. Those who introduced it in obedience to God's commands were seventy clans...." *ibid.* p. 410. European scholars wanted to know better than the Chinese Jews themselves. Mr. Finn in his special work (1843) has suggested that they belonged to the restoration from Chaldea, as they had portions of Malachi and Zechariah, adopted the era of Seleucus, and had many rabbinical customs. He had been preceded in this view by L'abbé Sionnet : *Epoque de l'entrée des juifs en Chine ; preuves qu'ils y portent le Pentateuque au 6e siècle avant notre ère*. Ann. de Phil. chrét. 1^{re} ser. XIV ; also *Essai sur les Juifs de la Chine et sur l'influence qu'ils ont eue sur la littérature de ce vaste empire avant l'ère chrétienne*, Paris, 1837 ; and by P. Gaubil : *Hist. de l'astron. chin.* pp. 413-414, who suggested that they had reached China during the period of the civil wars (481-249, a.c.) and communicated the Chinese some knowledge of western astronomy. But these speculations made before the decipherment of the inscription quoted above are baseless and there is no reason not to adopt the own statement of the China's Jews, viz., that they arrived during the Han dynasty (a.c. 202-220 p.c.) in the Kingdom-Under-Heaven. Their having possession of Hebrew MS. with vowel-points shows anyhow subsequent communications with their brethren in the West, namely after the VIth century, since the invention of the Masoretic system is ascribed to Mokha of Tiberias, (p.c. 570) and his son Moses.

- 13) M. Knowlton remarks in the *Missionary Magazine* for September, 1857. "We have discovered evidence of the existence of a Jewish colony in Tchengtou, not far from Lushan, nor yet from the original seat of the Karens, a century before our era. Cfr. McMahon : O.C., p. 96.

- 14) The Karengs were part of the great Tsu state which was broken up in the last quarter of the third century a.c. Cfr. T. de L. *The languages of China before the Chinese*, pp. 56-61 and *The cradle of the Shan race*, p. 17. M. Holt Hallett in his *Historical Sketch of the Shans*, (App. to Colquhoun's *Amongst the Shans*, pp. 327-371) looks upon the Karengs as settled in Indo-China prior to the arrival of the Shans which he places in the VIth century a.c., (O. C. pp. 341-2), in a-

- greement with the much adorned Shan traditions (cfr. Ney Elias *Introductory Sketch of the history of the Shans*, Calcutta, 1876) but which the historic annals of China place about 78 p.c. (Cfr. *The rattle*, p. 32). It seems anyhow that the Kareng displacement to the South had taken place before 200 a.c. Cfr. my *Origin of the early Chinese civilization*, VI e III and n. 280; B. & O. R. III. pp.
- 15) The Nestorians had reached China by the N. W. in 636, as stated by themselves on the celebrated inscription of Si-ngan-fu, and flourished there until 987. They had spread largely in Asia and settled also in India. Their patriarch, a contemporary of Mohammed, Jesu Jabus sent missionaries over India and into China. Cfr. J. S. Assemani; *Biblioteca Orientalis* t. IV, p. 81; G. Pauthier: *Dela réalité et de l'authenticité de l'inscription Nestorienne de Si-ngan-fou* pp. 72 and 95. Some Nestorians appeared again in China under the Yuen dynasty apparently sent by Kubilai Khan, (cfr. J. Legge: *The Nestorian monument of Hsi-an fū*, 1888. p. 51.) Marco Polo mentions them in the east of China. i.e. Hokien fu, in Tchibli, Yangtchou, Tchinkiang fu, also at Hangtchou, and in the south-west in Yun-nan. Cf. H. Yule, *The book of Ser Marco Polo*, t. II, pp. 115, 38, 162, 175, and 52.— The Nestorian was not the first introduction of Christianity in China, as in 553, the 15th May, according to Procope, monks presented to Justinian seeds of silk-worms concealed inside of their pilgrim staffs. M. Colborne Baber has found ancient traces of Christianity in south-western China. Cfr. his *Travels and Researches* (1882), p. 18.
- 16) Cfr. *Origin of the early Chinese civilization from western sources* VI e I; B. & O. R. III, 159, 160.
- 17) Though the free use of the name of Jehovah (=Ea-pay in the Kareng legends) seems to suggest that they are not due to Jewish or Mohammedan influence, it may be as well to notice here that Arabs had reached Indo-China and China long before the Hjira. An uncle of Mohammed was in China in that time. In 801 a Mohammedan army was fighting in eastern Yunnan. Cfr. S.W. Bushell, *The early history of Tibet*, 1880, n. 64.
- 18) A. Phayre; *History of Burma*, pp. 127-9.
- 19) Cfr. de Quatrefages: *Hommes fossiles et hommes sauvages*, p. 162; *Introduction à l'étude des races humaines*, 1889, p. 147.

TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE.

(To be continued).

ERRATA in "Vedic Chips," Vol. III, No. 9.

Page 196, line 12. instead of *nārēdas*, read *nāvedas*; p. 199, l. 19, before meaning read *original*; l. 20, instead of *ku* read *kū*; p. 200, l. 15. instead of *srve* read *grve*.

THE

BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

Contributors are alone responsible for their opinions or statements.

A BABYLONIAN DUPLICATE OF TABLETS I. AND II. OF THE CREATION SERIES.

THE important text published herewith is inscribed on a small fragment of a tablet from Sippara or Sepharvaim. This document, the colour of which is very dark grey or black, gives the upper left-hand corner of the obverse and the lower left-hand corner of the reverse, the former being, as far as it is preserved, in a rather better condition than the latter, and also better written. The size of the fragment is $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. by $2\frac{1}{8}$ in.

As will easily be seen, the obverse of the text does not add much to our knowledge of the Creation legend, but it furnishes a valuable completion to the second line, and some interesting variants.* The reverse, however, is duplicate of the text† published in part by Prof. Delitzsch in his *Assyrisches Wörterbuch*, i., p. 100, and repeated in full by S. A. Smith in his *Miscellaneous Assyrian Texts*, pp. 1-5, and of K. 4832, published on pp. 8 and 9 of the same work and of which K. 3938 is also a duplicate. I give here a transcription of the fragment, and a tentative translation of the text of the inscription on the tablet, as far as it is preserved, including completions from the Assyrian duplicates.

* Compare Mr. George Smith's copy in the IVth Vol. of the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, and Prof. Delitzsch's in his *Assyrische Lesestücke*.

† K. 3473, joined by me to 79-7-8, 296 and Rm. 615. See Prof. Sayce's translation in the 1st Vol. of the new series of the *Records of the Past*, p. 127.

*Transcription of the Obverse, completed from K. 5419.**

- 1 E-nu-ma e-liš la na-bu-u š i-t-[ma-mu]
- 2 Šap-l-š am-ma-tum ši-mu¹ la [zak-rat]
- 3 Apsu-u² riš-tu-u za-ru-[š u-un]
- 4 Mu-num-mu ti-amāt mu-nim-ma-a-l-i-da-at³[gim-ri-š u-un]
- 5 Mē-š u-un⁴ iš-te-niš [i-ḫi-kū-u-ma]
- 6 Gi-par-ra⁵ la ku-εu-ru⁶ š u-ša-'⁷ la [še-'u]
- 7 E-nu-ma ilāni la [š u-pu-u ma-na-ma]
- 8 Šu-um⁸ la zu-uk⁹-ku-ru [ši-mat¹⁰ la]
- 9 Ib-ba-nu-u¹¹ ilāni
- 10 D.P. Laḥ-mu u D.P. [La-ḥa-mu uš-ta-pu-u]
- 11 A-di-i¹² ir-bu-[u . . . D.P. Šar D.P. ki-š ar ib-ba-nu-u . .]
- 12 U-ri-ki¹³ ūmē . . . [š ud]
- 13 D.P. A-num a-bu (?)
- 14 A-na¹⁴ D.P. A-nim
- 15 . . . A-nim

Variants from K. 5419: ¹ *uma*, 𐎶𐎵𐎶. ² *apsû-ma*, 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶. ³ *muallidat*, 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶. ⁴ *mê-šunu*, 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶. ⁵ *gi-para*, 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶. ⁶ *kiššura*, 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶. ⁷ *šusâ*, 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶. ⁸ *šuma*, 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶. ⁹ *ruk*, 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶. ¹⁰ *šimatu*, 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶. ¹¹ 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 instead of 𐎶, followed by 𐎶 (ibbanû-ma). ¹² 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶, *a-di* for *a-d-i*. ¹³ *urriku*, 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶. ¹⁴ *Ana* omitted. Line 11, and probably also line 14, each form two lines on K. 5419.

Transcription of the Reverse, completed from K. 3473, &c. and K. 4832.

- 1 [Na-aš kakkê la pa-di-i] la a-di-ru [ta-ħa-za . . Gab šate-ri-tu ša
la ma-ħar ši-na . . .]
- 2 Ap-pu-na-a-ta¹ iš-tin² eš-ri-e-ti³ [kima šu-a-tu uš- . . .]
- 3 Ina ilāni bu-uk-ri-šu-nu⁴ šu-tu is-[kun ši . . .]
- 4 U-ša-aš-ka⁵ D.P. Kin-gu ina bi-ri-šu-nu [uš-rab-bi]
- 5 [A]-li-ku-tu⁶ maħri⁷ pa-ni⁸ um-ma-nu⁹ mu-²-ir-ru ki-tu (?) . . .
[Na-še-e¹⁰ kakkī ti-iz-bu-ut-ti a-na ilu-ti]
- 6 Šu-tu ta-am-ħa-a-ta¹¹ rab¹² sik-kat-tu-tu¹³. Ip-ķid-[ma ħa-tuš-šu
u-še-ši ħar-ri]
- 7 At-ta-a-ka¹⁴ ina puħri ilāni u-šar-bi-ka. Ma-li-ku-ut¹⁵ ilāni gi-mir . .
uš-mal-li

* See *Delitzsch's Lesestücke*, 3rd Edition, p. 93.

† S. A. Smith's *Miscellaneous Assyrian Texts*, plates 2 and 8.

- 10 Lahmu and Lahamu shone forth [alone?]
- 11 Until [the gods] grew up. Šar and Kišar were made
- 12 The days grew long
- 13 Anu, the father (?)
- 14 To Anu
- 15 . . . Anu

The following is a tentative translation of the reverse, preceded by a rendering of the 33 foregoing lines found on K. 3473, &c. The lines are numbered according to K. 3473, and the Babylonian duplicate begins with line 34, and ends with line 52. The correspondence of these lines with those of the Babylonian duplicate of each is in every case noted. The difficulty of giving a good rendering of the text is greatly increased by the imperfect state of the inscription, and the fact that, in certain conjugations of the verb there is no distinction between the 1st and the 3rd persons of the preformative tenses.

Provisional Translation of the Reverse, completed from K. 3473 &c.

- 1 (Anšar) opened (his mouth) and¹
- 2 [to] his . . . he utters the command
- 3 pleasing of my heart²
- 4 , as for thee, let me send thee
- 5 consider (?) arise
- 6 thy . . to thy presence
- 7 their course³
- 8 let them be satisfied in the gardens
- 9 let them pour out wine
- 10 their . . let them decide the fate
- 11 their position (?) fix thou, and
- 12 repeat to them thy words (?)
- 13 urged me on.
- 14 [The desire of (his) heart] he has caused me, even me, to consider
- 15 [Thus: "Tiamat]. . . is hostile (?) to us,
- 16 "[She has convened an assembly, and angrily she is devastating.
- 17 "The gods, all of them, have gone around her:
- 18 "Ye have made her agreement—go to her side."
- 19 "(Then) they left (?) his side and Tiamat they approached."
- 20 The strong one, the honourable one, not resting night and day,⁴
- 21 Carrying on resistance, destroying, laying waste (?)
- 22 Convened an assembly, and they make (ready for) battle.

1) So Prof. Sayce. 2) Or: "mind," literally, "liver," 3) Prof. Sayce: "their divine porter," he apparently regarding *nagab* as the same as *nigab* or *neqab*.

4) Probably Merodach is here intended, as Prof. Sayce indicates.

- 23 "Mother *Ḫubur*, the grasp (?) of the hand¹ of all(?)."
 24 "I will furnish with an unrivalled weapon, it shall destroy (?) the great serpent.
 25 "(Though) sharp be the tooth, relentless, I will destroy (?).
 26 "I will cause poison to fill their body like blood.
 27 "I have clothed the dreaded great lone ones with terrors,
 28 "I have caused them to arise (in) splendour, they rush (?) on high,
 29 "May they (?) make their glorious (?) appearance (?) terrible (?)
 30 "May they make their body perfect, and they shall not change their front.
 31 "I have set up *Bašmu*, *Šir-ḫuššu*², and *Laḫa*[*mu*]
 32 "Uṭugallum³, *urbē*, and the scorpion-man
 33 "Pestilential days⁴, the fish-man, and the *kusarikku* fish
 34 "Bearing weapons, relentless, not fearing battle,⁵
 35 " from before them⁶
 36 "Greatly the eleven like that I will cause to⁷
 37 "Among the gods, their⁸ chosen, whom⁹ he has established¹⁰
 38 "I raised Kingu, I made him great among them."³
 39 Those going before, in front of the army, leader¹
 40 Bearing weapons of conquest for divinity;²
 41 Those who (in) battle (are) the chief spearmen,³
 42 His hand appointed also and set (·) for defence(?)⁴
 43 "I have caused thine honour(?) to be great in the assembly of the gods
 44 "With the dominion of all the gods I have caused [thy hand] to be filled,⁶
 45 "Mayest thou be great, for a noble companion art thou.⁷
 46 "Let thy manhood be increased"⁸
 47 He gave* also the tablet of fate. "I will cause thy breast to be held firm⁹

1) K. 8524: "hands." 2) Apparently, "the coiling snake." For *Laḫamu*, see the obverse, l. 10. 3) This may be also read *Uṭgallum*. It means "the great (=stormy?) day," probably the *āmu rabūtum* (Akk. *ū-galgala*) of the incantations: See the next line. 4) See the foregoing line. 5) First half of l. 1 of the cuneiform text herewith. 6) Second half of the same. 7) Line 2 of the cuneiform text. 8) The Assyrian copy has "her." 9) The Assyrian copy has "that" (*šutu*, perhaps a synonym of *ša*). 10) Line 3 of the same. 11) Line 4 of the same.

* The Assyrian copy has "he gave him."

1) Line 5 of the cuneiform text, 1st half. 2) Do., second half. 3) Line 6 of the cuneiform text, 1st half. 4) Do., 2nd half. 5) Line 7 of do., 1st half. 6) Do., 2nd half. 7) Line 8 of do., 1st half. 8) Do., 2nd half. 9) Line 9 of do., 1st half.

- 48 "Thy words (?) shall not be changed—let thy mouth be firm,"¹
 49 Again Kingu is exalted: Have I not burned (for) Anutu?^{*2}
 50 "(O ye) two gods, sons who have decided the fates"³
 51 "Open your mouths, let Bilgi be at ease,"⁴
 52 "He has spoken pleasantly; let power be magnified by the perfect one."⁵

Here the Babylonian duplicate ends, and has the following colophon:—

- 13 Tablet "When on high," &c., like its old (copy) [written and shown ?]
 14 Tablet of Nabû-balaṭ-su-iḫbi son of
 15 Who is not the Nabû-balaṭ-su-iḫbi son of Na'id-Marduk . . .

K. 3473, however, continues as follows:—

- 53 I sent and Anu did not
 54 Nudimmut feared and turned back
 55 Merodach the prince urged on the gods (?).
 56 Hostilely Tiamat in his heart
 57 He opened his mouth, he said
 58 "If also I (be) the one who brings back [a benefit]
 59 "I will enclose Tiamat and
 60 "Make ye also a gathering
 61 "Behind the gathering
 62 "I have opened my mouth like
 63 "Nothing shall be changed, (I will make)
 64 "May I not turn back, may I not change the festival†
 65 "Hasten to me and (your symbols)
 66 "Let him go (let him meet your enemy)
 67 Went the god
 68 Humbly(?) the god
 69 He has cause to fix and he
 70 Direct thou(?) the
 71 Anšar⁶ the son
 72 The thought (?) of [his] heart
 73 Thus: "Tiamat
 74 "She has convened an assembly, &c.

From here to line 124 the text seems to have been exactly the same as lines 16-66, except for a few phonetic variants. The text then continues:—

1) Line 9 of the cuneiform text, 2nd half. 2) Line 10 of do., 1st half. 3) Do., 2nd half. 4) Line 11 of do. 5) Line 12 of do.

* *Anutu* seems to be an abstract formation from the Akkadian *anu* "heaven," "the god Anu."

† So Sayce translates the word *šigar* (or, perhaps better, *šumgar*).

6) It is possible that here, and in other places, we ought to read Aššur.

- 125 Laḥḥa¹ and Laḥamu heard, they
 126 The Igigi all of them she had nourished (?), the son
 127 "What foe, until he was wise, did he . . . ?
 128 "We do not know what Tiamat
 129 "They have become multitudinous, and he goes
 130 "The great gods, all of them, determiners of [fate?]
 131 "They have entered, and like a vessel (?) Anšar has filled
 132 "Violence is done (?) The enemy of my brother (?) in the assembly
 133 The tongue has made. In the garden the god²
 134 "He has eaten the *ašnan*, he has separated
 135 "Its sweet fruit (?) he has destroyed (?) . . . it.
 136 "The strong drink, in drinking, injures (?) the body (?)
 137 "Greatly the sin their... has
 138. "For Merodach, their avenger³, he determines the fate."
 139. He founded for him also princely sanctuaries⁴.

As I have already remarked, the above translation is only a tentative one—indeed, I have given it more to show the sequence of the tablets of this portion of the legend) which I have found elsewhere to be slightly confused) than to present to the public anything definite in the way of a rendering into English. At some future time I hope to improve the provisional work done here.

Apparently the Babylonian duplicate of which the cuneiform text is published herewith, was inscribed with the contents of the first and second tablets of the creation-series, as is indicated by the fact, that it had a large portion of the text, found on K. 3473, &c., which seems to have had the contents of the second and third tablets of the series. From this we see that after describing the beginnings of the gods, the origin of evil was treated of in the account of the fight between Merodach and Tiamat⁵, or Bel and the dragon—in other words, the struggle between good and evil. Tiamat, the great water-flood, or the chaos of waters, comes devastating, and some of the gods seem to have sworn allegiance to this great power. Merodach undertakes to defeat them, and in a series of long descriptive pieces, some of which are spoken by the god, the preparations to this end—the unrivalled weapon, poison instead of blood in the bodies of the rebels, and the living creatures men-

1) Probably for Laḥma or Laḥmu. See the obv. of the Babylonian fragment l. 10.

2) Or: in the garden (*kiré*) of the god.

3) Literally: bringer back of the benefit. 4) This is the first line of the next tablet. 5) Also given under the form Ta'amāt.

tioned in lines 27-34—are described. Then comes the mention of Kingu (who is elsewhere called the husband of Tiamat) of whom the god says *ušaška* (variant *ušaški*) *Kingu, ina biri-šunu ušrabbī*, “I raised Kingu, I made him great among them.”¹ Judging from the raising of Kingu to great honour in the kingdom of heaven, and from his later hostility to the gods, he would seem to be the leader of the fallen angels, such as are treated of in Cædmon and Milton, who are supposed to have gotten their materials from Avitus. The meaning of the word Kingu, and its etymology, are doubtful. If it be Semitic Babylonian, it is probably from *kanāku*, “to seal up;” if it be Akkadian, it may be a nasalised form of *kiku*, for *gigu* or *gigi* (compare *sangu* from *sag* or *sagu*), and would mean, “the very black,” from *gi*, “night,” “darkness,” “dark,” “black.” A mutilated portion now comes (line 53), in which Anu, the god of the heavens, seems to have been unwilling to aid Merodach in his work, and Nudimmud, or Êa, god of the waters, became afraid, and turned back. Merodach tries (line 55-66), to encourage the gods, and after this a large portion of the text—that referring to the doings of Tiamat and the preparations made for her defeat, are repeated (lines 73-124). Then Laḥḥa (Laḥma), Laḥamu, and the Igigi, or spirits of heaven, speak, seemingly deprecating hostile action against Tiamat, and it is apparently with the words of these deities that the tablet ends. Then follows the first line of the next tablet, the fourth of the series, the text of which was treated of by Mr. Budge before the Society of Biblical Archaeology in Nov., 1883, was translated by Prof. Sayce in the “Hibbert Lectures” for 1887, pp. 379-384, published by Mr. Budge in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* for Dec. 1887, and again translated by Prof. Sayce in the 1st Vol. of the *Records of the Past*, new series, 1888².

THEO. G. PINCHES.

. In consequence of restriction of space, some additional remarks, noticing a new duplicate (81-7-27, 80) &c., have been unavoidably omitted. The article will probably be supplemented in the next number.

1 Or: “he raised,” “he made great.” It is possible that all the verbal forms (except, perhaps, one) in lines 24-38, are in the 3rd person instead of the first.

2 Part of an Assyrian copy of this text has been published by G. Smith in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, IV, and by Prof. Fried, Delitzsch in his *Lesestücke*.

THE BABYLONIAN AND JEWISH FESTIVALS.

IN the study of the various developments of the Semitic religions no section is more important than that which relates to the great Festivals of the year. These special feasts, these days of convocation are common to most of the various sections of the Semitic religions ; and therefore the comparative study of them will be a matter largely tending to the explanation of their meaning and purport. The discovery and decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions have shown us that festivals, occurring at almost exactly the same annual periods, were common to the Assyrians, Babylonians, Arameans, and Phoenicians as well as to the Pre-Islamic Arabs, and that the ceremonies by which they were celebrated were in a great manner of the same character. I propose therefore in this article to describe the principal festivals of the Babylonian year, and to endeavour to show their close resemblance to those of the Sacred Code of the Hebrews.

The comparison of the sacrificial codes, the festivals and the ceremonies of the great religions of the Semitic race, is now no longer a matter of difficulty. The discoveries in Babylonia and Phoenicia have shown us that these powerful neighbours of the Jewish people had almost the same religions *régime* as that of the Priest code. It becomes no longer a matter of astonishment that the Babylonian colonists imported in the cities of Israel after the fall of Samaria in less than a century became reconciled to the Hebrew ritual, and worshipped Yahveh "the god of the land" with the same zeal and devotion as that with which they had paid honour to their local gods in Sippara and Kutha. The sacrificial tablet of Nabu-apal-iddina (B.C. 850), and the numerous documents of a later date from the great temple at Sippara, show how slight was the change required on their part. In the same manner the discoveries in the temple libraries of Babylonia, which reveal to us the elaborate priestly organisation of the empire, the often puerile instructions which occur in the rubrics throw a great and important light upon the changes which were produced in the Hebrew ritual and ceremonial after the time of the Captivity. The earlier religious texts dating centuries prior to the time when the ancestors of the Hebrews left their home in Chaldea enables us to study the simple basis of Semitic thought upon

which these later laws and ceremonials were based, and to explain much that is obscure in the earlier phases of Judaism.

The studies of Wellhausen and Professor Robertson Smith have done much to reveal to us the purer basis of old Arabian pre-Islamic religious thought, upon which was grafted a more elaborate ceremonial after contact with the city-dwelling Sumerian of Babylonia. With this material before us, therefore, we approach the subject with a rich store of data upon which to base our analysis of these annual festivals.

SEPTENNIAL ARRANGEMENTS.

From two inscriptions, the Memorial tablet of Nabu-apla-iddina and the tablet containing the calendar of the month Elul, we learn that the greater or lesser festivals of the Babylonians were arranged like those of the Priest code of the Hebrews upon the basis of a septennial scale.

This arrangement is as follows :

- 1) *Sabbath Day* on 7th, 14th, 21st and 28th days of the month.
- 2) *Sabbatical Week* ending on 19th day of the month bring the 49th day (7 + 7th) or seventh week from the first of the previous month.

This feast of weeks seems according to the Hebrew code. (Deut. xvi. 9-16) to have followed the spring feast of the passover. But as it appears in the calendar of a month which was of no great religious importance, it would seem that it was a regular festival in Babylonia.

- 3) *Sabbatical Month*. The seventh month Tasritum. "The Holy Month" was both among the Jews and the Babylonians a month of special sanctity. Among the Hebrews it was the month of the Feast of Tabernacles and the great day of Atonement, according to the sacrificial Tablet from Sippara. The 7th day of the month was a festival corresponding to that on the 7th day of the month Nisan.

- 4th) The *Sabbatical Year*, (Levit. xxv. 3-8) ; during which the land was to rest although no mention in the Babylonian Calendars would appear to correspond to the *Kar-ru* or Cycle mentioned in the Eponym Canon and on the Obelisk of Shal-manesar.

This sacred or perfect character attached to the number seven is a marked characteristic of the Babylonia as well as the Hebrew ritual and religion.

There were seven great gods, opposed to the seven evil spirits, at whose head was the great Serpent of the Sea (Tiamat) with seven heads and tails, the Hebdominal Serpent of Night. There appear to have been seven creation tablets representing seven days of creation action terminat-

ing in the "rest of the heart" of the god—the sabbath as in the Hebrew account. (Gen. ii, 2-3). In the poem of the Deluge, every stage is marked by groups of seven acts. Seven stages in building the ark, seven times is the vessel tried. Seven days mark the period of the Rain, while another seven days are occupied ere the saved Samas Napisti comes forth from the ark. The victims are prepared by sevens, and the seven great gods gather round the altar.

It is evident from this that the number seven was regarded as a perfect number, and the Sabbatical period as a perfect period, and this seems to be substantiated by the explanation of the word *Sabatum*. In W.A.I. II, 14-6, the following explanation is given 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *yum, nu-ukh lib-bi* a day of the "rest of the heart," = 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *sa-bat-tum*, "a sabbath." This explanation is quite in harmony with the frequent expression of rest and satisfaction in the hymns and psalms. In Sumerian 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *sazu genkue*; in Assyrian *li nūkh libbi-ka* "may thy heart rest."

The names by which the festival is designated in the inscriptions are of particular interest, as they show the sacred nature and divine origin which was attributed to them. The ancient Sumerian term is 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *ul-sar*, literally "day of sacrifice" or "ordained day," which in W.A.I. IV, 24-2, is rendered by the Assyrian word 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *az-ka-ru*, "a commemoration day," from *zakaru*. Heb. זָכַר "to commemorate." It is evident from the inscription, a translation of which I append to this paper, that the festival was regarded as of divine appointment established in heaven, to be performed on earth by men. This no doubt was a later developement, but a natural one in harmony with all places of Semitic thought.

Other terms applied to the festival were 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *ud-khul* or *yum limnuti*, "an evil day," that is, a day on which it was evil to work, or do other than religious acts as on the sabbath. So also it was called 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *UD-SE-* or *UD-SE-GA*, *yum magiru*, "a holy righteous day." As in the expression so often used in the cylinders as descriptive of the foundation-day of an edifice *ina yumi magiru ina arkhi šulmi*, "on a holy in a blessed month." These epithets show that the festival day was a day of commemoration and sacrifice, regarded as ordained by the god himself to be kept by men on earth as a sabbath with sacrifice and feasting.

FESTIVAL INSCRIPTION.

(W.A.I., Vol. IV, pl. 25, Col. III).

- 1 Yu-mu ilu ib-ba-nu-u az-ka-ru el-lu us-tak-li lu
- 2 Ilu us-ta-bu-u ina nap-khar matati
- 3 sa-lu-ma-tu na-si e-bi-lu-tu-su su-um e-bil ir-ta ga-mir
- 4 mi-lam-mi-su ta as-khar bu-un-na-ni e-ra ru-ba-tu ra-mi
az-ka-ru e-lis su-bu
- 5 Ina šamie ib-ba-nu [Ina ir-šiti ib-ba-nu.]
- 6 Az-ka-ru an-nu-u ina kis-sat samie u iršiti ib-ba-nu
- 7 Bi-nu-ut ili ip-sit a-mi-lu-ti
- 8 Ina tak-ni-ti ki-nis šu-uk-iu-ul
- 9 Ina-si-pir ilu su-ma e-pu-us.
- 10 An-nu-u ina la pi-it pi-i tar-ri-in ?

TRANSLATION.

- 1 The day of the god was created, the holy festival was made perfect.
- 2 The god has gone forth among all lands ;
- 3 In perfection he is raised up in his lordship...oh hero of the perfect breast !
- 4 Let glory surround his form and terror be raised !
- 5 Lightning flashes the festival from on high comes forth.
- 6 In heaven it was made, on earth it was made ;
- 7 This festival was created for all the hosts of heaven and earth—
- 8 The creation of the god, the work of mankind,
- 9 In observation firmly cause it to be perfected ;
- 10 By command of the god its name was made,
- 11 This festival when the month is not opened is....and when food is not eaten.

This text has been translated by Professor Sayce in his *Hibbert Lectures* (pp. 68-69) ; but he has translated principally from the Akkadian version, hence the variations from my rendering.

There does not appear to be any direct trace of the festival of the new Moon in Babylonia, but the care with which its appearance was observed, as shown by the report tablet, leads us to suppose that it was in certain cities, at least those dedicated to the Moon, accompanied by some religious festival. Thus we read : "The Moon in the month Nisan, either on the 14th or the 15th, was not seen," which seems to indicate the non-occurrence of the Equinox (III 58, 4). In another tablet of the same class we read : "The Moon in the Month Tammuz either the 14th or 15th day with the Sun is not seen. On the 16th day the Moon and Sun with one another are seen." (III, 58, 2). In another we read :

"The Moon and Sun were balanced (*sit kulu*) (III. 58, 5). It is to be noticed that these observations occur principally in the months in which the great festivals occur and usually about the first or fifteenth days of the month. These are the months of Nisan, Tammuz, Tasritum and Adar.

The care with which these reports are drawn show that most of the great festivals especially the Passover at the Vernal Equinox and the New Year's festival in Tisri were regulated by Lunar observance.

In my next paper I intend to deal in fuller detail with some of these festivals.

W. ST. C. BOSCAWEN.

A LIFE OF THE BUDDHA :

translated from the P'U-YAO KING, by the late

Prof. Dr. S. BEAL.

(*Continued from p. 15*).

KIUEH II.

DESCENDING SPIRITUALLY TO BE BORN,

(*Conceived in the Womb*).

At this time the four Mahârâjas, Sakra, the Devaputras of the Yama Heaven, of the Tusita Heaven, of the Nirmânarati Heaven of the Paranirmita Heaven, the Maradevaputras, the different Devas of the Brahma Heavens, of the Prabhavyuha Heaven, of the Abhâsvara Heaven of the Maneṣvara-Suddhavasakayika Heaven, of the Suddhava Heaven, up to the Akanishta Heaven, all these with countless thousands of others convening an assembly and noting the signs (of coming events), spoke thus among themselves: "Companions ! if we permit the Bodhisatwa to descend alone to be conceived spiritually in his mother's womb, unattended by any of ourselves, this would be irretrievable loss and ungrateful conduct on our part, who then by us will go down to that country

to await his spiritual conception? and then in sequence, as the shadow follows the substance, to attend him till he completes his perfect rôle as a Buddha, having overcome the hosts of Mâra, and turned the wheel of the Law, and possessed of the four harmonizing qualities of love, pity, joy and equanimity, arrives at last at the goal of deliverance, (who of us) can attend him thus encouraging him in sustaining his loving purpose and filling his heart with joy and peace? not long hence and he will accomplish his solemn vow, and so the Gâtha says:

Who now is able to undertake the office
Of attending his person and ever comforting his mind,
Who is prepared to gain for himself renown
By exhibiting in himself this power of constant watchfulness.

[Lacuna 3].

At this time from the remotest regions of the Eastern quarter of space came countless Devas who inhabited the different Tusita Heavens of that division to this world (collector of worlds i.e. our system; including the earth and superposed heaven &c.) to do honour to Bodhisatwa, and so likewise from the South, and West and North, and the intermediate regions, as well as from the Nadir and Zenith from all the countless worlds of these regions there came innumerable Bodhisatwas, all in their last form of birth, and occupying the different Tusita Heavens of the aforesaid countless systems, all these came to the place where Bodhisatwa was to pay him homage. And so also 84000 Apsaras belonging to the Four Heavenly kings, and the same number belonging to the Trayastrinshas Heaven, and the Yama heaven, and the Tusita heavens, and the other heavens (named before) all provided with musical instruments (drums and lutes) and chanting lays as they came, approached this system of ours and appeared in the place where Bodhisatwa was seated, to pay him their homage. Then Bodhisatwa reclining on his seat, at first¹ concealed his universally diffused qualities (i.e. excellences of person) and wrapped in ecstasy beheld all the attendant army of guardians and the innumerable clouds of Bodhisatwas and Devas who surrounded him, then the Tusita Heaven was shaken with a violent earthquake and afterwards from his body there shone forth such glory (rays of bright light) as filled with light the great Chiliocosm of worlds, such as had never yet been seen. Then all the dark places of the earth were illumined, the lustre reached to places where never penetrated the brightness of the Sun or Moon, and extended down even to the shades of Hell, and where the ghosts (pretas) and beast-born creatures, dwell. Amongst men this

and diffused a universal joy, and where it shone all lustful, hateful thoughts were drowned, all covetous and envious feelings fled, and a feeling of love possessed all hearts, which made men look on one another (as bound together) like children, father, mothers, brothers, sisters, and now from unseen sources there resounded forth countless hymns of praise all mutually harmonious, whilst innumerable Devas engaged in pious reflections guarded that heavenly dwelling (where Bodhisatwa was) from harm. Thus a hundred thousand Apsaras with drum and lute attended behind the assembled multitude, and as they sounded their instruments they sang about the accumulated merits of Bodhisatwa during bygone ages—thus :

Because of the accumulated merits of past ages,
 During the dreary wastes of which he has sought deliverance,
 Employed in charity, possessed of truth and rectitude,
 On this account we now adore and reverence (Thee).
 Because through countless ages, the Honourable One
 Has devoted himself to charity, from love to humankind
 As a return for such benevolence (charity)
 There rains down from heaven both flowers and perfumes.
 He gave his flesh, weighing it out, mangled as it was
 Because he pitied the bird, though it cost him dear.
 From this source of ungrudging charity
 It comes that the hungry ghosts (pretas) are fed with broth,
 Our honor'd master through endless ages
 Has kept without fail the Moral ruler of life.
 And from this self restraint it comes
 That the evil-born escape the miseries (entailed upon them)
 Our Lord through countless ages past
 Practising entire patience in his onward course,
 As the result of this Patience
 Has with loving heart been moved with pity towards both God and men
 Our Lord through countless ages past
 Pressing onwards without relaxation of effort
 By this unflagging perseverance
 Has gained a form (strong) as mount Sumeru,
 Our Lord through endless ages past
 Lost in contemplation and putting away all pollutions
 As a result of this self-absorption
 Has obtained perfect release from all fleshly desires.
 Our Lord through endless ages past
 Practising wisdom and estranged from covetousness.
 As the result of this supreme wisdom,
 Is possessed of perfect glory of person and purity of heart.
 We adore Him armed for the destruction of sin,

Full of compassion mindful of all that lives.
 Enabled by his virtuous mind to crop to that shore
 This one we reverence True and at perfect Rest.
 Him, the one, the wide-shining one,
 Who has put away every remnant of sin
 Whose eye penetrates through the universe.⁴
 Him we reverence possessed of the highest wisdom.
 Fully acquainted with the powers of spiritual flight
 Perfectly informed as to the limits of all knowledge
 Capable of converting every kind of living thing
 We bow down before the Master of the Ship.

[Lacuna 4].

Then Buddha addressed all the Bhikshus, and said: "The winter having passed, in the first month of spring-time, the constellation Vaisāka⁵ preparing to come on⁷, the numerous trees first beginning to bring forth their fruits, it being neither hot nor cold, at this time the honoured one of the three worlds, looking through the indications of the Heaven of the ten regions (i. e. the Heaven itself), saw that the star Pōnshya⁸ was about to culminate (come to the meridian ?), and that on this account he ought to descend (to the earth). Then he descended spiritually from Tusita Heaven assuming the form of a white elephant, his mouth having six tusks, all his members composed, his head of a bright glittering colour beautiful to behold, his eyes glittering as with the light of the sun, as such, he descended into the womb of his mother, entering by the right side—therefore Bodhisatwa ever places on her right hand that round which he goes, and not his left. The queen, pure and lovely, peacefully slumbering, suddenly and instantly perceived this white elephant king, brilliant as light, coming to her and entering as aforesaid, her body perfectly composed and peaceful such as it had never before been, her mind tranquil as if lost in perfect contemplation, ready for the right perception of truth. On this the excellent Queen, the nap of the robes she wore having become erect, she smoothed down, and having sprinkled herself with perfume, filled with joy she rose from her couch. Surrounded then by her attendant women proceeding from the hinder part of the palace, she went to Asoka grove, and there, sitting down beneath one of the trees, she sent one of her women to the king Suddhodana, with this message: "Will the mighty king (Mahārāja) condescend to come and to hear something that will give him joy"? The King, filled with delight and accompanied by his ministers, repaired forthwith to the Asoka grove. Not being able to enter the gate, the King was conscious of certain

thoughts as he sat in his lofty elephant chariot—and, thinking thus, he uttered the following verses:

“Never before when in my elephant chariot
Have I experienced such sensations⁹ as these;
A brilliant light enters my dwelling,
And I ask, Why this wonderful change”?

At this time there was a Deva dwelling in space who caused half¹⁰ his body to appear (apparitionally), and then for the sake of Suddhodana uttered the following stanzas:—“Gifted with every virtuous trait of conduct, the honoured of the three worlds, filled with love and mercy, perfected in every (religious source of) happiness—Bodhisatwa transforming himself and descending from the Tusita Heaven, as a Great Holy One has descended upon the virtuous Queen; you should therefore with clasped hands worship at his (or, her) feet. The highest Divinity has entered that abode: the excellent Queen perceiving his purpose to put into form the result of his various preceding lines of conduct, and to take upon him this change of existence, has beheld him surpassing all miraculous appearances, passing through the palace, and pure as the Snowy-Mountain-King, brighter than the Sun and Moon, every member of his body glorious, strong and mighty as the great elephant, invincible as the diamond, self possessed and in conduct unequalled, he has entered the womb as a spiritual incarnation. On this account accept my words, beholding the pollution of the three worlds, for countless years (has he as a) Deva longed (sighed) that it might be recovered from pollution and freed from anger and hate his heart fixed upon this, at perfect rest, (or the heart (of men) fixed and at perfect rest).”

At that time the Queen spake thus to the king.

“Mahârâja! summon the Brahmacharins, who being enlightened may be able to interpret my dream, and on my account may distinguish the right or wrong (the meaning) of the matter, whether it forebodes good or evil to the kingdom. Mahârâja accept my words, summon the Brahmacharins learned in the sacred writings to my presence, let them listen to the account of my dream, how that brighter than the glory of sun or moon, in form large and beautiful, with six tusks, as a male (elephant) he entered my womb, let them therefore listen and consider the meaning of this.”

Then the king having summoned the Brahmacharins asked of them the meaning of such a dream, on which they for the sake of the king recited the following Gâthas.

“The Brahmacharins having heard the words were filled with joy because the good omen,

The child that is born possessing the superior and inferior characteristic works,

If he leads a secular life will be a Holy King,

But if from pity to men he leaves his home,

Then he will become Buddha and befriend the three worlds,

The heavenly dew (drink of immortality or amrita) will everywhere be shed on the poor.¹

So that they will be freed from the net of every doubt,

Receiving the favourable instruction of the Brahmacharins,

Without any anxious fear in his heart,

As to clothing, food or drink,

His body will ever be (or he will ever be) at rest and fixed.”

At this time Suddhodana raja thought thus with himself: “What can I do in appointing a dwelling place for the excellent Queen, that she may have perfect peace and quiet?”

Then the four Heavenly Kings came to the place where Suddhodana was and thus addressed him. “Be at rest, Mahârâja! now will we ourselves make a fitting abode for the Bodhisatwa!” Then all the Devas (from Sakra to the highest of the Kamavatcharas) ascending to their several abodes brought a palace to the place where the queen was in which Bodhisatwa might reside, and entering Kapilavastu with these several palaces, with one heart they bowed themselves and offered them to Bodhisatwa. At this time Suddhodana râja also founded in the same place a sumptuous palace bright as those of the Devas, on which Bodhisatwa exercising himself in the meditation (called) great purity caused the queen to appear as if bodily residing in all these palaces and bearing Bodhisatwa in her womb in each. Then the Devarajas not seeing the other palaces, each one thought: Now the mother of Bodhisatwa dwells in my abode, and not in any other, and then Buddha recalled these Gathas:

“Fixed in the Samadhi of great purity

By the spiritual transformation, not explicable,

He caused all the Devas to possess all their minds in peace,

By this first miraculous appearance (or, by this first miracle.)”

NOTES.

- 1) This is a hazardous translation. M. Foucaux however appears to have anticipated the descent of Bodhisatwa in the L.V.
- 2) Shen-pen, virtuous-origin i.e. restoration to his original condition.
- 3) Yeh-sin.
- 4) This is doubtful. The expression in the original is 'san tsin'; three thousand', &c. *worlds*.
- 5) The powers of 'irrdhi' i.e. miraculous power of constant locomotion.
- 6) The original has only "she" which is a contraction for (Vai)sa(ka).
- 7) There are three words in the Text "chu'en moh hea" which may refer to the constellation as being above the horizon during spring till the end of summer.
- 8) Fuh.
- 9) My body, or person, has never thus weighed, as now.
- 10) The allusion to the appearance of *half* the body is common in Buddhist Books. It is probably illustrated in the Plate xci fig. 4, "Tree and Serpent worship" (1st Edn.)
- 11) The common people.

(To be continued).

ASSYRIOLOGICAL NOTES.

ŠALLARU, KALAKKU.

1. *Šallaru* has certainly not the meaning of *mur, paroi*," (Latrille ZK, II, 344), nor that of "*Coupole*" (Oppert, Ant., p. 229).

We shall meet it V. 64, II, 6.

Ina šikari, karāni, šamnu, dišpi šallaršu amḥašma abultarahḥuš].

Neb. II, 46, *Êkua, papaḥa bēl ilāni Marduk ušanbiṭ šaššaniš*; *šallaruššu ḥurāšu ruššā . . . ušalbiš*.

Neb. Borsip. I. 18. *Êkua, papaḥa bēlūtūtu ḥurāši namri šallareš aštakan*.

Asurb. X. 83 ff. *Ina šikari u karāni kalakkašu ablul, amḥaša šallaršu*.

How, even with the licence of hyperbole, can it be admitted that the wall of the temple and the enceinte had been sunk? And still more, how can we admit the libations of Nabû-abil-iddin : Col. IV, 33, 34. "*ina dišpi, karāni u (ku) matqi udahḥida sigarê*?"

We should like the following values to be noted :

𐎶𐎶. 𐎶𐎶𐎵 = *šallaru* V. 42, 27. g.

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵 = *šîru* V. 32, 21, a.

šal - la - ru

𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵 = *šîru* V. 42, 25. g.

Cf. 𐎶𐎶𐎵 = *ahû* Brun. 9306.

„ = *dîdu* Brun. 8859.

„ = *tinûru* Brun. 8372.

„ = *duppu* Brun. 8360. &c.

All these words are explained by the Hebrew.

1. סִיר cf. Ps. lx. 8. “*Moab olla* (סִיר) *lotionis meae*.”

2. סִיר id.

3. סִיר *olla, corbis*.

4. סִיר, *brazero*, (see for the many meanings of this word *Dvorák* ZK, I, 115 ff.

𐎶𐎶 serves sometimes as a determinative like 𐎶𐎶𐎵 *karpātu*, with another shade of meaning. *Šîru* passes from the sense of *flat surface*, to that of *shelter*; cf. V. 32, 48; II, 24, 16 = *mašallu*.

There results for *šallaru* a general meaning of *plateau, châte, poêle, bassin*. It is that which is said to be clad in gold or drowned in liquors in the Inscriptions. Is this receiver used in the sacrifices, or does it contain and cover the *temen*, (cf. V, 42, 8, 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎵)? I do not know, but the texts where *šallaru* is spoken of are always a feature in the founding of the temple.

II. *Kalakku* has not the meaning of “*Lattenwerk*” Del. Gram., p. 167, 20. This word is ideographically rendered by :

𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵 Brun. 11156.

Cf. 𐎶𐎶 = *pilšu, šuplu, buru, kalakku*, V. 36b, 24 ff.

𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎵 = *arîktu*. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎵 = *arâku*, Brun. 7562, 7563.

𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎵 = *kussû* (*giš gal*), *aštu* (𐎶𐎶𐎵) “to extend, to lengthen”) &c. see Halevy, ZA. IV, 53.





𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎵 serves as a generic determinative in *kalakku*.





𐎶𐎶 may point out another thing than wood. Cf. 𐎶𐎶𐎵, *manera*,


𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎵 *kakku*, &c., in which at least there resides the determinative of objects which were primitively of wood.

Kalakku was a sort of altar (hollow? cf. 𐎶𐎶 = *kalakku*, V, 36, b, 30, præc.) a *throne* in the form of a pedestal, and may have been the support of the *šallaru*. Cf. βωμός, *gradin, socle, pedestal, autel*.

II. 44, 60.  al-ḥap=alluḥappu.

IV. 30b, 33, 34.     =katāmu Sb. i. 9.

    kīma alluḥappu.

IV. 65, 30.  ?-taša alluḥappu ki


kaṣṣat



raḥiṣṣat ma muttabilat mārāt Anum


šaptāša ziqziqqumma utabbakā

nu'urat kīma nēšu ?



uštanalḥab kīma nēšu ?

The determinative  ought to set us on the track of the meaning. There can be no question here but of a *fillet*, of a *tissue* serving to cover, to wrap, to bind. Cf. *sannu*, *abarru*, *riksu*, *šētu*, *šušgallu*, *šalḥu*, &c.

The ideogram analysed gives the same result.   appears to have a proper meaning, as in the ideograms *tēšu*, *azamillu* (Brun. 3130 3131) the undetermined meaning of 'thread, net, envelope,' &c.

 equals on the other hand *aḥaztu*, *katū*, *karu*, *mekkū*, *rakāsu*, &c. But the equivalence "*saggu ša šēim*" is decisive.




We have to do with the verb or with an analogue of the verb  

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


























Cf. Eglā ina ihzi urappiq,
gannatu, šikkat musarie ušakkak;

(See Del. *W.B.* p. 297), which we translate :

"Das Feld schützte er durch eine Umfassung
Garten und Ueppigkeit der Gemüse deckte er."

It is indeed of a *tissue*, of a *net* used to cover and to envelop the things planted or the grains in the soil that mention is made. Cf.  *e filis contextum, qualem cribris, saccis adhibebant, saccus*; there was then a root  with the same meaning as . The same object might be a weapon of war *real* or *metaphorical*.

Azamillu, which precedes *alluḥappu*, is not without having something in common with this last word.

We cannot compare this *azamillu* (         with ( )           =Kannu ša šēim (see Del. *W.B.v.* "*azamillu*"), cfr.      

כנה, כנה, Ps. lxxx. 16. "Protect!" כנה יהוה "Jahve protects," &c.

There is here again mention of an object and a similar custom.

The figure and the reality are frequently met with in narratives of battles.

Samši R. II, 56, mât Naîri kîma *sapari* ašup.

II, 67, 13. Amêlu Puqûdu kîma *sapari* ašup, diktašunu adûk.

IV, 57, 47, Kîma *šeti ukattimu* qarradu.

T.P.L., p. 92, amêlu šuatum ina bit ramnišu *tešu issaḥapšu*.

IV, 17, 13, 6, *Saḥip šuš kallaka* puḥur mâtâti.

In the account of the Creation, 8th tab. 5, 6, ff., a circular fillet, *sapara šulvû*, forms part of the armour of the god.

It is difficult not to attribute to *saḥâpu*, on the faith of what precedes the sole meaning of "to cover, to envelope."

Katâmu and *saḥâpu* interchange, Sanh. Tayl. 30, 41. Cf. Asurb. I, 84, 85.

Cf. Kîma imbaru ašup !
Kîma melî nâri ašup !

Likewise the text II, 19, 68,

Litti taḥâzi, alluḥappu mât nukurtim našâku.

This may be rendered thus :

"A hero (buffalo) of battles, I bear the net which envelopes the adverse, countries."

Littu is not a weapon (Boscawen) *Bab. & Or. Rec.*, III, 149, &c. but ought to be interpreted in a sense parallel and analogous to the preceding verses, that is to say, as being *subject, agent*, and not *object*.

muabbit šadi, našâku (such an instrument).

mušakniš šadi, našâku (such an instrument),

and lastly, littu taḥâzi, alluḥappu mât nukurtim našâku.

Alḥappu, on its part, is neither a "flail" (Sayce) nor "a savage ox" (Oppert).

In regard to *littu* note אֶלֶף אֶלֶף אֶלֶף אֶלֶף (*littu*, the only known equivalent) is the sign *šilamu* which itself equals *urivvu*, (cf. אֶרֶב plur. Chald. אֶרֶב, "lion"?) probably a play on the words אֶרֶב אֶרֶב *pû, urû*, or by adding אֶלֶף = litt. "with many heads" (hydra) or "the great head." Cf. II, 16b. 23 ff., "*urivvu damiq ina nišêya gummuranni*."

V. SCHEIL.

THE BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

Contributors are alone responsible for their opinions or statements.

THE DELUGE-TRADITION AND ITS REMAINS IN ANCIENT CHINA.

(Continued from p. 24).

II.

*

15. Now we must examine the remains of the Deluge-tradition in China. In the present chapter we shall call attention to six of them, spurious, doubtful and probable. The two first were mistakes of some ancient Sinologists, while the third was a misapprehension ; and it is their baseless character which has led several scholars to assert that the Chinese never were acquainted with the Deluge-tradition. As some recent writers are yet maintaining their genuineness, we could not help mentioning them in order to show once for all their valueless. The three other fragments of traditions here examined, had not been pointed out as yet, and we give them only as probable. In the next chapter we shall study an important legend, hitherto neglected, which will prove to be a genuine echo, ancient and remarkable of the Western tradition.

16. Some ancient missionaries have pointed out two instances of what they fancied to be remains or allusions to the Deluge tradition in Ancient Chinese lore. Although they were mistaken in their opinion, it may be as well to record the cases in question, which could not have occurred otherwise than in the infancy of Sinology, and nevertheless are still met with in books as genuine facts.

A curious case was made up to prove that the Chinese have the tradition of Noah's ark²⁰ ; the character 船 *tchw'en* "a boat" for the sake of the case, was supposed to be composed of a boat=舟, eight=八 and mouth=口 which would mean "eight mouth's boat" or the ark in which Noah

and the seven persons of his family escaped the Deluge!²¹ Now it turns out that mere common sense throws over this delirium of learning. The character is not primitive and has nothing whatever to do with the supposed etymology above quoted.²² It is an ideo-phonetic compound made about the Han dynasty when the provincial and dialectal words were written down and embodied in the general vocabulary.²³ It is made of the ordinary character for boat as a silent determinative and the irreducible phonetic 184 *Call.* which gives the sound. To say more on the subject would be mere waste of time. Such nonsenses must be relegated for ever to the limbos of precritical times.

NOTES 20) See *Lettre de Peking sur le génie de la langue Chinoise...* (Bruxelles, 1773, 8vo.), pp. 31-33, (by Father Cibot); a bad compilation of spurious documents of which the authorship, attributed to Father Amiot, has been energetically denied by him. See his protestation and his severe stricture on the value of the *Lettre* in Henri Cordier, *Biblioteca Sinica*, vol. I, 793-794.

21) *Analysis of Chinese characters*. p. 91. See note 24 below.

22) Several fanciful etymologies of the same kind have been reproduced seriously by P. Perny, *Grammaire Chinoise*, vol. II, (Paris, 1876, 8vo) p. 28, from the *Lettre de Peking*, without any reference to the source.

23) The character occurred for the first time in the glossary of dialectical words compiled by Yang-hiung (A.C. 53-18 P.C.) where it is said to be the name for boat in the West of the Capital. Cfr. *K'ang-hi tze-tien*, 137+5, fol. 88; and on the work of Yang-hiung, cf. *The Languages of China before the Chinese*, sect. 42-53.

* *

17. A survival of the Deluge tradition has been supposed by Morrison²³ to exist in the 巨查 *Kiu-tcha* of tradition in which he fancied to discover an allusion to the Ark of Noah.²⁴ Though no evidence has been put forward to justify this surmise, it is not uninteresting in view of further investigation and probably disclosures from Chinese mythology, to take notice of the statement which has given rise to this opinion.

In the *Poh wuh tchi* (IIIrd. cent. P.C.) we read: 仙查犯牛斗. which means that "the fairy-raft crosses (or crossed) the (zodiacal mansions of the) Ox and (of) the Measure."²⁵

And in the *Shih I Ki* (IVth cent. P.C.) is a longer statement as follows: In the time of Yao, the Great Raft floated on the Western sea during twelve years. A circuit of Heaven is called the lunar raft that goes through (i.e. of the path of the moon).²⁶

18. Now taking these various statements as a whole they seem to be nothing else than chips of astronomical lore. Translated as did Medhurst²⁷:

"A fairy floating on a raft came across *nieu-teu*" the first of these statements is turned into a mythological event. But we consider such an aspect as very doubtful and we feel unsafe in trusting it. Several remarks might be put forward to justify our view, and exhibit the syncretism of the statements. The second quotation is the only one translated by Medhurst in his dictionary, and upon it rests the supposition we deal with; but this ancient Sinologist has dropped the end of the Chinese statement, and this end does not permit the same construction to be put on the whole of the sentence as the first part would suggest. If the expressions "fairy raft," "great raft," lunar raft "that goes through" are all equivalents, it is obviously of a series of qualities which would be recognised easily by astronomers who might say if they are applied to the Moon or to the Milky Way; the West Orientation of the phenomenon, the order in which are enumerated the 9 and 8 mansions inverse of their appellative order, the lapse of 12 years which recalls the Great Year or the Cycle of Jupiter, and also the possible connection of the Star of the Wood (Jupiter) with the idea of the raft, are the various elements of the problem which does not seem to involve any survival of the Deluge-tradition of Genesis or of the Nimrod epos of Assyro-Babylonia.

NOTES 24) Morrison says: 巨查 *kew cha*; great raft, probable allusion to the Ark of Noah.—Medhurst, *Chinese and English Dict.* p. 475, says: "The Chinese say that in the time of Yaou B.C. 2, 296, the 巨查 *kew cha* or the great raft went on the sea for the space of 12 years, during which time it floated round the world." The author of a fanciful paper *Analysis of Chinese characters* (*The Chinese Recorder*, vol. IV, Sept. 1871, p. 91) says: "As it is certain that there was no such thing in the time of Yaou's flood, the idea of the 巨查 is doubtless the relics of the tradition of the earlier flood."

25) The *Ox* and the *Measure* are the 9 and 8 *siuh*. The 牛 and the 斗 correspond to parts of the Sagittarius.

26) Cf. *K'ang-hi Tze-tien*, s.v. : 75+6 str., f. 26.

27) In his *Dictionary of the Hok-Keën dialect*, p. 51.

* * *

19. In the *Chinese Repository*,²⁸ a legend preserved by the Taoists has been quoted as connected with the Deluge tradition. Thus we are told that 'One extraordinary *antediluvian* (?)²⁹ saved his life by climbing up a mountain, and there and then in the manner of birds plaiting a nest, he passed his days on a tree, whilst all the country below him was one sheet of water. He afterwards lived to a very old age, and could testify to his late posterity that a whole race of human beings had been swept from the face of the earth."

This is quoted as an extract from the *Shin sien t'ung kien*³⁰ of Sieh Tahiun, a large work of 60 books published in 1640, giving a series of biographical sketches, for the most part legendary and fabulous, of upwards of eight hundred saints, sages, and divinities, selected chiefly from the ranks of Taoism, with some Buddhist characters among them.³¹ Unhappily I cannot verify the translation, which looks somewhat fallacious, as shown by the last sentence and also by the word I have underlined, and is so obviously garbled that we cannot see its purpose. I hope some other Sinologist, in a better position than we are in Europe with reference to that book, will verify the statement.

NOTES 28) *Review of the Shin Seên Tung keên.—A General Account of the Gods and Gen'i*, in 22 vol. From C. Gützlaff. In Chinese Repository, vol. VII and VIII. Cf. vol. VII, p. 117.

29) An impossible translation.

30) Prof. R. K. Douglas who has kindly verified the case for me writes that the work does not exist in the British Museum.

31) A. Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, pp. 17-89.

* * * *

20. The chapter *Yü kung* of the Shu-king presents so exaggerated a picture of the inundation which covered a part of China at the time of Yao, that several of the early Sinologists have concluded its identity with the Deluge of the Bible, while others, more prudent and wise in their generation, have seen in its exaggeration an influence of a tradition of the earlier flood. They may be right.

There is no doubt that the inundation which occurred in the time of Yao and Yü the Great was very extensive, the damage done very considerable, and the labour undertaken to restore the waters to their channels very great.³² The labour had to be continued during several generations, and it is the description of these protracted works which in the Book of history goes under the name of Yü.³³ Yet it is evident that the generally received accounts of Yao's flood were greatly amplified; and it is a question to know if this exaggeration may not have arisen from the fact that, at the time of recording that inundation in China, there was still lingering some knowledge of a tradition of the Deluge of Noah or Hazisadra, a tradition the early Chinese rulers might have learned at the same time as they did their stock of knowledge from S.W. Asia.³⁴ As time passed on and the remembrance of Yao's inundation became shadowed in the past, the two traditions got merged into one, and some souvenir not yet forgotten of the Babylonian-Deluge tradition became lost in and identified with the more precise and historical report of the Chinese event. The overflowing which happened under the reign of Yao³⁵ was a flood of the same sort as occurred over and over again since that

time during all the course of the history of China, and which caused the Yellow River chief cause of the affair to be called the scourge of China.

NOTES 32) Vid. J. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. III, pp. 74-75, proleg.

33) In the Chronicle known as *Tshuh shu ki nien*, the labours of Yü-the-Great are only noticed in the shortest manner: In the 57th year of Yao, Yü, the superintendent of works, regulated the Ho river."

34) M. Charles Gould, *Mythical Monsters*, London, 1886. in a special chapter: *The deluge not a myth*, pp. 101-136 has suggested that the Biblical Deluge and the Flood of Yao were one and the same event: "it may well have been that the Deluge which caused a national annihilation in Western Asia was only a national calamity in the eastern portion of it. *O.C.* p. 129. The author supposes that the respective dates of the two events are synchronous. But such is not the case. While the Chinese overflowing occurred *circa* 2200 A.C., the Deluge of Babylonia, from the evidence of cuneiform texts happened between 4000 - 5000 A.C.

35) The local character of the flood of Yao's time in China has been recognized for long by several scholars. Cf. for instance F. Lenormant, *Origines de l'histoire*, vol. I, pp. 383-385.

* * * * *

21. In the original notes which accompany the text of the *Tshuh shu Ki nien*, Part I, there are reported two episodic circumstances, which however disconnected, seem to be derived from the same stock of traditional lore, as that which compose the deluge tradition and legends of Assyria and Babylonia.

They are referred to in the mythical account of Hwangti and his deeds.

"He could oblige the hosts of spirits (神) to come to his court and receive his orders. Yng-lung attacked T'ch'i-yu and fought with the force of the tigers, panthers, bears, and grisly bears.³⁶ . . . By means of the female demon Pat, he stopped the extraordinary rains (caused by the enemy)."³⁷

Further on another curious statement is worth quoting: " . . . the heavens were wrapt in mist for three days and three nights. The emperor asked T'se-m-l-o, L'e-k-m-u-h, and D'z'u-m-t'an-h³⁸ what they thought of it When the mists were removed, he made an excursion on the Loh river, and sacrificed to it with five victims, whereupon torrents of rain came down for seven days and seven nights."³⁹

22. Let us comment on these various statements.

The female demon Pat 女魃 by the power of whom the extraordinary rains which seem to have resulted from the great fight alluded to in the text, reminds singularly by its intervention in similar occurrence, the arrival of Istar the great Goddess in the Chaldean epic.⁴⁰ But there

is the end to the resemblance as *Kwei-Pat* is said to be the demon of drought although the attribution of such a virtue may have its origin in the statement referred to. In the Book of Poetry the same demon is spoken of in an ode attributed with some apparent reason to the VIIth century A.C.

The drought is excessive

Parched are the hills, and the streams are dried.

The demon of drought exercises his oppression,

As if scattering flames and fire.⁴¹

The demon is here described: *han Pah* 旱魃 or *han Kwei-pat*, the first word *han* meaning by itself Drought; while in the Annals of the Bamboo books, as we have seen, it is called *niu Pat*, female Pat; but there is no occasion to suppose that it is not the same demon which is spoken of in the two texts. It is a fact that very little is known about it. The "Book of Spirits"⁴² by Tung Fang-so (IIInd century A.C.) or at least the book of the same title which was made up of its remains in the fourth century of our era, describes it as follows: In the southern regions, there is a man, or a human being, two or three cubits in height, with the upper part of the body bare, and the eyes in the top of the head. He runs with the speed of the wind, and is named *Pat*. In whatever region or state he appears, there ensues a great drought.⁴³ It likes to mix up with the crowd, on public places or in the palaces. When met and thrown over in the w.c., it dies and the drought ends.⁴⁴ Here we have the developement of a mythological notion vague in former times, into a fabulous statement of uncertain geography. In the present day, the demon *Pat* is still feared and held in awe and veneration.⁴⁵ His figure in paper is carried on in the streets at the same time as the figure of a bird omen of rain, when processions are made at Amoy in order to obtain the cessation of a drought.⁴⁶

23. The second excerpt stated that torrents of rain came down for seven days and nights. This is no doubt a survival of the episode of the same kind which occurs in the Chaldean poetic account of the Deluge, where the Flood went on six days and seven nights and did not stop until the seventh day.⁴⁷ This survival cannot have come from the Biblical account as the latter attributes a length of 150 days to the strength of the Deluge.⁴⁸

The three names of advisers to the sovereign who refers to their opinion in his anxiety, *Tsem-lo*, *Lek-muh* and *Dzum-tanh* form another thread of Babylonian affinities. I have hardly found them any-

where in Chinese literature ; nothing is known about them, and their presence in the legend is an isolated remnant of religious lore. The way in which the statement is put forth, suggests more of a prayer to deities than a demand of advice from living sages. Anyhow we must not see in these names more than the bare statement implies, and the interest for us is that they appear to be survivals in personal names of three deities from the Assyro-Babylonian pantheon. Tse m-lo, according to appearances, is the same name as that of the god *Samila*⁴⁹, while Le k-muh reminds the Chtonian *Lukmu* who with his consort *Lakhamu* appear as the first gods evolving from the chaos in the cuneiform text of the Assyrian creation.⁵⁰ Dzum-tanh is *Samlan* the Herakles of the same pantheon.⁵¹ The three names are therefore identified with some probability to some Assyro-Babylonian prototypes and this without great pressure nor persuasion. Nothing shows in the Chinese documents that such persons have ever existed in the Chinese world, and should they have existed, and their souvenir have been preserved, they would not have been called by names of deities, such a process being unusual to the Chinese mind. Their appearance in the notes of the Annals of the Bamboo Books is simply the result of a rearrangement of old souvenirs from divine names once known to the western teachers of the Bak families.

NOTES 36) 應龍攻蚩尤戰虎豹熊羆四獸之力.

Dr. James Legge *Chinese Classics*, vol. III, introd. p. 108, translates: "He employed Ying-lung to attack Ch'e-yew, the fight with whom was maintained by the help of tigers, panthers, bears and grisly bears." This is somewhat stretched as the words do not say more than I give in the text, second sentence.

37) 以女魃止淫雨. Dr. J. Legge reads : by means of the heavenly lady Pà, he stopped....&c. Cf. *Chinese Classics*, vol. III, introd. p. 108. The same statement from the *Shan hai king* (which cf. Lib. XVIII fol. 3, 4), is quoted in the *Tai ping yü lan*, Kiv. 882, fol. 3v.

38) 天老力牧容成, in modern Mandarin sounds: T'sin-lao, Lih-muh, and Yung-shing.

39) *Tchuh shu k'i nien*. Part I. 3; *Chinese Classics* vol. III, intr. p. 109.

40) Col. III. 51 of the cuneiform text.

41) *Shi King*, Ta ya, III, od. IV. 5; J. Legge : *Chinese Classics*, vol. IV. p. 532. Cf. also introd. pp. 132-133 where a list is given of the various instances of Spirits mentioned in the Book of Poetry.

42) 神異經 quoted in *Kang-hi tze-tien*, 194+5. fol. 67 : and by K'ung Yng-ta a celebrated commentator of the classics, who lived 574-648.

43) J. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. IV, p. 532, note.

44) J. J. M. de Groot, *Les fêtes annuellement célébrées à Emouf*, p. 71

- (Annal. Musée Guimet, t. XI, 1886). Dr. de Groot translate the whole notice in the plural.
- 45) In Formosa, it is represented with a mouth like a bird and many eyes on the head and hands, having a fiery red sash across the shoulder, Baldwin, *Chin. Dict. Foochow dialect*, p. 649.
- 46) J. J. M. de Groot, *O. C.* p. 70.
- 47) Cuneiform text, col. III, 19-21.
- 48) *Genesis*, VII, 24.
- 49) His name only is given in Fr. Lenormant, *Chaldean magic*, p. 120.
- 50) Creation tablets; 1st tablet 10.—B, & O. R., 1890 vol. IV, p. 27-29.
- 51) Cf. F. Lenormant: *Les origines de l'histoire*, vol. I, p. 524; *Essai de Commentaire des fragments cosmogoniques de Berosé*, pp. 93-124; G. Maspero, *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient*, Ed. IV pp. 141, 294; J. Oppert, in *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1878, pp. 1044-1045.

TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE.

(To be continued).

THE ORIGIN AND NATURE OF THE PEHLEVI.

I FIND myself obliged to return to this question, because a typographical error remaining in my last article causes an opinion to be attributed to me absolutely the contrary of my own. Towards the end of that article in the conclusion of my paper, we find these words: Pahlavi was to spoken language. It ought to be: *Pahlavi was no spoken language*. It is plain that Pehlevi was not spoken as it was written; but it was not, because of this, a purely ideographic or cryptographic writing.

Aramean, Syriac, was spoken at court under the Sassanians, and probably already under the Parthian kings. All the educated people in the kingdom of Persia understood it. In that way many Aramean words were introduced into the ordinary language; this custom was introduced into the style of writing, but there it took an extraordinary extension and an uncommon character according to the taste of the Persians of that time for the varied and idiomatic writings. The authors of the inscriptions, medals, and manuscripts of that period knowing Syriac, perfectly comprehended the Aramean words which they employed, and wrote them a

first with all the letters in the Semitic style, and when they did not read them, but substituted for them their Iranian equivalents, yet they none the less knew both the sound and the sense; thus in the inscriptions on the medals, cameos, seals, &c., each chose Semitic words according to his fancy. If that is true of the Persians, it is still more so of the Semite subjects of the great King. The origin of the Pehlev system was not priestly, but royal; that is incontestable. It is not cryptographic because it was composed of letters understood by the litterati, and the inscriptions traced in this method were addressed to the people. Still less can it prove the new importation of writing into Persia, for the Persians knew how to write for ages. Daily custom alone can explain both its origin and its adoption under the conditions indicated above.

I need not go back upon the proofs of these assertions; I have done so too long for it to be necessary or even useful. C. DE HARLEZ.

C. DE HARLEZ.

NOTES ON SOME BABYLONIAN TABLETS.

In Dr J. N. Strassmaiers's *Babylonische Texte, Heft V, Nabuchodonosor Inschriften*, No. 222, we have the text of a tablet which throws some addition allight upon a word of considerable interest.

一、三、五、七、九

[illegible]

3 一 二 三 四 五

4 四二一五

三才圖會

Transliteration.

1 Arba Ma-na Si-in-dhu

2 A-na d.p. Marduk usur




3 D.P. Nagar iddina

4 Arakh Tebitum yum XI







5 Satti XXX.



Translation.

- 1 Four Mana of Sindhu
- 2 To Merodach ušur
- 3 The workman was given
- 4 Month Tebet 9th day
- 5 In the 30th year.

In the important list in W.A.I. V. 28. Col. 1, 19-20, the word *Sindhu* is explained as *Sipat Kurri* 'Cloth of Kurri,' and by *adhu*, 'a veil' while in V. 14. 30, it is equalled with the Akkadian   . *sik-uru*, which I should render as 'striped cloth or ribbed cloth.' It will be noticed that the silk is sold by weight, 'four manas.' I think it was probably the unwoven silk which was given to the workman to weave. The *Sindhu* is apparently the *σινδών* of the Greeks and the *Sandin* of the Hebrews, being probably connected with Hindu, as suggested by Prof. Sayce, (*Hibbert Lectures*, p. 138).

The second tablet No. 238, is interesting both from a religious and philological point. I shall not give the full text, only inserting characters where necessary.

- 1   ma-ši-khi sa dispi ()
- 2 Nabu-akhi-iddina abil Sula
- 3   ma-ši-kh E-ri-šu
- 4 Kalu  <<< mh-si-khi dispi
- 5 Pan Nabu-zira-ukin abil-šu-ša
- 6 Marduk-sum-ibni.

Here as the total amount of honey given is 130 measures, it is evident that  is used as an ideogram for 60. the *sos*. The ideogram  *zak* is explained in W.A.I. V. 29, 67, by *Di-is-pu* "Honey." Honey was not offered in the Jewish temple, but along with milk it seems to have been a frequent offering in Babylonian temples, as in the India House Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, we read:

dis-pa-am Khi-me-tim si-iz-bi du-mu-uk ša-am-num ka-ra-nam e-el-lu,
 "Honey, milk, pure butter, oil and precious wines, (I offered)."

COVENANT OF CLOTHES.

In his recently published work on the "Religion of the Semites," Professor Robertson Smith (p. 317-18) has a most interesting section devoted to the subject of the Covenant of Clothes. This covenant is like that of the blood-covenant, an establishment of a mutual friendship by the interchange of garments, or even by the touching of the robes of another. One of the earliest examples is that of the covenant between David and Jonathan, where Jonathan disrobes and disarms, and gives his garments and his weapons to David, as a bond of friendship (I. Sam.

tissue), is that which serves as a basis for error, for illusion, or for false judgement. It is that which is perceived and which gives a false idea of the reality. It is 'other' or 'strange', because all beings that are perceived are composed of elements having no proper or real nature: they are objects seen in a mirror. *Paratantra* is opposed to *Svatantra*, 'having its own nature, its tissue in itself.'

Parinishpāṇa (arrived, accomplished) is the true reality, the supreme good, the object of the Law and of the journey by the path of the Law. It is the supreme void in its ten complete aspects (see Part I, Sect. xviii), the *ākāśa* or sum of all the elements.

These three notions may be summed up in the three terms 'the real' (No. 3), the illusory (No. 2), and illusion' (No. 1). Nevertheless they appear here to have another meaning, indicated by the term *lakṣaṇa*. They appear to be nature in its essence—in its comprehension—in the relations of the elements. There would then be a question not of logic, but of ontology.

1) Read *parikalpita*.

2) Read *pariniṣtānta*, or better still *parinishpāṇa*, and see above.

SECTION VI.

Bso nams bgyid ba bzi. The Four Things giving Happiness, or Merit.

1. *Dānamayaṃ puṇyakryāvastu*. Good, procuring the merit or happiness of almsgiving or liberality.
2. *Śīlamayaṃ pō*. Good by moral virtues. T. *ts'ul khrims las byed pahi*.
.... M. by mortification, good conduct.
4. *Bhāvanāmayam pō*. Good by contemplation. T. *bsgom pa las* . . .
M. by religious practices.
4. *Jepādhigam pō*. [Read *Jeshādig*?¹.] T. *rdzas las byed* . . . by riches. M. Ch. riches, precious goods.

1) Translated and corrected according to the M., Ch., and Mg. The triglot lexicon has *Jaitatrikam* (for *Jepādhigam*), which corresponds to *rdzas*, medicine of magic power prolonging life. M. *āushadikam*, medicinal.

SECTION VII.

Ston pa ñid kyi mñ-la. Properties or qualities of the Void.

1. *Paramārtha*; (1) Supreme entity, or principle. T. *don dam pa*, Supreme principle. M. true principle.
2. *Tattvam*, real entity, reality, essential being. T. *de go ñid (de kho)*, essence. M. fundamental nature.
4. *Tathātā*. Nature as it is in reality. T. *Bzin ñid*, reality (corresponds to *tattvatā*). Ch. M. having such a nature.
4. *Nirvāṇa*². T. *mya ñan las 'das pa* (gone beyond, escaped from the evils and miseries of existence). M. Mg. id. Ch. transcribed³. The place where one arrives by this passage, the Void which receives existences.

5. *Abhisamaya*⁴, Clear knowledge. T. *mñom par rtogs pa*, complete, entire (*abhi*) intelligence. M. penetrating and lucid intelligence, clearly understood. Ch. certain knowledge.

1) *Paramârtha* is generally opposed to *Samvrtti*. The schools dispute about the sense and extent of the comprehension of these terms, but the general idea is everywhere the same. *Paramârtha* is the real, the permanent, the positive, the comprehensible, the concrete : *Samvrtti* is the illusory, the false, the transient, the negative, the general, the abstract, the name or word, the quality. For the pure Mahâyânists the Void is the only true entity, the only reality, the supreme principle, the only conception conformable to reality, the only "ist."

2) We shall refrain from again discussing the much-disputed sense of this word, which would lead us too far. It suffices to indicate the meaning which the versions attach to it.

3) Ch. *nieh-pran*, which W. Williams mistook for a word, and translated "muddy vessel."

4) By clear and perfect knowledge one obtains absolute repose, or void, which is the final end. Nirvâna is certainly not absolute annihilation.

SECTION VIII.

Gsun rab Kyi min-la. Titles of the Sacred Books.

1. *Bodhisattvapīṭakam*. 'Basket' or book of the Bodhisattva. T. *Byan c'ub sems dpa hi sde snom*. Instrument of the race of Bodhisattva. M. id. of Fousa. Ch. treasures, mysteries of Fu-Sat.—A book teaching the conduct to be observed in order to become a Bodhisattva, and citing names and facts. It is to be found in the Bkâ-Gyur, Section of Dkon-tsegs, 11.
2. *Lankâvataram*, descent from heaven to Lankâ=Ceylon. T. *Lengav gsegs-pa*, arrived at L.—M. founded at, or in L.
3. *Ghanavyâha*, Complex, close reasoning. T. *Stug po bgon pa*, thick forest, hermitage.—A Mahâyânist Sûtra, treating of soul and body, vices, Buddha and his qualities, the *âlaya*, *skandhas*, etc.—Bkâ-gyur Section of Sûtras (Mso) VI. 1. Cf. Beal, Chinese Tripiṭaka, p. 62, 70.
4. *Suvikrântavikrânâ*, Bravery of Suvikrânta. T. *Rba kyî rtsal gyis rnam par gnod pa*, wounding, crushing with great force. M. striking down strongly, with real force. Ch. overcoming by great strength.
5. *Çâliptasumbha Kanva* [read *Çâlistambhaka*, or *Çâlisambhava*] bundle or birth of rice-stalks. T. *sa-lu ljañ pa*, green, unripe rice. M. book of the shorts of green stalks. Ch. book of rice, said to be by Buddha.
6. *Ratnolkâ*, fire brand of precious stones. T. *dkon mdzod ta lala*, lamps of the treasure of precious stones. Ch. id. M. lamps of precious stones.

7. *Sarvavaidalyāsaṅgraha*. Collection of bamboo-leaves.¹ T. *rnam par 'shag-pa thams-cad ba sdus pa*, perfectly united by weaving everything well together. M. Summing up principles by explaining them well. Ch. book revealed by Buddha causing one to see and penetrate the *rerum causas*. In the *Bkâ-'gyur*, Sûtras, l. XVII. 8. Discourse of Buddha.
8. *Saṅghâtasûtra*. Sûtras gathered together, collected, or abridged. T. *zuṅgi mdo*, collected sûtras. M. id. Ch. *san-kia-to*, (transcribed). Collection of short sûtras, like the Udâna-sûtra. Cf. Beal. Chinese Tripitika, 35, 2.
9. *Abhidharma*². Supreme (or interior) Law. T. *c'os mñon pa*, evident Law, (evident=*abhi*). M. id. Ch. *hopit'amo* (transcription),
10. *Pinay* [read *Vinaya*]. T. *'dul-po*. Disciplinary part of the Buddhist books. M. books which correct and ameliorate.
11. *Prajñâpti*. Acquisition of knowledge. T. *gdags pahi gtsug lag*. M. dissertation defining things. Ch. Science of names and phrases. The Pârañjñâpti-Çstra is a philosophical treatise composed by Mâudgalyâyana.
12. *Çastra*³. Book of teaching, or doctrine. T. *bstan-bcos*, scientific work. M. which directs and shows. V. Daça bhumividyâ çâstra ; Saṅsparigrâhaçâstra ; Alankarasûtraçâstra, etc., etc.
13. *Dhâtukâya*⁴. Body of fundamental principles. T. *Khmas kyi thogs*, assemblage of principles. M. collection of fundamental principles.
14. *Vinayakshudrakam*. Little book of discipline. T. *'dul-phran t'segs*, id. M. id. Ch. Small general principles. Part of the Pratimoksha and of the Vinayavastu, treating of vows, ordinations, &c. *Bkâ-'gyur*, Dulva, xxi.
15. *Uttaragrantha*. Final collection. T. *gz'un bla-ma*. M. superior principles. Ch. great general principles. Last work (vols. xii and xiii) of the collection of the Vinaya in the *Bkâ-'gyur*, V. yutpati, 43.
16. *Ârsha*. [? Ârya]. Sacred books proceeding from the rishis. T. *gstug-lag*, sciences and letters. M. written books. Ch. traditional books. (*Ârya* is a qualification applied to many books, e.g. Ârya-Saṅghâti-Sûtra, etc.)
17. *Âgamam*. Collection of the Law ; spiritual instructions. T. *luṅ* spiritual instructions. M. *bvangirit* (transcription). Ch. *a-han*, id.
18. *Çravacaranam* [Read *Pravacanam*] Sacred teachings. T. *gsuṅ rab* do.—M. superior decree.—Mg. holy teaching. Ch. id., marvellous

teachings.—Discourses of Buddha and other doctors of the law.

19. *Ġāsanam*. Collection of precepts, T. *bstan-pa*. id.—M. Mg. teaching, doctrine.
20. *Siddhānta*, attained completion. T. *grub-pahi mtha*, end carefully attained.—M. completed decree.—A class of Buddhist books expository of the systems of the different schools.
21. *Satam*. [? read *Satyam*] Truth. T. *lugs*, religion.—M. Mg. Ch. law, principle.—Cf the *Ārya-Satyam* in the *Bkā'-gyur* phal-chen 13.—M. *matam*.
22. *Samayam*, doctrine, teaching. T. *gsuñ lugs*. M. *ciktan, doro*, principle, law, rule; morals and rites.
23. *Gāthā*, strophes (of four verses of five or seven syllables) comprising a chant or *gāyā*; generally placed in the midst of prose passages. T. *tšigs bcad* strophes. M. poetry. The *Lalita-vistara*, for instance.
24. *Napāda*. Prose, (litt. *sine metro*). T. *rgan-pa (rkan)* . . M., Mg., Ch. ordinary words or discourses. (M. *avarāda*).
25. *Miçrakam*. Mixture (i.e. of prose and verse, like the *Lalita-Vistara*), or of different metres in one piece. T. *Spelma*, mixture.—M. *fujurun*, song of praise. Mg. Kobban.—Ch. *fu*, strophe of alternating four-foot and six-foot verses.

1) Used for MSS. The translators here shew their independence. The Tartars and Chinese see *vidyā*, *vid* in *vaidalyā*; the Tibetans make out of it a significative verb 'to weave.' Remusat translates "book containing the totality of doctrines bound together," and adds: "I don't know what it means."

2) Part of the Southern Buddhist books, one of the Tripitakas, treating of philosophy. The treatises comprising it generally take a particular subject, and analyse it in every manner, the substratum dates from the commencement of Buddhism, but has been amplified and developed at a much more recent epoch.

3) The *Çāstras* are philosophical and opposed to the *Sūtras*, and the *Vinaya*. They are generally composed of an introduction and a discourse. See the *Vibhāsha-çāstra*. etc.

4) Exposition of fundamental principles, a work of *Pârṇa* or *Vaçu-mitra*, belonging to the *Abhidharma*.

C. DE HARLEZ.

(To be continued).

*DID THE ASSYRIANS KNOW THE SEXES OF THE
DATE-PALMS? NO.*

IN *Nature* of 23rd Jan., 1890, p. 283, there is a note of Dr. E. B. Tylor's theory of the cone-like object presented by certain figures to the sacred tree, and also to the king, on the Assyrian monuments. He thinks this cone-shaped object held in one hand was meant to represent the male inflorescence of the date-palm, and the bucket or basket held in the other, is meant to indicate a further supply of male flowers, kept in the bucket. He further supposes that the conventional tree, to which the cone-object is presented, indicates a palm-grove, and that the genii are in the act of fertilizing the female flowers, which eventually grow into dates. The note further says that "this practice is mentioned by Theophrastus," who is supposed to have lived between 373 and 288 B.C.

The sculptures exhibiting this cone-object are put down in the British Museum as dating about 880 B.C., and therefore for the notion of artificial fertilization to have evolved in the minds of those people, and to have crystallized in the heads of artists, so as to become a mode of wall-decoration for palaces, we must suppose that this interesting discovery of the need of fertilization must have been put into practice, and was common, long before the date indicated in the British Museum.

Dr. Tylor's theory appears plausible, and there is no doubt that at the present day artificial fertilization of date-trees is practised very commonly in Persia, Tunis, Algiers, &c.

Let us, however, examine first, whether in the days of the Assyrians there was likely to have been any need for the practice of artificial fertilization, and second, whether there be any collateral evidence to support the idea that artificial fertilization was known to the Assyrians in those days.

In the *Academy* of 8th June 1889—p. 396, Dr. Tylor, referring to his theory, writes: "This artificial fertilization, indispensable to the production of a crop of edible dates, is the operation, which the winged deity is seen sometimes about to perform, sometimes actually performing; and he carries a fresh supply of flowers in his basket. When it is considered how, in such regions as Assyria, from remote antiquity, the prosperity, and often the very existence, of the population has depended on the date

crop, and therefore, on this practice of fertilization, it is seen that the prominence given to it in the religion and art of the country is not more than its due."

There can be no doubt about the antiquity of the use of the date fruit for food, but what we are concerned with here is the art of fertilizing the female flowers, with the pollen of the male flowers. Have we any means of ascertaining how long ago this art, which is now commonly practised in Persia, and all along the north of Africa, has been known?

Alph. De Candolle in his "Origin of cultivated plants" does not throw much light on the antiquity of this art.

From the writings of Herodotus and Strabo, he concludes that in Babylonia and Arabia "the species was commoner than it is now, and more in the condition of a natural forest tree." De Candolle further states that "Later, Herodotus (who is supposed to have visited Susa and Babylon between 464 and 447 B.C.) says of the Babylonian date palms that only the greater part produced good fruit, which was used for food. This seems to indicate the beginning of a cultivation, perfected by the selection of varieties, and of the transport of male flowers into the middle of the branches of female trees, but it perhaps signifies also that Herodotus was ignorant of the existence of the male plant."

In other words this may mean, that Herodotus knew that some palms, apparently like the rest, did not produce fruit, but he may not have known why. The reason why may have been because these trees were *males*, and not because cultivation had begun to tell on the fruit of the females. Variations in the fruit must have always occurred, whether the tree was cultivated or not. Herodotus may have been ignorant of the existence of the male plant, but on the supposition that the Assyrian monuments, which have a date of 880 B.C. represent artificial fertilization of the date tree, it is hardly possible that Herodotus, visiting those places some 400 years after that date, could have missed knowing of a practice so common, as to have obtained prominence in the religion and art of the people. It is reasonable therefore to infer that, at the time of the visit of Herodotus, the Babylonians themselves were not acquainted with fertilization.

In modern times the Persians make plantations only from the offsets, which grow at the foot of female trees, because this is the only way of ensuring dates of particular good varieties in quantity. And in order to insure a crop in such a plantation of female trees only, it has become necessary to bring male flowers from a distance and attach them to the female bunches.

It does not follow however that in the time of the Assyrians, 880 years and more, B.C. they made plantations of female trees only, and there appears to be no evidence to show that they even knew how to remove the offsets, and make them grow separately, from the parent tree. The monuments show numerous date trees with offsets at their foot, as they grow naturally, but that is all.

On the contrary, it is more likely that the Assyrians made their plantations (if they did make any plantations at all) of trees grown from seed. In that case, the males would have been largely mixed up with the females, and no *artificial* fertilization would have been needed, as the wind and the insects would have done all that was required; that is the pollen only, and not the flowers, would have been carried to the females by the agency of the wind or insects.

In the Encyclop. Brit. Vol. 18, p. 190, I find the following; "Owing to the sexual arrangement on separate trees, the pollen has to be transported by the agency of the wind or of insects, to the female flowers. This is facilitated sometimes by the elastic movements of the stamens and anthers, which liberate the pollen so freely at certain times, that travellers speak of the date palms of Egypt being at day break *hidden in a mist of pollen grains.*"

So that artificial fertilization, when males are intermixed with females, does not appear so "indispensible to the production of a crop of edible dates" as Dr. Tylor might think.

The question appears to be restricted to whether, in the days of the Assyrians, they grew date trees from seeds only, or also from offsets, as date growers do now.

The practice of artificial fertilization may be entirely an application of the modern knowledge of male and female trees, due to the modern mode of cultivating only female trees for the raising of large crops of good dates for commercial purposes.

It is reasonable to suppose that at some period of Babylonian history palm groves must have been in the condition of natural forests, that is of trees grown from seed only, with an intermixture of males and females, and that the necessity of artificial fertilization is of comparatively modern growth, and more likely to have arisen contemporaneously with the practice of forming plantations of female trees of the best kinds only, by means of their offsets.¹

1) Vide Sir Lambert Playfair's Letter, *Journal Soc. of Arts*, 27 July, p. 945.

As to the prosperity and often the very existence of the population having been dependent on the date crops, there is evidence that this could hardly be the case. The date crops may be of the greatest importance in Arabia at present, where deserts prevail and life is only possible in the oases, but Mesopotamia was bounded by two large rivers, and the remains of the extensive Assyrian system of irrigation-canals does not suggest the idea that they could have depended solely on dates for their existence. Moreover Assyria was a corn growing country and no 18 of the Nimrod Gallery shows a figure holding an ear of corn. And Prof. de Lacouperie in the B. & O. R. has also shown that the introduction of corn into China was very probably due to an importation from Mesopotamia. Then again the monuments give abundant evidence that figs, grapes, goats, sheep, cattle horses, and camels were common in those days. Everything shows that the date crop may have only occupied the position of the same crop in Egypt at the present day. That the date crop then may have been important is very probable, but that it was indispensable to the existence of the people of Assyria does not appear more likely, than that the apple crop is indispensable to the existence of the people of England.

The monuments afford no evidence that those ancient people had any knowledge of artificial fertilization of date trees. We know so much about male and female organs in plants now-a-days that this knowledge may suggest the fact that in ancient times they must have known something, or a good deal about it, but beyond the supposition that the figures holding this cone-like object are performing the operation of fertilization, there appears to be no foundation for such extensive knowledge of the sexes of plants in Assyrian times. The meaning of these figures however may admit of being otherwise explained. If their operation of fertilization were so common and were yearly performed by *men*, it is reasonable to suppose that the Assyrian artists would have designed *ordinary men* as performing this operation, and not *winged men* and *winged monsters*. The very fact that these figures have been given wings suggests the idea of their performing some *spiritual* function, and not discharging an ordinary annual *human* function. Nevertheless the Assyrians may have had some vague knowledge of the value of male trees in their groves. Supposing them to have cut down some of these apparently useless trees for timber, they might have discovered that the females in the vicinity became either less productive, or entirely barren. But Dr. Tylor's theory must presuppose that those people not only had a vague knowledge of the value of the male tree, but that they had

been long acquainted with the real function of male date trees, and that artificial fertilization had been consecrated by age into a religious ceremony.

The large majority of the date trees shown on the monuments are undoubtedly females. For below the head of foliage on each side of the stem, there is a bunch of dates. This may have a meaning, viz. that in the eyes of the sculptors, and therefore of the people, the females, or fruit-bearing trees were the all important ones.

The exceptions I find are the central date tree of the 'sacred tree,' and the surrounding heads of foliage, all which, Dr. Tylor supposes, was meant to represent a palm grove. There are some other trees, also without fruit, on the obelisk of Shalmanesar (No. 98, Br. Mus.) On one of its sides there are lions hunting deer, and rudely carved date trees. These are evidently not intended to indicate a grove, but wild beasts, and wild date trees in a forest (B.C. 850).

So that, had the Assyrians such an accurate knowledge of the function of male trees, as Dr. Tylor's theory presupposes, it is not clear why they should not have introduced more frequently male trees, that is, trees without bunches of fruit. This omission would suggest ignorance of the real value of the male element in their date trees. On the other hand we must not lose sight of the fact that *want of bunches of dates*, might not only mean male trees, but also *young* female trees, and also adult females in the *non-fruiting* season.

The sacred tree and genius Dr. Tylor would perhaps interpret as representing the act of fertilizing the female trees, which have no fruit yet, but only female *flowers*. But that same sculpture would admit of a different interpretation viz. the ceremony of *blessing* the grove before it bore fruit, with the expectation that a plentiful crop might result in the coming season. This would mean that they believed in prayers and blessings, which is not at all improbable. In olden times it is said that the people of England prayed for a good crop of apples. One can fancy the people of India in the present and former days doing the same thing, when all the mango groves are in full blossom. If in India there be no public ceremony of blessing and praying, nevertheless every poor person will secretly offer a prayer, or utter a wish, that storms and hail may not come to destroy the mango crop.

I have seen two renderings of this supposed act of fertilization of date groves, which at first sight one would think confirm Dr Tylor's theory. One is Pl. 8, Louvre, (Perrot et Chipiez *Hist. de l'art*, T. 2), and the other in the Nimrod Gall. Br. Mus. No. 38. Both these show the cone as if introduced

among the foliage of the palm-head. One might suppose that here the genius is in the very act of sprinkling pollen on the female flowers. But in interpreting their paintings and sculptures, we should never lose sight of the ways and devices of those self-trained ancient artists. With them the rules of perspective were not yet in existence. When the slab of stone was large, the sculptor had full scope to amplify his representation and he put the figure of the genius at a certain distance from the tree. When the slab was small the figure, which is the most important, encroached upon the tree, and so the cone was made to appear as if the genius were actually thrusting it among the foliage in search of the female flowers, while all along the artist may have meant nothing of the kind. The *smallness of the slab* for the proper display of the whole drawing, as we see it in other cases, may have been the reason for its having been so represented. And the view I have taken of it is especially supported by the fact shown in this very No. 38. The slab was so small that the artist, in figuring the genius with the usual or conventional outstretched hand holding the cone, had not only to encroach on the tree, but also to cut off a bit of the feathers of the wings, as the edge of the slab did not admit of their being fully displayed as usual. In that of the Louvre, the edge of the wing touches the rim of the slab, and probably for a similar reason the cone is made to encroach on the tree.

The same thing may be said of No. 40 of the Nimrood Gall. B. M. where the cone touches the king's back hair, and also No. 2, where one cone touches the King's hair, and the other almost touches the back of his hat. In both these cases I should certainly not infer that the genii were doing something to the King's head, but that they were his attendants, and were *spiritually* protecting him, and that, for want of space, the artist placed them too close to the King.

E. BONAIVIA.

(*To be continued*).

AMMATUM.

(See *B. & O. R.* for Jan., 1890).

Dear Prof. de Lacouperie,

An interesting letter from the Rev. Owen C. Whitehouse having appeared in the *Academy* for Feb. 22nd, 1890, and thinking it might not be uninteresting to the readers of the *B. & O. R.*, in connection with my article on the duplicate of the 1st tablet of the Creation Series, I beg

you, if you have space for it, to be kind enough to reproduce it in the next number of the Record.

"In the last number of the *Babylonian and Oriental Record* Mr. Pinches has published in cuneiform text and transcription a duplicate of the Babylonian Creation Legend hitherto known from K. 5419, 3473, and 4832, &c. Of these the first, with which I am now concerned, was reproduced in Delitzsch's *Assyrische Lesestücke* (3rd ed., p. 93), while the transcription may be read in Schrader, *C. O. T.*, vol. i. p. 2.

Now, in the duplicate just published, the second line of the opening of the Creation Legend reads thus :

"šap-liš am-ma-tu^m šu-mu la [zakrat]."

Here *ammatum* for "ground," "land," "earth" stands in place of *matum* in K. 5419. It might, perhaps, be thought possible that by a very exceptional combination we might read šap-liš-am. This would indeed, be a most unusual mode of writing in place of šap-li-šam; for it is notorious that the Assyrians avoided writing phonetically in a word or syllable beginning with a vowel immediately after a closed syllable. There are, however, more examples than we might at first suspect of so exceptional a combination. Delitzsch, in his *Assyrian Grammar* (Reuther) § 17, cites a-šib-at (II Rawl. 66, no. 1, 9); and this peculiarity appears most frequently in the case of accented suffixes---e.g. first person -an-ni in *Sin Sallim-an-ni* and other proper names (see Canon of Rulers *passim*). In the Rassam-cylinder of Asurbanipal I have noted il-lik-am-ma and u-bil-am-ma and other forms of like ending (col. i 62; ii. 80, 102; iii. 19; vii, 96, 100). But we have no right to assume here anything so unprecedented as an adverbial šap-liš-am parallel with umišam and dar-šam (or with fuller termination -um-ma, as in šat-ti-šam-ma), for these endings appear to belong to adverbs of time (see Delitzsch, *ibid.*, § 80 b, β).

Accordingly, the existence of a word *ammatu* is warranted by the duplicate. The confident assertion, therefore, of the writer E. (in the *Expositor*, August 1889, p. 159) that no such form exists in the first Creation-tablet, falls to the ground. This word is obviously Semitic and appears to throw light on two Old Testament passages.

1. In 2 Sam. viii. 1 occurs the somewhat enigmatical *metheg ha-ammah*. Thenius, indeed, on comparing the parallel in 1 Chron. xviii, 1 and the LXX of 1 Sam. viii, 1, would be disposed to reject the Hebrew text of the latter. But its validity seems to be fairly supported by the arguments of Canon Driver in his elaborate and instructive word *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel* (Clarendon Press), which has recently come into my hands. If the metaphorical use of the Arabic *zimām* for "power," "jurisdiction," satisfactorily explains the use of *metheg* here, may not the Assyrian *ammatu* guide us to the correct understanding of *ammah* as meaning here "land" or "district"—a signification better suited to the context?

2. And similarly in Is. vi. 4 we would connect the plural *ammôth*, "foundations," with the same word meaning in the singular "land" or "ground."

The word *ammah*, *ammatu* is probably derived from the root אִמָּה, signifying "mother". The primitive connexion of earth with motherhood needs no illustration. Compare Sayce's Hibbert Lectures, p. 251.

For Delitzsch's assumption (*Prolegomena eines neuen Heb. Aramäischen Wörterbuch*, p. 109) that the root originally meant "to be broad" or "roomy" I cannot see sufficient evidence. OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

With regard to the reading of the word on K. 5419, it is to be remarked, that Prof. Fried. Delitzsch, in the 2nd edition of his *Lesestücke*, prints *šap-liš* [𐤔𐤏𐤋] 𐤔𐤏𐤋, [*irši*]-tum. To this, in my copy of the 2nd edition of the above work, I have made a note to the effect that there was "certainly 𐤔 before *irši-tum*."¹ What I then (not later than 1885) regarded as 𐤔, *ina*?, however, must be the upper of the two initial wedges of 𐤔𐤏 *am*, the Assyrian form of 𐤔𐤏𐤍. K. 5419, therefore, had the same reading.

As an addition to Dr. Whitehouse's interesting remark concerning the meaning of "foundation," which the Hebrew equivalent 𐤍𐤕 has (Isa. vi., 4), the question naturally arises, whether the meaning of "cubit" does not come from the idea of measuring land, rather than from the meaning of "forearm" like our word "acre," which originally meant simply "field"? The 𐤔𐤏𐤋 which is generally regarded as equivalent to *ammāt*, "cubit", was, when applied to living things, a measure of about 12 inches only.² Og, king of Bashan, notwithstanding the reduction in the length of his bedstead which such a reduction in the cubit might imply, would have been a real giant to require one even of only nine feet in length. The "cubit of a man," and the Babylonian 𐤔𐤏𐤋 = *ammāt*, "cubit", were possibly identical.³ THEO. G. PINCHES.

¹ In the 3rd edition of his *Lesestücke*, Prof Delitzsch has *matum*, with a query over the 𐤔𐤏, *ma*. Evidently he regarded the wedge, which I had noted in or before 1885, as the topmost horizontal wedge of that character.

² A tablet in the Museum of Edinburgh speaks of "an ass of 5 cubits" probably=5 feet high.

³ Corrections have been made in Dr. Whitehouse's letter, according to the *errata* noted in the *Academy* for March 1, p. 156.

THE ETYMOLOGY OF KETCHUP.

My note on *Ketchup*, *catchup*, *catsup* in the *Record* of last November, pp. 284-286, briefly and incompletely noticed in *The Academy* of Nov. 30th, has been the occasion of a letter on the subject by the Rev. Hilderic Friend and published in the same periodical of Dec. 21st. The author

who was, I think, a missionary in China and has made his name favourably known by a work on the Folklore of Plants, has treated of the etymology of *Ketchup* without having read my special paper. Not having met with the word while sojourning in the Middle Kingdom, he goes so far on this unsafe ground, as to deny the Chinese origin commonly attributed to it, and to which I have not objected without considerable reservation. Taking into account the Chinese spelling 鮑汁 *kwai-tchap*, (which goes partly against the Rev. H. F.'s contention), and the character somewhat contemptuous of its transcription, I expressed my impression as follows : The word may have a Chinese origin, but not from China ; 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.

Ignoring the Chinese term and its peculiarities, the author of the letter, however, comes next to my opinion in suggesting that the origin of the word be sought in the East Indies ; but he is, I think, wrong in stating that the first syllable may be looked for among the Burmese or Assamese. Something more is required to uphold a claim in favour of these languages than a chance similarity between the first syllable of *ketchup* and that of the Assamese *Kath-phúlá*, mushroom or fungus, where it is, perhaps, simply a numeral auxiliary.

In perusing the sections about meals and plants in the anonymous work, *A comparative vocabulary of the Barma, Maláyu, and Thái* of (J. Leyden) (Serampore, 1810) since my note was published, I have found two terms, Nos. 2199 and 1144, where appear words which may be connected with the antecedent of *ketchup*, if not this antecedent itself. In Siamese *luk kachap* (read *katchap*) where *luk* is the auxiliary numeral, is a sort of sweetmeat ; and *p'hak kachiap*, same remarks about reading and *p'hak*, is a species of *crotalaria*.

Should this surmise be verified, the word originated in Siam has received its Chinese garb from the Chinese there ; it has been spread by them in the Indian Archipelago, and even carried as far as China and Japan. The Europeans, then, must have learned it in Indonesia. T. DE L.

THE BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

Contributors are alone responsible for their opinions or statements.

THE NATION OF THE MARDS.

THE first scholars who sought to classify in a rational manner the civilized races of ancient Asia, admit with perfect accord that idea, that the Semites and Indo-Europeans have come from distant centre which served them as a common habitat before their separation. That centre would have been the plateau of Pamir according to some, the basin of Tarim according to others. The foundation of that theory which supposes at the first glance the primordial contact of races which I am about to mention, has been upheld by some philologists of great authority, who have not been afraid to recognise in the tongues of these races mutual borrowings dating from the first formation of the language. For my part, I have decidedly declared myself the adversary of that kind of comparison, superficial for the most part, to establish a point of solid datum, and beyond all dispute. In later times, the idea of an habitat common to the Aryan and the Semites in the first epochs of their existence has lost much ground. There is rather a tendency to separate them from their cradle, for, whilst the primitive country of the Aryan race is placed in the centre of Iran, or even in Europe, the Semitic race is made to have sprung up in Arabia, or perhaps in the valley of the lower Euphrates. I do not at this time treat of the knotty question of origins, but I believe it useful to elucidate what concerns the point of knowing at what epoch the contact between the Aryans and the Semites in ancient Asia was formed, and why it could not be effected sooner.

The ancient history of Assyria being very nearly unknown to us, it is impossible for us to say whether the kings of the ancient empire had made attempts to subjugate the bordering peoples on the eastern side, and among those the peoples of western Media. All that we are at liberty to affirm is, that Media must have been well known to them, seeing that Ramanirâri I. (1320 B.C.) made a proclamation that there should be placed in towns expressly built, people from the Kašši, Kutî, Lulumê and Subari (*Mukin mahazi nirmuti umman Kašši Kutî, Lulumê u Šubari*), populations of which the greater portion formed part of southern Media. Nevertheless, the mention by name of Media as a tributary country figures for the first time in the inscription of Shalmanesar II., l. 119, ff. The Assyrian king, after having taken the principal towns of Namri, went to the country of Parsua, where he received the tribute of 27 native kings, and passed thence into Media (*mat Amadâa*) Araziaš (*mat Araziaš*) and Harhar (*mat Harhar*). There is no ground for distinguishing between the form Amadâa, and that more ordinary Madâa. Under the following reigns the Assyrian invasions in Media became more and more frequent. All these facts lead us to see that for more than a thousand years, at the very least, the Assyrian possessions reached to Media and often even exercised a real dominion there. There is then reason for asking how it comes about, that the Assyrian texts are entirely destitute of any element whose origin can be traced back to the Iranian language of the Medes.

The enigma is still more incomprehensible, as the Iranian elements should have been able to penetrate even into Babylonia by another way, and that from a high antiquity. Thus, as we have seen above, the Namri and the Kaššû or the Cossea were situated in the immediate neighbourhood of Media, and as a Cossean dynasty governed Babylonia during several centuries, the Cosseans would not have failed to transmit to the Babylonians some terms, or at least some names of men and of gods of Iranian production, borrowed by them before having quitted their native country. And it being admitted that this thing did not happen, it ought therefore to be concluded that the Iranian influence never made itself felt in Cossea itself. Such a fact ought to have its *raison d'être*.

Well, I believe in fact that the total absence of Iranian influence over the Semites of the valley of the Tigris and the Euphrates, before the coming of the Achemenides, is the consequence of a state of things for which we can account by the help of a careful study of the cuneiform

documents. The difficulty pointed out has its source in the erroneous conception we have of the geographical distribution of the Indo-European race in eastern Iran.

The Greek authors, to begin with Herodotus, had made us believe that the vast chain of the Zagros was the primordial seat of a Persian people. The modern Aryanists have still surpassed the inaccuracies, in the main excusable, of the Greeks, in affirming through the error of fictitious etymologies, that the name of the ancient kingdom of Elam was nothing else than the Zend *Airyana*, the country of the Aryans *par excellence*. We know to-day that that is not so. The Susians, properly so called, were neither Aryans nor Semites. That has been known for a good number of years, but that which has not been known as yet, and that which I shall try to make clear in the sequel, is the exact distribution of races in that imperfectly known region, and more especially the considerable importance of a race little noticed till the present time, the race of the Amardians or Mards.

In a recent article on the paternal country of Cyrus (*Revue des études juives*, 1889, p. 174), I have shown that, among the seven Persian tribes whom Herodotus affirms not to have belonged to the nobility, there are distinguished at least five of them who were not living in Persia, in the geographical sense of the word. Thus the agricultural tribe of the Germanians appears to have been a people of the plain situated to the east of the Tigris, between the little Zab and the Diala, the *Bê(th)-Garmê* of the Syrians. So the nomad tribes of the *Sagartians*, of the *Daïans*, and of the *Dropics*, dwelt to the North of Persia proper; lastly, the *Mards* are plainly indigenous to mountainous Susiana, the *Hapirdi* of the inscriptions of the second Achaemenidian language. I add, that of these five peoples, the Sagartians alone could have been of the Iranian race and language. As to the other four, we can say that the *Germanians* were certainly of Semitic origin, whilst the *Daans*, the *Dropics*, and the *Mards* were Allophytes, neither Semites nor Aryans. And as some of them were found in Susiana as well as in North Media, it appears legitimate to conclude from this that they occupied the greater part of the Zagros, after the limits of Persia towards the North-west of Media. These different Allophyle peoples formed the great nation of the Mards.

Here are nearly all the geographical notions which are acquired by studying the cuneiform texts. All the plain which extends between the Tigris and turning to the west of the Zagros was peopled by Semites, of whom the most powerful were the Elymeans, the Chaldæans, the Arameans on

the South; the Assyrians on the North. The mountainous region, on the contrary, appears to have been always inhabited by the Mards, however with the exception of an enclosed space, forming the country of the Cosseans, who, contrary to general opinion, spoke an Assyrian dialect. Perhaps it may be necessary here to add the inhabitants of Namri, to judge of them by the names of their principal towns: *Sihi-šalah*, *Bit-tamul*, *Bit-šakki*, *Bit-šedi*, of which the first signifies in Cossean, "the sun protects;" the others in Assyrian, respectively, "house of passage," "house of chiefs," "house of the genii."

The exact divisions of the nation of the Mards, as well as the successive marshalling of the tribes of that vast chain, we are naturally ignorant of. Yet certain data of the texts permit us to imagine the following sketch :

The southern portion of the Zagros comprised the whole of the ancient kingdom of which Susa was the capital. Susiana bears in the ancient protocols the name of *Ansan-Šušunqa*, the meaning of which is not clear. From the times of the Achemenides, the indigenous name of Susiana is *Hapirdi* of which the Greeks have made *Ἀμάρδοι* or *Μάρδοι*. The same difference which concerns the labial exists also in the name of *Σμέρδης* or *Μέρδης*, which is in Persia *Bardhiya*, in Babylonian *Barziya*, which signifies simply "the Mard (*Μάρδος* according to Æschylus)," and which is copied from the before-quoted *Hapirdhi*. The name of "Mard" given by Cyrus to his eldest son seems to indicate that he had him by a Susian woman; his other son Cambyses, in Persian *Kambudjiya*, whose name signifies "descendant from Cambysena", which is a province of Persia, appears on the other hand to have had a noble Iranian as his mother. The hatred between the two brothers exactly reflected the hatred between the two races in the heart of the empire. We understand thus how the death of Smerdis was not displeasing to the Persians, whose supremacy it secured over the non-Aryan element, and how, after having trembled a moment before the pretended Smerdis, they had been pleased with the energy displayed by Darius in freeing them from it. Yet in spite of the loss of its privileges, the autochthonous element would often kick against the usurpation of the Persians and thus draw down bloody repressions and even deportations into the western provinces of the empire.

I deduce these facts from a curious passage of Esdras iv, 9-10, which enumerates the signatories of a letter sent by the foreign colonists of Samaria and Syria to Artaxerxes king of Persia, warning him of the

dangers which would result to the empire if the reconstruction of the temple were carried out by the Jews. After the mention of Rehûm, the commandant (*be'el te'ém*) Šimšai the secretary (*šápherá*) and their other colleagues, men of the law (*dinâyê*, and of authority (*apharsatkâyê*), Persian *farištaka*, comp. Armenian *hrištag*, "envoy, messenger, angel") are placed various names of transported nations: Tarpelians, (*Tarpelâyê*), Apharsians (*Apharsâyê*), Arkians (*Arkewâyê*), Babylonians (*Babelâyê*), Susians (*Šušankâyê*), Dehaians (*Dehâyê*), Elymeans (*Elemâyê*), and the other nations which the great and illustrious Asnappar had transported and established in the city of Samaria and in the rest of the cis-Euphrates." Of those nationalities which are all from the region of the Tigris and the Euphrates we recognize at once under the names of Arkians, Babylonians, and Elymeans the Semitic inhabitants of Erech, Babylon and Elam. Among the non-Semitic tribes the *Šušankâyê* are without any doubt the inhabitants of Susa. It must only be remarked that the Aramean term is connected with the Mardian form *šušinak*, and not with Semitic form *Šušān*. It is equally easy to recognize under the denomination of *Dehâyê* the allophyle nation of the Daïans, which is noticed by Strabo in the Media of the north-west. The identification of the two remaining nations is not so easy, but we shall return to it. As to the *Apharsâyê*, two considerations are to be looked at. It is in the first place certain that they are not Persians, those self-called in Aramean *Pârsâyê*. Then, the exile of the Persian tribes to a great distance is little likely. The matter therefore concerns non-Iranians and these we perceive without difficulty that *Apharsâyê* simply forms the pronunciation in Aramean of the indigenous name formerly quoted *Hapirdhi*, "Amardian," after the fall of the initial *h*. This orthography preserves the primitive *p* instead of changing it into *b* as the Persians had done, like the Babylonians in *Bardhiya*, *Barziya*, or in *m* like the Greek (*S*)*merdis*, *Mardos*. On the other hand, it renders the consonant *d* pronounced, as appears thus *dh* by *s* instead of the Babylonian *z*. We shall see presently the same sibilant occur again in an Assyrian form.

The ethnic name *Tarpelâyê* does not apparently recall anything already known. Here is a conjecture. I am inclined to think we must see in this the colony of the Dropics, in Persian, somewhat like *Traupakā* or *Draupaka*, copied from a Susian form *Darupair* or *Tarupa(ir)*. From this later form is derived in a direct line the Aramean *Tarpelâyê* where the second *r* is represented by *l*, a change which we find in

Agartel (Esdras i. 9) for the Greek *Κρατῆρ*. This name then completes the series of five non-Iranian tribes which the father of history has mentioned as united to the Persians.

To the north of Susiana, we find mention made of territories little known, like *Ellipi*, *Lulubi*, *Harhar*, *Hubuškia*, *Araziaš* and others yet without great importance, but whose inhabitants were by no means Aryans: for a little more to the North we re-enter a country unquestionably Mardian. This country is called *Parsuaš*, *Barsuaš* or *Barsua*, and 27 of its kings or clan-chiefs paid tribute to the conquering Assyrian. Several towns are mentioned, but none of them bears an Iranian physiognomy. It does not appear doubtful that under the Assyrian transcription which is above quoted we have the national name of the Mards, that is, the southern pronunciation of *Hapirdhi*=Amards. The first syllable has disappeared, and the *dh* aspirate is changed into *s*, as takes place in the Aramean form *Apharsáyé* explained above.

Lastly, in regard to what is in the high North, Strabo affirms explicitly that Atropatène as well as Armenia, were in their mountainous regions peopled by the Anarians, (non-Aryan tribes) by Mards and Amards who abandoned themselves to brigandage. Greek geographers formally attest their identity with the Mards of Persia, and declare them to be emigrants come voluntarily from other countries. The truth is that they are the Autochthones of Zagros, quite entirely up to the neighbourhood of Hyrcania, where their presence is also observable.

The geographical distribution of the Mardian race, which I have been able to establish by the aid of various testimonies of antiquity, explains in a simple and very natural manner the fact pointed out above regarding the absence of all intellectual relations between the Aryan and Semitic races in ancient Asia, before the coming of Cyrus and the Achemeniidian dynasty. The intimacy of the two races has, since the highest antiquity, been hindered by the brave, but half savage peoples of the Zagros, who formed a veritable living Chinese wall, which the Assyrian kings have rarely succeeded in breaking through. The Mardian tribes of the south had adopted heartily the Babylonian civilization, and had succeeded in founding the secular State of Susiana, and of extending their domination over the Semites of Elymais, in several instances over Babylon itself. The use of letters was also expanded, as is proved by the inscription of Mal Amir. The Northern Mards who had only for neighbours, non-Semitic peoples, or Semites half-savage, have always remained in a barbarous condition, for the Aryans with whom they were

most in relation, do not appear to have had much to instruct them. Media even during the most glorious period of her empire, appears to have remained illiterate and plunged in barbarism, scarcely toned down at all. For the study of the borrowings which the peoples of middle Asia or of the extreme East have been able to make from the Semites of Babylonia and of Chaldea, the result of this article cannot be without some interest. If the Chinese possesses some scientific or mythological elements, of which he old Semitic origin is certain, these elements have not reached them except through the medium of the Mards of Susiana,¹ and consequently under a sufficiently altered form. Hence this inevitable consequence; every borrowing which recalls too much the Semitic or Babylonian form is by that evidence of a recent age, and in every case, posterior to the dynasty of the Achmenides. It was only at the advent of Alexander that the nations of upper Asia had direct relations with the Semitic peoples, but at that moment Babylonia was no more than the shadow of itself, and could not but transmit some remains saved from the imminent shipwreck in which its civilization and nationality was foundering. J. HALÉVY.

1) It is remarkable that Prof. Terrien de Lacouperie had been induced, though by reasons quite different from mine, to search in Susiana for the point of encounter between the civilization of China and those of Chaldea. See his very suggestive *Early History of the Chinese civilizations*, 1880, p. 20, 27, 29, 32.

THE DELUGE-TRADITION AND ITS REMAINS IN ANCIENT CHINA.

(Continued from p. 56).

III.

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24. The most remarkable of the legendary episodes, survivals in China of the Deluge-tradition and legends, are those which are centred around the mythical personage of Nü Kwa of ancient Chinese lore. They are found by fragments only, in the remains of old works such as the *Kwei-tsang*⁵² and *Shan Hai King*⁵³, partly in the writings or excerpts from the works of the native writers, such as Lieh-tze⁵⁴ (c. 398 A.C.), Hwai-nan-tze (179-156 A.C.), Yng Shao⁵⁵ (c. 126-144 P.C.), Hwang Fu-mi⁵⁶ (215-282 P.C.), who arranged and put together with more or

less of success and unhappily with the addition of some extraneous matter, much of that they could recover from the traditions and legends of olden times, without, however, discriminating their various sources and ages. The result has been an imbroglio.

25. Szema-Tch'eng, when supplying in the seventh century of our era. the lost introductory Book of Szema-Ts'ien's Historical Records, has co-ordinated some of the various Accounts concerning Nü-Kwa, as if concerning a historical personage. We shall⁶⁷ resume the whole as clearly as possible, arranging the successive statements in a numerical order for easier reference :

26.—I. *Nü Kwa* 女 媧 or 女 女媧, the lady Kwa, also called *Nü Hi* 女 希,⁶⁸ who succeeded Fuh-Hi,⁵⁹ had like him the surname *Fêng*. 風. Nü-kwa had a body enjoying the qualities of a serpent⁶⁰ and a human head, with the virtuous endowments of a divine sage.

II.—At that time there was a prince of Kong-Kong⁶¹ whose duty was the administration of the criminal laws.

III.—Violent and ambitious he became a rebel, and sought by influence of Water to rise superior to that of Wood under which Nü Kwa reigned⁶² ; and he did battle with Tchuk-dzunh⁶³ the God of fire.

IV.—Not victorious he was angered, and striking with his head against the Imperfect mountain, *pu tchou shan*, he caused it to crumble down.⁶⁴

V.—The pillars of Heaven were broken and the four cardinal points of the earth sundered⁶⁵.

VI.—This caused the heavens to fall on the north-west, and consequently the sun, moon and stars move to that point.

VII.—The earth also became defective on the south-east, and that is the reason why the rivers flow to that direction.⁶⁶

VIII.—The nine tchou, i.e. the Chinese lands, were rent.

IX.—Fire raged and did not die out. Water overflowed without stopping ; wild beasts devoured eagerly human beings while wild birds seized with their claws the aged and weak people.⁶⁷

X.—Hereupon Nü-Kwa melted stones of five colours to repair the rent in the azure heavens,

XI.—Cut off the feet of a large *ngao* tortoise to establish the four extremities of the world.⁶⁸

XII.—Killed the Black dragon to relieve the country of Ki (i.e.⁶⁹ one of the oldest seats of the Chinese in China),

XIII.—And gathered the ashes of reeds to stop the flooding waters

and thus save the land.⁷⁰

XIV. From that time forward the earth is at rest, the Heavens complete, and the ancient order is not changed.

XV.—Nü Kwa died and was followed by Shen-nung.—

NOTES 52) *Kwei-tsang* was the title of a very ancient work consisting of a large number of oracular lines used for divination; it was probably the collection which was preserved in the Royal Treasury at the beginning of the Tehou dynasty, and is spoken of in the *Shu King*, V, vi, 10-11. It disappeared in the political troubles which ensued. A work of the same name, embodying apparently many fragments of the ancient one, was made up later on, and is sometimes quoted in ancient compilations such as the *Tai ping yü lan* of 983 P.C. These quotations consist in short statements referring like ephemerides to some historical and other events of ancient times, also to fabulous sayings. Cf. on this work the sect. 30 and 31 of my paper on *The Oldest Book of the Chinese and its authors*, 1882. The oracular lines, ephemerides like, are similar to those of the Babylonian Table of portents translated by Prof. A. H. Sayce, *The Astronomy and Astrology of the Babylonians*, App. 1874, and were compiled according to the same views and principles. In the *La ki*, VII, I, 5, Confucius states that he found the *K'wan tchien* (same as the *Kwei-tsang*) in the state of Sung, when enquiring about the records and traditions of the Shang-yn dynasty which had been trusted to the care of the rulers of that dukedom, descendants of the Shang family.

53) The legends do not appear in the oldest parts, or ch. I to V, which are chiefly geographical, of the book of Lands and Seas, *Shan hai king*, but in the parts written towards the end of the Tehou dynasty. On the composition of this work, cf. my *Origin of the early Chinese civilization*, note 91 (*B. & O. R.*, vol. III, p. 83).

54) In the second book called *Hwang-ti*, and the fifth book, called *T'ang wan* of his work called *Tchung hui tchin King*, so called since 742 B.C., Lieh-tze has made several important hints about Nü Kwa which show that he was acquainted with the legends concerning her.

55) Yng Shao compiled his *Fung suht'ung y* about popular customs on the authority of ancient works, in 30 books and an appendix, but only 10 books of fragments are still in existence. Cf. A. Wylie, *Notes on Chinese literature*, p. 131.

56) In the *Ti wang shé ki*, or History of the Ancient Emperors by this celebrated scholar, who wrote several other works.

57) Besides the various texts on the subject here mentioned, which are quoted in the *Tai ping yü lan* Cyclopædia of 983, Kiv, 78, fol. 4, 5, and the text of Szema-Tcheng with commentaries, I have also at hand: *On the legends relating to Nu Kwa*, by Wm. Fred. Meyers in *Notes and Queries on China and Japan*, July, 1868, vol. II. pp. 99-101, where recent native writers are given.

58) The variant of the name was given by Hwang Fu-mi.

59) *Fuh-hi*, in full Tai Hao Fuh-hi, anciently great Hôh Bak Ket, whom I have suggested to identify with Ur-Bagas, is the oldest mythical ruler in the Chinese legends.

60) The text in its usual concision says simply "had a serpent's body." Lieh-tze in his chapter on Hwang-ti said: "Pao-Hi (or Fuh-hi) Nü

Kwa, Shen-nung, Hia How—these had the bodies of serpents, human faces, the heads of oxen, the muzzles of tigers. Bodily appearance not as of oxen had these, but virtuous endowments of the highest sages were theirs." In his commentary on this passage Tchang Tchan, writing about the fifth century, made the following remark: "It is well known that men in their bodily features have occasionally some resemblance to the animal creation. Among the ancient sages, many were distinguished by extraordinary marks; and the words "bodies of serpents and human faces" do not signify that the persons of whom this is said were clothed with scales, crawled on their bellies, and were destitute of limbs; nor do the words "heads of oxen and muzzles of tigers" imply carrying horns and dewlaps, &c. &c." Cf. Wm. Fred. Mayers, *op. laud.* p. 99. But it receives a better explanation as an echo of Babylonian lore and iconography as we shall see below.

- 61) *Kung Kung she*; formerly the chief of the clan of Kung Kung which may be a name of country as we shall see below.
- 62) *Ti-Wang shé ki*.
- 63) 祝融. The first of the two words was phonetically spelt as shown by the fact that 示 or 食 were interchangeable in its composition.-- Cf. on the personage Wm. Fred. Mayers, *Chinese reader's Manual*, , 87 and 121. He was a descendant of Tchuén-hiu, and this is why the commentary on Lieh-tze cf. *Tai ping yü lan*, Kiv. 38, fol. 4 mentions the latter name.
- 64) 不周山 : *puh tchou shan*.
- 65) In Szema-tcheng's account.
- 66) Lieh tze, Vth book. A glance at the map of China shows that this remark does not really apply to the direction of the Chinese rivers which, within China proper, flow to the north east.
- 67) Hwai-nan tze.
- 68) In the Kwei-tsiang. there is an allusion to this arrangement by Nü Kwa, but it is not said that she used the tortoise feet for that purpose.
- 69) It corresponds generally to Tai-yuen in Shan-si.
- 70) Hwai-nan tze.

* *

27. Let us examine such of these statements in which are visible obvious survivals of the western traditions and legends, or at least of the same episodes and circumstances as those which compose the Babylonian legend and the Biblical tradition of the Deluge. A special colour is apparent in the Chinese story, and must be taken into account before proceeding to any examination of its details. The events are presented in a different way than in the West. In the dim recollections from western lore which are clear therein, the facts, episodes and circumstances, are told in such a manner that the effect is put for the cause. An air of metonymy has pervaded the whole account. We shall follow the order of the narrative and the numerical arrangement, in our remarks and comments.

28.—I. Nü Kwa who appears several times in the story, (x, xi, xii, xiii), plays the part of the Mother Goddess Ishtar in the Chaldean account, although she is given here a prominent position which she has not in the latter. Her ophiomorphy is at par with the old Babylonian iconoplastics as exhibited by the ancient seals. We shall examine the matter relative to her in the third section (§§ 41-43) of the present chapter,

29.—II. In the Biblical tradition the cataclysm is a punishment for sin; it is decided upon by Jahveh because of the wickedness of man⁷¹. It was at first wrongly supposed, or better guessed, by Assyriologists, that a certain verse of the cuneiform account referred to something of the kind, but the revised translation has cleared up the obscure sentence. There was no such allusion at the beginning of the Chaldean reported tradition, and this is shown by the double silence of Sinliki unnini in his poem and of Berosos in his history. The epic says simply that "the city of Shurippak was ancient when the gods within set their hearts to bring on a deluge, even the great gods *as many as* there were; their throne-bearer Adar, their prince Ennugi⁷²." However in the sequel of the story Bel the counsellor, appears as the principal incitor of the catastrophe, and Ea (whom Samaš Napisti specially worshipped), interferes and asks Bel to relent, saying: "let the doer of sin bear his sin, let the doer of wickedness bear his wickedness⁷³," which implies that the flood in their opinion was inflicted as a punishment.

In the Chinese legend the catastrophe is caused by Kong-kong, the Great Justiciar, himself, as the result of his self-assertion and ire in disagreement with another prince (or god). His quality of Great Justiciar is apparently all that remains in the legend, of the catastrophe considered as a sin-punishment in the original tradition. It is not unlikely that his name, as that of a country, the clan of which he was the head, conceals a forgotten souvenir of a geographical region connected with the earthquake alluded to in the No. IV as we shall see below.

30.—III. This looks like the impersonation and description of a storm, tramelled with the notion, so deeply impressed on the Chinese mind, of the elements of nature⁷⁴. It corresponds to the lines 40-46. col. II of the Chaldean document where the storm which is alluded to in later lines⁷⁵, is described as follows:—Then arose Mu-seri-ina-namari (The Water of Dawn at Daylight)⁷⁶—from the horizon of heaven (like) a black cloud.—Rammon in the midst of it thundered,—Nabu and Sharru (the Wind-god) march in front,—the throne-bearers (storm clouds⁷⁷) go over

mountain and plain ;—Nergal the mighty⁷⁸ brings with him affliction⁷⁹—Adar (the War-god) goes overthrowing all before him.---

No such thing occurs in the Hebrew tradition which therefore could not have been the source direct or indirect of the Chinese story.

31.---IV. The *Puh tchou shan*, the Imperfect mountain, which crumbles down under the knock of Kong Kong's head and is the beginning of the cataclysm and the material cause of the ensuing flood and fire, suggests an earthquake. It corresponds to distinct western features, with some discrepancies which are rather important.

The Hebrew tradition has it : " all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and the windows of heaven⁸⁰ were opened." (Gen. VII, 11) and therefore the 'imperfect mountain' of the Chinese represents rather unsatisfactorily the 'great deep' of the Hebrew account. On the other hand in the Koran XI, 42 and XXIII, 27) we hear of the enigmatic *tannâr*, the oven or recipient⁸¹, in which boiled and from which boiled over water all around when the Deluge began⁸². This diversity of expression points to the existence of a former tradition, perhaps lost already when and where the Hebrew account was committed to writing, and apparently preserved by folklore elsewhere, which referred to the idea of a special spot from which the waters of the deluge had flooded over the country. The Chaldean account has nothing of the kind, but col. II, ll. 47, 48, : "The spirits of Earth—*Anunaki*---carried the destruction ; in their terribleness they shaken the land"⁸³, allude undoubtedly to an earthquake, which is also suggested in the Chinese survival. - We shall have to examine this interesting and perhaps valuable suggestion in our next chapter.

32.---V. The pillars of Heaven and the four cardinal points do not appear in the Hebrew and Chaldean accounts, although the notion of the four quarters of the world is frequent in the oldest Babylonian texts. We shall refer to this statement with reference to the XIth, in next part of this chapter, §51. The sundering of the four quarters of the earth is another intimation of the earthquake alluded to in the previous paragraph.

33.---VI. Here is one more allusion to the earthquake, or I should say *worldquake*, and at the same time a reference to the well known idea of the West that the conjunction, of the sun moon and stars in the same part of the heavens, was connected with a cataclysm. But, it may be remarked here that this idea must have been transmitted to the Chinese in olden times, as it had not yet received the development it

had assumed when Berosus made known to the Greeks the astrological Chaldean speculations of that kind in his works on the matter⁸⁴. In these late speculations the moral signification of the Deluge, clearly visible in the Chinese form of the legend, had altogether disappeared, as well as the statement concerning no further catastrophe, which occurs also in a statement (XIV), of the Chinese story. Another proof of the early communication to the Chinese is found in their account, where the cataclysm results in fire and flood, while the later astrological speculations, we have alluded to in the West, make a conflagration the result of the periodical conjunction occurring in the zodiacal cancer, and a flood when occurring in Capricornus⁸⁵. The peculiar orientation, in the North west for the falling of the Heaven, is apparently a survival of the old Akkadian arrangement of the quarters of the world⁸⁶. The falling of the Heaven there indicates perhaps an upheaval of the earth in that direction. A curious coincidence, if nothing more, makes the name of the chief of K u n g k u n g who, in the legend, knocks down the Imperfect mountain, to be much like that of G a n g u m⁸⁷, a country in the Northwest of Babylonia. Is this a souvenir of an earthquake in that direction? We shall have to examine that curious point in the sequel of this paper (ch. IV.).

34.—VII, VIII. As the earth became defective in the S.E. the rivers flow to that direction. This is distinctly a feature of Mesopotamia, where the Tigris and Euphrates pursue their course from N.W. to S.E. with such straightness, comparatively, that it could not have escaped the attention of the inhabitants of the country from olden days. I have pointed out in a previous paper the great probability that their course was the reason of the old diagonal orientation in use there, as the direction of the rivers has been elsewhere a frequent cause of the local orientation⁸⁸. On the other hand the N.W. to S.E. direction which is so well fitted to the hydrography of Mesopotamia, does not apply at all to that of China, where the Hwang-ho and the Yang-tze after accidented courses, run from S.W. to N.-East. Therefore, we must see there, a genuine echo of a Babylonian tradition, which has been blindly repeated by the Chinese compiler. His patriotic spirit, however, had its revenge in the following statement (VIII), which is simply referring to the Chinese lands as rent by the cataclysm. The original tradition referred probably to the land in a general way, as it happens in several verses.

35.—IX. The double calamity of raging fire and incessant flood, as results of the earthquake, which may be inferred from the previous state-

ments, are another important divergence from the Hebrew and Chaldean accounts, where 'only a flood occurs. And the plague of the wild beasts and birds' appearance, in its details, show that there is no question, in the legend, of a wholesale destruction of men with the exception of a few persons.

36.—X. In "the melting of stones by Nü Kwa⁸⁹ to repair the rent in the azure heavens" we recognize without difficulty a gracious metaphor of the Rainbow episode, so told in the cuneiform account: "there upon the great goddess at her approach lighted up the rainbow which Anu (the God of Heaven) had created according to his glory⁹⁰. As in the Chaldean epic, the Rainbow here is not made a symbol of future peace, contrariwise to the statement of the Biblical account. It is most curious that none of the various Chinese writers who have examined this episode should ever have thought of the simple explanation we give of it, instead of indulging in some wild speculations shared to a certain extent by European scholars⁹¹. Its genuineness is vouchsafed by the general affinities of the story with the western traditions.

37.—XI, XII: There we have to deal with notions foreign to the ring of ideas in common with the Chaldean and Hebrew traditions. They come from other quarters as we shall see, section III of the present chapter, par. 51 sq. And again a reference to the purely Chinese land. Both statements have been introduced by the native compilers and combined with the original story.

38.—XIII. The episode of the sacrifice of thanksgiving is singularly curtailed, and though implied rather than stated, is however recognizable in the report that Nü Kwa "gathered the ashes of reeds to stop the flooding waters." Reeds must have been burned before their ashes be gathered, and therefore we have in the Chinese statement a vague souvenir of the sacrifice described in the cuneiform account which states that the altar was laid with *reeds*, pine-wood and spices whose sweet odour reached the gods who gathered like flies over the sacrifice⁹². In the cuneiform and Biblical Accounts, the sacrifice is offered because the Deluge had ceased, while in the Chinese legend the ashes of the reeds are themselves the means of stopping the flood, a result of the metonymic character given to the whole story, as pointed out previously.

39.—XIV. Here again there is an agreement, between the Chaldean and Biblical traditions and the Chinese legend, which although remote is no less real. The latter states simply the material facts that "from the time of the catastrophe forward the Earth is at rest, the Heavens were

completed by the rainbow, and the ancient order is not changed.

40.—XV. The last statement, in its brevity is not without importance, and we shall have to enquire in our last chapter, how far it may be a distinct survival of the old story. The legend of Shennung of the Chinese mythical period has been shown in its most important features, to be the same as that of the old Sargon of Agadê⁹³, and therefore the statement of the Chinese legend that Nü-Kwa contemporary of the Deluge was anterior to him, would so far agree with the western traditions.

NOTES 71) Genesis, VI, 5-7.

72) Col. I, 12-16.

73) Col. IV, 15.

74) Cf. on the five elements in the Chinese conception of nature, *B. & O.R.*, vol. III, pp. 121-223, or *Origin of the early Chinese civilisation*, note 364.

75) Col. III, ll. 20, 21.

76) One of the personifications of the rain, says Lenormant, *Origines de l'histoire*, vol. I, p. 396.

77) W. St. Chad Boscawen, *The Chaldean legends of the Creation and Deluge* (1885), p. 11.

78) The Pestilence-god, cf. W. St. Ch. B., *l.c.*

79) Haupt and Sayce translate : . . . removes the wicked.

80) Lenormant has translated "les écluses du ciel."

81) Palmer, *The Qur'ân*, I. p. 209, II. p. 67, translates : "the oven boiled," "the oven boils over," and in a foot-note he states that *tannûr* oven signifies also : a reservoir of water.

82) Cf. Lenormant, *Origines de l'histoire*, vol. I, p. 421.—The *tannur* is a hole in the (ground or the floor of the room and lined with pottery in which fire is put. Cf. Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, p. 44; C. F. Keil, *Manual of Biblical Archeology*, (Edinburgh, 1888), vol. II, p. 128.

83) In Lenormant's translation :—les Archanges de l'abîme *Anunnaki* apportèrent la destruction,—dans leurs épouvantements ils agiterent la terre. Cf. his *Origines de l'histoire*, vol. I, p. 397.—In Prof. Haupt's and Prof. Sayce's translation : The spirits of earth carried the flood ; in their terribleness they sweep through the land ;—Cf. A. H. Sayce, *Fresh lights from the Monuments*, p. 30.

84) It is well known that these speculations were the basis from which, when spread in India, were developed the system of the *Manwantaras*.

85) Cf. Lenormant, *Origines de l'histoire*, vol. I, pp. 403-404.

86) Cf. *The shifted cardinal points, from Elam to early China*, Part 1, sect. III or *B. & O.R.* Jan. 1888, vol. II, pp. 27-29.

87) On Gamgum, cf. Lenormant, *Origines*, vol. II, part 2, pp. 211, 264, 310, 320.

88) *The Shifted Cardinal points*, *l.c.*, pp. 26, 27.

89) This work of Nü Kwa, will permit us, further on to compare her name with that of *Nangar* the-Lady-of-work, the-mighty-workwoman-of-heaven, in the Babylonian pantheon. Cf. A. H. Sayce, *Hibbert lectures*, p. 67.

- 90) Col. III, l. 51-52. transl. Haupt. The rainbow is indicated by a metaphor in the text, and the earlier translations had rendered it by 'the great zones' (Lenormant, Boscawen, &c.), but there is no mistake possible that the rainbow is there spoken of, as Lenormant, *Origines*, I, 400, had already suggested.
- 91) We shall return to the subject, further on. Cf. § 49.—There was no primitive symbol for *rainbow* in the body of characters which, at the beginning, was received from S.W. Asia by the Chinese. The idea of a bow (Assyr. *Kastu*, Hebrew *Ksht*, Arab. *Kós* which appears in so many names Semitic and Aryan for the rainbow seems to have been foreign to them. They had a loan word for it, *ti-tung* with which we may compare the Altaic *solongo*, Tibet. *ja-tson*, Burmese *thek-tan*, and of which the ideographical transcription : insect-girdle + insect-east, would suggest, "girdle of insects in the east." This refers to their old popular idea that the rainbow was formed of small ephemera generated in the ether, (cf. W. Williams, *Syll. Dict.*, s.v.), in opposition to the other view which regards it as the result of an improper connection between the *yn* and *yang*, the light and the dark, the masculine and feminine principles of nature, (cf. *Tai ping yü lan*, Kiv. 14, fol. 6v-9), as it is an emblem of improper connection between men and women. (Cf. Legge, *Chin. Class.* vol. IV, p. 83, n). The word *ti-tung* may have been introduced with the Tchou dynasty, as there is no Ku-wen instances of it in the paleographical dictionaries (cf. Min Tsikih, *Luh shu tung*, K. VII, fol. 1, 20). It occurs in the *She King*, Kwoh feng IV. 7, in an ode of the same name attributed to the years A.C. 676-652, where it is said :—There is a *ti-tung* in the East, and no one dares to point to it—referring to a superstition which Wells Williams, *Syll. Dict.* p. 880, formulates thus : When the rainbow is in the East nobody ventures to point the finger to it,—lest a boil grow.—In the *She-king*, the word *ti-tung* is no more written as we have described ; the sign *ti-* is written insect-connect, by the change of the symbol for girdle which, in the recast of the writing by She-tch'ou about 820 A.C., was replaced by the symbol *tchoh*, connect, (phonet. 443).—An older word in Chinese for *rainbow* was *hung*, written : insect-hung, the meaning of the latter sign which is the common *kung* ingenious work (phonet. 27, Key. 48) is there doubtful ; in the reform of 820, the latter sign was replaced by *shen* stretching, whence : insect-stretching, but the change was not maintained and the ancient form : insect+ingenious work, has remained. It agrees with the popular view we have indicated previously.
- 92) Col. III, 46-50.
- 93) Cf. W. St. Chad Boscawen, *Shen-nung and Sargon*, 1888, in B. & O.R. III, 208-209 ; T. de L., *Traditions of Babylonia in early Chinese documents*, in The Academy, 17 Nov. 1883, p. 334 ; and *Wheat carried from Mesopotamia to early China*, 1888, in B. & O.R. III, 184-185.

TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE.

(To be continued).

DID THE ASSYRIANS KNOW THE SEXES OF THE
DATE-PALMS? NO.

(Continued from p. 69).

We see all sorts of similar devices in these Assyrian sculptures, owing to a want of knowledge how to represent a whole scene in its proper proportions and perspective on a small flat space. We see the artists, in the case of a battle, placing dead bodies everywhere, as if floating in the air, above the heads of people, and other dead bodies made visible at the bottom of rivers, as if there were no water. The object of the artists of those days appears to have been not to represent a thing *as it was seen*, for they couldn't do so, but to represent the main *idea* of any given fact. They had in other words, and in their own way, on stone and in a limited space, to suggest ideas of the reality, and this they did by crowding the ideas, and representing them anywhere, and as best they could, on the flat and limited surface before them. In several instances they endeavoured, in one limited space, to tell the story of a battle in sections, one above the other. It often requires some reflection to understand what they could have meant.

Therefore in the two sculptures alluded to, I think we ought not incautiously to give too much importance to the artist's having thrust the cone into the head of foliage, for the reason of this may be totally different from what the modern interpreter, with his fine knowledge of perspective, might suppose.

With regard to the vessel held by the genius in one hand, are we justified in calling it a "bucket or a basket?" Is it a water tight metal or wooden bucket, or a wicker work basket? Whatever it may be, it is a constant attendant of the cone, and must therefore mean something in connection with what the genius is supposed to be doing.

If we attempt to classify the handled vessels we see on the monuments, we find that from the way the handle is fastened, we cannot be far wrong in looking upon the majority of them as *metal buckets*. Of this kind are all those of the British Museum, either plain or decorated round the rim, such as that held by the fish god.

In Perrot et Chipiez's *Hist. de l'art*, Tom. 2, pl. 23 there are two buckets the bottom of which is ornamented with a lion's head. These appear either of metal, or perhaps ivory. They can hardly be earthenware as the handles look movable, and in this material the fastenings would

be weak. In pl. 29 of the same work, the body of the bucket might pass for wicker work, but the handle is fastened to two bird's heads with wings. These suggest metal work and therefore the body of the bucket is probably also of metal, embossed in imitation of wicker work. Moreover the zigzag lines on its surface are not such as would be displayed by a woven surface of wicker work. Therefore this specimen leaves the impression that it was not meant for a basket, but that it was of metal only embossed with a basket like surface.

In pl. 123, the vessel has crossed lines on its body, meant perhaps to indicate wicker work, but the handle is fixed, and suggests some solid material ornamented with diamond shaped geometrical figures.

In pl. 124, the vessel is plain, and appears all solid, with a fixed handle. Pl. 217 shows a vessel also with crossed lines. Pl. 226 (Louvre) is more like woven wicker work than any, with the rim of a different pattern. The handle is not shown as movable. As in pl. 29, we see here also that the surface is done in imitation of wicker work. This appears to be the only one which has a distinct claim to be called a basket, and similar ones in Lenormant, *Hist. anc. de l'orient*, Tom. 5 pp. 268 and 275 with movable handles. Although much better done, nevertheless it also may be a metal bucket, ornamented in imitation of basket work. For in Tom. II. pl. 162 of Botta's '*Monuments de Ninive*,' there is a similarly surfaced vessel, which leaves little doubt as to the nature of the material this kind of vessel was usually made of. The fastenings of the handle are two whole bird figures, clasping the body of the vessel. These and handle have all the character of metal; and if so, the body of the vessel, although like wicker work, must be metal too, for they would have hardly attached a metal handle, with an elaborate metal fastening to a perishable wicker work basket.

Pl. 191 on ivory (B.M.) has the vessel plain, and the handle shown is solidly fixed.

At pl. 395 Perrot et Chipiez give a vessel, without a handle, which is much like the body of many of those in the hand of genii, and the authors think that perhaps this and others "were of pure copper." The also say that those in the hands of the genii were "certainly of bronze with a metal handle." Why they say *certainly* does not appear, but that shown in their pl. 396 (seau de métal) looks more like metal than any other, and this, as far as I can see is the general character of the vessels shown in the hands of the genii. Perrot et Chipiez thought these vessels suggest some religious ceremony.

We know that throughout India brass or copper vessels are universally

used for domestic and other purposes, when meant to contain liquids.

I have entered so fully into the question of whether this vessel was intended for a bucket or a basket, because I think this is important. If a bucket, it is more likely to have been intended to convey the idea that it contained a *liquid*. If a basket, such an idea must be excluded. Upon the whole, the resulting impression is that this vessel was intended for a water-tight metal bucket, such as the "dôl" of India, used for drawing water out of wells.

We must not however lose sight of the fact that they had baskets in those days, and river banks covered with reeds to supply material for making them. Moreover Nos. 2, 57 and 62 in the basement of the British Museum showing figures carrying large baskets on their heads, leave no doubt about this point. And many of the most backward savages of the present day are acquainted with the art of basket making, so that everything points to the fact that the Assyrians had baskets of different kinds. A careful examination of the vessels held in the hand of the genii however leaves a strong impression that in such cases a metal bucket was the artists' ideal, and that its ideal contents were a liquid. And certainly the figures pointing the cone towards the King, and the same figures at the entrances of their palaces and cities leave the impression that the cone-like object must have a totally different meaning from what Dr. Tylor's theory requires.

We should not then lose sight of the fact that the tree which Dr. Tylor supposes to be a conventional representation of a palm grove is not only made up of palms, but has, it would appear, mixed up with it the vine tree. At all events there is something which does not belong to the palm tree intertwined among this conventional palm grove, and which is likely enough to have been intended for the leafless stems of the vine, it having been almost indigenous in those parts. At the same time they admit of a simpler interpretation, such as meaningless ornamental scrolls, connecting the various palm-heads, and making one picture of the whole.

Then supposing the cone to represent the male inflorescence of the date palm, we have in plate 443 of Perrot et Chipiez O.C. a piece of embroidery representing a genius fertilizing a number of cones on another kind of conventional tree. And on page 202 Lenormant's *Hist. Anc.* taken from Layard's *Culte de Mithra*, we have genii doing the same thing.

So that Dr. Tylor's theory appears to be only plausibly applicable when applied to the genius in front of the supposed palm grove. When applied to the genius in the same attitude and holding in his hand the same objects but in other situations, this theory becomes anything but satisfactory.

If artificial fertilization was known to the Assyrians from a remote period, it is reasonable to suppose that some trace of this ancient knowledge would be found. Yet, in the *Glyptique Orientale* of Joachim Ménant, no sign of the cone and tree, &c. is to be found. This work represents the *oldest* period of Assyro-Babylonian history.

In a later period (*Babylon. and Assy. Seals*, by Theo. G. Pinches) there is a conventional pomegranate tree with a king on each side and two genii with cone and bucket, going through a similar ceremony. These seals are supposed to represent a period of between 1200 and 1500 years B.C. So that at this period this ceremony or superstition formed a part of the Assyrian cult, yet artificial fertilization of the *palm* tree is not to be traced. Nor can we suppose that the genii are fertilizing the *pomegranate* tree.

There are now several theories regarding this puzzling cone-like object of the Assyrian monuments.

(a.) The fir or cedar-cone theory still holds its ground. The cedar cone was supposed to bear God's name inscribed on it, and was placed in the hand of sick persons to cure them. It was evidently believed to have some talismanic virtue. This belief appears distinctly made known from certain cuneiform inscriptions. "Prends le fruit du cèdre, et presente le à la face du malade; le cèdre est l'arbre que donne le charme pur et repousse les demons tendeurs de pieges" (Lenormant, *Origine de l'Histoire*, tom. I, 84). Moreover No. 9, in the Assyrian hall of the Louvre is a figure holding in the hand proportionally a much smaller cone than that of the British Museum. This would appear to indicate that various sizes of cones were used.

(b.) The citron theory has the advantage of explaining, by its digitate form, another cone-like object, carried by men in procession, and the fact that the Jews now use the citron in their religious ceremonies would tend to support this theory. It does not appear applicable, however, to other cases.

(c.) The bunch of grapes theory is supported by the fact that many bunches are cone-like, and many objects undoubtedly intended for bunches of grapes are often shown with the same outline. But this theory appears to have no meaning in the case of the cone object being pointed towards the sacred tree, nor would the use of the bucket in this case be plain even if we supposed it to contain *wine*.

(d.) The date-male-flower theory appears plausible when the cone is pointed towards a palm grove, although one does not see what place the vine stems can hold in such a theory, but it appears to become totally untenable when the male flower of the palm is pointed towards the king,

nor does one see why, in that case, a water tight metal bucket should be almost invariably used, instead of a basket. Moreover this theory presupposed a vast amount of knowledge in those days about the sexes of trees and indispensibility of the operation for the production of a crop.

We have seen that artificial fertilization is not *indispensable* to the production of a crop. If it were so, the separate sexes date trees could not have evolved before man came to apply the pollen of the one to the pistil of the other!

Apart however from all I have said against the assumption that artificial fertilization of date trees was then commonly practised, there appears sufficient proof that the Assyrians or Babylonians did know of the existence of male and female date trees.

Mr. Theo. G. Pinches has given me three lines from W.A.I. II. pl. 46, in which appear *gišimmaru* the date palm, and *zi-ka-[ra-tu?]* the male, and *sin-niš [-tu]*, the female. He states that the date of this Assyrian fragment is about 650 B.C., and possibly it is a copy of a document dating back to about 2000 B.C. He wrote to Mr. Rassam to make some inquiries about date trees in Assyria in the vicinity of Nineveh. Mr. Rassam replied that it grows there, but does not fruit. Mr. Pinches from this would infer that the above tablet may be a copy of an older Babylonian tablet.

The fact that the date tree does not *now* fruit in Assyria, does not quite prove that in Assyrian times the date tree did not fruit there. We know that the date tree is often killed by severe frost, and that it is likely to suffer in northern latitudes. There are however, hundreds of varieties of date trees, and it does not follow that in Assyrian times they may not have had varieties there that *did* fruit.

Allowing that the Assyrians knew the sexes of date trees, it does not I think follow that they *practised artificial* fertilization, for we have seen that groves containing males and females can be fertilized by *natural* processes, nor does it follow that the genii holding the cone object were intended to represent artificial fertilization.

(e.) The pine-apple theory appears inadmissible, as the fruit is of American origin.

(f.) Now in combination with the cedar-cone theory, that of holy water in the bucket might perhaps be advanced. The use of holy water appears to be of very ancient date. We have inherited many things from Assyria, and the holy water of the Church of Rome (a mixture of consecrated salt and water) may be a survival of some ancient Assyrian superstition. In Assyrian times there were many demons and other bad

spirits, and holy water is supposed to have the especial merit of keeping off harmful demons from persons, places, and things, on which it is sprinkled. It is not improbable therefore that the Assyrians had some similar superstitious custom, and may have used the cedar-cone—holy in itself—as an “*aspergillum*,” dipping it into holy water and sprinkling it about. If this supposition be tenable, the ever present bucket would explain the need of a water-tight vessel for holding holy water. Sprinkling holy water by means of the holy fir cone, round the groves, and round the king’s person, and at the entrance of the palace would then become sensible enough. Harm and demons, and other bad spirits would be kept out of the way. The only objection I can see to this theory is that the figure sprinkling this holy water is always shown with wings, which would suggest the notion of an invisible guardian angel protecting the palm trees and the king. But it is not unlikely that the Assyrian artists embodied these spirits and gave them wings, to show that in the sculptures they were not meant for ordinary human beings of flesh blood, and in order that they might introduce these *spiritual* ideas into the wall decorations of palaces and temples. It is impossible to give form to a spiritual notion, without some such conventional device.

All these figures, and whatever they may be doing, appear to have a *spiritual* meaning, that is of an invisible guardian angel or being, and not that of any operation done by ordinary men. The angels of Christian art, with their invisible fiddles, trumpets, lilies, swords, &c. are not improbably survivals of these invisible Assyrian guardian angels, with their invisible bucket of holy water, and invisible “*aspergillum*.” The winged beings of those days, and the angels of our days are spirits, *humanized*, that is, *incomprehensible things* expressed in human ideas. In that case we must suppose that the use of holy water, sprinkled by means of the holy cedar-cone, was a part of the machinery of Assyrian priest-craft. The evolution of the idea of holy water may after all be simple enough. Originally there may have been some natural spring of water, which may have been discovered to possess curative or tonic virtues, and therefore considered supernatural and holy. There are many waters now which are supposed to have these virtues. That is they cleanse and renovate the body. The priests then might have taken up the idea and developed it into a ceremony for religious purposes, and so the notion was handed down to us, as holy water which could be manufactured out of ordinary water by sacerdotal manipulations, and incantations. In this connection, it is interesting to find that Botta (*Monum. de Ninive*, Tom. I, pl. 76), gives a number of figures taking, by means of buckets, some liquid

from what looks *remarkably* like a *font*, such as is used now in many Roman Catholic churches.

Such appears to be the most rational way of interpreting the spiritual idea pictured by the Assyrian artists on their sculptures. It is one which would appear to meet the needs of all cases where cone and bucket are found in combination. The idea that the holy cedar-cone should be used as an "aspergillum"—an implement for sprinkling the holy water, becomes then natural, and in its proper place.

The cedar-cone, from its sacredness and scaly irregular surface, would not only spiritually, but also mechanically, naturally come in as a very *handy* "aspergillum." The stiffness and fixedness of the outstretched arm holding the cone may deceive us into supposing that it cannot mean the movements made in the act of sprinkling holy water, but it soon becomes evident that in sculpture and in painting such an operation cannot be represented except by a *fixed* attitude.

For the sake of those interested in this subject, the references are given below.

Reference to Herodotus I, 193, will be made in the next number.

E. BONAIVIA.

The Academy : 8 June 1886, p. 396 : Dr. Edw. Tylor : The fertilization of Date-palms.—22 June, p. 432 : Prof. Terrien de Lacouperie : The Cone-Fruit of the Assyrian Monuments.

Nature, 23 Jan. 1890 :

B. & O, R. *The Cone fruit of the Assyrian Monuments* May 1888, p. 170 and July p. 173. Prof. Terrien de Lacouperie : *The Tree of Life and the Calendar plant of Babylonia and China*, June 1888, p. 155, note 5.

NOTES ON THE ASSYRIAN SACRED TREES.

IN the interesting papers which Dr. Bonavia has recently published in the *RECORD* upon the subject of the cone-fruit of the Assyrians, he seems to me to have done much to clear up the obscurity of the nature of the sacred tree represented upon the sculptures from Nimroud. I venture to think however, that, from an Assyriological point of view, there are some points which require further consideration and explanation. The forms of the Assyrian tree as known to us are all of late date, and with few exceptions confined to the work of Assyrian and not Babylonian artists. They may in fact be all grouped, both those from Nimroud and the examples from Khorsabad between B.C. 850 and B.C. 700. No trace of this object was found in the palaces of Sennacherib or of Assurbanipal. They are all, moreover, most conventional and seem to indicate a fusion of more than one traditional sacred tree. We have, for example, the undoubted fruit of some cone-bearing tree, either the fir or the cedar.

combined with the espalier form of the trained vine, and the whole supported by a conventionalised form of the trunk of the palm tree.

I will now quote a few examples from notes made at various times to show that all these three trees were at various periods, held to be sacred. The passage so often quoted from the old hymn from Eridu (W.A.I., IV. 15, ob. 52-67) seems to me to prove very little as the Akkadian 𒂗𒍪 , "strong or established wood," seems to be properly rendered by *kis-ka-nu* "stalk or tree trunk," and no special tree seems to be implied. The phrase which has been more than once referred to in the B.O.R. reads [*Ina*] *Eridu Kis-ku-nū zal-mu irbi ina asru ellu ibbani*. "In Eridu a dark trunk grew up; in a holy place it was created." In the inscriptions relating to trees and plants, the determinatives 𒌷 'wood,' and 𒂗𒍪 'plant,' sometimes interchange, and as, Sayce has pointed out (*Hib. Lect.* 238-2) *u. ki* is explained in K. 165-22 by *ges-din*="wood of life" or "living wood." It is also equivalent to *rētu sūtētu* and *rētu saharu* "a growing branch" "a young shoot." As Delitzsch has shown, however, the group $\text{𒂗𒍪} < \text{𒌷}$ (*Lesezt.* 1st ed. No. 62) is equivalent to "the vine." The description of this sacred tree of the shrine of Ea certainly does not resemble the vine. "Its root was of bright crystal," penetrating down into Absu the subterranean abode of Ea, while its branches cast a shade like a temple into which none had entered. In its branches was the couch of Zikum the great mother goddess, while within it dwelt the youthful Tammuz Adonis. These two last ideas at once call to mind the sacred fir tree of Phrygia, in which Atys was hidden, and to which the weeping mother-goddess yearly turned. The fir-tree is, however, closely associated with Ea in Babylonian mythology. Lenormant (*Bégin. of Hist.*, p. 93) has quoted a passage which certainly points to its as a life-giving charm (*erini ešu nadin siptu sllitiv*), "the cedar is the wood which gives the holy charm," and in the magical texts (W.A.I., IV. 16, 30, 35), "the white cedar with holy water (*me-mulli*) is part of the charm. It was upon the centre core of this wood that the name of Ea was engraved. (W.A.I., IV. 16, II. 11) "*ša ina libbi su Ilu Ea sumu zakru*," Upon the heart of which Ea his name has recorded." In another liturgical text (IV. 64). I find also this cup of the holy water of Merodach mentioned: "May the cup of holy water of Merodach endow him with health." So that some such ceremony as that referred to by Dr. Bonavia was known to the Babylonians.

The following extract from a letter recently received from Cairo seems to show that the custom as suggested by Dr. Bonavia still exists in the East: "Last week an Oriental showed me an Arabic book he was reading, in which were some engravings of the Assyrian gods from the walls of the British Museum. I asked him what fruit he thought was represented, at the same time translating to him the discussion in the *Record*, Vol. II, No. 7, which I have here. He laughed out quite merrily, at the idea of its being a fruit which the god holds, and added: Had not I and people in England noted that in the other hand the god holds a water basket? He maintained that the cone was a kind of squirt for sprinkling holy water, to be replenished from the basket. He added that by some Oriental sects, at some ceremonies these identical articles are still thus used, and promised sometime to put me in the way of seeing the cone and water baskets so used." W. ST. C. BOSCAWEN.

THE

BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

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PEHLEVI NOTES.

VI. ORIENTAL TESTIMONIES REGARDING KHVÊTÛK-DAS.

THE object of the present Note is chiefly to call the attention of those interested in the matter to two further confirmations of the common interpretation of the term *Khvêtûk das* as 'incestuous marriage,' which have appeared in the last volume (xliii) of the *Zeitschrift* of the German Oriental Society. It would, perhaps, be more accurate to say that these testimonies confirm the belief in the actual practice of such incestuous marriages by the Persians under the Sassanid dynasty, and thereby afford support of an important kind to our interpretation of *Khvêtûk-das*. These testimonies are exclusively from Oriental sources, and therefore, further, tend to add credibility to the evidence of the Greek and Roman writers, ably impugned in the work of Dârâb Dastur, before referred to in these columns.

I. In the 2nd. number of the ZDMG., Dr. H. Hübschmann of Strassburg, ("Ueber die persische Verwandtenheirath") brings forward important Armenian testimonies. We ought first to mention that Hübschmann entirely agrees with Dârâb that, as far at least as the Avesta itself is concerned, the Zend term *gaethva-datha* has by no means been proved to bear the meaning of incestuous marriage,—nay, that this interpretation is 'not even probable.' This he proves at some length by an examination of the passages wherein it occurs. But as regard the evidence of the Greek writers he cannot agree with the Dastur; for he finds them strongly supported by the independent authority of "two Armenian authors belonging to a time when the conversion of the Armenians

from the Zoroastrian religion to Christianity had only just taken place and was by no means universal."

Faustus of Byzantium (4th century) in his History of Armenia narrates that St Nerses, among other injunctions to the Armenians, commanded them "*above all* to abstain from conjugal union with relations and kindred, and more especially from those with related (?) daughters-in-law, and whatever else of the kind had taken place." A later writer who has compiled a "History of St. Nerses the Parthian" quotes the same prohibition from Faustus, saying "the Armenians were still given to heathenish uses . . . also they married with kinsfolk and blood-relations for the purposes of preserving unsullied their nobility and their inheritance; but the great Nerses abolished this among the Armenians, and ordered that marriages should not take place up to the fifth degree." It is noticeable that the practice seems to have been that of the *nobility*, for the preservation of their family rank.

The next writer is Eznik, in his "Refutation of Heresies." This author¹ explicitly declares that Zrdasht (Zoroaster) invented the legend regarding the birth of the Sun, Moon and Stars from incestuous unions with a mother and a sister, "in order that the people in view of this might give themselves up without restraint to the same excess;" and this "for no other reason, but for the sake of sensuality and lust," because the people hearing that their gods practised such customs, would feel less hesitation in giving way to their appetites, &c. All this may be calumnious enough as regards the early times and authors of the Mazdayasnian religion; but it at least shows that (1) at the writer's time, the practice of such incest was an acknowledged fact among the Persian Zoroastrians, and (2) that it was brought by them into connection with certain mythological theories. This latter fact we know already from the Pehlevi testimonies quoted in former Notes in this Journal.

II. In the last number (4th) of the same volume of the ZDMG., E. Kuhn has a very brief note throwing further side-light from a Syriac writer. In the Syriac acts of the Persian martyr Mihramgushnasp, who became a Christian under the name of Giwargis and suffered martyrdom under Chosroës Parviz in A.D. 614, it is stated that before his conversion, "he had had his sister for wife. according to the scandalous and filthy custom which these unbelievers hold as legitimate."

Further, says Kuhn, "an indirect testimony in the same sense is to be found in the fact that Bih-âfrîd, who in the latter days of the Omayyid dynasty sought to reform the old religion, by abolishing certain usages

extremely repulsive to the Moslem, wished to forbid marriage with mothers, sisters, daughters, nieces and aunts on father's or mother's side," and he refers to the Vienna Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, iii. 33.

Although these Armenian and Syriac testimonies have been published so recently and in so easily accessible a form, I think it right to bring them together here, so as to complete my former notes on this curious subject.

III. Those, again, who are not acquainted with Prof. Italo Pizzi's interesting book on the manners and customs of the heroic age of Persia as preserved in the poem of Firdusi, (*L'Épopée Persiana e la Vita e i Costumi dei Tempi Eroici di Persia*, Firenze 1888), may be glad to see what light, in the opinion of the Italian Eranist, is cast upon the subject by national Persian tradition. Pizzi writes on p. 191—after stating the motives for marriages of near kindred (i.e. preservation of family and nobility), and quoting the Greek and other testimonies,—“of these marriages among relations we have but few examples in Firdusi's *Book of Kings*. But the traces of them, though rare, are sufficiently clear. Sūdābeh in fact proposes to the young Siyāvish marriage with one of her daughters. In that case the bride would have been a sister of Siyāvish, at least on the father's side, as King Kāvus was father of Siyāvish and husband of Sūdābeh (p. 386).”

But Sūdābeh went much further, and proposed to Siyāvish, with whom she was in love, that when old Kāvus died, he might ask her for his wife and thus console his grief; which would have meant Siyāvish's marrying his mother-in-law, (p. 888). Moreover Rustem had married a sister of Ghêv, by whom he had a son Ferāmurz, whilst Ghêv was the husband of Bânû Gushasp, Rustem's daughter (p. 781) . . . King Behmeh married the beautiful Humây, his own daughter (p. 1247).

IV. I think it right, moreover, to state here that I have lately observed, what had escaped my notice before, that Spiegel had already remarked the probability that the Vedic hymn (RV. X. 10=836), containing the Dialogue between Yama and Yami, translated by me in this review (August 1889), “may have been a protest against marriages between brothers and sisters, as customary in Eran.” The remark occurs in a footnote, p. 250, of his *Arische Periode*, Leipzig, 1887, and thus affords a valuable confirmation from an eminent authority of the idea at which I hinted in my dissertation (*Philosophie religieuse du Mazdéisme*) in 1884.

V. It is, of course, only natural that the learned and regretted translator of my book, Dastur Firoz Jamaspji, (*The Philosophy of the Mazdayasnian Religion under the Sassanids*, Bombay, 1889)¹, should, like Dastur Darab, seek to impugn the evidence adduced by European scholars on this head. In two long footnotes in pp. 157 and 159-60 of his translation, he argues against (1) the passages adduced from the Avesta, (2) those from the *Dinkart*. On the former count, we may perhaps, like West and Hübschmann, accept a verdict of not-proven. The Avesta, taken by itself at least, is not sufficient to bear out the unfavourable interpretation of *qaethwa-dafha* as 'incestuous marriage.' Under the second head, the late Dastur Firoz first appeals to the general obscurity of the chapter of the *Dinkart*, and then offers his own interpretation of certain parts of the same in favour of his point of view. He says: "The whole chapter in which the question occurs is very obscure and difficult It cannot then be positively affirmed whether Dr. Casartelli or Dastur Peshotan is right in his reading and interpretation of the passage. Either of them followed his own way. Perhaps a third gentleman would make out quite a different sense from his own point of view and thus change the meaning of the same passage altogether; for in the case of the obscure and ambiguous Pehlevi it often happens that one and the same passage is translated by different eminent scholars in such different ways that it becomes quite difficult for one to say whether they are versions of one and the same passage or of two altogether distinct ones" (p. 159). It is well to remind readers that, obscure as whole parts of the chapter in question are, it has been carefully translated in full and as literally as possible by the most eminent Pehlevi scholar living, Dr. E. W. West, occupying pp. 400-410 of the second volume of his *Pahlavi Texts* (in *Sacred Books of the East*). The amount of obscurity claimed for it by Dastur Firoz would, therefore, appear to be exaggerated: the general purport of this long chapter is clear and precise enough. It is only one of several passages translated by West in the volume of the text; and the cumulative evidence of them all seems quite decisive to most readers.

A word must be said, however, of Firoz's suggested translation of two small portions of the chapter. First in § 13 he picks out words which he read *ar ç i vêsh*, and declares that they signify "quite contrary to the law!", as an epithet and denouncing "the horrible custom of next of kind marriages; and also the phrase *râmishni nyâishni orvâkhma lâ*, which he interprets as "having no pleasure, praise or joy." Now, how the

first three words quoted can bear the interpretation suggested is a mystery. Does the writer take *vêsh* as signifying 'law'? If so, such a rendering is quite unheard of. Nor will it escape the reader that herein he contradicts his brother Dastur, Dârâb Peshotan, who is his *Next-of-Kin Marriages in Ancient Iran* wishes to make *vêsh* ۛۛۛ into *va-jêh*, translating it 'and incestuous.' But more remarkable is the violent manner in which Dastur Firoz cuts up the Pehlevi text to get in the meanings he gives. That text, as given in a former one of these notes is as follows :

Hanâ² râçi vesh râmishno
nyâyishno va huravâkhm³
lâ va âit patash hic zy-
âno parâe men çûto lâca
ahûki parâe men⁴
khûp-gar.

Literally: Hæc via plurimæ voluptatis
benedictionis et gaudii
neque est inde quidvis damnum
plus quam beneficium neque
peccatum maius quam
honestas.

Or, in Dr. West's version: "This is a way of much pleasure which is a blessing of the joy, and no harm is therein ordained that is more than the advantage, and no vice that is more than the well-doing."

It will be seen that Dastur Firoz has cut off the final vowel of the demonstrative *hanâ* ('this') and tacked it on to the next word, so as to make *arâçi*. Then he has grouped together the three words *râmishno nyayishno va huravâkhm* and appended to them the negative *lâ* belonging to the following phrase, as though it applied to the preceding words ("pleasure, praise, joy not"),—quite an impossible construction. Besides, that the *lâ* belongs to what follows it, is shewn by the close parallelism of the two passages :

lâ va âit patash hic zyâno parâe men çûto

lâ lâca ahûki parâe men khûp-gar.

The Dastur treats these phrases thus : He reads *va at patash hic zyan-i farh-i men çût, va lâ-ca jashnak-i farh-i men hâcihar*, and translates "instead of bringing any advantage it does much harm, and of however good aspect it may be, it is yet very unpleasant." Such a rendering, I venture to say, will not stand a moment's criticism : it does the greatest violence to its text, which happens here to be quite simple and straightforward.

I must conclude that my lamented translator has not been any more fortunate than Dastur Peshotan in evading the force of this crucial passage, or in challenging Dr West's rendering of it.

NOTES.

- 1) Dastur Firoz Jamaspji was the accomplished son of the venerable

and esteemed High Priest, Dastur Jamasp Minocheherji, so well known a figure in Bombay. He died suddenly last summer at the early age of 36, before his translation of my work had left the press. He was a gifted Oriental scholar, besides having a perfect acquaintance with English, French, and German. For a most interesting and full account of both Dastur Minocheherji and his son and destined successor Firoz, ("una vera perla di figlio"), see the entertaining volumes of De Gubernatis (*Peregrinazioni Indiane*, 3 vols. 1887), which deserve to be better known in this country than they appear to be.

2) In my former paper, erroneously printed *hama*.

3) I ventured to complete this word as *huravákhm[ishno]* to preserve the parallelism; it is not however necessary, and does not alter the sense. *Huravákh* is either from *hû* with *ravákh*, 'joy,' corresponding to the Zend *ravan̥h*; or is a form of the Zend word *urvákh*s, 'joyfulness.'

L. C. CASARTELLI.

THE DELUGE-TRADITION AND ITS REMAINS IN ANCIENT CHINA.

(Continued from p. 56).

III. (cont.)

* * *

41. As we have had previously § 28 occasion to remark, the part of Nü Kwa in this legend is to a certain extent that of a great Goddess or Mother Goddess. This view is borne out more fully by a statement of ancient lore preserved by Yng Shao in his *Fung su t'ung*, a work of the second century, which we have already quoted.⁹⁴


"It is commonly said that when HEAVEN and EARTH became set apart, and before human beings were in existence, Nü-Kwa modelled with her hands some yellow earth and made man. In view of increasing its strength she lost no time in drawing a string within the clay, and then lifted it up that it should become a man; this is the reason why the rich and honoured are men of the yellow land, (*i.e.* the Chinese).

This curious account of the creation of man, which has not yet received the attention it deserves, is befitting the position taken by Nü-Kwa in the Chinese version of the Deluge legend. It justifies plainly the comparison we have established between her part in that legend and that of Istar, about whom the Epos of Erech says: . . . Istar cried like a mother: . . . I, their mother . . .⁹⁵

42. The name of *Nü Kwa* has been the object of some remarks from the native scholar Tchao-yi we have already mentioned; for him the characters, now used which we have given previously,⁹⁶ represent merely a traditional sound dating from ages anterior to the science of writing, and they convey no genuine reason for classing Nü Kwa with the female sex.⁹⁷ We do not see the force of this argument and there is no reason to reject the sex indicated by the first symbol which always remains unchanged and therefore must not necessarily be taken with less than its ideographical meaning.

43. The same remark could not apply to the second symbol of the name, since there is for it a variant which has no relation of meaning with the character that is supposed to be the original one in the case, viz. 囁 a wry mouth.⁹⁸ But it is very doubtful that when the name was transcribed into Chinese characters, the scribe had in view any other value than that of the symbol as a phonogram. This phonetic value was *oho*, *oko* or *okê* and it rhymed with *noko* or *nêkê* in the poetical parts of the Yh-King.⁹⁹ The variant 希 *hi*, thin or scarce, was not a single symbol but a compound character¹⁰⁰ phonetically spelt, and composed of 亼 *you* small anciently *Oh*, and 又 *yu* hand anciently *hu*, placed over the first.¹⁰¹ According to the laws of spelling in the archaic characters phonetically composed¹⁰², the initial is suggested by the lower and the final by the upper composing sign, which arrangement in the present case must have given *Okhu*, a sound sufficiently approximate to *Oko* or *Okê* of the other symbol. The similarity was probably more close in olden times, but, in the present state of our scanty knowledge of the Archaic Chinese spelling, we cannot be more affirmative.

44. Therefore the two symbols *Nü Kwa*, or *Nü-Oko*, might read the "Lady Oko," or perhaps the "Mother Oko" as the symbol 女 *nü* in olden texts and compound characters often stands for 母 *mu*. It would correspond to the *Umuruk* or Mother of *Uruk*¹⁰³, (the *Omoroca* of Berosus), the Goddess Bahu of the creation legend in the Chaldaeo-Babylonian traditions. But the matter perhaps has better not to be pressed.

45. There is another tempting assonance of name which requires attention as it might lead to some misapprehension. It cannot be denied that the Chinese *Nü-Oko*, or *Noko*? or any like sounds, is much similar to the Sumero-Akkadian  *Nuzku*¹⁰⁴ which Lenormant has translated the upper part of heaven, name of a god personifying that part of heaven, and which became Bel's messenger¹⁰⁵; the Semites preserved the ancient name and afterwards identified it with Nebo. According to Prof. A. H. Sayce, *Nuzku* probably signified in Akkadian "the brilliance of the day-break;" he was a solar deity, one of whose titles was "lord of the Zenith," and in the cuneiform texts his name is often used to denote the zenith, or "height of heaven" *elat same* in Assyrian, in opposition to the god of the horizon¹⁰⁶. But *Nuzku* has no part in the Deluge tradition, and besides was a god, not a goddess. Therefore the semblance must be left aside as a delusive coincidence.

46. In the Chinese legend, *Nü Kwa* works hard to repair the Heavens, and might be applied the qualifications of "mighty workwoman of heaven" which an old Akkadian hymn¹⁰⁷, gives to *Nangar* (the lady of work), a goddess of the Ancient Babylonian pantheon. The similarity between her name *Nan-gar*, where *Nan* means lady, and that of the Chinese *Nü Kwa*, where *Nü* means woman, cannot fail to be found very suggestive.

47. *Nü Kwa* is depicted as having the body like a serpent and a human face. Zoomorphous and ophiomorphous, as well as other monstrous, combinations are alluded to in the Chinese legends, as peculiar to the mythical beings and great men of early times. They are without doubt an echo of the views of the same kind held by the ancient Chaldeans in their cosmogonic traditions, formerly known to us only by *Berosus*¹⁰⁸ and now largely illustrated by their texts and the iconography of their most ancient archeological remains, seals and cylinders recently discovered. For instance the god *Ea*, who was generally represented, like *Oannês*, as partly man and partly fish, was also symbolised by a snake¹⁰⁹. The goddess *Bahu*, with one of whose surnames we have already pointed out a resemblance with that of *Nü Kwa*, was also represented ophiomorphous. A curious boundary stone, dating from the XIIIth century before our era, presents a very remarkable figure of this goddess, in which the serpent type is preserved, the body being that of a woman, the lower extremities replaced by the coiled tails of two serpents¹¹⁰. The Chinese text in its conciseness does not say if the ophiomorphous part of *Nü Kwa*'s body was double or single, but the

likeness is obvious under that respect between the Chinese semi-goddess and the Chaldean goddess.

48. Therefore the similarity of sound between the ophiomorphous Nü Kwa and the alike ophiomorphous Hindu Nagas is nothing far from a pitfall. The conception of the Nagas was developed from the ancient and native worship of the serpent; they are usually described as more or less invested with the human form, and endowed with knowledge, strength and beauty¹¹¹. Contrariwise to the Chinese mythical being, sole of her nature, they are very numerous, existing in the regions under the earth, instead of above, and far from ruling, they are ruled by three principal serpents¹¹². And besides, their appearance in literature shows them to have been conceived in the Indian imagination in comparatively late times. We are referred to the writings of Varaha Mihira of the VIth century¹¹³ for a curious invocation to them. Even admitting, as probable, their existence some time before, they could not have exercised any influence on the Chinese story.

NOTES 94) W. F. Meyers, *op. laud.* p. 101. has found in the *Kwang poh wuh tchih* by Tung sze-tchang, 1607, under *Shen spirit*, an excerpt purposing to be from the *Fung su t'ung*, but singularly corrupted and not found in the modern editions of the latter work. I have found it given in full in the *Tui ping yü lin* of 983, Riv. 7v, fol. 5, from where I take my quotation. In the *Kwang poh wuh tchi*, there is a group of curious statements about Nü Kwa who is represented by some as the Empress, by others as the sister of the Divine Fuh hi. The invention of certain musical instruments, of surnames and of regulated marriages is ascribed to her. Fuh-hi is generally attributed the two latter inventions. In the *Shi pen*, and in the *Li Ki*, XII, 25, Nü Kwa is attributed the invention of the reed organ.

95) Col. III. l. 8, 13 and 14.

96) For the Chinese symbols of the name, cf. § 26 *supra*.

97) W. Fred. Meyers, *o.c.* p. 100.

98) *Shwoh wen*, edit. Chalmers, No. 202.

99) Namely with 弱, according to Twan yu-tsai, XVII.—The final vowel was dropped in course of time, but the rhyme shows it clearly.

100) This is one of the numerous instances where the author of the *Shwoh Wen* and his successors, blind with their philosophical prejudices, have egregiously failed in their endeavour to discriminate the etymology of a character, although acknowledging it as a compound.

101) Cf. Min Ts'i-kih, *Luh shu t'ung* Klv. I, fol. 32.—Tung Wei-fu, *Tchwen tze wei*, sub. verb.

102) Cf. T. de L., *Le non-monosyllabisme du Chinois Antique*, Paris, 1889, sect. 4.

103) Cf. F. Lenormant, *Essai de Commentaire des fragments Cosmogoniques de Berosé*; *Les Origines de l'histoire*, vol. I, p. 506.—Prof. A. H. Sayce, *Hibbert lectures*, p. 369, has not made any remark on

- that name in Berosus' text.
- 104) In Brunnow's list 5682.
- 105) *Glossaire Accadien*, sub. verb. No. 325; and his *Etudes Accadiennes*, vol. III, 40, 48.—Ed. Chossat, *Répertoire Sumérien*, p. 168.
- 106) *Hibbert Lectures on the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*. p. 118-119.
- 107) Translated by Prof. Sayce, *Hibbert lectures*, p. 67.
- 108) In Alex. Polyhistor. Prof. Sayce has translated it again in his *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 369.
- 109) Cf. A. H. Sayce: *Hibbert lectures*, pp. 133, 134, 116.
- 110) W. St. Chad Boscawen, *From Under the Dust of Ages*, p. 39.
- 111) A. Barth, *The Religions of India*, p. 265-266.—Such a conception is found elsewhere. Herodotus (VII, 9 ff.) has a legend of the Mother Ancestor of the Royal Scythians (South Russia) who was half-snake and half-woman.
- 112) Monier Williams, *Hinduism*, p. 170.
- 113) *Yogoyâtrâ*, VI, 20-29 in *Ind. stud.*, XIV, 329; A. Barth, *The Religions of India*, pp. 94, 254.

49. Native commentators and rationalists have been at a loss to suggest plausible explanations of the various incidents in the vague and floating tradition we have reported. The most ingenious ideas have been put forth on the subject, but we are sorry to say, until a comparison with the Chaldean tradition could be made by European erudition nothing definitive could be expected.

Tchao-y, a native scholar of distinction, in his *Miscellanies* published in 1790, thought that the story of melting stones to repair the Heavens is wild and absurd in the extreme; but he pointed out that it is not certain that this showed the true signification of the words; and he quotes an opinion of the writer Lu Shên, to the effect that the character translated to repair might be taken in its sense of to supplement, and that the passage may therefore mean the burning of stones of five colours to supply the place of the light of Heaven during darkness, this being first done by Nü Kwa at a time when human beings were altogether uncivilized and ignorant of the uses of fire. W. F. Meyers, whom we follow in this analysis, remarked that in this ingenious theory it would almost seem as if Lu Shên suggests the discovery of coal as the true origin of the myth concerning Nü Kwa: since the prismatic hues seen in that substance might well obtain for it the name of "stone of the five colours."¹¹⁴ Tchao-y is inclined to differ from the authority he quotes, on the ground that the function of Prometheus is already ascribed by Chinese tradition to Sui Jin, a predecessor of Nü Kwa and Fu-hi; but the speculation of another writer, named Hwang Tchih-yü, which he

adduces, to the effect that perhaps the explanation should consist in Nü Kwa having been the first to fuse the "five metals" for the use of man, supplying in tools and utensils the deficiencies of nature, seems even more far-fetched if possible, than the preceding one. The *coal* theory is simply unacceptable, as it does not explain any of the peculiarities of the case. All these attempts must be finally discarded; the Rainbow being undoubtedly the meteor genuinely described by the metaphor of the story."

50. As to the "cutting off the feet of the Tortoise to support the Earth, no native writer has ventured upon any explanatory suggestion. The statement is found in Lieh-tze,¹¹⁵ but Hwai-nan tze, who wrote later, was not as precise in his words, and only said that Nü Kwa made use of the feet of the Tortoise, &c., therefore implying, but not stating, that she cut them off. Szema Tchong repeated¹¹⁶ the statement of Lieh-tze.

51. This part of the legend had its source in Hindu influence. The idea of the four pillars of heaven was very old in the west; it once belonged to the Egyptian cosmogony and is described in a hieroglyphic inscription of Esneh, where it is said that Shen "hanged the ceiling of heaven on its four pillars"¹¹⁷. Such views, as far as they were represented in popular mythology, were carried over to India by the sea trade in the Arabian sea, and have exercised, in the same way as several other Egyptian notions¹¹⁸, an important influence on the Hindus, influence which has crept in their religious literature. The feet of the tortoise to support heaven in Lieh-tze's account were a poetical conception suggested by some Hindu ideas of the Kurma avatara of Vishnu or the embryonary ideas afterwards developed into it, which had come to his knowledge in a vague and loose form¹¹⁹, and which must have reached China by the east along the Indian Ocean and the Yellow Sea. The evidence to that effect consists in the superimposition which was made of these ideas of Hindu mythology over the romantic geography and the fabulous notions then current about the Japanese and Liu-kiu islands, as yet almost unknown¹²⁰. As the little of navigation at that time was in the hands of foreigners, some of whom had settled on the sea-borders of Shantung peninsula¹²¹, no positive knowledge was in the reach of the Chinese, otherwise than through them.

NOTES 114) *On the legends relating to Nü Kwa*, l.c.—The curious idea of the Rainbow being produced by insects, which we have reported in a previous note (91) does not seem to appear anywhere else, although the phenomenon is connected sometimes with living beings. In Fin-

land, the R. is a monster drinking (cf. Aspelin, col. 70, *Mélusine*, II). In Croatian among other names for the R., are *Duga*=dove, *Rodica*=small stork, *Marra*=black cow (cf. Valjavc, *Arkiuga prorjesticu jugoslavensku*, 1863, t. VII; *ibid.*, II, col. 111). In North Guinea, W. Africa, the R. is called *Anjiewo*=serpent-of-the-north, in the Aongla dialect of the Ewé language. (Cf. R. Basset, col. 576, *Mélusine*, tom. III).—The superstition which forbids pointing out at the rainbow, which in the same previous note we have mentioned from the *She King* in the VII. cent. A.C., is found also in the *Laws of Manu*, IV, 59: "A wise man if he sees a rainbow in the sky, must not point it out to anybody." (Cf. transl. G. Bühler, p. 138, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XXV). And also in Europe; in Harz, the culprit of this infraction would be punished by God; in Bohemia, he would lose the finger or be struck by a thunderbolt. (Cf. Wuttke, *Deutsch. Abergl.*, 13, 184; *Mélusine*, tom. II, col. 108).

115) Chapt. *Tang wan*.

116) *She Ki pu*. San Hwang pên ki, fol. 2.

117) C. Brugsch, *Religion und Mythologie der alten Ägypter nach den Denkmälern*, Leipzig. 1884-1888, pp. 207-209.—G. Maspero, *La Mythologie Égyptienne*, in *Revue des Religions*, 1888, vol. XVIII, pp. 266, 276.

118) For instance the three seasons of the year; the system of up-right weaving; (cf. Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt*, 85; Ad. Pictet, *Les Aryas primitifs*, vol. II, 174). In Egypt they divided each sign of the zodiac into nine parts, making 108 divisions, which became the Hinduic and Buddhist sacred number; (cf. Ferguson, *Chinese Cycles*, p. 261). Col. Henry Congrève, in his articles *On the Origin of Brahmanism*, 1861, and *On Druidical and other Antiquities between Mettapoliam in Coimbatore and Karnuh on the Tungabhadra*, 1879, has pointed out some peculiar similarities in Hindu and Egyptian architecture.

119) At the time of the *Çatapatha Brâhmaña*, (VIIIth cent. A.C.) it had not yet assumed the shape under which it was spread into China; the following slight allusion only exists in the work, VII, 5, 15; Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, I, p. 54: Pradjâpati, assuming the form of a tortoise (Kurma), brought forth all creatures. In so far as he brought them forth, he made them (akarot), and because he made them he was (called) tortoise (Kârma). A tortoise is (called) Kâshyapa, and therefore all creatures are called Kâshyapa, tortoise-like. He who was this tortoise (Kârma) was really Âditya (the sun). Cf. Max Müller, *India, what can it teach us?* p. 138.—In an older work, the *Tattiriya Sanhitâ* is the following story: "At first this was water, fluid. Pradjâpati, the lord of creatures, having become wind, moved on it. He saw this earth, and becoming a bear, he took it up (with his tusks, says a later account). Becoming Vishvakarman, the maker of all things, he cleaned it. It spread and became the wide-spread Earth, and this is why the Earth is called Prithivi, the wide spread." Cf. Max Müller, *ibid.*, pp. 137, 369.—These stories were embodied in the third and second avatars of Vishnu and connected with the deluge legends. In the first avatar Vishnu became a *Matsya*, the fish, and saved Manu and his boat from the Deluge. In his second avatar, he stationed himself as a tortoise at the bottom of the sea, that his

back might serve as a pivot for the mountain *Mandara*, around which the gods and demons twisted the great serpent *Vasuki*, churning the ocean for the recovery of fourteen precious things, the first of which being the *Amrita*, or beverage of immortality. (Cf. Monnier Williams, *Hinduism*, p. 105; Edw. Balfour, *Cyclopedia of India*, III ed. vol. II, 842, III, 1022; Edw. Moor, *The Hindu Pantheon*, N. Ed., p. 111.

120) It is difficult not to recognize an influence of these ideas in the statements of Lieh-tze which we resume here.—In the east of Puh-hai (gulf of Pehtchili) there is a great sea in the middle of which, there are mountains called: *Tai-yü*, *Yuen-kiao*, *Fang-hu*, *Yng-tchou* and *P'ung-lai*;...where is found a fountain of life which preserves from old age and from death. (Cfr. the *Amrita*). These islands moved with the tide (cf. the mountain which stands on a pivot). Under the guidance of the God of the North, a great tortoise lifted them by fifteen movements of the head upon its back (Cf. in the Hindu account, Vishnu in his avatars, as a boar taking up the earth with his tusks, and as a tortoise bearing it on his back, to get the fourteen precious things; cf. also P'ung-lai, anciently *Bom-lai* with *Mandara*). The same stories are found in other Chinese works than that of Lieh-tze. For instance, an old book, the *Yuen chung ki* states that *P'ung lai* rested on the back of a great tortoise. Cf. *Tai ping yü lan*, Kiv. 38, f. ol. 8. Wang Kia, 4th cent. in his *Shih y Ki* has reported the mythological account of a divine tortoise of large size, which was west of *Yuen-kiao*, one of the five isles of the genii quoted above. Two of these isles according to Lieh-tze's account had sunk in the North sea. The *Shih tchou ki* by Tung-fang So (200 A.C.) contains most marvellous descriptions, enlarged upon Lieh-tze's work. Cf. also for European resumé: W. F. Meyers, *Chinese Reader's Manual*, I, Nos. 132. 559, 647 and 925; G. Schlegel *Uranographie Chinoise*, p. 61; J. J. M. de Groot, *Les fêtes à Emoui*, vol. I, p. 166; N. B. Dennys, *The Folklore of China*, p. 82.

121) On this ancient maritime trade, cf. my *Origin of the early Chinese civilisation from western sources*, VI c; *B. & O. R.*, vol. III, p. 104.—The existence of these islands however was not unknown. The *Shün hai king*, says that the Pung-lai island was a fairy land in the sea, but the route to reach it was not known. Szema Ts'ien in the *She Ki* records that Siuen, king of Ts'i (455-404 A.C.) and afterwards Tch'ao, king of Yen (311-278 A.C.) had sent envoys to P'ung lai, Fang-tchang and Yng-tchou from where they had the greatest difficulty to come back and about which they told many marvels. Cf. *Tai ping yü lan*, Kiv. 38, fol. 9. In 219 A.C., Siü-fuh, obtained from She Hwang-ti, then residing in Shantung, the permission of starting an expedition towards the fairy islands, but no positive account has been preserved of his venture which does not seem to have been successful, and is looked upon as an attempt at colonising Japan.

52. At a much later period, a fragment of the Indian version of the deluge has been carried to China with the worship of the god Avalôkitêshvara¹²². This worship was grafted on that of a former deity, also of foreign importation¹²³ who from the XIIth century assumed the ap-

pearance of a goddess, although keeping the former appellative of *Kwan-yn*¹²⁴.

53. The Rev. Dr. C. Gutzlaff reports¹²⁵ that, in one of the temples of *Kwan-yn*, the goddess of Mercy, he saw, in beautiful stucco, the scene where the goddess looks down from heaven upon the lonely Noah¹²⁶ in his ark, amidst the raging waves¹²⁷ of the deluge, with the dolphins swimming around as his last means of safety ; and the dove with an olive branch in its beak, flying towards the vessel ; the author adds that nothing could have exceeded the beauty of the execution.

The *Manu* of the Indian tradition, and the fishes, must be recognized here. The picture was obviously that of an episode of the *Matsyaka* story in the *Mahābhārata*¹²⁸. *Manu* on the advice of the fish is on a boat, everything is flooded, neither land nor sky are visible, and the ship tosses to and fro on the raging waves. Then the great fish comes forward and tows the boat¹²⁹. The dove incident however is an addition in conformity with the original tradition, which does not appear in the Indian versions. The oldest version of the same story in the *Ātapatha Brahmana*¹³⁰ does not contain it, nor do the other versions of the *Bhāgavata Purāna*¹³¹, and of the *Matsya Purāna*¹³². This influence from India, brought in by Buddhists, has nothing whatever to do with the legend of *Nü Kwa*.

54. *Nü Kwa* playsher part of grandmother during all the story. For instance verse 12th deserves more attention than we gave to it par. 37. She is said to have killed the black dragon to relieve the country of *Ki*. Nothing is said of this black dragon previously and nothing in the legend shows what the monster could be. The incident however, is a genuine part of the story : it has been handed down by several ancient writers and notably by *Liu Ngan* otherwise *Hwai-Nan-tze*. But if we refer to the Chaldean legend we find the required explanation. It says (col. 3, ll. 20, 21) that *Mu-seri-ina-namari* arose from the horizon of heaven like a black cloud. Now this impersonation, like a black cloud source of the rains of the deluge, is the black dragon spoken of in the Chinese legend, and killed by *Nü Kwa* before the sacrifice reported or alluded to afterwards. Such a view, connecting a black dragon with the rain and floods, has pervaded the Chinese mind, and numerous legends stories and superstitions have grown out of it.¹³³

NOTES 122) On this deity, cf. E. Eitel, *Handbook of Chinese Buddhism*, 18-20. And also, J. J. de Groot, *Les fêtes Annuellement célébrées à Emoui* (Annal. Musée Guimet, vol. XI, XII), part I, p. 178-200.

- 123) The worship of that deity was introduced by the sea traders. S. Beal, *Buddhism in China*, 119-127, has made some suggestive researches on the matter.
- 124) J. Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*, 382.
- 125) *Remarks on the present state of Buddhism in China*, p. 79 of *J.R.A.S.*, vol. XVI.
- 126) Not Noah, but Manu, as explained in the text.
- 127) Kwan-yn, is sometimes represented in eight metamorphoses, assumed for the purpose of saving men from eight kinds of suffering; shipwrecked sailors, in one part of the picture, are seen reaching the shore. Cf. J. Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*, 245.—An episode of the legend of Manu was grafted on this.
- 128) *Vanaparva*, v. 1274 —12804.
- 129) Ad. Pictet, *Les origines Indo-Européennes*, II, 613.
- 130) I Kānda, 8 Adhyāya, 1 Brāhmana; transl. Julius Eggeling, p. 216 sq.. Sacred Books of the East, vol. XII. It was first pointed out by Albr. Weber, *Indische studien*, I, 161,—Cf. Max Muller, *History of Sanskrit literature*, 425.—J. Muir, *Sanskrit texts*, II, 324.—Ad. Pictet, *Les origines*, II, 615.—Max Müller. *India, What can it teach us ?* 134-136.
- 131) VIII, 24. Ed. Burnouf, II, 177, and transl. 191.
- 132) H. H. Wilson, *Vishnu Purāna*, pref. 51.
- 133) Such, for example, the feast of the Vth day of the Vth month, on which see Dr. J. J. de Groot, *Les fêtes annuellement célébrées à Emoui*, vol. I. pp. 361-378.

55. The connection between many episodes of the Chinese story with those of the western traditions and legends in the Biblical lands is so close, that a general relation of origin for them all, suggests itself, not as a probability but as a fact. Once stripped of its Chinese and Hindu additions, the story of Nü Kwa exhibits similarities in some details which indicate a much closer connection with the Chaldean legend than with the Hebrew tradition. The earthquake episode, not visible in the latter, and somewhat toned down in the Chaldean poem, is conspicuous in the Chinese legend. Some other discrepancies are important. The flood in the Nü Kwa story has not the prominent place, and appears only as secondary. There is no building and floating of a boat, or ark, with all its details, and there is no rescue of one or several people with or without divine help, all circumstances of primeval importance in the Chaldean and Hebrew traditions. They have the first place in the Indu versions which therefore cannot have been the antecedent of the Chinese story. We shall have to take all these considerations into account, when in the next chapter, we draw up our conclusions and inferences suggested by the existence of these curious remains of the Deluge tradition in China.

TEBRIEN DE LACOUPERIE.

(To be continued).

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

(Continued from p. 63).

SECTION VIII (cont.)

26. *Gāḍyam*. Recitation, speech. T. *rgyañ pa* [read *rkyañ*].—M. *ikīri-bithe*, discourse, simple style. Mg. id. without mixture. Ch. Continuous discourse, prose, (in opposition to the following, § 27).
27. *Chandas*. Poetry, rhythmical and rhymed compositions. T. *stabs sbyon*, poetic measure. M. concordant, rhyming, well harmonized sounds.
28. *Dandakam*.¹ T. *rgyud-c'ags*, id. M. long poem. Ch. long composition. Mg. id.
29. *Samantakam*. Preparation. T. *ñer brdoñs*, id. M. necessary preparation. Ch. entrance into meditation.
30. *Māulam*. Fundamental, essential. T. *dnos-ñid*. Mg. essential, personal. Ch. correct, principal (*ch'ing*). M. having a perfect mien or exterior. The Māla-granthas, fundamental collection of the primitive sūtras.

1) D. is a particular kind of metre and composition, or else the name of a book explaining the causes of existences (*danda* in Buddhist terminology). The Tibetan translation would seem to indicate that the true reading is *tantra*. The tantras are long formulas of necromantic mysticism. They make up all the last part (22 volumes) *Rgyud*, of the *Bkā-'gyur*.

The names enumerated in this section are either titles of special works, or qualifications of either certain kinds of compositions, or of sacred books in general. Several have been explained in the text itself above.

The *Lankāvataram* (No. 2) is a treatise of higher philosophy, mingled with polemic. It treats of the essence of being, and combats heterodox views regarding *nidāna* and *nirvāna*. It belongs to the Southern Mahāyānists, and its author was Jñānavajra.

The *Āgamas* (No. 17) are collections treating of the precepts of the Law. They form several treatises, arranged according to their length and the form of their instructions. They are divided into four: *āgamacatusṭayam*, thus:

(i) *Dirghāgamam* ("the Long A.") which combats error; (ii) *Madhyamam* ("The Middle A."), which explains mysteries; (iii) *Samyuktam* ("The Abbreviated"), which is occupied with contemplation; (iv) *Ekottarim* ("One and Following"), which may be called 'numerical', and which arranges the subjects according to the number of points or objects, -

e.g. 2 virtues, 3 signs, 4 truths, etc. Burnouf translates the name by "supplementary", and Remusat by "one added". It belongs to the Sautrantist Hināyāna. Beal says: "The idea is taken from adding one to every number after ten, in order to produce the text," *Chinese Tripitaka*, 36.

No. 4. *Surikrāntavikramāpariprecha*, or "Questions of the valiant S." is the last volume of the *Prajñāparamita*, or Transcendental Wisdom, attributed to Kācyaapa, the disciple and successor of Buddha.

No. 5. *Ālisaṃbhava* is a sūtra, being 10th in Vol. xvi of the sūtras or *mūla* of the Bkâ-gyur. It treats of the mutual concatenation of causes and existences; and the growth of rice serves as the point of comparison.

No. 6, the *Ratnôlkā*, *Ratnakutā*, *Ratnakotī*, form sūtras speaking of the Law, the Bodhisatvas, &c.

The *Sanghata Sūtra dharmapariyaya* (No. 8), in the 4th book of the Sūtras, speaks of purification, vows, the perfectioning of the young.

The *Āstas* and the *Ādānas* are numerous; e.g. *Vinaya-Anusara-Āstra*, *Vibhāsha-Āstra*, *Saddharma-prākāṣa-ādana*, etc.

Of the *Samayas* we will mention the *Mahāsamaya* treating of *dhāraṇī* or mystic formulas; the *Trisamaya vyūha* tantra. A great *Samaya sūtra* was preached by Buddha at Mahāvānavihāra and converted millions of devas and brahmins.

The greater part of the following terms designate simply styles of composition.

The *Prajñāptivādins* are spoken of as heretics in the list of 68 false doctrines which sprang up in the midst of Buddhism:—See Burnouf, 'Lotus de la Bonne Loi,' p. 357.

SECTION IX.

Gsuñ rab yañ lag bcu gñis.

The 12 parts of the Sacred Books.

1. *Sutrīsēnā*. [Read *Sātrasēnā*] Section of sūtras. T. *mdo sde*, collection of sūtras. M. Mg. *Suduri*, *Sutur*, history, (false transcription). Ch. principles of the Law. (*Sātrāṇena*, etc).
2. *Gēyasēnā*. Poetry, canticles. T. *dbyaṅs gyis bsñān paḥi sde*. M. section of rhythmical expositions. Ch. prayers of praise in series.
3. *Vyākaranamsēnā*. Preachings and avātaras or births of Buddha. T. *luñ bstan*, recalled mysteries. M. & Mg. transcribe as *biyangerit*. Ch. *Ki*, relations.
4. *Gāthāsēnā*. Gāthās, sacred books in stanzas. M. Mg. section of poetry. T. *ts'igs-su bcaḍ-pa*, stanzas.
5. *Udāsēnam* [read *Udānasēnā*]. T. *c'ad-du brz'od*, words, sentences uttered for a purpose. M. suitable explanations given as reasons for a thing. Ch. things said spontaneously, without interrogation: *wuh wen tse shwoh*.
6. *Nidānām Sēnā*. (Causes). Treatises explaining ontological causes. T. *gleñ gz'ihi sde*, id. M. what explains causes.

7. *Avadânâm Sênâ*. Section of (sûtras in) parables and comparisons. T. *rtogs pa brjod pa*, moral legends, (lit. demonstrative discourse). M. discourse in parables and comparisons. Ch. comparisons, illustrations.
8. *Ativrttakâm Sênâ* [*Itivrttak*]. Recitations, (lit. 'thus happened'). T. *de lta bu byun*, recitals made in this manner. M. discourses on things suitable in this manner. Ch. fundamental or primitive things.
9. *Jâtakâm Sênâ*. Birth-stories of Buddhas and Boddhisattvas in their anterior existences. T. *Skye-rabs* [written *sgyes*] *kyi sde*, series of histories of anterior periods. Ch. origins, primitive births.
10. *Vâipulyam*. Development. T. *çin tu rgyas ba*. M. Mg. great (*vi*) development. Sûtras of late date, developing in prolix fashion the ancient doctrinal treatises, with redundant amplifications, repetitions, prophecies, etc.
11. *Adbhûtaadharma*. Books of marvellous anecdotes, prodigies worked by holy persons, &c. T. *rmud byuñ pa hi c'os kyi sde*, section of the dharma of wonderful marvels. M. id. Ch. what has not yet existed¹.
12. *Upadêça*. (Teaching, advice), Books of instruction². T. *gañ rnal pa hi bstan pañi sde*, doctrine of the Yoga. M. book of secret, or occasional treatises. Ch. conversations.

1) The Ch. has taken *adbhûta* [= *atibhûta* ?] supernatural, for *abhûta*, what does not exist. *Dharma* is taken in the sense of a book of the Law.

2) The Tibetan refers rather to the tantras of the Yôgâcâras, a sect which mixes up Brahmanic, Çivaitic and Buddhist doctrines, and is prodigal of miracles in its books. These are also the parts containing discourses on doctrine or principles.

Indian Buddhism after its expulsion from India became concentrated specially in two countries, situated at opposite extremities, Nepal and Ceylon, where it forms the two branches of the great doctrine to which have been given the names of Northern and Southern Buddhism respectively. These two sects have very important differences in doctrine and practice. They are also particularly distinguished by this, that Northern Buddhism remaining more Brahmanic has inherited the taste of Hinduism for marvellous legends and supernatural beings, so that it has created for itself a complete and real mythology and an Olympus, peopled by a crowd of saints, Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, etc., all provided with histories and honoured like divine beings. Each sect has its own language; the Northern has preserved the Brahmanic Sanskrit, the Southern has clung to Pâli, the language of Lower Magadha. Their books are not identical, each has its own, although many are extremely similar. The complete collection of the Southern books forms what is called the Tripitaka or 'Threefold Basket,' one comprising the *Sûtras*, maxims, sermons preached by the Buddha Çakyamûni himself to the crowd of his hearers; the *Vinaya*, or code of moral and disciplinary rules, principally of the re-

ligious ; and the *Abhidharma* (Superior Law) or *Mātrikā* (?), a collection of metaphysical theses composed by Buddha's disciples, but based on the teachings of the Master, of which they are but the development.

The Nepalese collection is not divided into these three categories of books, although it speaks incidentally of them. It has another kind of more extensive division, exposed in the present chapter, and comprising 12 groups, designated as *Sēdā* :—

1. *Sūtra* : expositions of doctrine emanating from Buddha. They are not limited to ethics, parables, etc., but comprise even metaphysical treatises, like the *Prajñāparāmīta*. The Northern Buddhist attach to the word *Sūtra* the meaning of *fundamental books*, like the Vedas. The earlier ones were generally brief, and we still possess some of them.

2. *Gēya*, poetical books composed in honour of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. The Nepalese list of Mr. Hodgson cites the *Gīta pustaka*. From the rest of our list, it would seem that we ought to range under this head only the works entirely rhythmical, without any admixture of prose, or at least the rhythmical parts of the Buddhist books.

3. *Vyākaraṇa*, explanation or narrative of the deeds exploits of Buddhas before Nirvāna, and of Bodhisattvas. According to some, simple predictions of destiny made by Buddha to his disciples. In this latter case, there is question, not of special books, but of parts or fragments of books, of initial expositions.

4. *Gāthā*, or song, designates the strophes found in narrative or other books, which are a kind of development or explanation of what precedes.

5. *Udāna*, (lit. 'aspiration') is interpreted in different ways, as shown by the versions. It is either a song of praise or exultation in Buddha's honour ; or a discourse of Buddha, called forth by some special circumstance or event, not by a question, but by an inspiration of the Tathāgata, who penetrates the secrets of hearts and sees the necessity of a particular warning or teaching. In Nepal, on the contrary, it is a dialogue between a Buddha and a monk ; or else a piece of verse summing up a teaching, in order to inculcate it better. See the *Udānavarga*. The former explanation agrees better with the etymological sense.

6. *Nidāna* treats of the causes of events, the means of acquiring virtues. It is an explanation called forth by questions of the disciples, &c.

7. *Avadāna*, lit. act of delivering or recounting ; legend, recital. The object of the Avadānas is specially to show that the conditions, natural qualities and acts of a life proceed from anterior acts, and that the present life will determine future conditions and acts. The Chinese see in them particularly comparisons, as these are the ordinary means employed in this kind of text. The Nepalese list has here *Itiyukta*, (lit. 'said thus'), or explanation of a preceeding discourse. The *Avadānas* from the 11th section of it.

8. *Ativṛttakam*. Judging from the Tibetan text, we have here the *Itiyuktam* of the Nepalese. The Chinese term which surprised Burnouf might be referred to our word *Ativṛtta*, which Burnouf did not know. (Introduction, p. 54). This word, in fact, may signify "what has happened a long time ago." Mr. Rhys Davids ("Buddhism," 20) quotes "*itivattaka* 110 extracts beginning; thus it was spoken by the Blessed One."

9. *Jātaka*. See Fausbøll's "Buddhist Birth-Stories."
10. *Vāipulya*. This term is already employed in the 'Lotus de la bonne Loi,' (Burnouf, p. 15), when we find Manjuçri exposing the Vāipulya-sūtras. The Lalita Vistara is one of these. *Vaipulya* is derived from *Vipula*, 'extended.' The 'extended sūtras' belong to the Mahāyāna, and are especially destined to exalt Buddha by means of miracles.
11. *Adbhūta*, narratives of miracles, composed at an epoch somewhat distant from the primitive era. Also quoted in the 'Lotus de la bonne Loi,' p. 29-44. Burnouf does not seem to me to have properly grasped the force and origin of the Chinese "what has not yet existed," *ju wēi*.
12. *Upadēṣa*, lit. instruction, advice. This word designates almost the same thing as *tantra*. The Nepalese, Tibetans and Tartars see in it esoteric instructions; the Chinese simple conversations, those parts of the sacred books wherein doctrine is exposed and discussed in a dialogue. They are analytical examinations of doctrine. See the Dharmacakrapravartanasūtra *Upadēṣa*, Beal, 77.
- It will be seen from these explanations that the Nepalese categories, with the exception of the *Sūtras*, *Avadānas*, and perhaps the *Jātakas*, do not designate distinct books, but styles of compositions, of which several might exist in the same work. These twelve kinds of writings form the *Dvādaśadharmaprayacanam*.

C. DE HARLEZ.

(To be continued).

DID THE ASSYRIANS KNOW THE SEXES OF THE DATE-PALMS?

CONCLUSION.

SINCE writing my paper Prof. T. de Lacouperie communicated to me a note from Dr. E. B. Tylor, dated 25th March, pointing out a passage in Herodotus I. 193, regarding the sexes of date trees. In Rawlinson's translation III, 2nd edit. Vol. 1, p. 317, it reads thus: "The natives (of Babylonia) tie the fruit of the male-palms, as they are called by the Greeks, to the branches of the date bearing palm, to let the gall-fly enter the dates and ripen them, and to prevent the fruit from falling off. The male-palms, like the wild fig-trees, have usually the gall-fly in their fruit."

In note I, the translator, G. Rawlinson, observes: "Theophrastus first pointed out the inaccuracy of this statement (Hist. Plant. 11, 9.) Several writers, among them Larcher, and Bähr, have endeavoured to show that Herodotus is probably right and Theophrastus wrong. Modern travellers however side with the naturalist, against the historian. All that is required for fructification, they tell us, is that the pollen from the blossoms of the male palm should come in contact with the fruit of the female palm or date tree. To secure this, the practice of which Herodotus speaks is still observed."

From this passage in Herodotus it appears that there can be no doubt that the Babylonians knew that the male flowers had *some* influence on the production of the date fruit, but evidently they did not attribute that influence to the right source. It is true that in the interior of figs there are little galls, which give forth a minute fly, supposed to be the carrier of fertilization, from one fig to another, but to attribute the fertilization of the date fruit to a similar process appears to have been a little bit of 'a priori' fiction. That some sort of fly or insect carried the pollen from the male to the female flower of the date tree is probably true enough, but it is not known (nor is it necessary) that the male date flower gives cover to any gall-producing insect for the purpose of ripening the date. Even in the case of figs, it is not considered that this minute fly is probably unnecessary to effect maturation. As shown by Dr. G. King (Sp. of Ficus, Indo-Malay, and Chinese countries—1887), the real office of these fig-gall-flies has probably yet to be discovered.

Fully admitting that the Babylonians had a vague notion of the sexes of date trees, and of the importance of bringing the two together, which latter practically though perhaps unconsciously amounted to artificial fertilization, it does not follow that the genius with cone and bucket, in the Assyrian monuments, has anything to do with artificial fertilization of date palms. I think the concluding paragraph of W. St. Chad Boscawen in his 'Notes on the Assyrian Sacred Trees' (p. 950. *B. & O. R.* March 1890) greatly strengthens the theory that the cone is meant for an 'aspergillum', and the bucket meant to contain some sort of holy water, which the genius is sprinkling by means of the cedar-cones, used as an 'aspergillum.' It is probable therefore that the action of that puzzling figure may now be considered to be disposed of. The winged figure was very probably meant to convey the idea of a guardian angel, performing a ceremony, with a holy water, with which somehow the Assyrians were acquainted, and of which the custom still exists among some oriental sects in Egypt, as a survival of that ancient ceremony.

E. BONAVIA.

STRAY NOTES ON DATE-PALMS IN ANTERIOR ASIA.

Dr. P. Jensen, *De incantamentorum Sumerico-Assyriorum seriei quæ dicitur "šurbu,"* tabula VI. 1, in *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung*, vols. I, II. 1884-5, has the following passages interesting for the subject discussed by Dr. Bonavia's paper:—Incantamenta:

Vol I. p. 285—...Dactylus sicut sicut dactylus ut abscindatur! utinam abscindatur.

p. 287.—Sicut dactylus iste abscinditur et in ignem inicitur, flamma comburens comburit (eum), in spatham is qui carpsit non restituet, ad

cylinder, fragmentary as it is, explains the nature of the war upon which this title was based. It is clear that the outbreak was a revolt including all the States of Southern Palestine, Philistia, Moab, Edom, and assisted by the neighbouring kingdom of Egypt. It is interesting to notice the expression applied to Pharaoh by the Assyrian king, *la-mušēšibi sunu*, "unable to save them," which bears a curious resemblance to the "bruised reed" of Isaiah (ch. xxx. 6). The text, which will be found in Winckler, *Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, pl. 44-45, I transliterate as follows :

- 1 Ina IX garri-ya a-na
- 2 (mar) tiamti rabāti a[lik]
- 3 Alu Ašdudi
- 4
- 5 aš - šu
- 6 iš - tu alu (?)
- 7 Akhi - miti
- 8 akhu talim šu eli šunu
- 9 u - rab - bu šu u
- 10 biltu madatu
- 11 kima šarrani [makhruti]
- 12 eli - šu aškun
- 13 limnuti ina [libbi sina]
- 14 ana la nasee bilti
- 15 (*obliterated*)
- 16 maliki šunu sikhū
- 17
- 18 u - še - šu - šu
- 19 Yava-ni (niš) rabi
- 20 Ana šerruti eli su-nu [ina kussi
- 21 bili šu ušešib
- 22 alu su - nu
- 23
- 24 kābiti
- 25 u mitkharis
- 26 [alāni] liviti su
- 27 XX ka-na LX ammatu a-na supati
- 28 ikšuddu mie nakbi ana (ali ?)
- 29 ša mat Pilisti (𐎶 𐎶 𐎶) mat Yaūdi (𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶)
- mat udu(mu) (𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 [𐎶 𐎶])
- 30 mat Mābi (𐎶 𐎶 𐎶) ašibut tiamti nās bilti
- 31 tamarti sa (ili) Aūsar bili - ya
- 32 dabibi šarrāte la mēnu khullāti
- 33 ša ittiya ana šunkuri eli Pi-ir-h'-u (𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶)
- 34 šar mat Mušri malku la musezibu-šunu
- 35 Sulmana šunu iššu-ma etirrisūs
- 36 kidra Anaku Sarru-ukin rubu kinu
- 37 palikh mamit Ilu Nabu Ilu Marduk naširu
- 38 zikri Ilu Aūsar Nar Diglat u Nar Puratu
- 39 ina meli kissati edū tuklat [ummani]
- 40 napališ ušetik u šu Yavani
- 41 šarru šunu sa ina e[muk rama]-ni su

44 ittaklu ma ul[iknusu] ana biluti ya
 45 alik girri ya ana ruketi ismema
 46 namurat ilu Aūsar bili ya iskhupšu ma
 47-53 (*much broken*) innabit
 54 Asdudi

Translation.

1 In my ninth campaign to
 2 the land of the great sea I went
 3 the city of Ashdod
 4
 5 I carried (?)
 6 from the city
 7 Akhimiti
 8 his foster - brother
 9 I had raised him
 10 tribute and offering
 11 as of former kings
 12 upon him I appointed
 13 evil in their hearts they imagined
 14 not to bear tribute they (conspired)
 15 (*obliterated*)
 16 their princes a revolt (made)
 17 and drove them out
 18 Yavani a soldier
 19 to royalty over them on the throne
 20 of his lordship they caused to sit
 21 their city
 22
 23
 24 great
 25 and together with
 26 the cities dependent on it
 27 sixty cubits to the depth
 28 they brought the waters of the fountains of the city
 29 of the land of Philistia, Judea, and Edom,
 30 the land of Moab habitations by the sea, bearers of tribute
 31 and presents of Assur my lord (who)
 32 who repeated hostilities without number and evil things
 33 against me to cause him turn away to Pharaoh
 34 a king of Egypt, a prince who could not save him,
 35 they sent their peace-offering to him and desired to form an alliance.
 36 with a covenant. I, Sargon, the legitimate prince,
 37 the reverence of the oath of Nebo and Merodach, the guardian
 38 of the renown of Assur. The river Tigris and Euphrates
 39 in their gathered floods, with the pick of my army,
 40 in a storm I caused to cross; and he, Yavani,
 41 their king who to his own strength
 42 had trusted, and had not submitted to my lordship
 43 of the approach of my army from afar he heard, and
 44 the glory of Assur my lord overcame him
 45 he fled away 54 Ashdod.

W. ST. C. BOSCAWEN.

THE

BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

Contributors are alone responsible for their opinions or statements.

PURAMDHI IS THE GODDESS OF ABUNDANCE IN THE RIGVEDA.

SINCE the publication in this Review of my short paper on "Puramdhi the goddess of Abundance in the Rigveda"* the same subject has been treated by Hillebrandt in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, III Band 2. 3 Heft, and by Pischel in *Vedische Studien*, p. 202. The two writers have arrived at conclusions differing from each other and also differing from mine, as regards the fundamental character of Puramdhi, without counting a large number of passages which they have interpreted in a different manner.

Grave reasons had led me to admit that 'P. is primarily 'abundance': (1) the great number of passages wherein she appears in this character; (2) the facility with which the other meanings, differing only by shades, can be deduced from it; (3) the comparison with the Avestic *Pərəndi*, with which the points of contact are of such a nature that it would be difficult to regard them as fortuitous; (4) the most probable etymology of the word.

An attentive examination of Hillebrandt's and Pischel's articles has confirmed me in my first opinion. The latter admits that P. often signifies 'abundance' or the goddess of abundance, but he would derive this meaning from that of "Befruchtung." From the same sense, he derives for several passages that of 'liberality of men towards the gods, offering.' Moreover he believes that the word is sometimes employed as an adjective, signifying "fruchtbar, freigebig,"—fertile, liberal. But according to him, all these meanings are derived from a still more fundamental one, viz. that of 'prolific (wife)'. Against this opinion we may observe that the meaning 'prolific woman' never appears with certainty anywhere,

* *B. & O. R.* vol ii. p. 245.

whilst that of 'riches, abundance,' (whether personified or not), is clearly to be found in a great number of passages, as we have shown, and as the author himself admits.

In order to establish the meaning 'prolific wife' Pischel first of all reminds us of the Classical Sk. *puramdhi*, which, however, need not delay us, for it proves nothing for *púramdhi*.

Next he finds the meaning in X. 80, 1 :

(*dadāti*) *agnīr nāṣṭrīm vīrákukshim púramdhiṃ*.

Here he would render *púramdhi* by 'prolific.' To begin with, that would be a tautology; but that is not unheard of in the Rigveda. Only we must recollect that this is the *only* passage where the proposed meaning can be seen with anything like clearness. But it may just as well be translated "Agni (gives) a wife bearing a son in her womb, a *Puramdhi*" (i.e. a source of wealth. (*See further on*).

As for V, 41, 6. . . .

īshudyáva rtásāpaḥ puramdhiḥ
vāsvīr . . . pātñīr,

it does not follow that because *jánayaḥ pātñīḥ* is found elsewhere; or because Ushas is once called *jānī*, another time *puramdhi*, that, we must admit the equation *púramdhi*=*jānī*. The comparison merely proves the possibility of the hypothesis. Our passage is rather parallel to 5b : *rāyá eshé 'vase dadhita dhīḥ* : "May Dhī set about helping (us) in the search for riches." Similarly in v. 6 it is asked that the *spouses* may 'put the suppliants to prayer,' i.e. make them pray well. Similar requests are often addressed to the gods. In this way we do not depart from the general spirit of the passages relative to *Púramdhi*. P., in fact, is not abundance pure and simple, but the principle from which flow the gifts of the gods to men. and which is conceived as united with the beneficial deities themselves. We particularly recall here our remark (*B. & O. R.*, p. 248) on VII, 67, 5, where the Aṣvins are asked to help by the *Puramdhis* and by their *Īcī*, and are called at the same time *Īcīpati*. Here may be seen the germ, or one of the germs, of the *Īcī*, or female energies, of the later Hindu mythology.

The meaning 'prolific wife or mother', according to Pischel is to be found also in IX, 90, 4. He applies the word *púramdhi* to heaven and earth, as we did also (p. 247). It is quite true that heaven and earth are often called 'parents' or 'generators'; nay, it is true that this is their

principal character. But they often appear also as generous divinities, distributing all kind of goods. It is in this quality that they take their place in this verse, where there is question only of waters, light or riches to be obtained. The poet applies the name of the Goddess of Abundance to the two deities, because he wishes to bring out the qualities they have in common with her. The custom of thus applying the name of one deity to another is frequent in the Rigveda : the attributes characterising the divinity whose name is borrowed are thus attributed also to the one being celebrated.

In the Aṅvin myths P. is, according to Pischel, no longer the 'prolific wife', but simply the 'wife'. Certainly the passages alleged by the writer yield a good sense if translated in this way. But that is not enough. We have no right to depart from the established meaning without good reasons. Now P. is 'abundance' in a number of passages, and we have just seen that the proofs in favour of a meaning 'prolific wife' are null, or nearly so. And will not the ordinary meaning do for the verses relating to the Aṅvin myth? We believe it will, and we proceed to prove it. The passages are :

I, 117, 19 : (O Aṅvins) ye have come to the help of *Puramdhi* who was calling you.

I, 116, 13 : "When *Puramdhi*, invoked you, ye gave Hiraṇyahasta to (the wife) of the eunuch."

I, 117, 24 : Ye have given a son, Hiraṇyahasta, to the (wife) of the eunuch.

X, 39, 7 : "Ye have come at the call of the (wife) of the eunuch, Ye have given a fair offspring to *Puramdhi*."

In all these passages we translate P. as a proper name. Why, if it be merely intended to say 'a wife', is *Puramdhi* invariably employed? Even if it were established that it might signify 'Prolific wife', this fact would be very remarkable; but we repeat, the meaning has not been proved.

Pischel sees herein a legend, and we see a myth. In any case, this legend contains marvellous elements; why then cannot P. be a fabulous personage? In our first paper, we affirmed that P. is here the genius of abundance, that is, 'the principle from which flow the gifts of the gods to men, and which is conceived as united with the beneficent abundance preceeding from the gods, made fruitful by them. If the symbolical sense of these passages be admitted, everything is clearly explained. We have admitted this sense, because Kakshīvant is certainly a mythological or legendary—in any case a fabulous—personage. This deities themselves.' P. is not simply abundance, abundance by itself, but

does not prevent the Rigveda's knowing another Kakshivant and a real one, (cf. Bergaigne, *Religion Védique*, II, 479-81). To the present day the Hindus have their Nārāyaṇas, Viṣṇus, Rāmas, just as the French have their 'Achilles' and 'Hercules.' The name Hiraṇyabāhu given to a son of Puramdhi deserves attention. Like *hiraṇyabāhu* (golden-armed), the word is an epithet of the sun, 'golden-handed.' Now, the gifts of the gods are, above all, water and especially light. It is another question whether the myth or symbol was still understood by those who spoke about it. The passage I, 116, 7, would seem to shew that it was. The verse does not say exactly 'ye gave P. to Kakshivant who praised you,' but 'ye opened' (*rad*). Now *rad* means properly to open by biting, gnawing, splitting, &c. We may compare the Classical Sk. *rada*, *radana*. Then the sense is extended: it becomes 'to open a road,' (cf. German 'die Bahn brechen'); 'to open the road of the waters, or rivers.' Lastly, it comes to mean sometimes simply 'give,' a further extension of the preceding sense: to open or give waters, than goods in general. Still the context nearly always supplies an allusion to the more special sense of the word, eg. I, 116, 7, with which we are engaged at present:

*Kakshivate, aradatam pūramdhiṃ
Karota rāc chapēd āṇvasya vīśṇaḥ.
Gatān kumbhūn asiñcatam sūrayaḥ.*

"Ye broke open Puramdhi (the source of riches) to Kakshivant, from the sieve, from the hoof of the male horse, ye caused a hundred pitchers of water to flow."

The second part of the verse may very well be the explanation of the first. There is nothing to show that there is here reference to two exploits of the Aṇvins, but we acknowledge that it is impossible to prove the parallelism. We are inclined to admit it, both because of all the preceding considerations taken together, and because of the use of *rad*, and a comparison of I, 180, 6, where the Aṇvins are said: *ūpa . . . sṛjathah pūramdhiṃ*. *Upa-sṛj* means to pour out, or at least is applied only to an object which can be thrown like a liquid being poured out. It will be seen that it is nowhere necessary to translate P. otherwise than we proposed in our first paper. The meaning 'woman,' though strictly speaking possible, cannot be allowed because the context demands rather a proper name, and because there is no reason to oblige us to abandon the duly established meaning of 'goddess of abundance.'

I schel next quotes a text of the Yajurveda where the phrase *pūramdhir yōshā* may signify a 'fruitful wife.' Can this meaning be transferred to the Rigveda? Here we meet a question of principles*. We answer:

* Cf. "Les Principes de l'Exégèse Védique d'après M.M. Pischel et Geldner," in the *Muséon*, Avril, 1890.

Yes, provided the usage of the Rigveda does not oppose it. The Yajurveda is much later than the Rig; the language has certainly become modified, and we may not *à priori* identify the usages of the two documents. This is not exactly what Pischel claims to do: but he is inclined, particularly in practice, to lose sight of the distance which separates the language of the Rigveda from, that of all posterior texts. The use of *pûramdhi* in the sense of 'the fruitful one' may very easily be derived from that of 'abundance' deriving from the action of the god to whom she is united; from this we very easily arrive at the meaning of 'fecundity, the prolific one.' The custom of linking together synonyms whose meanings are mutually complementary and one of which is equivalent to an adjective (*âçva sâpti*) is quite recognised in the Rigveda and there is nothing to prevent us seeing here an apposition of the same kind, for we do not believe in an adjectival sense of *pûramdhi*. As for the etymologies of the commentators, we may be permitted to pass them over in silence, in spite of the meaning, 'body' attributed to *pur, pura*. Is not this a simple metaphor?

The fundamental meaning we have admitted for *Pûramdhi* is confirmed by the Avesta. The Avestic religion is profoundly different from that of the Rigveda, as Geldner admits at last, and with him Pischel. But this does not prevent the Avestic system, which is by no means homogeneous, from preserving very ancient elements of Aryan naturalism, all the more precious because the Avesta has not developed them. When it does modify them, it is in a monotheistic or dualistic sense. When it preserves them, it is to embalm them after the fashion of mummies. For this reason the naturalistic details of the Avesta are exceedingly valuable. It is true enough that neither *Puramdhi* nor *Pâreñdi* is purely naturalistic. But the coincidence is all the more remarkable for that. Both have relations to riches; both accompany the beneficent deities; both are invoked together with goddesses belonging to the public worships. Such coincidences, rendered more striking by the etymology of the two names, cannot be accidental. How Pischel, who translates *stryomayao pâreñdis* by 'die in Frauen bestehende Geschenke (Fülle),' can find herein a confirmation of the primitive meaning 'fruitful wife,' I cannot understand. On the contrary, the common character of the two goddesses viz: that of goddesses of riches and abundance, favours our opinion. It is not at all likely that these two deities, so similar in name and nature, should have had their origin independently one of the other: that would be allowing too much to mere hazard. It is true, the transition of mean-

ing proposed by Pischel may have taken place before the separation of the two peoples, or even have been worked out in an independent manner, without leaving any traces in the Avesta, or even certain ones in the Rigveda. But these are mere hypotheses, to which a scientific method obliges us to prefer conclusions drawn from the certain data we possess.

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In my first paper I laid much stress on the distinction between Puramdhi and Prayer, to which Bergaigne assimilates her (Op. cit. II, 477 sqq). But I did not lay emphasis on another and more real assimilation, viz : that of Puramdhi and the offering. Still, on pp. 248 and 249 several passages were indicated where the offering is called *pûramdhi* by metaphor. The offering is then considered as the source of riches, like abundance itself. Among the passages wherein Pischel recognizes this sense, we must put aside I, 123, 6 ; 134, 3 ; and particularly III, 62 A word of discussion is necessary for I, 181, 6 :

Yuvāṁ pūshévācvinā pûramdhir
Agnim ushāṁ nā jarate havishmān ;

which have been translated, according to Ludwig's construing :

O Aṁvins (saying) "you are like Pūshan and Puramdhi"
The offering man praises you like Agni and Ushas.

Pischel renders it :

To you, o Aṁvins, come the oblation like Pūshan
(to you) the offering man like Agni to Ushas.

To justify this version, he admits that *Agnim* is for the nominative. Nor is this arbitrary, for he seeks to prove the existence of this 'species of attraction' (*Vedische Studien* p. 91), but, in my opinion without success* Pūshan appears more than once with Puramdhi. The construction we have admitted may perhaps be reproached as rather far-fetched ; but Pischel's is none the less so. Pūshan appears with P. in VI, 21, 9. II, 31, 4. Pischel on the other hand, makes use of these passages to show that *pûramdhi* is employed as an adjective. Here will be the right place to make a digression on this question.

The verse X, 64, 7. has been translated (p. 259) thus :

Put forth by your hymns Vāyu who yokes the chariot,
Puramdhi
..... Pūshan.

*See my article "Les Principes de l'Exégèse Védique d'après MM. Pischel et Geldner" in the forthcoming *Muséon*, June, 1890.

But the text must be considered as a whole :

*prá vo Vāyūm rathayujam pūra m̐dhim
stómaiḥ kṛpudhvān sakhyāya pūshāyam.*

Observe, firstly, that Puramdhi appears for certain as a goddess in the company of Pūshan and other deities in VI, 21, 9; and VII, 36, 8. She is wakened by Vāyu in I, 134, 3. She may therefore be a distinct personage here as well. But Pischel contends that the usage of the Vedic language requires the word to be referred to *Pushānam* : if *Puramdhim* were a third deity, *prá* would have to be repeated before Puramdhi. All this is very explicit, but we take the liberty of not accepting it at all. Here are a few constructions to show that the Vedic language is very free on this point :—

II, 38, 10 : *bhāgaṁ dhiyaṁ vajāyantaḥ pūram̐dhim.*

VIII, 67, 20 : *mā no hetir vivāsvata | ādityāḥ kṛtr m̐
ṣaruḥ || purā nū jarāso vadhit.*

I, 136, 1 *Prá sū jyēshtham nicirābhyaṁ bṛhān nāmo
havyām matōṁ bharatā.*

III, 4, 8 : *ā bhāratī bhāratibhiḥ saśāhā
ilā devair manushebhir agnē
sārasvatī sārasvatebhir arvāk
tisrō devīr bahir ēlām salantu.*

Is *ā* repeated in this invocation ?

There is no more reason to make *pūramdhi* an adjective in

II, 31, 4 : . . . *jūjvād rātham
ilā bhāgo bṛhaddivātā rōdasī
pūshā pūram̐dhir aṣvinau ādhā pātī.*

Here the Aṣvins receive the epithet *pātī*, and in my opinion Pūshan receives none, just like Ilā, etc. The Rigveda is not very strict in making the members of an enumeration correspond.—According to Pischel, the meaning of *pūramdhi* would be ‘fruitful, giving freely,’ because Pūshan is called rich, giving riches in abundance (*pūrdhi*, I, 42, 9); giving, daughters, engendering riches. But Pūshan receives many other epithets as well, and he shares his generosity with most of the other gods. It is true he is specially the god of *prosperity*, and we see herein a good reason for his appearing in company of the goddess of abundance. The same remark may be made for the Aṣvins and for Bhaga, for they are also beneficent and generous deities.

There is therefore no reason to admit the existence of an adjective *pūramdhi*. But to return to our subject. Puramdhi is the offering in IV. 34, 2, VIII, 69, 1; IX, 72, 4; X, 112, 5; and also—I now think, contrary

to the opinion expressed in the first article—in IX, 110, 3. I thought we might translate *gojirā* by 'who has swift cows,' taking *jira* as an abstract noun (velocity, i.e. 'velocibus vaccis praedita'). I should now prefer to translate 'making the cows move rapidly.' Still there is evidently question of the heavenly Soma, and only of the sacrificial Soma by allusion. But it is well known that the sacrificial Soma becomes efficacious only by mixing with milk, &c. In like manner the gods become generous only by their Puramdhi; at least that is *one* manner in which the rishis conceived their beneficent action. Is it not by this road that Puramdhi has come to be assimilated to the offering? In fact VIII, 69, 1, which is the only passage where this assimilation is absolutely certain, shows her together with Prayer as the complement of Soma. The third passage, X, 112, 5 is rather more open to discussion, (see our first article). These considerations seem of such a nature as to make us prefer the ordinary sense in II, 38, 10, and X, 39, 2, which are doubtful; and to, change our mind about VII, 32, 20, where *taránir* may very well apply to Indra, "the impetuous one acquires booty with Puramdhi his ally."—P. appears with Indra in IV, 22, 10.

So far nothing has been said of the difficult passages, IV, 26, 7; 27, 23, where Fischel translates *piramdhi* as an adjective, 'generous, liberal.' We see no reason to depart from the above-stated interpretation. But the proof of this assertion must be reserved for a special study on these difficult hymns.

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Hillebrandt in a postscript to his study on Puramdhi (op. cit. p. 273) remarks that his method and results differ entirely from mine. Quite true. It was the study of hymns IV, 26 and 27, which led me to study this word. But was it necessary to attach the enquiry to those hymns of which the sense will probably never be definitely fixed? It seemed to me preferable to consider all the passages, and to distinguish first of all those where the obscure word presented a certain sense. Now the only passages of this kind are those more or less numerous ones where most authors admit P. to be a noun signifying 'abundance, riches.' Comparison with the Avesta and my etymology—which M. A. Barth recognised as the most plausible of all yet proposed—confirm this meaning and make it appear the primitive one. It then remained to see whether the sense thus obtained would suit everywhere without violence; for, in this respect, I agree altogether with the method followed by

Bergaigne, but which he himself pushed too far,—I mean that, side by side with a duly recognised sense, others ought not to be admitted except for positive reasons. I think I have shewn that these reasons do not exist. To start from the most difficult passage to explain an obscure word appears to me a dangerous method, the result of which is often to obscure clear and easy passages on which the meaning so obtained must be forced. A verse is obscure because the context is vague, because *certain* parallels are wanting. Thereupon it is explained by passages whose parallelism is doubtful, or by subjective considerations. It cannot be wondered at, if solutions thus obtained lack consistency and certitude, and differ with different writers. Pischel, as well as Hillebrandt, is a profound student of Hindu literature. But with a view to explaining R. V. X, 80, 1, the former has discovered that with the Hindu the ideal of a wife is 'the one who gives a male child,' the second will have the good wife to be first and foremost 'a good housekeeper.' I fancy it might just as correctly be maintained that she is the obedient and submissive wife. My opinion is that all these three qualities were highly appreciated, though I do not dare to decide which took precedence of the others in the mind of the Vedic Aryas. We think therefore that we have a right to choose in X, 80, 1, any one of the three qualities, or even others, *if the meaning of puramdhi were not fixed otherwise*. In the present case we consider ourselves bound by the recognised meaning of 'abundance,' which at the same time avoids the tautology of Pischel:

Agni gives a fruitful wife (bearing a son), a Puramdhi, i.e. a wife like Puramdhi, a source of wealth.

It is from this passage, so indecisive in itself, that Hillebrandt derives the meaning 'active (good housekeeper)', which he then applies sometimes as an adjective, sometimes as a noun. The preceding considerations about methods give us a right to reject these interpretations *a priori*; besides the discussion above renders any further controversy superfluous. We admit indeed that very often this meaning lends itself well to passages wherein we recognize quite a different signification of *puramdhi*; but it would be difficult for Hillebrandt to show that our meaning is not equally well suited.* On the other hand, he admits the sense of 'abundance' in several passages where it is *impossible* to maintain that of 'ac-

* On p. 267, Prof. Hillebrandt says: "In VII, 35, 2, *puramdhi* is separated from *rāyah*, wealth. That would be impossible if Puramdhi

tivity.' We will conclude with a remark on the use of *púramdhi* as an adjective. The fact is that all compound words in *dhi* (weak form of *dhā*) are nouns, generally with a very precise meaning. They are : *upa-*, *pra-*, *ā-*, *ni-*, *api-*, *pari-dhi* ; then the category in which we place *púr-amdhi*,† viz : *garbha-*, *uda-*, *geva-*, *osha-*, *utsa-dhi*. As for *dadhi*, the formation is different, but it can also be taken as a noun. We see in this, from the point of view of method, a powerful motive for rejecting an adjectival *púramdhi*, which Hillebrandt admits for numerous passages, but which the context nowhere renders necessary.

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These considerations seem to me to justify and confirm the sense admitted for *púramdhi* in my first article, to which we may add the meaning of 'offering.' But its employment in this latter is so rare or so doubtful, and where it is certain it is so close to the *Púramdhi* of the heavenly Soma, that we think it much more prudent not to note this meaning, which may have existed merely by virtue of the speculations of some isolated rishi.

PH. COLINET.

were the goddess of abundance." This must simply be denied. The use of synonyms in the Vedic enumerations is frequent ; nor is tautology rare. We need not hesitate for that reason, when the sense of a word is well established.

† The gloss of Sāyana, V, 66, 4, *pūrbhir pūrakaiḥ stavaiḥ* is not exactly sufficient to establish the existence of a *pur*=plentitude ; but at least it deserves consideration. There are not wanting compound word, the elements of which no longer exists in the language, eg. (*Kṛtā*) *dhvaj*, *dīdy* (*agni*), &c. Moreover, might we not think of tracing the word in *pūr*, a fortified magazine, a place of refuge for riches during the attacks of the enemy?—A word on *púramdhi*. The term belongs to classical Sk. If it is sufficiently proved that its proper meaning is 'fruitful wife,' we might think of decomposing it into *pura*+*dhr*+*i* (suffix). *Pura* might have the meaning of 'body,' which might be traced back to a metaphor from *pur*, *pura*, 'fortress ;' or again, separate it from the latter, and compare it with *purusha*. The sense would then be : 'virum vel corpus (in utero) tenens femina.'

A BABYLONIAN TABLET DATED IN THE REIGN
OF ASPASINĒ.

By the kindness of W. Lucas, Esq., in whose possession the tablet is, I am allowed to publish this most interesting and valuable text, which I copied some weeks ago, and have since, off and on, been engaged in studying. Notwithstanding the attention which I have given to it, I am conscious that the translation is not so sure and perfect as might be wished. Nevertheless it may be taken as giving, fairly, the sense of the whole. A few notes at the end explain the more doubtful expressions.

Transcription.

1. Ša u-ba'
2. Nabû-šum-ušur, D.P. ša[-tam]
3. Ultu im-si-ri
4. Araḥ Simmani, ūmu šalaššerit, šat'u
5. ¶ As-pa-si-ni-e, šarru ,

6. Araḥ Aaru, ūmu êsrâ-irbu, šattu êštîn mê (samnâ-ḥamšit) [¶ As-pa-si-]
7. ¶ Bêl-maḥar, ➤ ša-tam Ê-sag-gil u ➤ Bâbilâa [ni-e, šarru.
8. ➤ puḥru ša Ê-sag-gil it-ti a-ḥa-weš im-mil-ku-u
9. u iḫ-bu-u um-ma ¶ Itti- ➤ Marduk-balaṭu, ➤ Gal-du
10. êli âli ➤ ub-bu-di-e-tu ša bêṭâni îlâni
11. ➤ rit-tu An-na El-lil-la, âblu ša ¶ Iddin-Bêl
12. ša ina pana-ma a-na itti ¶ As-pa-si-ni-e, šarru,
13. pu-ru ša ḥi-ših-ti ina bâb šarri
14. -u u en-na a-ga-a i-ba-aš-ši
15. [Bêl-âḥi]-ûšur u ¶ Nabû-mušêtiḫ-urri, ➤ âblê-šu
16. . . ma-la na-ša-ri ša na-šar ma-šu-u
17. . la-ši in-da-sal ina pa-ni ¶ Bêl-maḥar an-na-a
18. u ➤ Bâbilâa ➤ puḥru ša Ê-sag-gil
19. ša ultu ūmu an-na-a ša šattu-us-su
20. estin ma-na kaspi kurmâti ¶ Itti-Marduk-balaṭu a-na
21. ➤ âbi-šu-nu a-na ¶ Bêl-âḥê-ûšur u ¶ Nabû-mušêtiḫ-urri
22. ultu ḥi-ših-ti-ni ni-nam-din-nu lib-bu-u
23. mim-ma ša ¶ Itti-Marduk-balaṭu ➤ abi-šu-nu iš-šu-u
24. ša na-šar i-na-aš-ša-ru-u u tir-se-e-tu
25. ša šattu-us-su i-nam-din-nu-u. Itti ¶ Bêli-šu-nu,
26. ¶ Nu-ur, ¶ Mu-ra-nu, ¶ Iddin-Bêl, ¶ Bêl-âḥi-šu,
27. ➤ rit-tu An-na El-lil-la u ➤ rit-tu An-na El-lil-la
28. ša-nu-u-tu.

(A very indistinct seal-impression.)

Translation.

- 1 Who sought
 2 Nabû-šum-ušur, ša[*am* of Ê-saggil]
 3 since he has
 4 Month Sivan, 13th day, year
 5 Aspasinē, king
-
- 6 Month Iyyar, day 24th, year 185th, [Aspasi]nē, king
 7 Bêl-maḥar, šatam of Ê-saggil, and the Babylonians,
 8 the congregation of Ê-saggil, took counsel together.
 9 and said thus : Itti-Marduk-balaṭu, the Galdū
 10 over the city of the ministers (or temple-servants) of the houses of the gods
 11 the priest of Anu (and) Bêl, the son of Iddin-Bêl,
 12 who formerly at the side of Aspasinē the king
 13 [stood?], who want in the gate of the king,
 14 [relieved?], and therefore it is
 15 [that Bêl-âḥê]-uṣur and Nabû-muṣētiḫ-urri, his sons
 16 [they?] all the keep which he keeps find
 17 [thus?] was it delivered (?) before this Bêl-maḥar
 18 and the Babylonians, the congregation of Ê-saggil)
 19 that "from this day of this year
 20 one mana of silver for the sustenance of Itti-Marduk-balaṭu, to
 21 their father, for Bêl-âḥê-uṣur and Nabû-muṣētiḫ-urri,
 22 from our need we will give." The amount
 23 as much as Itti-Marduk-balaṭu, their father, has taken,
 24 for (his) keep they shall keep, and the grant
 25 for this year they shall give. With Bêli-šunu ;
 26 Nûr; Muranu; Iddin-Bêl; Bêl-âḥi-šunu ;
 27 the priest of Anu (and) Bêl; and the priest of Anu (and) Bêl
 28 the second.

Free rendering (without the five mutilated lines at the beginning).




"In the month Iyyar, the 24th day, year 185th, Aspasinē (being) king, Bêl-maḥar, director of Ê-saggil, and the Babylonians, the congregation of Ê-saggil, took counsel together and said thus : 'Itti-Marduk-balaṭu, the Galdū over the city of the servants of the houses of the gods, the scribe of Anu (and) Bêl, the son of Iddin-Bêl, who formerly [stood?] at the side of Aspasinē, the king, (and) who [relieved?] want in the gate of the king (and therefore it is that [Bêl-âḥê]-uṣur and Nabû-muṣētiḫ-urri, his sons, find all his keep) - [thus be it enacted] in the presence of the aforesaid Bêl-maḥar and the Babylonians, the congregation of Ê-saggil, that "from this day of this year we will give one mana of silver, the sustenance of Itti-Marduk-balaṭu, for their father, to Bêl-âḥê-uṣur and Nabû-muṣētiḫ-urri, from our [own] necessities. The food, as much as Itti-Marduk-balaṭu, their father, has taken, they shall keep for his keep, and they shall give the grant for this year.' (Done in company) with Bêli-šunu; Nûr; Muranu; Iddin-Bêl; Bêl-âḥi-šunu; the priest of Anu and Bêl, and the second priest Anu and Bêl."



The translation here given is, of course, only a tentative one,—the mutilation of the first five lines, and the incomplete state of lines 13-17, naturally make the sense somewhat uncertain. I believe, however, that the drift of the whole is correctly made out.

Galdu (better, perhaps, *Kaldu*) in line 9, is generally translated "Chaldean." It has lost its original signification, and here indicates simply an order of priests.

Ubbudētu, in line 10, is probably from the same root as *ābdu* "servant." From this it would seem that the termination *-utu*, generally used to denote classes of persons, had been changed (at least in this case) to *-ētu*. *Ubbudētu* might, however, mean the female temple-servants, but these one would hardly expect to have a city exclusively for themselves, as the words imply.

Anna Ellilla(l) (= *Ana Ellilla*) I have translated (lines 11, 26, & 27) as "Anu (and) Bêl," but it is possible that it is a compound name, *Ana-Bêl*, indicating a confusion of these two deities. Or can it signify "the divine Bêl" or "heavenly Bêl"? *Ana Ellilla* are Akkadian words.

The characters    at the beginning of line 17 I cannot translate. The rendering that I have given is therefore enclosed in brackets.

Tirsētu in line 24 I have regarded as being, possibly, for *tiršētu*, from *rašā* "to have" ("to grant"). Though interchange between  and  takes place sometimes, yet it is not by any means certain in this case.

In consequence of the type being unsuitable, many of the characters could be only approximatively given. Thus the character *si* (lines 3, 5, 12 and 24) should have been printed with the lower horizontal wedge touching the left-hand upright one, and the three horizontal wedges of *aš* (l. 14) should also touch the upright. The form of *na* should be, throughout, more like that of lines 11, 12, &c., though this is not quite correct. Characters which, in older inscriptions, are generally written with a horizontal wedge at the top, have this wedge omitted in the present text (*gi*, l. 7; &c.; *ku*, l. 8; *um*, l. 9; *šar*, l. 16; &c.) I believe, therefore, that I have copied the *lu* (= *mušētiḫ*), in line 21, incorrectly. The character *lal* (*la* in *Ellilla*) ought to have a large wedge slanting downwards, not a "corner-wedge." The character for *din*, though something like *mat* on the original, yet differs somewhat from it. This peculiarity, also, could not be reproduced.

The end of this enactment was apparently to relieve Bêl-âhê-ûsur and Nabû-mušētiḫ-ûrri from the burden of keeping their father, apparently an old and respected member of the priesthood, who had the royal favour of Aspasiṇ, and who, being of a charitable nature, had impoverished himself in ministering to the needs of the poor of the Babylonian congregation, which had, most likely, experienced very hard times in consequence of the many vicissitudes which they must have gone through. The congregation felt it to be their duty to help him, and they decided to do so, stipulating only, that his two sons should keep their father for the remainder of the year (11 months) out of what he had collected for him-

self, and they were probably also to make up any deficiency that might exist.

With regard to the question when this contract was drawn up, it is to be noted that Vespasian reigned from 69 to 79 A.D., and the date of this tablet, if Aspasinē is to be identified with him, therefore falls between these limits. I have been unable to find out, however, to what era the year 185 refers, and put forward, therefore, the conjecture that it means the 185th year after the reconstitution of Ê-saggil at Babylon. Probably, however, some chronologist, well acquainted with that period, may be able to give a better solution.

The form of the name of king Aspasinē agrees with that of the later (Rabbinic) Hebrew form of the name of Vespasian, אספסינוס and אספסינורוס, Aramaic ܐܣܦܫܝܢܐ. The Assyrians and Babylonians had a dislike for an initial *v* or *w*, hence the absence of that letter. It is more difficult, though, to account for the ending *-inē* instead of *-ianos* (in Babylonian it would be *-ianus* or *-ianussu*, a form which may yet be found). The long *ē* at the end is possibly compensation for the change of *ia* into simple *i* before the last consonant.

THEO. G. PINCHES.

* * Thinking at first, though not satisfied, that Aspasinē was Vespasian, I consulted several learned friends on the subject, and they all unanimously agreed that this identification was correct. I had looked through a great many biographical dictionaries without finding any name which agreed better. Philological reasons alone kept me from looking under the heading "Hys," under which, in Pape's *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, the name Hyspasines* (see Prof. de Lacouperie's valuable and exhaustive article) is duly registered. From the style of the tablet, and the date (year 185) which it bears, it ought to be of the Seleucian era. If, however, Aspasinē be really Hyspasines, the Babylonian form seems to be irregular. Hystaspes, for instance, appears in Babylonian as *Ustaspi* (the first sibilant corresponds with the Hebrew ש), not *Astaspi*. Even if Aspasinē be regarded as derived from the shortened form Spasines, it is still irregular, for according to the analogy of *istaterrānu*, "staters," the initial vowel ought to be *i* (*Ispasinē*) rather than *a*. I have therefore modified the above article so far as to leave the identification of the king's name doubtful. I believe, however, that Prof. de Lacouperie is right.

T. G. P.

* "Υσπασίνης, king in Charar, by the Red Sea, . . . see Σπασίνης and Πασίνης."

*HYSPAOSINES, KHARACENIAN KING OF BABYLON,
ON A BABYLONIAN TABLE DATED 127 a. c., AND
THE ARSACIAN ERA, 248 a. c.*

1. The number 185 for the year, joined to the name of *Aspasinē* being then king, on a Babylonian tablet¹ which my learned collaborateur, Mr. Theo. G. Pinches, has just published in the *B. & O.R.*, suggests to me that we ought to recognize it simply as another instance of the Seleucian Era, and therefore that we have here a new fact of a little known period of the history of Babylon. The Seleucian era is known to have been long in use in Babylon, where it was established on the first of October 312 a. c. by Seleucus I. on the occasion of the event, important for him, of his conquest of the famous city. Numerous inscriptions hitherto described or translated are dated after it.

Another era has been used also on some Babylonian tablets, namely that of the Arsacidæ, but it is of no avail in the case as no name of king would suit. Should I be right, as the sequel of this too long note will show to my readers, the date of this tablet shall have to be added to the few data we now possess on the founder of the Kharacenian kingdom. This state, the capital city of which was Spasinou Kharax on the Tigris near the Persian Gulf, was established in 129 a. c., and lasted until 228 of our era. It was a part of the Mésène, which extended from the Persian Gulf to Seleucia. In history they cannot always be separated easily from one another.² So little is known about that history beyond the scraps of information gathered from several classical and Oriental authors³, that the exact names and series of the kings could be learned only from the evidence of their coins.⁴

2. For the sake of our readers interested in chronology, it should be remembered that the Seleucian era (October 312 a. c.) was used in Babylonia from the beginning⁵, as in the other countries of the great empire of Alexander; but from about the year 123 until 80 a. c., the Arsacian era, younger by 64 years, was conjointly mentioned in the inscriptions, and succeeded eventually the Seleucian era. Let us illustrate these statements by a few instances where we shall see, at the same time, that the Babylonian calendar remained in use⁶ notwithstanding the adoption of these foreign eras.

3. One of the best testimonies consists in a chronological tablet which Mr. T. G. Pinches has deciphered and published in 1884.⁷ It gives a series of dates from 424 to 199 a.c., the latter being the 213th year marked *Si*, abridged form of Siluku or Seleucus. They are arranged by intervals of 18 years as for the calculation of a cycle of that length.

The years are the 19th of *Daravuš*, or Darius II, 405 a.c.; the 8th and 26th of *Artakšatsu*, or Artaxerces II, 387 and 369 a.c.; the 8th year of *Urasu*, or Ochus, 351 a.c.; the 3rd year of *Daravuš*, or Darius III, 333 a.c., the 3rd year of *Antigu*, or Antigonus 315 a.c.; the next entries are XV, XXXIII, LI, and LXIX *Si* for Siluku, thus making 312 for the first year *Si*, i.e. the Seleucian era; the other entries are LXXXVII, CV and so forth until CCXIII; but after the year LXIX or 243 a.c. unto the end, i.e. until the year CCXIII or 99 a.c., there is no such sign as *Si*. The continuation of the addition of years shows that the *Si* era was still employed; although the non-repetition of *Si* seems to indicate a hesitation from the scribe when *stiling* the tablet, as if something had happened between the years 243 and 225. Unless it be simply because he has left his tablet unfinished, as the lapse of *Si* just occurs from the first line of the reverse. I understand the hesitation possible, because a new era had been started by the Arsacidæ from 248 a.c., in competition with the Seleucian, and the Babylonian scribe must have been acquainted with this fact.

4. Taking our examples from the British Museum Guide to the Nimroud Central Saloon,⁸ and from a few others, we find a sufficient number of instances to illustrate the matter and make it clear with reference to the Aspasinê document.

A tablet No. 109, p. 123 is dated, in the fifth year of Antigonusu, the chief of the people, (not the king), i.e. Antigonus, 313 a.c.⁹—As Seleucus was then contesting Babylon, which he won from Antigonus a year afterwards, this circumstance explains probably the peculiar title attributed to Antigonusu. Then No. 36, p. 73, a tablet, referring seemingly to the calculation of eclipses and some astrological matters, mentions the following years: the XIth year, *Si* (Seleucus) being king “(301 a.c.) the LIXth year An. (Antiochus) being king” (253 a.c.) and “the CXXXIVth year, *Si* (Seleucus) being king” (178 a.c.). A broken tablet, No. 28, p. 70, contains apparently astrological calculations for the 34th and 35th years, probably of the Seleucian era. (278 and 277 a.c.) the 23rd year (289 a.c.) Seleucus and Antiochus being then kings, and the 98th year (214 a.c.) being during the reign of Antiochus the Great.¹⁰

No. 111, p. 123. a tablet from Warka, is dated "Erech, 18th day of Nisan, 68th year, Siluku king," or Seleucus II, 244 a.c. Another tablet, No. 112, p. 124, from the same place is dated: "Erech, 27th day of Nisan, 78th year, Siluku, king," or April 234 a.c., the 12th year of Seleucus II.

A loan of silver, tablet No. 113, p. 124, was made to be returned on the 2nd day of Iyyar, in the 94th year, Anti'ukkusu being then king, or in 218 a.c. under Antiochus III.

To resume, we have hitherto seen a series of dates undoubtedly Seleucian, running from XI to CXXXIV Sel., or 301 to 178 a. c.

5. Our next documental evidence about chronology is a Babylonian tablet published by the Rev. P. N. Strassmaier, and dated in the year 108, Aršaka, *being* king. The era cannot be but Arsacian. In the 108th Seleucian year, or 204 a.c., Babylon was in the hands of the Seleucidæ and Antiochus the Great was the king,¹¹ while the Parthian ruler Ariapatus was still very far from the Chaldean city where the name of Arsace was yet unknown.¹² This new chronological departure is highly interesting, and confirms an important historical event.

All this period of the history of Babylonia is eventful and intermixed. In 161-160, Timarchus, a satrap of Media had proclaimed himself king of Babylon¹³. Inscriptions of his time would be worthy of attention under that respect.

Later on, during the years 153 to 139 a.c., the great Parthian King Arsaces VI or Mithridates I, had subjected all the country east of the Euphrates, including Persia, Elymæa and Babylonia. The tablet just referred to and dated in 108 of the *Arsacian era*, or in 140 a.c., as we shall see further on, was without doubt inscribed in his time. It is the first instance we have heard of it in Babylonia, and therefore it deserves to be specially noticed. Indeed we could not expect that the proud and independent Arsacian monarch, full of his successes, after having established his power in the very focus of the Seleucidæ, would have continued *there* to date his years from an era started from the most glorious feat of his vanquished foes the Seleucidæ. Therefore the anomalous dating of that tablet is easily explained.

The Mésène and Characène regions had thus become parts of the dominions of Mithridates; but this Arsacian occupation did not last long, as all his new conquests returned after his death in 136 a.c. to the Seleucidæ¹⁴. Antiochus Sidetes, 136-129 a.c., had in the Mésène a governor named Nunenius.¹⁵ At the death of that Seleucian king the Kharacène became independent¹⁶.

6. It was only a supposition that the Mésène had also at the same date thrown away the yoke of the Seleucidæ. The statement of the Babylonian tablet which is the occasion of the present note, if I understand it rightly, makes this supposition a certainty, in connection with several of the documents previously referred to. In 129 a.c. a satrap of Antiochus in charge of the provinces near the Tigris, and named *Hyspaosines*, the *Spasines* of the classical authors¹⁷, son of Sogonadaces, seized all the towns of Kharacène, and a part if not the whole of Mésène, and established a new kingdom with Antiochia as its capital city. This town was the old port of Alexandria, which Antiochus III had rebuilt about 204 a.c. after its destruction by the waters of the river, and called Antiochia¹⁸. Partly destroyed again by the same causes, it was rebuilt by Hyspaosinès who called it *Spasinou-Kharax*, a name preserved by the classical writers¹⁹, and meaning the "stronghold of Spasinou"²⁰. It is said to be the modern Muhammrah near the Karun river.²¹

The exact spelling of his name has been disclosed only in 1866 by one of his coins, published by M. de Prokesch-Osten,²² and dated in the year 188 Sel. or 124 a.c. The Babylonian tablet fits in most satisfactorily, with its date of the 185th year, or 127 a.c., namely two years after the foundation of his kingdom. It shows that *Hyspaosines* or *Aspasinē* king at Babylon in 127 a.c., according to its Seleucian date, the only one which a Seleucian officer could employ. It shows also that 127 a.c. was not his first year of royalty at Babylon. Itti Marduk Baladu, in whose favour the contract object of the inscription was made, is described as the Kaldû, or Chaldean, "who formerly (stood?) at the side of Aspasinē the king." This may have begun while Aspasinē was still the Satrap of Antiochus; but there is another proof. The five mutilated lines at the beginning refer to the "13th day of Sivan year?, Aspasinē king," while the second statement is dated the 24th day of Iyyar; therefore the first month named, Sivan, must belong to a previous year, the preceeding one at the least.

My identification of the *Aspasinē* of the Babylonian tablet with *Hyspaosines* of the coin,²³ considering that the first is the cuneiform and the second the Greek,²⁴ and taking into account the Palmyrenian spelling *Aspasina*, is sufficiently close not to be doubted.

7. The domination of Aspasinē or Hyspaosines over Babylon, anyhow, did not last long, (two years at the utmost) as the Parthians recovered at that time, their lost power on the famous town. We know that the Arsacian king Phraates II established then as governor of Babylon a

*vicarius*²¹ named Himerus. He is described by Posidonius as *τον τυραννήσαντα βαβυλωνίων* under Phraates.²⁷ Himerus, in his turn, assumed at a certain date after 127 a.c. the title of king of Babylon, with the qualification of Arsacian, and during his few years of royalty, i. e., until 123 a.c., he put to fire and sword the Mesène and Kharacène.²⁹ The chronological statements of another series of Babylonian tablets come here to the rescue, and show that in 123 a.c. the Arsacean era had been *re-established* in Babylon, not alone but concurrently with the Seleucian, and this was the work of Himerus.

8. The tablet next in date to those we have quoted from the *Guide*, is the No. 26, p. 70, and contains this important evidence. It was written in "the 125th year, which is the 189th year, Aršaka king," thus indicating two eras, the Arsacian and Seleucian, at 64 years distance the one from the other.³⁰ The year named first must, as a matter of course, have been the most important of the two with reference to the Arsacian king, and therefore must be Arsacian and not Seleucian; on the other hand the second figure, which is given like a confirmation required by an ancient habit of reckoning differently, cannot be other than the Seleucian. The year referred to is thus 123 a.c.,³¹ which fits perfectly well with our previous knowledge of Himerus *Arsaces* then king in Babylonia.

Another tablet, No. 116, p. 125, dated: 12th day of Sebat, 154th year, which is the 218th year, Aršaka king," is another instance 29 later of the use of the double era. A third case is that of the astronomical tablet translated by Dr. J. Oppert, which is dated: 13th Nisan, in the year 168th which is the 252nd, under an Aršaka king.³² The dates of the two latter tablets were therefore 94 and 80 a.c., covering with the first a lapse of at least 44 years during which the double era was in use at Babylon.

No doubt remains in our mind that this chronological equivalence is the true one. The extra evidence here adduced is, however, conclusive. The highest numbers, 189, 218 and 232 in the three tablets cannot indicate the Arsacian era, or *59, *53, and *16 a.c. As the smaller figures 125, 125, 154, 169 could not then be Seleucian and refer to a common imaginary date *184 a.c., when the Arsacian had not yet been heard of in Babylon. As to a new era, it is out of the question, as in that year and afterwards the Seleucian era was in full swing, as shown plainly by the chronological tablet, and also an astrological one (No. 36) referred to.

9. Therefore it is clear from the various evidence adduced and the testi-

mony of the tablets themselves, that the smaller figures are those of the Arsacian era, 64 years younger than the Seleucian, i.e., 248 a.c. That year 248 a.c., is one next to that of the Consuls C. Atilius Regulus and L. Manlius Valso in 504 of Rome, whom Justinus corrected has mentioned³³ with reference to the beginning of the Arsacidæ.

This unequivocal appearance of the Arsacian era is peculiarly interesting as the Arsacidæ themselves did not use it, so far as goes the testimony of their coins³⁴; their legends are in Greek, the dates are marked in Greek letters, the era is the Seleucian, and the Macedonian months are those referred to on the tetradrachms from Phraates IV, An. 276 Sel. and afterwards. Therefore the Arsacian era cannot have been established in Babylonia but on the occasion of some momentous circumstance. And this momentous circumstance we have seen to be the capture of Babylon by the Arsacian Mithridates I.

10. After the year 80 a. c., date of the last quoted tablet, the system of dating with a double era was soon given up, as shown by the following inscriptions, and the Arsacian era was employed henceforth alone.

A tablet, No. 27, p. 70, refers to the 145th and 176th years and is dated in the "194th year, Aršaka king", or 73, 72 and 54 a. c. Another tablet, No. 25, p. 70, is dated "201st year, Aršaka king," or 47 a. c. A third tablet mentioned in the same work, No. 117, p. 126, is dated: "30th day of Iyyar, 219th year, Aršaka king of kings,"³⁵ or 29 a. c.³⁶ The exact date of these various tablets is thus far well established, as shows this simple remark that, if the figures were Silencian, their dates would be 118, 111 and 93 a. c., just within the period when the double era was employed at Babylon.

11. To resume. From the documental evidence we have been able to adduce here, it appears that in Babylonia the Seleucian era 1st Oct. 312 a. c. was employed without interruption until 178 a. c., Further evidence is required to show between that date and 140, when it ceased to be used, as in 140 a. c. under the reign of Mithridates I, in Babylon, the Arsacian era was in use. In 129-127 a. c., Hypaosines, a king of Seleucian origin, revived the Seleucian era. But in 123 a. c., when the Parthian rule had been reestablished, the two eras Seleucian 312 a. c. and Arsacian 248 a. c. were employed conjointly until 80 a. c. and perhaps a little later. From 73 to 29 a. c. the last dated of the tablets we have referred to, the Arsacian era alone was in current use.

The satisfactory manner with which these various data fit one another historically, permits me to believe that I am right in identifying Aspasinē

king at Babylon in the 185th year (Sel. or 127 a. c.) with Hypsaosines or Aspasina, the Kharacenian king who began his rule in 129 a. c.

TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE.

NOTES.

- 1) Dated : "In the month Iyyar, the 24th day, year 185th, Aspasinē king.
- 2) Cf. Saint Martin, *Recherches sur l'histoire et la géographie de la Mésène et de la Characène*, Paris, 1838; J. T. Reinaud, *Mémoire sur le commencement et la fin du Royaume de la Mésène et de la Characène*, Paris, 1861; and 1864 with additions; also, G. Rawlinson, in his work on *The sixth Great Oriental Monarchy*, 1873.
- 3) Such as Pliny, Strabo, Ptolemy; and Tabari, Hamzah Ispahani, Ibu-el-Athir, Yacut, Abulfeda.—Lucian, Josephus, Dion Cassius have preserved in an altered form the names of several of their kings, which had to be rectified by numismatic decipherments.
- 4) On the numismatic evidence cf. Visconti, *Iconographie Ancienne*, 1811, who was the first to identify Kharacenian coins; Victor Langlois, *Numismatique des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, 4to, Paris, 1859, and his *Lettre à R. Chelon sur des Médailles des Dynastes de la Mésène*, Bruxelles, 1862; W. Waddington, *Mélanges de Numismatique*, t. II, 1866, sq.; De Prokesch-Osten : *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vienna, 1869, &c.; A. de Longperier : *Revue Numismatique*, 1863, 1874; Von Sallet : *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Berlin, t. VIII, 1881, p. 215-239. M. E. Drouin has lately published *Revue de Numismatique*, Paris, 1889, pp. 211, 361, sq. a decipherment of the Semitic legends on the coins of the successors of the Greek kings at Kharax; and in a more recent paper *Notice historique et géographique sur la Characène*: Le Muséon, April, 1890 and Reprint, Paris, Leroux, 24 pp. he has given a clear resumé of the subject.
- 5) We give below, §4, an instance of the XIth year Seleucian. Dr. J. Oppert, *Inscription d'Antiochus I. Soter*: *Mélanges Renier*, 1886, pp. 217-231, and *Recueil d'Assyriologie*, t. I, p. 102, has published an inscription dated in the 43rd year, 20th day of Adar, Anti'ku-us being king,—therefore in 269 a. c.
- 6) And it remained so, long afterwards. At Zurich, where it is preserved, *The latest Assyrian inscription*: J. Oppert: *Records of the past*, 1878, t. XI, is still so dated: "Babylon, in the month of Kislev, the 3rd day, in the Vth year of Pikharis, king of Persia," or December 81 p.c., under Pacorus II of Persia. Cf. J. Oppert, *L'inscription cuneiforme la plus moderne connue*: *Mélanges d'Archéologie Egyptienne et Assyrienne*, Nov. 1872, t. 1, pp. 23-29; also, A. H. Sayce, *Lectures upon the Assyrian language*, 1877, p. 41-42.
- 7) *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, May 6, 1884, pp. 202-204; and, *Guide to the Nimroud Central Saloon*, p. 70, p. 31.
- 8) Compiled by M. Theo G. Pinches and published in 1886.
- 9) A tablet No. 108, 'p. 123, is dated, IVth year P'illipsu king.—Another one, No. 110, p. 123 is dated: Fourth day of Sivan, sixth year of Alexander, son of Alexander.

- 10) I quote from the description given by Mr. T. G. Pinches in the above Guide, where however I substitute Antiochus the Great for Antiochus Theos, as the latter was not ruling at the time.
- 11) A tablet No. 12 in P. Strassmaier's publication is dated in the 94th year, Antiochus king, or 217 a.c. Another tablet, (No. 23, Guide, p. 70) quoted above is dated in the 98th year, Antiochus king, or 214 a.c. A later one, also Seleucian, is dated in the 134th year, or 178 a.c.
- 12) Cf. the just remarks of Dr. J. Oppert in his paper, *L'éclipse lunaire de l'an 232 de l'ère des Arsacides*; Zeitschrift f. Assyriologie, IV, 176.
- 13) Some coins have been issued by this usurpator with the title *Basileus megas*. Cf. E. Drouin, *Notice*, p. 17.
- 14) This implies the restoration of the Seleucian era.
- 15) According to the statement of Pliny.
- 16) The date has been fixed by Saint Martin in the *Recherches* quoted previously, note 2.
- 17) Lucian. *Macrob.* 16, says that Spasinès, King of Charax and countries neighbouring the Erythean sea, died very old, which statement does not prove that he reigned very long.—Pliny states that he was a king of the neighbouring Arabs, "rex finitimorum Arabum." As a fact his dynasty was Aramean as stated by the Arab authors. Cf. E. Drouin. *Notice*, p. 17.
- 18) According to Pliny, lib. VI, cap. XXVII. Cf. Saint Martin, *Recherches*, p. 148; E. Drouin, *Notice*, p. 15.
- 19) Pliny, Josephus, Ptolemy, Lucianus. In the Palmyrenian inscriptions, it appears as *Karak Aspasinâ*.
- 20) Quatremère: *Journal des Savants*, 1857, p. 628. has explained it by the Aramean *Karak*, *Karka*, which means, stronghold, fortified town. Cf. Drouin, *Notice*, p. 7.
- 21) William Francis Ainsworth, *The River Karun*. London, 1890, p. 5.—J. W. McCrindle, *The Commerce and Navigation of the Erythraean Sea*. Calcutta, 1879, p. 103.
- 22) W. Waddington, *Numismatique et Chronologie des Rois de la Chacène*, Revue Numismatique, 1866, and also *Mélanges de Numismatique*, t. II, 79; E. Drouin, *Notice*, p. 17.
- 23) Hypsaosines was not the original form of the name but was nothing else than a Grecian paronomasia.
- 24) Attempts have been made at explaining that name. M. Waddington, o.c., has found it either Semitic or Persian like the following names of the same dynasty, but not Greek. Hypsaosnies should be a Persian word beginning with *Aspa-*, like Aspasianos, or, according to M. de Vogué, *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1886, p. 190, a compound of *Sin*, the Moon-god,, meaning *Sin Auxit*. The Assyrian, Palmyrenian and classical spellings show that clearly. Cf. the preceding note.
- 25) He seems to have ruled in Kharacene much longer, as the numismatic evidence which follows his own, is that of Apodacès, 103 Sel., or 109 a.c. Cf. the statement of Lucianus, note 17 *sup*.
- 26) According to Justin, XLIII, 2. sec. 3.
- 27) Edward Thomas, *Parthian and Indo-Sassanian Coins*, Hertford, 1883, p. 7.
- 28) Which may be disclosed by further Babylonian tablets.
- 29) Cf. E. Drouin, *Notice*, p. 17.
- 30) As justly remarked by Mr. T. G. Pinches in 1883, *Guide*, p. 126.

THE

BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

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ASTODANS, AND THE AVESTIC FUNERAL PRESCRIPTIONS.

I.

Whilst lately reading the Hon. John Abercromby's interesting *Trip through the Eastern Caucasus* (London, Stanford, 1889), I was struck with a passage in his description of the curious 'art-village' of Kubāchi. Mr. Abercromby quotes what the medieval Arab writers have to say about the place and its inhabitants, and among others Abu Hamid el Andalusi of the 12th century, after Dorn (*Mélanges Asiatiques*, tom. vi, 1871). This author says :

"They have no religion and pay no taxes. If a man dies they hand him over to men in houses under the earth¹ who cut up the members of the deceased, remove the flesh entirely from the bones,² collect it together on one side, and give it to ravens to devour." A similar account is given of the disposal of women, whose flesh, however, is reserved exclusively for vultures. Further on, the writer tells us what was done with the fleshless bones. "They withdraw the bones of the dead and lay them up in the houses. *These they also lay in the sacks* of the rich and of lords.³ *Their sacks are of gold embroidered or Greek silk-stuff* ; those of servant-men and women of unbleached cloth. They hang them up in the houses, and write on each sack the name of the person to whom the bones belonged. This is indeed very extraordinary." (Abercromby, p. 291). Mr. Abercromby adds: "What amount of credit is to be attached to the alleged custom of the men of Kubāchi with regard to their preserving the bones of their deceased relations in properly labelled sacks, after allowing the flesh to be eaten by birds, I cannot say. Arab writers are not very reliable authorities . . . On the other hand, the custom may really be founded on fact, and can be accounted for. It undoubtedly savours of the doctrine of the Avesta,

and points a a belief in the earth being too holy to be desecrated by the reception of a dead body. It may therefore be an importation from Persia. I have already mentioned that at the beginning of the sixth century families were removed from Khorassan and settled in Kaitach and Kubächi. This colony might well have brought some of the practices inculcated by Zarathustra to their new home, where they became incorporated in time with local usages, and evidently received a different colouring from those of their promulgator. *For the incident of preserving the bones in sacks was never a practice, I believe, of the adherents of Zoroaster, either in Persia or in India*" (op. cit., pp. 292-3. Italics mine).

Is this last statement correct?

II.

The question has been brought forcibly to my mind by a small pamphlet kindly sent me, together with some others of his writings, by Mr. Jivangi Jamsedji Modi, B.A., a prominent Parsi scholar of Bombay, and entitled *Astôdân* (Bombay, 1889). In this pamphlet, Mr. Modi discusses a so-called "old Persian Stone Coffin" which had been sent to the Anthropological Society of Bombay, from Bushire in Persia. This small stone receptacle, filled with human bones, is one of a large number of similar vessels, which have been from time to time observed by travellers in various parts of Persia, e.g. Sir John Malcolm, Sir Henry Layard, &c. Sometimes they take the form of earthenware jars, or vases, or urns. Mr. Modi has no difficulty in showing that (1) these so-called coffins are not coffins at all "in the sense in which we generally understand them, *i.e.* a case in which a dead human body is enclosed for burial"; but that (2) "it was an old religious [Mazdean] custom among the ancient Persians, the ancestors of the present Farsees to make small structures of this kind for the preservation of the *bones* of the dead,"—that is, after the flesh had been removed. In fact, the Bushire "stone coffin" examined is only big enough for the burial of an infant, whilst the bones inside are those of an adult of sixty. In other words these stone or earthenware vessels are *Astôdâns*. The word is a Pehlevi one, *𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀*, *aštôdâno*, or 'bone-receptacle.'

The custom is recorded in the Avesta, *Vendidad*, vi. In this chapter instructions are first of all given for placing dead bodies in elevated places where the carnivorous birds and animals may see them and devour the flesh; the bodies to be so securely fastened, that these creatures may not carry away any part of the bones (§§ 44—48). Next follows the double question: "Creator of the world! whither shall we carry the bones of the

deceased? where shall we place them?" Kvâ narām iriçtanām *azdêbîs* bar-âma? . . . Kvâ nidathâma? (§ 49).

Ahura Mazda answers the double question: the locality to which the bones are to be taken must be a lofty place or edifice (*uzdânem*), out of reach of dog, fox, wolf, or rain (§ 50); and there the Mazdeans must place them (*paîti nidaithîta*) in certain receptacles of which a choice is given. "If they are able," or rich enough, it is to be "yézi açânaeshva yézi vicicaeshva yézi *tâtukhshva*",--"either in stones, or in mortar (?), or in *tutuks* (?)." If the faithful are not able to do this, they may leave them exposed on their bed-clothes, covered by nothing but fresh air and sunlight (§ 51). In other words, instructions are here given for the disposal of the bones in some kind of an *astôdân*, as it was subsequently called.

III.

Before discussing the obscure words in the passage, it is as well to point out that European translators and commentators have in some cases been misled as to the meaning of the instructions. In his version of the *Vendidad* in the 'Sacred Books of East,' vol. IV, M. Darmesteter has quite missed the point. To the word *uzdânem* of § 50, he appends the explanation 'the Dakhma,' and in § 51 he speaks of 'laying down the dead man on the ground.' He states that "§§ 44-47 refer to the place where the corpse must be laid; the following (§ 49-51) refer to the building, which must be erected in that place, to receive the corpse." This is clearly untenable. M. Darmester has confounded the two distinct processes,—the laying out of the corpse (*tanu, kerefs*) for the purpose of having the flesh eaten off, and the final disposal of the flesh-stripped skeleton (*azdêbîs*); in other words, the use of the *dakhma* and the use of the *astôdân*. M. de Harlez seems also to have been led into the same error. Indeed, he states in a note that the second passage (§§ 101-106 = §§ 49-51 in the other editions) "betrays by its contents its recent date; it contradicts the preceding one. . . . It appears to have been inserted at a time when dakhmas were beginning to be made in the shape of high towers. . . . The dead is therein laid upon a small bed made of a mattress and cushion" (*Avesta Traduit*, p. 71).

The difficulty had not escaped the perspicacity of Spiegel, who in a note to this passage in his translation of the Avesta (vol. I, p. 122) remarks that the difficult *azdêbîs*, although traditionally translated "body," hardly appears to be suitably rendered by that term, "as there has already been question of the disposal of the body above." Justi, in his *Handbuch*,

under the words in question, has the correct solution of the case, and gives the Pehlevi equivalent of *uzdānem* as *açtudān*, though I am not quite sure that this is exact. Geiger, also, has entirely the right explanation (*Ostirānische Kultur*, pp. 268–270), carefully distinguishing the treatment of the “Körper” at the dakhma, and that of the ‘Gerippe’ at the ‘Beinhaus.’

IV.

Turning now to Parsi literature and tradition, the authoritative passage on the subject is quoted by Mr. Modi from the *Dādistan-i Dīnik*, of the High Priest of Fars and Kirman, Mānūscīhar, written in A.D. 881, and therefore representing officially “the state of the Zoroastrian religion a thousand years ago; and it may be presumed from the importance and influentialness of [the writer’s] position, that his representations can be implicitly relied upon” (West). We shall here quote the translation of the passage by Dr. West in the second part of his *Pahlavi Texts*, forming Vol. XVIII of the Sacred Books of the East. The passage is to be found in Chapter at Question XVIII⁴ §§ 3–4, as follows:—

“When the corpse-eating birds have eaten the fat [flesh⁵]... then they shall properly convey the bones (*açt*) away to the bone-receptacle (*açtôdāno*) which one is to elevate so from the ground and over which a roof (*āshkâpō*) so stands, that in no way does the rain fall upon the dead matter (*naçāi*), nor the water reach up to it therein, nor the damp make up to it therein, nor are the dog and fox able to go to it, and for the sake of light coming to it a hole is made therein.

“More authoritatively (*daçtobarīhā*) it is said that the bone-receptacle (*açtôdāno*) is a vault (*Katako*) of solid stone, and its covering (*nihām-bako*) one is to construct also of a single stone which is cut perforated (*çulāk-homand*) and around it one is to fill in with stone and mortar (*gac*).”

The question arises, upon reading this passage, whether the name *açtôdān* is applied properly to the small receptacle, coffin, jar, or vessel which actually contains the bones, or to the building, grave, or vault in which the vessel is stored? There is here a discrepancy between Dr. West and Mr. Modi. The former has distinctly “the *açtôdān* is a vault (*Katako*) of solid stone,” reading 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎 a word meaning primarily a ‘house, dwelling, habitation,’ corresponding to the Zend 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎, which in Vend. v. 16, 11 is used of the small mud construction (the modern Parsi *zād-marg*), in which the corpse is temporarily deposited *before* being

taken to the dakhma. Elsewhere—Vend. ii, 69 and perhaps xix, 4—it appears to mean ‘house.’ Indeed, it is probable that such is the original meaning, cf. the Modern Persian کد، کده, and especially the Pehlevi *Katak-Khūtā*=Mod. Pers., کدخدا, ‘householder.’ Also the Zend *Katī* (Yagna, ix, 73) has the same meaning of householder.

But Mr. Modi has a different reading, viz. : the past participle *karto*, instead of *Katak*, so that the phrase runs “zak aṣtōdāno aīto *karto* min aēvak ṣag,” “this aṣtōdan is *mide* of a single stone.” The difference is one which depends upon MS. authorities, and I can therefore offer no opinion on it.

But even supposing Dr. West’s reading to be correct, I should be inclined to ask whether *Katak* might not (like the German “Häuschen,”) also mean ‘receptacle, vessel, box?’ In that case I should refer §4 above more particularly to the jar or vessel for holding the bones ; which itself is, according to §3, to placed ‘under a roof,’ i.e. in some roofed place or vault. This would preserve to the word *aṣtōdan* its actual traditional meaning, as given by Mr. Modi. At the same time, it would not be impossible for the word to have been used in two significations.

As a matter of fact, we have information concerning the usages of the old Persians from accounts of the remains still found. Thus, Mr. Malcolm of Bushire, who sent the ‘stone coffin’ to Bombay, in a letter to Mr. Modi, dated August 5, 1888, says :

“The said coffin was accidentally found in a vault about 5 or 6 feet below the surface . . . among others deposited there, and covered with the *débris* of parts of the vault that had fallen in from the effects of rain About three miles from the site of the vault, there is a small plain within two or three feet of the surface of which there were found, some forty-five years ago, and may still be found, barrel-shaped coffins of *baked earth*, containing also human relics stowed away in the same fashion.” (*Astōdān*, pp. 2, 3). Moreover, “about forty years ago, not far from the site where the jar coffins were found, *and on an elevated ground*, was to be seen a large heap of bleached human bones.” (ib. p. 3). Very similar evidence from other travellers is quoted by Mr. Modi.

Here, then, we have, carried out in full, the injunctions of both the Avesta and the *Dādistān-i Dinik*. We have the subterranean vault for well-to-do people, the *uzdānem*, or structure of the Avesta, protected by a roof from carnivorous animals and from rain, and sheltering the bone-

receptacles, whether of stone,—(these are *very rare*, Modi, p. 5),—or of coarse earthenware ('well-baked coarse-grained sandy clay' says Erskine, Modi p. 6). Some of these vaults appear to be 'family vaults,' containing urns or jars for children, as well as for adults (ib). Whilst for poor people, at no great distance, there is an 'elevated ground,' on which the stripped bones could be merely laid on bed-clothes 'covered with nothing but fresh air and sunlight.'

V.

Working back from these archæological evidences to the Avesta, we may hope to shed some light on certain obscure words of Vend. vi. It is there said that in the *uzdānem*, (which I consider to mean the built vault or structure), the bones may be placed according to choice in one of three kinds of receptacles, "*yezi açânaëshva yezi vicaëshva yezi tûtukh-shva*,"—all three in the locative plural. The first word clearly means 'stone,' and I suggest that what is referred to here is the use of stone 'coffins,' jars, or urns, such as the one lately described by Mr. Modi in Bombay. The plural form would thus also be satisfactorily accounted for.

The *vica* is traditionally rendered by the Pehlevi *gacîn* and the Modern Persian *gac*, signifying 'mortar, plaster.' The etymological connection is doubtful, in spite of the frequent equivalence between Mod. Persian initial *g* and Zend initial *v*; for *vi* generally gives *gu* (see Darmesteter's *Etudes Iraniennes*, pp. 58, 59). Still, it is perhaps not impossible. But as, to the meaning, I am disposed to find in it something corresponding to the earthenware or baked clay jars, of which we have heard above. There is perhaps even sufficient generic connection between the idea of earthenware or pottery and that of concrete, plaster as 'mortar,'—something as in the case of the Mexican 'adobe,'—to allow even the etymological connexion of the two.

The third word is apparently the plural of a term *tûtuk* or *tûtuc*. Spiegel and Roth, followed by Justi and Geiger surmise 'carpets.' De Harlez, too, opines for 'tenture,'—tapestry, hanging. Darmesteter, who marks the word as 'doubtful,' for some unexplained reason translates it 'earth.' Modi in one place renders it by 'coarse cloth' and in another by 'an inferior material.' There is thus an apparent consensus in favour of the word signifying some textile stuff.

And this brings me back to Mr. Abercromby and his Caucasians at Kubâchi. Here we have evidence of a people, traditionally of Persian origin, using as *astôdâns*, 'properly labelled sacks,'—some be'longing to the rich being beautifully embroidered in gold or made of 'Greek silk,'

others for the inferior class of plain unbleached cloth. This harmonises exceedingly well with the supposed meaning of *tútuk* or *tútuc*, which would therefore appear to signify some kind of woven material, or bag made of such material; perhaps an embroidered or ornamented one.

Mr. Modi appears to me to be quite wrong in looking upon this usage as intended only for cases 'of extreme poverty.' In the Avesta itself the three kinds of receptacles—*açâna*, *vicica*, *tútuk*—are classed together as for those Mazdayasnians who can afford them ('*yèzi tavân aêtê Mazdayaçna*'), whilst for those who cannot ('*yèzi nôit tavân*') there is the mere laying out of the naked bones on the bedclothes in an elevated place. Nor is he right in calling *tútuk* 'coarse cloth' or 'inferior material.' I do not see a word to justify this in the text. On the contrary, according to the testimony of the Arab writer El-Andalusî, we have seen that these cloth (or even silk) *astôdâns* were often gold-embroidered, and marked with the names of the deceased. It is a pity that Mr. Abercromby did not get to see some actual specimens of the bone-bags, if any still exist. And I think what has gone before will show that he was misled in believing that this custom of preserving the bones was 'never a practice of the adherents of Zoroaster.'

As regards the etymology of *tútuk*, Roth, followed in this by Špiegel and others, has suggested a connection with the modern Persian *túshak*, توشک, 'carpet.' This etymological derivation does not appear very obvious; and de Harlez's suggestion seems decidedly happier. He connects the word with the modern Persian *tutuq*, تتق, which is practically identical in form, and means 'curtain, veil.' Although a root *tuk*, *tuc* in this connexion does not appear to be forthcoming in Sanskrit or Zend, one is irresistibly reminded of the Slav root *tūk*- whence Old Slav *tūkati*, to weave, Russian *tkat'*, Polish *tkać* (Miklovich, s.v.), and the Latin *tec*, *tex*, as in *texo*, **tec-la* (*tēla*). The original idea might therefore be that of 'a textile fabric' of any kind; and so suited to either silk or linen.

In conclusion, I should thus render the Avestic injunction of Vend. vi, 49-51.

"Creator of the Corporeal Worlds, Holy One! Whither shall we carry the skeleton (*azdêbîs*) of dead men? Where shall we place it (*ni dathâma*)?"

"Then quoth Ahura Mazda: Let there next be made a structure (*uzdânem*) out of reach of (*upairi*) dog, of fox, of wolf, that cannot be

rained upon above by the rain-water.

"If these Mazdayasnians are able, let them deposit (*i.e.* the bones, *ni daithîta*), either in stone-urns, or in concrete (or adobe)-urns, or in cloth-bags (or embroidered cloths ?) ; or else if such Mazdayasnians be not able, upon (the deceased's) own bed and own bedding, clothed with heaven's light and looking to the Sun."

It seems to me that this gives a satisfactory sense to the Avestic passage⁶ and also reconciles Parsi traditions with archaeological evidence of actual usage.

Of course, owing to the different way of constructing *dakhmas* in modern times, with the large ossuary or bone-pit in the centre, all kinds of *astôdâns* have now fallen out of use.

L. C. CASARTELLI.

NOTES.

1) May this perhaps be a confusion with the *Katas* or mud-huts prepared for the dead body before its disposal at the *dakhma* ? (See Vd. V, and further on in this paper).

2) This cutting-up the corpse and removing the flesh for the benefit of the vultures by a professional *sapareu* or corpse-butcher is actually carried out to the letter by the Siamese *Buddhists* to the present day. See the truly horrible scene described by an eye-witness, Abbé Chevillard in his very interesting book *Siam et les Siamois* (Paris : Plon, 1889), pp. 70-72. The only difference between this Buddhist custom and that of the presumed Mazdayasnians of Kubâchi, as described by El-Andalusi, is that in the former case the fleshless bones are carried to the *vat-saket* or crematory, and burned.

3) Ought this not to be : "Those of the rich and of lords they iay in sacks ?"

4) Modi numbers it as question XVII.

5) The word apparently means all the soft parts of the body, for in Chap. XVII, 9, it is explicitly said: "The body of men is formed out of hard bone and soft fat," *i.e.* hard and soft parts.

6) It will be noted that according to this the double question of §49 receives a double answer. In §50, Ahura Mazda tells the Mazdayasnians where they are to carry (*bar*) the bones, *viz.* to the *uzdâna* ; in §51 he answers the question 'where are we to place (*Kva nidathâma*) them ?' by ordering them to be placed (*ni-daithîta*) in certain kinds of *astôdâns*, or else on bedding in the open air.

PHARNABAZUS AND TISSAPHERNES MENTIONED ON
THE GREAT STELA OF XANTHUS.

The principal monument of the Lycian epigraphy is, as everyone knows, a superb monolith of white marble about 13 feet in height by 5 feet to 5 feet 7 inches in width¹; we call it indifferently by the name of the *Obelisk* of Xanthus, to make it clear perhaps that it is not to be classed among the funereal monuments, and the *stela*, being led to this by the allusion in the 2nd Greek verse of its north face:

ο]υδὲς πω Λυκίων στήλην τοιάνδε ἀνέθηκ(ε)ν

corroborated by the lines 5 and 7 of the same face.²

UTôNA : STTATI : STTALA : ôTI: MALIYAHİ:

= *Otanes erects the stela in the name of the the elders.*

STTATIMô: STTALA : ôTI: V LAHI—Bi YEHI:

= *We erect the stela in the name of his relatives.*

Here it will be remarked that sometimes a certain Otanes separately and before all the others,³ sometimes the princes (XBIDE) united, advanced into the midst of the *agora* of Xanthus to erect, not numerous stelas, but the stela *par excellence*,⁴ that upon which we read with more or less facility the history of Krêis, son of Harpagos, an incomparable warrior, guided by the great goddess of Athens.

This section of the North Face which immediately precedes the Greek epigram contains not a few surprises through its proper names of personages famous in history; when by a quite extraordinary intuition Dr. Deecke discovered under the fragments of words or under a complete word, but apparently very little significant, the names of *Pharnabazus*, that of his father *Pharnaces*, and lastly that of *Tissaphernes*,⁵ this conjecture found men's minds badly prepared: no one would be concerned as to what might be contained in this text engraved on the four faces of the noble obelisk, and the preceding attempts had been so unfortunate that no other importance was attached to what might be produced in the future. The Lycian obelisk was purely and simply condemned; it was forgotten among the ruins of Xanthus; the British Museum possesses a plaster cast of it, but it was almost agreed upon that it should not be spoken of; visitors departed from the Bloomsbury establishment without having seen the monument; those who persisted were informed that

the cast was in the *cellars*, and that it was absolutely necessary to be armed with a lantern to study it with any comfort.⁶ This disdain, this forgetfulness, are unjust. I shall do my best to prove this, by confirming Deecke's discovery, and by making known the brilliant suggestion of my learned friend, Mr. Arkwright of Newbury.

NOTES.

1) The two editions of the text of this stela have been published according to the copies taken from the monument still standing in Asia by Sir Charles FELLOWS, ("The Inscribed Monument of Xanthus," No. XXX of the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, IInd series, vol. I, London, J. Murray, 1843), and by Prof. Schönborn of Posen ("The Lycian Inscriptions after his accurate copies," edited by Moriz SCHMIDT, Jena, 1868, Hermann Dufft, 4 plates, VII.). Fellow's edition is enriched by a fine engraving representing a view of the ruins; behind the monolith are outlined the benches of a theatre; to the left is seen the Harpy tomb, and near this monument a sarcophagus in Gothic styles and in every way contemporaneous with the obelisk and the Harpy tomb.

2) W. Deecke, *Lykische Studien*, I. p. 134, but I cannot agree to divide in two, as that scholar proposes, the word STTATIMō which is always found without the separation STTATI(;)Mō proposed by the author. Deecke has compared Mō (as if isolated) to μῶν, IV. 240 and II. 323), ὅτι to ἀντί, a preposition which governs the genitive (II, 324 = ἀντί τῶν ἀπογόνων ἐῶν) and STTATI (=er stellt auf) from the Doric ἵσταται, classical Greek ἵστησι, (II. 23). STTATIMō rendered by "we place" is due to Major Conder; cf. *The Academy*, Jan. 25, 1890, No. 925, p. 8. —Savelsberg translated: "die feststehende," στασίμων, which once before misled me.

3) He is certainly a Persian of a very high rank; upon the Behistun inscription, Otanes, one of the magnates sworn with Darius against the Magi is named in Persian *Utâna*, in Median *Hutâna*. The Lycians have a tendency to transform the medial *â* into *ô*; is thus they write ATÔNAS and ATÔNAZI, in the same way as MILASÔSTRÂ (for Μελεσανδρος).

4) Major Conder thought that STTALA was analogous to the Persian *çtâna*, and was derived from it. I believe, on the contrary, that in the only circumstances in which the Persians wished to call by its technical name a stone polished to receive an inscription, they had recourse to the Greeks for this; in fact Xerxes asserts that his father ordered this stela to be cut in the rock, by employing the word *çtâna*, which signifies a spot, a site; yet he claims for it in imitation of the Greeks, a meaning altogether new, see Oppert, *Le peuple et la langue des Mèdes*, p. 226. The stela generally signifies a tomb stone: five stelae were on the tomb of Alyattes. The base of the column found at Corfu and studied by Mr. Egger bears the words in retrograde letters: στάλα Ξενάρους τοῦ Μελχίος εἰμ' ἐπὶ τύμῳ = "I am the stela placed upon the tomb of Xenares, son of Meixis;" (quoted by Schliemann *Ithaque, le Peloponnèse et Troie*, Paris, 1869, page 7). In spite of this, the savants give the name of stela to the non-funereal monuments;

to name an example, Sir Charles Newton describes "a stela of blue marble which measures 4 ft. by 1 ft. 7 in. by 9 in.," the monolith decorated on its four faces, like that of Xanthus, with a Greek inscription, which has for its object to assure to the citizens of Halicarnassus the peaceable possession of the property acquired by them, following doubtless upon confiscations. ("Essays on Art and Archæology," London, 1880, pp. 106 and *Appendix*"). As in STTATI, the Lycian word STTALA has two Ts; the reduplication of certain consonants is a custom in this writing.

5) W. Deecke announced his discovery in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, No. of 30th June, 1888 Column 828 ("Zur Deutung der Stela Xanthica"), and in the 4th part of his "Lykische Studien," p. 192.

6) Mr. Pinches, who was anxious to see the monument on my account, writes to me: "I examined what I am told is the Xanthian monolith, with the aid of Mr. Biagiotti and a lantern!" The lantern was also in the hands of Mr. Arkwright, when he went to assure himself as to the readings PINA[R]E instead of PINANE (East, 30) and KA[P]IKA (North, 23) which advantageously replaces my awkward KAIPKA.

2.

Before going further, I believe it will be useful to reproduce the 20 lines of the *Kizzaprîna* section by using the Latin characters generally which my alphabet gives,¹ [*See next page*].

NOTE.

1) *Bab. & Or. Record*, No. 11, vol. iii., Oct., 1889, pp. 254-5. When R precedes a redoubled consonant, and does not follow a vowel it must be read (a)r : Kizzaprîna = *Kizzaparna*; Fidrînah = *Vidarnah*. Here nn, mm, are for two Ns and two Ms.

3. PHARNABAZUS.

A single glance cast upon this inscription will enable one to judge better than all argument, of the difficulties which await rash decipherers. Only to speak of the first 2 lines, it seems impossible to discover a meaning in them, and yet some have attempted to do it, and have been successful after many efforts.

Savelsberg (*Beiträge* . . . 2nd vol. Bonn, 1879, p. 210) separates the five letters PRNNA, which he reads *prina*, and he connects this fragment with a verb *prinavatā* well known to signify: "er baute." But who builds here? The conjecture of the German Professor is that he is Otozizes (ôTÖZISA).

I make here a parenthesis to prove that everywhere here there are suggestive errors: ôTÖZISA, subject of the phrase, is a windfall; it has been too quickly abandoned, but on the other hand the word PRNNA[FATE] must disappear.

Moriz Schmidt combatted the restitution, otherwise incomplete, of Savels-

. T ö Z i S A P R ñ N A
 H E T I D E I M I : S E P A R Z A : χ B i D E : S E S i
 L i . A H E : T R B B I : A T ω N A S : Z χ χ ω T E T E R ñ : M E
 E M U A χ A v' ω : M A R A Z A : M E U B U H ω T ö : K B i Y ö T i : S E
 5 U T ω N A : S T A T i : S T T A L A : ö T i : M A L I Y A H I : P D D ω T I
 D D E F ö Z χ A Z ω I N E U N E : M ö S E F E H : ñ M I : S E χ B I D E
 S T A T I M ö : S T T A L A : ö T i : V L A H I B I Y E H I : S E M A L i
 Y A H I : S E M E R T E M E H I : S E χ ñ T A F A T E H I : χ B I D ö ñ .
 10 H I : S E D D E F E : S T T A T I M ö : U R U B L I Y ö : M E I T I : P U F .
 T I : A Z Z A L ω D . . D E U T R B B E I T : E M ö : E S B ö T E : χ ñ . .
 A F A T E D i : U N . A B [ω] m M E S E M ö K I Z Z A P R ñ N A : F I . .
 ñ N A H : S E F E R I Y . . A M ω N A T E L ö Z I Y E H I : V L ω A . .
 A R ñ N A S : K E H I χ . . ñ T A : E R B B E D I ñ T U B E ö E R . . .
 K I Z Z A P R ñ N A : E . . P R I T I : S E P A R Z A : M E ñ L E T . . .
 15 M ω : A χ A : S E ñ T E P . . I K I Z Z A P R ñ N ω : T T L i
 T I D E I M I . E H B I A R U S ñ : N E N E χ L A
 [ω] K E ñ . T E L E A I T I : T I H E : Z U ñ
 . F E L ö : ö v A χ ω ñ T E P I : T
 P A χ A : S E I χ E S E P U Z E H
 20 ñ T L ñ M E A R ñ N A T E : S E P U Z E H
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34

N.B. Lines 2 and 7, *I*, line 17, [ω], line 18, *U*, line 20, *P* and *H* are hardly perceivable.

berg, in his judicious *Commentatio de Columna Xanthica*, Jena, 1881, p. 4. He also had an unfortunate idea in dismissing the separation which Savelsberg proposed, in favor of his own: UT^o + ZISAPR^ñNA. He observed that farther off, and no less than thrice, the word KIZZAPR^ñNA (KIZZAPR^ñNô) was written; thenceforth this was like a passion; the Carian word γίσσα signifying "stone," there, for Schmidt, is a λιθοζόος.¹ However, I hasten to recognize that he guessed the meaning of SE PARZZA χBIDĒ="et Persarum rex," which removes it farther away still from the Otozizes of Savelsberg.

Dr. Deecke tries to see it more clearly; the personage so qualified by "the Persian king" was son (TIDEIMI) of . . HE, a genitive ending. To suppose ERTAχSSIRAZAHE (= Ἀρταξέρξου) or NTARIYEUSEHE (Δαρείου) who are mentioned in ll. 57-60 of the East face,² was impossible; the first of these names has a letter too many, the second has a letter too few, and then even if this could be arranged with these examples, what would become of UTÖZISA? In the midst of these experiments, Dr. Deecke had a happy idea; χBiDE perhaps signifies *king*³, but it perhaps also extends itself to a feudatory of the crown of Persia, a royal vassal of Persian origin; Diodorus relates that the sovereigns of Cappadocia were Achemenides of a collateral line. Let us try then the names of φαρναβάζος and of φαρνάκου, which in Lycian could scarcely have been otherwise written than PR^ñNABAZA and PR^ñNAKAHE; the conjecture exactly solves the problem; even the number of the letters and the phrase lend themselves quite alone to the translation, if it were not for this enigmatical ðTÖZISA which precedes.

Are we then in a condition to complete the first line? I believe we are. In fact, when we run through the text, we are struck with the first part which is played by an unknown personage of the name of Otanes; he appears the first to erect the stela; line 5, SE | ðToNA:STTATI:STTALA:ðTi:MALIYAHİ. It is not till afterwards that there is mention made, not indeed of a single prince, but of princes SE χBiDE:STTATIMö:STALLA=and (we), princes, we erect the stela," which they do, they say, in the name of their relations, the elders, and the warriors (?) and the royal hyparchs ðTi:VLAHIBIYEHI:SE MALIYAHİ:SE MERTEMEHI:SE χSTAFATEHI:χBiDöSNEHI. After them follow the priests pronouncing the good formula: SE DDEFE:STTATIMö:URUBLIYö:MEITI:="and (we) priests, we erect the coronation here;" I believe it concerns the platform which surmounted the whole monument, and which bore three figures, a female

sphinx between two lions. It is at least the aspect which a quadrangular stela presents which decorates the centre of a besieged town in a frieze of the Nereid - monument. Note the contraction of the word (E) BIYEHI = *suorum*⁴; in line 12, a contraction or even two contractions are visible : SEFERIY - AMôNA is in reality three words, SE + EFE + ERIYAMôNA = and himself Airyamâna, TELôZIYEHI: VLAôES(E) ARôNAS = (understanding under the preposition ôTi which governs the genitive) ["in the name] of the militia-men of the Xanthian race." Airyamâna, (ERIAMôNA) discovered by Mr. Arkwright⁵, is a personage known to history; it is Hîeraménès of the treaty of 411 between the Lacedemonians and the satraps of Darius (Thucydides, VIII, 58). According to Xenophon, *Hellenica*, II, 1, 9, Hieramènès, whose name appears to be Græcized, was the brother-in-law of the great King.

But is it not surprising that we are in presence in these 20 lines alone of the highest personages of Asia Minor? of Tissaphernes, as to whom it will remain to me to speak in §4, of the son of Pharnaces, of Hieraménès? there wants no more than the Spartans and the brothers of Pharnabazus to give the illusion of the treaty transcribed on the Xanthian marble. The Spartans really figure here.

M. Moriz Schmidt has shewn perfectly that the East face immediately precedes the North face.⁶ The last word of the East face is SPPART consequently the ending AZI of that ethnic ought, as the learned Hellenist of Jena said, to begin the text of the North face. But I think that the stone-cutter has omitted a letter, and that only ZI ought to be restored.⁷ Now there remain Tissaphernes, KIZZAPRôNA, which gives 10 new letters, and the sons of Pharnaces (*Φαρνακῶν παῖδας*)⁷; is that to throw out the conjecture that to try here the name of *Utôna*, that personage who, related perhaps more closely to Krêis, should be also a brother of Pharnabazus? With the restoration SE UTôNA I have a very instructive phrase: *spparta | zi : Kizzaprôna : se Utôna (:) Utôzisa prônâbaza prônakake tideimi : se parzza : χβιδε = Spartans, Tissaphernes and Otanes, ōtozises, Pharnabazus sons⁸ of Pharnaces and Persian dynasts . . .* The 3rd line can only be arbitrarily restored, since we do not know any Athenian of the name of *Silana*? *Klitahe*? Σιλῆνος Κλῆτρον. Dr. Deecke supposes that this host of the Persians was an outlaw, and he translates: "from the city Athen" the words TRBBI A TôNAS.⁹

NOTES.

1) On $\chi\iota\sigma\sigma\alpha$ see *Neue lykische Studien* of Moriz Schmidt, Jena, 1869, p. 34, verbo KIZZAPRNô; *The Karian language and Inscriptions*, by Prof. Sayce, 1887, p. 6, (where this term is submitted to a learned discussion), and Deecke's *Lykische Studien*, i., p. 135.

2) Savelsberg, I believe, first announced the name of Darius in the word "ñTARIYEUSEHE" ('Beiträge zur Entzifferung der lykischen Sprachdenkmäler,' Bonn, 1874, i., p. 5), but, as he says very loyally, the discovery of the name of Artaxerxes goes as far back as Sir Charles Fellows, who published it in his *Lycian Coins*, 1855, p. 16. Moriz Schmidt had misunderstood it in his *Neue lykische Studien*, and lastly Major Conder, in his article *The Lycian Language*, without rejecting the translation of Fellows and Savelsberg, has thought that the group *razahe* which completes the name ERTAχSSIRAZAHE ought to be separated from it, and to mean something like "ruling"; (cf. *The Academy*, 25 Jan. 1890, No. 925, p. 68, 2nd col.). I do not share his opinion on that point.

3) Deecke admits the meaning which Schmidt assigns to χBIDE, and he translates χBID'ñ[NE]HI by "regiorum," *Lyk. Stud.*, I, 140, 141.

4) See what Deecke says of it, IV, *Lyk. Stud.*, no. 19, p. 20f. Moriz Schmidt dedicated to the study of the Lycian contraction one of his most important chapters in his *Commentatio de inscriptionibus nonnullis lyciis*,

5) Mr. Arkwright, who was good enough to announce to me this discovery in his amiable letter of 18th April, 1890, makes the remark that *there never had been* any letters engraved between FERİY and AMôNA. any more than between KEHIχ and ñTA, between E and PRITI, between ñTEP and I (the preposition ñTEPI = *ενθα*) between TIDEIMI and EHBI, of the following lines; the stone presenting in this portion a cracked surface which certainly did not invite the lapicide to inscribe anything there. The word SEFERIYAMôNA, whatever may be the translation decided on, is complete. By this observation alone which suggests to the mind the treaty of the year 411, the work of decipherment has realized a remarkable advance.

6) Read especially the paragraph which commences with these words, "accedit altera caussa . . ." in the *Commentatio de Columna Xanthica*, Jena, 1881, page 5. But I am not yet persuaded that the North face may not be the last page of this gigantic inscription; the engraver, after the Greek epigram, has compressed his text, as if he feared he should want space, and there are some lines of 40 characters, when everywhere else he does not go beyond 34, and often does not reach this number.

7) Thucydides informs us as to the name of the father of Pharnabazus, it was Pharnaces, (quoted in the treaty of the year XIII of Darius, *φυνάδες τῆς ἐαυτῶν ἀμφότεροι παρὰ φαρναβάζῃ τῷ φαρνάκου κατοικοῦντες*) Thucydides, VIII, 6.

8) TIDEIMI can be perfectly in the plural; some epitaphs appear to give it in the nominative plural, but with an S at the end; it may be that the regular termination was in fact SE TIDEIMISE, abridged to TIDEIMIS and TIDEIMI).

9) This is the commencement of this treaty of alliance between the Persians and Sparta:

Τρίτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ ἔτει Δαρείου βασιλεύοντος, ἐφορεύοντος δὲ Ἀλεξιππίδα

ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, ξυνθήκαι ἐγέγοντο ἐν Μαίανδρου πεδίῳ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων πρὸς Τισσαφερνή καὶ Ἱεραμένην καὶ τοὺς Φαρνάκου παῖδας, κτλ.

4. TISSAPHERNES.

At the same time as Deecke discovered Τισσαφερνῆς and Τισσαφερνήν in *Kizzaprñna* and *Kizzaprñnô*, I was fortunate enough to recognise the adversary of this satrap, that is to say Amorges, in HUMR_{XX}ô (South 50). Identification facilitated by the verb TABôNA signifying "to conquer." We are then most certainly in one of the years 413, 412, or 411, under the reign of Darius II, who perhaps associated in his crown his oldest son Artaxerxes.

The name of the satrap is complete; three passages contain it, and one of them by superaddition gives us the name of his father:

Line 11-12. KIZZAPR_ñNA: FI[DR] || ñNAH
=Tissaphenes, son of Hydarnes,

line 14. KIZZAPR_ñNA not distant from the mention of SE
PARZA: MEñLE, which I dare not translate "and the
Persian men."(?)

line 15. KIZZAPR_ñNô in the accusative, preceded by the pre-
position ñTEPI *apud*? (PI is the enclitic of another
preposition HRPPI=for.

The information as to the name of Tissaphernes does not in any way disarrange our ideas, and in fact no one had dreamt of taking this high dignitary, the rival of Pharnabazus, for a son of Pharnaces. The treaty recorded by Thucydides separates the son of Pharnaces from Tissaphernes and from Hieramenes. Therefore in introducing KIZZAPR_ñNA immediately after the Spartans and before SE . . . PR_ñNAKAHE TIDE-IMI, I have acted conformably to all the data of history and epigraphy. Is it not strange, however, that, while the name (so instructive for us) of PR_ñNAKAHE had disappeared, the name of the father of Tissaphernes, which history does not disclose, hastens from itself before our eyes? There are wanting two letters, of which the one, R, is quite indicated before ñN, and the other D, presents the resource of reconstituting a very Persian name Fidrñnah=Vidarnahyâ. F is the digamma which the Greek replaces by u: TEFINEZôI of Telmessus 3 bear the same name as Τεινίσσου του Κινδανύβου, Xanthus C. I. G. 4315, h. The inscription of the stèle quotes the descendant of Hystaspas, under the form of FIZTTASPPAZI that is to say, with FI=Persian Vishtaspâ, Greek Ὑστάσπης. Ctesias writes the name of Vidarna,

Ιδερνης; Herodotus, Υδαρνης, and Xenophon, or rather the unknown hand which has added to the *Anabasis* the nomenclature of the satraps of the period of that expedition, would appear to give the same name under the form Δερνης, as Mr. Nöldeke conjectures.

At first sight, and if we do not suppose a Persian prototype *Cissafrāna*, one is astonished at this that Τισσαφερνη could have become in Lycian KIZZAPRŊNA: either we deceive ourselves in our identification—but I believe that the other evidences lend us a strong support—or the Greek has been badly reproduced and contains a ‘gamma’ instead of a ‘tau’: Τισσαφερνης would be quite near Kizzaprŋna.

The Hellenists will, however, refuse to make this change; it would, indeed be very extraordinary if the copyists of the different Greek historians should be agreed upon the classical reading; besides, Tissaphernes is quoted in Justin: “Darius quoque, rex Persarum, memor paterni a-vitique in hanc urbem odii, facta cum Lacedæmonii per Tissafernem, præfectum Lydiæ, societate, omnem sumtum belli pollicetur”—“ . . . Alcibiades . . . ad Tissafernem. præfectum Darii regis, profugit” “Igitur persuadet Tissaferni ne tanta stipendia classi Lacedæmoniorum præberet” “Grata oratio Tissaferni fuit” “et in locum Tissafernis Darius rex Persarum filium suum Cyrum Ioniæ Ly-diæque præposuit” (*Historiæ*, Liber V, 1, 2, 5).

I prefer to hold by the idea of the Persian prototype *Cissafrāna*, where *c’* corresponds to the Greek τ or θ and to the Latin *q*; for example, *c’a* the conjunction is to be compared with the enclitic τε (in Asia Minor κε), and with the Latin *que*. Caispis the Achemenidian became Τείσπης in Herodotus, Aspacana Ασπαθινης (cf. C’issantakhma = Τριτανταρχης of Æschylus.) The Lycians had quite as good a right as the Greeks to adopt a reading which, after all, approaches still better to C’issafŋna, KIZZAPRŊNA.

NOTES.

1) See Moriz Schmidt, *König Perikles* in the *Zeitschrift* hersggb. von Kuhn, 1879, page 450. TABŊNA is the verb TEBETE “devinxit”; TERŋ is doubtless the army, *exercitum*. On the campaigns of the son of Harpagos and the data of his stèle, read Deecke’s article already quoted, *zur Deutung der stela Xanthica*.

Here then retranscribed and completed as far as I am capable of doing, the Kizzaprŋna section; I do not attempt to write the letters under each other :

1 *spart* | [(a) zi (: Kizzaprŋna (: se Utŋna) útŋza, prŋna[baz
[a : prŋnaka] he : tideimi : se parzza : χbide : se si

- lana K] li [t] ahe : trbbi : Atónas : zχχóte : terñ : me
 [it] e. mu αχav'ô : maraz : meubuhôtô : kbiyôti : se
 5 Utóna : sttati : sttala : ôti : maliyahi : pddôti
 ddefô zχχazôineune : mösefeh : mmi : se χbide
 sttatimô : sttala : ôti vlahi (e) biyehi : se mali—
 yahi : se mertemehi : se χñtafatehi : χbidōñ [ne]—
 hi : se ddefe : sttatimô : urubliyô : meiti : puf [i]—
 10 ti : azzalô d . . . deu trbbeit : emô : esbôte : χñ[t]—
 afatedi : un . . . abôñme se mö Kizzaprñna : Fñ [dr]—
 ñmah : se (e) fe (E) riyamóna telôziyehi : vlôa (es—
 Arñnas : Kehiχñta : erbbedi ñtube ôer (ôer)
 Kizzaprñna : epriti : se parza : meñle : [ñtlm]
 15 mô : aχa : se ñtepi Kizzaprñnô : ttli[di] . .
 . . . tideimi ehbi Arusñ : nene χla[ina] . .
 . . . ôke ñtele aiti : tihe : zuñ . . . ,
 felô : ô . . . -
 paχa : se iχe
 20 ñtlñme : Arñnate : Sepuzeh . . .

What is it that this signifies? zχχóte appears to point out a verb having the meaning of “to disembark” or “to reembark;” ddefô zχχazôineune would be the “sacred ships.”

Line 15 : ttliidi has the acceptation of reckoning money ; it would therefore have to do with a payment of troops.

Arusñ named elsewhere (East, 6) would be Tissaphernes' son.

Lastly, as at every grand festival there must be a poet, so here our epigrammatist Indalmos, son of Sepouzis, Xanthian by birth; ¹he has pillaged Simonides for the occasion, and his first verse has been for a long time compared to that which opens the epigram in honour of Cimon, and of the warriors in the passage of Eurymedon.

I am very pleased to give here a translation of this piece.²

“Since the sea separated Europe from Asia, among the Lycians, no one ever yet erected a similar stela before the twelve gods, in the consecrated enceinte of the *agora*, an imperishable monument of challenges and wars.

“Kreis, son of Harpagos was superior in everything. in the struggle by hands among the Lycians of that time flourishing there in youth.”

It is he who, Athênê, taker of cities by his side, took numerous citadels,

Giving to his relations a part of the empire.

"They do not forget the Immortals in their righteous recognition.

"It is he who, in one day, killed seven Arkadian hoplites.

"Ah! assuredly among all human beings he has presented before Zeus the most numerous trophies!

"Ah! assuredly he has crowned with very rich crowns the race of Karikas!"

Too much importance had been made of this poetical accessory, by in it, as it were, a *résumé* of the text of the obelisk. At this moment Mr. Arkwright's discovery gives an opening for conclusions of the gravest character. M. Six, for example, considers the présence of the high personages of the Empire at Xanthus, on the morning of the death of Krêis, as dictated less by the desire to celebrate the memory of the deceased hero than to arrange the conditions of an intimate alliance. Lycia repudiated the Athenian friendship; she placed herself under the protection of Tissaphernes, happy to see herself flattered by those the empire regarded as the greatest, by Pharnabazus and his brothers, and by the Spartans. Understood in this way, this document goes beyond the interest which would attach to a simple narrative of campaigns by sea and undertaken for a petty Lycian sovereign.

We must, however, conclude; and our conclusion is to invite the friends of antiquity to search among the ruins of the ancient metropolis of Lycia the *débris* of the obelisk, and to secure to all the pleasure of having the last doubts as to our readings removed. This task well becomes Fellows' fellow-countrymen, who never refuse their money to any scientific mission with an object always so great; does there not exist under the shadow of the flourishing Palestine Exploration Fund a society which is devoted to the excavations of Cyprus? Would it not be meeting a real necessity of our historical knowledge to create a Lycia and Caria Exploration Fund? May this appeal be answered!

NOTES.

1) This is the opinion of Moriz Schmidt, *Neue lykische Studien*, p. 129, note.

2) See the text in the *Muséon*, t. VIII, 1889, pp. 422—423. The epigram attributed more or less justly to Simonides, and which has inspired the Xanthian poet, is in *Diodorus Siculus*, XI, 62, and *Anthology*, VII, 296.

J. IMBERT.

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

(Continued from p. 116).

SECTION X.

Sbyans pahi yon tan bcu gñis. The 12 Virtuous Acts of Purity.—M.
The 12 Virtues of Purificatory Exercises.

1. *Sāmpukūlida* [read *Pāṇḍukūlika*]. T. *phyag-dar khrod pa*, wearing garments made of gathered rags. M. T'g. to wear dark and poor clothes. Ch. to wear dirty clothes which have been cleaned (i.e. begged for, gathered up dirty and then cleaned to be worn).
2. *Trāicīvarika*², wearing the three garments of mendicant monks.—T. *c'os gos gsum pa*, the three garments of the Law, or of the canonical books. M. &c., id.
3. *Nāmatika*. Wearing hair (i.e. skin) garments.—T. *phyin pa can*, id., or of coarse felt.—Ch. coarse, torn garments.
4. *Pintapātika* [? *Piṇḍap*⁰]. Having ones food whilst going along the road.—T. *bson sñoms pa*, begging alms.—M. going here and there begging.—Ch. always going round begging food.
5. *Ekāpanika*⁶ [read-*pāṇika*]. Having only one spoon. T. *stan gcig pa*, and M. having only one mat. Ch. having only one kind of food.
6. *Khalupaçvāddhaktinka*⁵
T. *zas phyis mi leñ pa*, who after eating accepts no more ; M. who having eaten (once) does not eat a second time.
7. *Ārāṇyakam*. Dwelling in a forest.—T. *dgon-pa-ba*, do in a desert.—Ch. to inhabit mountains, monasteries, (*lan yen* of Tibet).
8. *Vṛkshamūlikam*. Dwelling at a foot of a tree. T. *çin druñ pa*, at the foot of a tree.—M. under a tree.
9. *Ābhyaṇakāçika*. Dwelling in an uncovered place, under the open sky.—T. *blag pa med pa*, with nothing to lean on¹.—M. inhabiting a shelterless place. Ch. do. uncovered, exposed to rain.
10. *Çmāçānika*. Inhabiting cemeteries.—T. *dur khrod pa*.—M. id.—Ch. among tombs.
11. *Nāishadhika*. (Not lying down. but) standing up (all night). T. *tsog bu pa*, to remain sitting with legs folded under one².—M. to remain sitting without lying down.—Ch. to sit only and not lie down.

12. *Yāthā pāntari*. Going by the roads (to beg) as is fitting. ("In turn," adds the Mandchu). Mg. Ch. going to beg in turn (and : as is fitting).—T. *gzi bz'in pa*, inhabiting a fitting place³.

The nomenclature gives here a summary table of what are called the *dhūtāṅgas*, or rules of ascetic life, (lit. 'kinds of things rejected'). It passes over in complete silence the community or monastic life, the *vihāra* and all that concerns it. It seems to put the hermit above the monk, which is contrary to the general ideas. An allusion to community life may be seen perhaps in Part I.

We have here the rules according to the Northern books; the Southern Buddhists have 3. Kern and Spence Hardy treat specially of these latter. See *Eastern Monasticism*, pp. 73, 97 sq., 107, 118, 133 sqq.

1. *Pāṇḍukulika* signifies, according to Burnouf, 'garments covered with dust'; Spence Hardy explains it imperfectly. *Pāṇḍukūla* is a heap of dust, soil, swept-up filth; *pāṇḍukula* is the high road. The whole means one who goes upon the dust-heaps or on the road to seek for castaway rags. The Buddhist *gṛamanas* clothe themselves with garments made of rags they have picked up, with shreds of worn-out clothes. These garments are made of from 5 to 27 pieces, according to the school.

2. *Trāṇīcarika*. The three garments are a short petticoat, bands of linen cloth at the lower part of the legs, and a cloak; the whole of yellow colour, as being the hue of unbleached linen of the coarsest kind. New clothes received as gifts had to be torn up and sewn together again, so as to resemble those made of rags collected. Whilst the ascetic is washing his three garments he must remain naked, if alone.

3. *Nāmatika*. Burnouf, being unable to explain this word, alters it to *Kāmbalika*. The skin garments of the bhikshus are mentioned, for instance in the *Adānavarga*.

4. Burnouf and Hardy interpret *piṇḍa* and *pāta* as throwing or fall of bread given in alms. According to the versions, it ought to be read *piṇḍapāthika*, which gives a better meaning.

5. The Tibetans have followed the reading *Ekāsanika*, having but one seat, remaining on the same whilst taking the same and not going to either side. The Chinese have read *Ekāṣanika*, and it is from this that Remusat has got his translation, and not from a textual correction.

6. This word has greatly embarrassed Burnouf, who corrects to *svādnapaṣcādbhaktikas*, which is not very likely. Hardy takes *khalu* in a prohibitive sense, "prohibited after the time" (*bhatta*, a period of time). He makes two different things out of the two readings, *khalupaṣcādbhattika* and *khalupbṛghādhaktinka*, giving to this latter the value of "that the food begged should be divided into three." *Khalu*, forbidden, is not very probable; no example of it is cited. I would prefer to read *Khalupaṣcādnabhaktika*. Perhaps the *n* of *na* has slipped into *bhaktinka*.

The Buddhist interpreters are equally embarrassed, as may be seen in Childer's *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v.

11. Hardy distinguishes the two identical Pāli-Sanskrit forms *neṣajjika* and *nāṣadhika*.

12. The versions indicate a text *pānthari*, from *pantha* road. The Pāli list would indicate *yāthāsaṅstarika*, 'who keeps his carpet as it is with-

out changing it,' according to Burnouf. Hardy sees in it 'one who takes the first place vacant, (without seeking a better one').

The two lists, Northern and Southern, have notable differences. There is a 13th term *pattapiṇḍika* according to Kern, etc.; but this is the equivalent of *piṇḍapātika*. No. 4 on the Southern list is *sapadānacarika*, going from house to house to beg food, according to Kern, who adds that this term is wanting in the Northern list, so that two terms would be missing therein. As a matter of fact, this is the only one missing. The order of the two lists is quite different; but that of slight importance.

One who lives under a tree must not heed rain, the fall of birds' dung, etc. The dweller in the forest must always keep at a certain distance from all houses, etc. etc. But in all this there is both a strict and a lax observance, and these prescriptions concern only those who desire to be more perfect. One may arrive without this at Nirvāṇa.—These rules give rise to numerous details of prescription, which it would be too long to enumerate here, and which may be found in Hardy, *l.c.*

1) 'To be sitting on one leg' is not quite accurate. (Burn. Introd. 274).

2) And not 'who remains where he is' (ib. 277). M. *yāthāsaṅstavika*.

3) Burn. Lotus, I. 309, 'absence of all comfort' (?)

SECTION XI.

'*Jig-rten gyi miñ-la*. Names of the Exterior or Visible World.

1. *Sahasracuṭṭyālōkadhātu*¹ Element, region of the world of the small thousand. M. *stoñ sphyē-phud*,
2. *Dvīpāhasrodhyamalōkadhātu* [read *dvisāhasromadhya L.*] world of the second, middle thousand.—T. *stoñ gñis pa bar*.
3. *Trisāhasromahāsāhasrolōkadhātu*. World of the third, great thousand. T. *Stoñ gsum gyi stoñ c'en ba . . .*
4. *Samalōkadhātu*. The entire, universal world, [read *sahalōka*?] T. *nu mzed 'jig rten*.—M. Ch. the world which can bear, patience in evils, (reading *saha*).—The *sahalōka* is the inhabited part of the worlds, consequently the part where there is suffering.

1) The three first terms have reference to the division of the visible world. The Universe is composed of an infinite number of small worlds called *Ṣakvala* and each comprising an Earth, with its sun, moon, and stars, besides its heavens and hells. The whole is limited by a girdle of rocks. A thousand *Ṣakvalas* from the small thousand, *Sahasrocūṭa*. One million (or ten lacs) of *Ṣakvalas* make the middle thousand *madhyama*. One hundred crores constitute the great thousand. The whole together is the *Samalōkadhātu*, essence or constituent of the entire world.

SECTION XII.

Gñiñ bz'i pa-hi miñ-la. Names of the Four Dvīpas¹.

1. *Pūrvavideha*. Eastern videha. T. *car kyī lus 'phags*, elevated (vi) or sacred country, corporal world of the East. M. great bodied eastern,

- dib*. Ch. the island of the subdued (*vi*) body.
2. *Deha*. The bodily. T. *lus*, body. M. *dip*, corporeal.
3. *Videha*. Without body. T. *lus* 'phags, elevated (*vi*) body. M. id. Ch. subdued, despoiled body.
4. *Jambúdvīpa*. *Dvīpa* of the jambu tree. T. *Jambu hi gliñ*. M. *dip* of the jambu, Southern.
5. *Cāmara*. *Dvīpa* of the ox Camara (i.e. the yak). T. *rñā yab*, lit. 'drumstick.' M. *dip* of *arfa* (oats). Mg. of the yaktail fly-flap. Ch. *siao fuh*.
6. *Avaracāmara*. Lower Cāmara. T. *rñā yab gz'an*, the other *rñā yab* M. the other *arfa*. Mg. the other fly-flap. Ch. with the marvellous *fuh*.
7. *Avaragotanyam* [read *aparagôdānīya*, or *godhānyam*], rich in oxen, to the West.—T. *nub kyī lañ spyod*, whose action takes place in the West. M. *dip* where the western (*para*) oxen are employed.—Mg. id.—Ch. where trade is done in oxen of (to) the West.
8. *Āthā* [read *cāla*], T. *gyo-lan*, moving *dvīpa*. M. id. Ch. *Dvīpa* which moves, goes a little.
9. *Uttaramantriya*. Perhaps the same as *uttaramandra*. T. *lam moq* 'gro, who goes the best way. M. *Dip*, where one follows the best way. Ch. id.
10. *Uttara Kuru*. Septentrional Kuru. T. *Byaṅ sgra mī sñam*. With the disagreeable sounds of the north. M. id. Ch. Island Kulo of the north.
11. *Kurava*. Land of the Kurus. T. *sgra mī sñam*. With bad sounds, Ch., superior to land of the flatterers, where flattery reigns.
12. *Kāuruva*, id. T. *sgra mī sñan kye z'la*, Island of the friends of bad voices. Ch. Island of the extreme superiority, *ts'ui shing*.

1) *Dvīpa*=Island. M. Mg. *dip* (transcribed). Ch. *tcheou*, island. The Hindus divided the world into *dvīpas* or great continents surrounded by water and each having one extremity touching Mount Meru. Their names and number vary with the books: the *Mahābhārata* has 4; the *Vishnupurāṇa* also 4; others 13 or even 18. Generally seven are recognised, viz: Jambudvīpa, with India in the centre; around this are ranged the rest,—Gomedaka, Ālmala, Kusa, Kraunca, Āka and Pushkara. The names of our book, which are quite different are partly geographical. Videha was to the North of the Ganges, the actual Bihar. Pūrvaideha is the Eastern part of it. Deha is merely an artificial creation, obtained by suppressing the prefix *vi* of the first word. *Deha* means 'body'; hence all the etymological explanations in the versions.—Jambudvīpa represents India which it contained. Its name is derived from the *Jambu* tree (*Eugenia jambolana*?) which grows there in great abundance; or from the leaves of this tree, whose shape resembles that of the Trans-

gangetic peninsula.—The Uttarakuru, partly mythical and partly geographical, occupies the Northern extremity.—The Kuravas and Kâurava are mere abstractions from it.—Madra is the North of India; Uttaramadra (?) would be its northern extremity—Câmarâ is in the country where the yak is indigenous, as the Aparagodânya in the pastoral countries to the West.

The title of the section speaks of *four* dvîpas, because such was the consecrated number among many of the Buddhists. The four dvîpas surround Mount Meru, affect semicircular, triangular, circular and square forms. The inhabitants have similarly formed faces.

SECTION XIII.

Khams gsum. The Three Worlds.

1. *Kâmadhâtu.* World of desire. T. *rdo pa hi khams.*
2. *Rûpadhâtu.* World of visible forms. T. *gzugs khyi khams.*
3. *Arûpadh tu,* World of (beings) without perceptible forms. T. *gzugs c'odpahi khams.*

SECTION XIV.

'Dod lha drug gi miñ la. Nouns of the genii of desire.

M. Names of the six Worlds of desire.

1. *Caṭurmahârâjakâyika.* Corporeal world of the 4 great kings protectors of the world, and of the gods against evil spirits; they dwell under Mount Meru. T. *rgyal en bz'ihi rigs,* family of the 4 great kings, &c. M. Ch. the 4 great kings of heaven.
2. *Trayastrîṅga.* The group of the 33 gods. T. *sum c'u gsum pa,* id. Ch. M. the 33 heavens (*abka*). Mg. the 33 *tekin.*
3. *Yâmat.* World of Yama. T. *'thab zal,* the desert of combat¹. M. heaven of combat. Ch. *ya-mo,* transcribed.
4. *Tushita.* (Heaven of joy), joyous, rejoiced. T. *dya ldan,* which is in joy. M. rejoicing heaven. (Wanting in Minaïeff).
5. *Nirmânaratitas.* (M. *-rataya*) rejoicing, delighting in miraculous transformations. T. *'phrul dga,* do. by wonders. M. Mg. id. Ch. by creations.
6. *Paranirmitavaçavarttita* [read—*itina*] proceeding at will by miraculous transformations.

- 1) An etymological error, from *yam* to overcome. C. DE HARLEZ.
(To be continued).

NOTE TO THE TABLET OF ASPASINE.—From texts which I have examined during the last few days, I find that འཇམ་མཁའ་ ought to be read *Bêl-lâmar*. Substitute, therefore, *Bêl-lâmur* for *Bêl-mahar* wherever the latter occurs, T.G.P.

For the name of the daughter of Nabonidus, see Mr. Pinches' article "Belshazzar" in the New York *Independent* for August 15, 1889, p. 15, where the tablet in question is translated in full. T. de L.

THE BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

Contributors are alone responsible for their opinions or statements.

BANANAS AND MELONS AS DESSERT FRUITS OF ASSYRIAN MONARCHS AND COURTIER.

P. E. Botta in his *Monuments de Ninive* pl. 64, Tom. I, gives a set of men at a feast. They are dressed in long tunics, tasselled at the edges, and the men are seated on richly ornamented chairs. In one hand they are holding a goblet which may be of metal or ivory.

Before them is a richly ornamented table, and on it are two things. The one looks like a large slice of melon, and the other looks like a small cluster of bananas—showing 7 distinct large fruits, clustered together.

Pl. 65 of the same Tome gives another set of similar drinkers. On the table before them is repeated the melon-like object, and another squarish object which is defaced and not recognizable. Behind them is an attendant, holding a fly-flapper, which would appear to mean that the persons, who are feasting, are either members of the royal family, or persons of rank. Behind the attendant again are two men standing, with short tunics and swords. In one hand they hold a staff of office, and in the other a goblet. Between them on the ground is a tray, with some sort of vessel, and a small cluster of banana-like objects. Six distinct fruits can be seen in a row and all have the usual banana-curve. These figures must also be intended for persons of some rank, as in another place, similar figures have near them an attendant, holding a fly-flapper.

The banana-like objects are repeated in Pl. 63, Tom. I, and in Pl. 113, Tom. II, and are placed on similar tables. In one of the latter, there are signs of two rows of fruits on the cluster.

Pl. 146, Tom. II, gives a fortress, with the king standing in his tent, and outside of it what is probably meant for the king's dining table, surrounded by the ensigns of royalty—two globes, and a red cone. On the table is a cluster of banana-like fruits—five large ones in a row. Close by are two attendants, one of whom holds a bucket in one hand.

In Br. Mus. basement, No. 121 has the same cluster on a table close to a reclining figure of Sardanapalus.

It is interesting to note that all these clusters have the same character—viz. a number of parallel long objects, with a thick line across them, not far from their base. Like bananas, in one case they have a distinct curve, and in another, they present an indication of two rows. Now can these objects have been intended for bananas? Can they have been intended for anything else? Considering the way in which they are delineated, I am inclined to think them meant for clusters of *bananas*, and nothing else. There appears nothing in the origin and geographical distribution of this plant, which militates against the notion that the Assyrians knew of it, and used its fruit on the royal tables, although it may not have been then growing in Babylonia or Assyria.

The ordinary banana or plantain is the *Musa Sapientum*, L. As to its botanical character, the fruit is in large bunches, as we see them in the London shops. On the main stem are arranged clusters of bananas with two rows in each cluster. The number of rows varies according to the variety and species, and the number of bananas in each row varies also. On the tree, the bunch hangs point downwards, and each cluster, when in flower, is protected by a large leathery bract, which, in some species, is of a very brilliant color. This bract falls off, and as the ovaries mature, they usually curve upwards, that is towards the base of the bunch. When the bract falls off, a scar of the whole breadth of the cluster is left on the upper side near its base. This scar appears like a dark thick line. The attachment of each individual fruit to the stem varies. In some kinds, each banana is *separately* attached to the stem. In others, the peduncles become partially confluent, that is, the stem-half of each peduncle adheres to its neighbour, so as to form a sort of flat, or fasciated branch, from which the individual bananas spring. At the junction of the peduncles, there is often a distinct thick line more or less undulating which is the scar of the fallen bract, and in cases of confluence, there are often distinct marks on the fasciated part, which are indicative of the peduncles having been once separate, throughout in some other variety.

In Botta's plates a distinct thick line is shown near the base of each cluster of banana-like objects, and it is curious to note that this thick line is mostly on the *concave* side of the cluster as in the bananas of the shops. Considering the interesting, thorough details, with which the Assyrian sculptors often represented things, this line may have been

meant for that which, on the real cluster, often separates the fasciated from non-fasciated parts of the peduncles of the fruits, and is the scar of the fallen bract.

As to the number of ovaries in each cluster, *Musa Zebrina* (Van Houtte) Flore des Serres—has *single* rows, varying from 4 to 7 in each row. *Musa Superba*—3850. Bot. Mag. has the line near the base of the ovaries, and a fasciated part which attaches the cluster to the stem. *Musa rosacea*, Bot. Mag. has only 2 or 3 ovaries under each bract. In *Musa paradisiaca*, one of the cultivated kinds, there are two rows of bananas, but each banana is separately attached to the stem. All the cultivated kinds of *Musa sapientum* which I have seen had two rows of fruits, the number in a row varying. The insertion of the fruit on the stem varies also. In some, the fasciated part is short; in others, longer.

In the Natural History Museum at S. Kensington, there is an original colored drawing of a yellow variety of banana, made by John Reeves, who resided some time in Canton. The drawing has some Chinese characters, which probably are its native name. It has two rows in each cluster, and curiously enough, it has *seven* bananas in each row. The peduncles or stalks are confluent at the base, the confluent part showing marks of the separate origin of the peduncles. This Chinese variety, as also most of those seen in the London shops, has the curve in its individual bananas, of which an indication is given in pls. 63 and 65, Tom. I. of Botta's Mon. de Ninive.

Another original drawing has red fruit, and the individuals are straight.

The bunch of plantains or bananas is too large and heavy to be handled, and offered as a whole. And so by means of a knife it is divided into clusters, such as are seen in the shops, and such as are hawked about in India, and served at tables.

I think, botanically speaking, the rude representations on the Assyrian sculptures can stand for clusters of bananas.

As to the origin and geographical distribution of the banana, this is, what I find in Alph. de Candolle's work on the "Origin of cultivated plants."

"The bananas *Musa sapientum* and *M. paradisiaca* Linn.) were generally considered to be natives of Southern Asia, and to have been carried to America by Europeans, until Humboldt threw doubts upon their purely Asiatic origin. He asserts that on the banks of the Orinoco

in the midst of the thickest forests, almost everywhere plantations of manioc and bananas are found, altho' the Indian tribes had had no relations with European settlements. He thought that there must be some kinds of bananas, which are indigenous to America.

Other authors consider the bananas of the old and new world as belonging to the same species, and divide them into large fruited (7 to 15 inches long) and small fruited (1 to 6 inches long). Brown, moreover, states that no one pretends to have found in America in a wild state varieties with fertile fruit, as has happened in Asia. Others consider that the banana was introduced into Brazil from the Congo. The assertions of Caldeleugh that the banana was known to the American Indians before communication with the Portuguese, and that its leaves were found in Peruvian tombs are, according to de Candolle vitiated by the statement that he saw also beans in the tombs—a plant which undoubtedly belongs to the old world.

Botanists unhesitatingly say that no real Indian names for this plant exist in the languages of Peru and Mexico. But even if they did, it would, I think, be no evidence that the banana was *not* introduced. In my studies of the native names of the oranges and lemons of India and Ceylon, I found many undoubted Sanskrit names attached to certain varieties of citrus, but they were mostly descriptive of some of the characters of the fruit, such as "full of seeds," "round as a moon," and so forth, many of these Sanskrit-named fruits being undoubtedly introduced. It is curious to trace the wanderings of a plant, but just as curious to trace the wanderings and transformations of the names that stick to it.

De Candolle says:—"The antiquity and wild character of the banana in Asia are incontestable facts. Its generic name *musa* is from the Arabic *Mouz*, which is found as early as the 13th century in Ebn Baithar. But the Hebrews and ancient Egyptians did not appear to know this plant, and therefore he concludes that it did not exist in India from a very remote period, but was first a native of the Malay Archipelago. It bears distinct names in the most separate Asiatic languages, Chinese, Sanskrit, and Malay, and there is an immense number of varieties in Southern Asia. So that its existence there must have been of great antiquity.

Botanists have found it growing wild in many parts of Asia--Chittagong, Khasia, Ceylon, Philippine Islands, Siam, Cochinchina."

So that whether in America the banana may or may not have been also indigenous, matters little. There is ample evidence to show that in Asia

it was known from the remotest antiquity. It is however a mistake, I think, to fancy that the cultivated seedless varieties will not run to seed if neglected. For in Lucknow natives say that when left in one place, and the plants not shifted and well manured, the plantain seeds. I have seen plants of it in one of the king's gardens, after the capture of Lucknow in 1858, which had been neglected for several years. Their fruit was full of seeds, and had little or no pulp. This seedful fruit natives call *Kárrûr*. So that its having been found by botanists in various places wild and producing seed does not, it appears, necessarily mean that it got there by transportation of seed. My experience of this plant is that it is very hardy. When once introduced and established it is difficult to eradicate, and that where found growing wild, it may have been originally brought there as *offsets* by settlers, who afterwards may have died off, or emigrated, or they may have been exterminated, while their banana plants remained there, and eventually, thro' neglect, produced fruit full of seeds, which helped the further multiplication and dissemination of this plant.

Whatever may have been its origin in the wild state, the following points appear tolerably certain :

(a) That it was known in S. Asia from a very remote period, and that the Arab and Persian traders must have been early acquainted with it.

(b) That probably it was grown in S. Arabia, and S. Persia. Its rooted stumps can easily be carried to a distance, and will strike and grow

Botta — "*Monuments de Ninive*"

(broken)



Pl. 113, Tom. II.



Pl. 146, Tom. II.



Pl. 63, Tom. I.



Pl. 64, Tom. I.



Pl. 65, Tom. I.

readily under favorable conditions.

(c) The fruit might have easily been carried from S. Arabia, and S. Persia to Babylonia in trader's coasting ships. It admits of being cut green in bunches, and ripening off the plant afterwards. In going from Bombay to Ceylon in one of the coasting steamers, we had bunches of plaintains in the green state hung on deck, and served in clusters as they ripened. There can hardly be much doubt that in Assyrian times the Persian and Arab seamen did the same, taking in fresh supplies from the coast they touched at until they brought their last lot to Babylon.

(d) That, although the Assyrians might have got the banana fruit now and again, it must have been only as a rare thing to be presented to the king and people of rank. This would account, perhaps, for the Hebrews and ancient Egyptians not mentioning it, and for the fruit only appearing at Royal banquets on the monuments, and not the plant itself. For the plant to fruit and flourish a tropical climate is required for most varieties. I could never get the red plantain of Bombay to fruit in Lucknow, although there are a few hardy varieties that will fruit there. Both a cold temperature in winter and a hot, dry wind in summer injure it; and probably in Assyria they had both. It may have been possible for traders in those days to have carried banana fruit to Babylon, but it may not have been possible to carry it further, as it decays after a time.

So, upon the whole, it appears sufficiently probable that the objects indicated in the plates alluded to were meant by the Assyrian sculptors for clusters of bananas. What else they could have been meant for is not clear.

The other object which accompanies these clusters of bananas is so much like a slice of melon that it can hardly be meant for anything else. It is, however, impossible to say, from these sculptures, whether the figures were intended for an ordinary melon (*cucumis melo*, Linn.), or for a water-melon (*citrullus vulgaris*, Schr.)

Of the melon proper a number of wild varieties are found in India, but there are others which probably belong to Africa. Alph. De Candolle says that "the culture of the melon, or of different varieties of the melon, may have begun separately in India and Africa.

Of the cultivated melon the varieties are innumerable both in Central Asia, in Persia, and in India, and the fine kinds they have in Central Asia and in Persia indicate a cultivation of very ancient date. V. Hehn in the "Wanderings of Plants and Animals," p. 238, mentions that Marco Polo says of the country west of Balkh: "Here grow the best

melons in the world ;" that Vambéry says of Khiva. that it has no rivals in melons ; and that at the present day in Persia the melon, of which there are many varieties, is a very important fruit." It is said that in Persia they keep flocks of pigeons for the express purpose of using their "guano," as manure for growing melons. In Afghanistan they also have the noted "*Sarda*" melon. Naudin, who is the great authority on the Cucurbitaceæ gives "*rouges de Perse*," as one of his groups.

Hehn says that the Tartar name for the melon is "*Kharpuz*" or "*Kaprus*." The Indian name of cucumis melo is "*Kharbuz*."

Upon the whole there does not appear much difficulty in crediting the Assyrians, not only with having known the melon, but also with having grown it. They may possibly not have had the same fine varieties that the Persians, and Khivans have now, but they may have had in the days of Niniveh, kinds sufficiently choice to place before kings and persons of rank.

As to the water melon (*citrullus vulgaris*, Schr). De Candolle says—"it was found indigenous in tropical Africa, on both sides of the equator. Livingstone saw districts literally covered with it, and the savages and several kinds of wild animals eagerly devoured the wild fruit." He adds that the species has not been found wild in Asia.

The best and sweetest water melon I ever tasted was in Egypt—a red variety with black seeds. There are red varieties with red seeds and also white varieties with either black or red seeds. DeCandolle says in Constantinople it is called '*Karpus*.' In India natives call the water melon '*tarbuj*.' I never saw one there of this kind fit to eat. While of the ordinary melon (*cucumis melo*) in Lucknow during the kings' time, they grew a delicious white-fleshed variety—small, very sweet and green spotted externally, called "*chitla*."

Although the Assyrians may have been acquainted with the water-melon, it is more probable that the one they represented on their monuments was some fine kind of *cucumis melo*, such as are still grown in Persia at the present day.

The evidence from all directions points to the probability that Assyrian monarchs and persons of rank regaled themselves with both melons and bananas. The latter, from their frequency on royal tables, would appear to have been, in the eyes of the sculptor, the fruit most suited to indicate a royal refreshment, and therefore the conclusion would probably be that bananas were rare, and not easily grown in Assyria, but brought from foreign countries.

E. BONAVIA.

ON EASTERN NAMES OF THE BANANA.

THE Banana was introduced into China from the South some time before the Christian era, and was first mentioned by Szema Siangju, a native of Shuh (modern Szetchuen), who died in 126 B.C., and who called it *Pa-tha* (Basil. 2397—14) afterwards pronounced *Pa-tsiu*, and written *Pa-tsiao* (8841—9186 for 9066—9186). The *Kwang-tchi*, a work of the Liang dynasty (502 to 556 A.D.) calls it *Kan-tsiao* (6145—9186), and says that it came from (or through) Kien-ngan of the Kiao-tchi, i.e. modern S. Kuang-si (cf. *Tai-ping-yü-lan*, Kiv. 975, fol. 1). It was cultivated in the Imperial Park Hwa-lin-yuen, of the Tsin dynasty, 265 to 420 A.D. (cf. *Tsin kung koh ming*, *ibid.*) under the name of *Pa-tsiao*. This word may be taken as a link to the original home of the banana, from whence it was spread in these regions. As the Annamese word is *chuo*i, it cannot be from there. On the other hand, the Malay name for it is *pisang*, from which the Chinese *Pa-tsiao* is not a distorted, transcription, since the older form of that name in Chinese was *Pa-tha* which looks like an alteration of the Telugu *Pandar*. In Tamil it is *Pallam*, the same as the *Pala* mentioned by Pliny, who says that the Greeks of the expedition of Alexander saw it in India (*Hist. lib. XII*, cap. 6). The Chinese *Kan-tsiao*, Javanese *Gâdang*, Maldivian *Quella*, Hindi *Kelâ*, may all be traced back to the Sanskrit *kadala*. The Arabic *mawz*, Hindi *mou*z, are in the same way traceable to another Sanskrit name, *mocha*, of the same fruit for which an Indian origin would thus far be indicated. As to the word *Banana* itself, Prof. Robertson-Smith has rightly suggested that the similarity with the Arabic *banan*, “fingers or toes,” and *banana*, “a single finger or toe,” can hardly be accidental.

T. DE L.

ON A LYCIAN INSCRIPTION.

The epitaph known as PINARA 2 is in English letters, as follows:—

1. *ebōññō prīnavū: mōt: prīnavatō ddarssmā: padrēmah: tid[eimi]*
2. *hrppi prīnezi: ehbi: orebillaha: trmmisñ: χñtebete ter[ñ:se]*
3. *arttoṃpara: &c.*

This is translated by Prof. Deecke (*Lykische Studien*, IV, 4.):

- 1, Dieses grabgebäude hier baute sich Ddarss̄mma, des Padr̄mma sohn,
2. für haüsler seinen Oräbellaha aus Termessos ; mit schlägt er das
heer und
3. den Arttoṃpara, &c.

Now there is a very grave objection to joining *Orebillaha tr̄mmis̄n* with *pr̄ñezi ehbi*, namely that *hrppi* is invariably followed by the Dative case, and *tr̄mmis̄n* has been shown by Professor Deecke himself to be an Accusative (Bezz. *Beitr.* 13, 134). Nor is the difficulty satisfactorily overcome by saying 'The preposition *hrppi* here undoubtedly governs the accusative.' An explanation that is in contradiction to all other known facts can surely only be admitted if no other construction is possible. But that is not the case here, for we have the Accusative substantive *ter̄n* clamouring, so to speak, for its proper adjective *tr̄mmis̄n*. It can only have been by an oversight that they were separated.

This word *tr̄mmis̄n* has been shown by Professor Deecke, with his usual sagacity, to mean 'of Telmessus,' in Lycia, and not 'of Termessus,' in Pisidia. His view is confirmed by a passage on the Xanthian stele, (E. 29, 30), which has not, to my knowledge, received enough attention. It runs thus in Schmidt's edition,

tr̄mmisz p(o)

* * * * * *r̄ñna pina(n)e tlava vedre*

An examination of the cast in the British Museum shows that there is no warrant for reading a second *n* in the word *pina(n)e*; and as the *o* at the end of the line before is quite uncertain, I have little hesitation in reading

tr̄mmisz (or tr̄mmis̄n) pt

[*tara a*] *r̄ñna pinare tlava vedre*

and translating, 'The states of Telmessus, Patara, Arna (Xanthus), Pinara, and Tlos,' that is, a complete list of the chief towns of the Cragus division of Lycia, in geographical order proceeding from the coast inland. As Kreis, in whose honour the stele was erected, was ruler of Xanthus, and had apparently extended his rule over other towns (Six, *Monnaies Lyciennes*, No. 178—183), but is not known to have made any acquisitions in the Massicytus district, this list probably represents the extent of his dominion.

It may therefore be taken as almost certain that *tr̄mmis̄n ter̄n* means 'the Telmessian army.' But though *tr̄mmis̄n* must not be joined with *hrppi pr̄ñezi ehbi*, it is still possible that *Orebillaha* may be taken in

connexion with those words, for it may (as I hope to show) be a Dative. Nevertheless I think it should be separated from them and taken as the beginning of a new sentence, for the following reasons :

The Accusative of *Arttoṃpara* is undoubtedly found in Limyra 16, and it is *Arttoṃparū*. This being the only fact we have to go upon, it is better not to take *Arttoṃpara* in the present passage as an Accusative. if it can be explained in any other way. But *Arttoṃpara* is preceded by *se*, "and," unless the restoration is incorrect. And the restoration is almost certainly correct, for there is only room for a word of 2 letters (see Benndorf's copy. Reisen, p. 54), and it would be hard to suggest any other. Now '*se Arttoṃpara*,' 'and Artembares,' must be joined with some other word. This word cannot be the Accusative *terñ*. It must therefore be *Orebillaha*, which has the same termination, and is likely to be in the same case. Therefore we must put a stop after *prñnezi*, a division which may find some further support in the analogy of a rather similar passage, Xan. 8.)

1 *ebönnö : prñnavü : möte prñnavatö : merehi*, etc.

2 *hrppi prñnezi, önö : χñtavatı : χer(i)χehe*.

The sentence to be translated runs therefore thus, '*Orebillaha trñmisñ χñtebete terñ se Arttoṃpara*.' It is natural to take *Orebillaha* and *Arttoṃpara* as Nominatives, and to translate, *Orebillaha* and *Artembares* did something to the Telmessian army. But this, though an interesting fact, would have no very obvious connexion with the previous statement, that *Ddarsñma* built the tomb for his *prñnezi*. The alternative is to translate, 'he did something to the Telmessian army for *Orebillaha* and for *Artembares*;' which gives very good sense. But is this grammatically possible? Apparently it is, for though almost all known Datives Singular of proper names end in *-ye*, yet we find one undoubtedly ending in *-a*, (*Hñprñma*, Xan. 2). We do not in fact know enough about the Lycian declension to be able to determine a priori the precise force of a form which has no exact parallel. In such cases we must be guided by the meaning, and here the meaning certainly leads us to take *Orebillaha* and *Arttoṃpara* as Datives. The subject of the verb would in that case no doubt be *Ddarsñma* and not his nameless *prñnezi*.

What was it, then, that *Ddarsñma* did to the Telmessian army for *Orebillaha* and *Artembares*? This depends on the reading of the word *χñtebete* or *χñteveṭe*. For Professor Deecke states (Lyk. Stud. IV. 188) that he began by reading *χñteveṭe* and connecting it as anyone naturally would, with *χñtavata* (*Xanthus* 8

etc). It must have been the impossibility of reconciling the meaning 'relation,' which he gave to $\chi\tilde{n}tarata$, with the present passage, that made him prefer the far less natural construction of $\chi\tilde{n}tebete$ as a compound of *tebete* 'he defeated.' Against this rendering may be urged the absolute lack of any evidence that such a form is even possible. For while some dozen words, which might be compounds, begin with $\chi\tilde{n}ta-$, $\chi\tilde{n}te-$, and $\chi\tilde{n}t-$, only one ($\chi\tilde{n}na$, in $\chi\tilde{n}nahi$, Xanthus 4, etc.) begins with $\chi\tilde{n}$ -only, and that cannot be a compound; and the existence of a word $\chi\tilde{n}ta$ is shewn by the compound proper name $pdd\ddot{u}-\chi\tilde{n}ta$ (Pinara 4) and the word *Kehi- $\chi\tilde{n}ta$* (stele, North 13). Thus the facts before us warrant us in dividing $\chi\tilde{n}te-vete$ and $\chi\tilde{n}ta-vata$, and as the former is a verb and the latter a substantive, we may compare for their form the verb *piyetō* (Xanthus etc.) and the noun *piyato*, (Ant. 4).

As for the difficulty of translating $\chi\tilde{n}tevete$, it disappears when we find that there is no reason whatever for rendering $\chi\tilde{n}tavata$ by 'relation.' M. J. Imbert in this Magazine (Vol. II, No. 12, Nov. 1888), has shown by reasons quite unconnected with the present passage, that the word means $\tilde{\nu}\pi\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\varsigma$, a subordinate commander, lieutenant, p. 281, "unfortunately the meaning attributed to $\chi\tilde{n}tafata$ by the Dutch scholar" (Six descendant), "has nothing real in it, and other examples where the word is found make it probable that it signifies 'hyparch, or an officer under the orders of such.'"

P. 322. "The phrase of Limyra 38 has since appeared to M. Six to signify: he (the defunct) was hyparch of Pericles: $\delta\tilde{n}\tilde{o}$ $\chi\tilde{n}tafata$ *Perikleh*."

It is unlikely that anyone should dispute this rendering of $\chi\tilde{n}tarata$; and we may confidently translate the present passage, 'He was an officer in the Telmessian army under Orebillaha and Artembares,' or 'He commanded the Telmessian army' under them. In this case Orebillaha and Artembares must have been the rulers of that city. Even if it be not considered as proved by other passages that $\chi\tilde{n}tavata = \tilde{\nu}\pi\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\varsigma$, the present passage would show that it must have some such meaning. For the word undeniably denotes a friendly, not a hostile relation; and if we ask what friendly relation Ddarssūma can have borne to the Telmessian army for Orebillaha and Artembares, we can hardly avoid the conclusion that he served in, or commanded it, and also that they were the rulers of Telmessus.

This last conclusion is made almost a certainty by the comparison of the known facts that Artembares was ruler of some Lycian city, (Six, Mon-

naies Lyciennes, No. 221); that Pericles defeated Artembares (Lim. 16); and that Pericles conquered Telmessus (Theopompus, fragment 111).

And it is again confirmed by the study of Limyra 16, the other inscription which mentions Artembares. The passage is, *ese perikle tebate arttomparü se [mparahe] telöziyö*. The bracketed word, as Professor Deecke points out, may be a contraction for *Arttomparahe*; or it may be simply a blunder. But a reference to Fellows's plate (Lycia, p. 207) which represents the whole monument, and is in several points more correct than Schönborn's (who, e.g. has *pttomparü* for Fellows, *arttomparü*, *telüziy* for *telöziyö*, *pañnavatö* for *prñnavatö*) shows that *mparahe* may easily belong to the 3rd column of writing, and the half-word *artto*—be lost at the end of line 2.

Telöziyö is probably the Accusative Singular of *telözi*. For since by the side of *tideime* we find, not *ehbe*, but *ehbiye*; by the side of *atlahi*, not *malahi*, but *maliyahi*; of *önehî*, not *prñnezehî*, but *prñnezizyehî*; of *χrovata*, not *aravaza*, but *aravaziya*; it may be concluded that some words ending in *-î*, and especially in *-zi*, cannot change the *-î* into another vowel, but simply add that vowel joined by the usual connecting semi-vowel *y*. So *telöziyö* probably stands for *telözö*, and may be compared with the Accusative Singular *ebönnö*.

Now *telözi* is rendered by Professor Deecke 'miles,' or by preference 'comes;' as the *telözi* was evidently an important person, and yet not of the very highest rank, perhaps 'lieutenant' or 'second in command' gives its meaning best in English. So we learn that Pericles defeated Artembares and his lieutenant. It is natural to ask, was this man the same as Ddarssüma? It is not at all unlikely, for at the beginning of the next column, immediately after *telöziyö*, is a fragmentary word of which only the first few letters are certain, and which Schönborn read *ddais+ea* and Fellows *ddaignie*. In Lycian letters these come very near to *Ddarssümma*, and considering that the word has always been taken for a proper name, and that in both the inscriptions Pinara 2 and Limyra 16, Artembares is associated with a name beginning with *dda*—, it is not very rash to read *Ddarssümmü*, and to translate 'Pericles defeated Artembares and his lieutenant Ddarssümma.'

We have now the two statements that Ddarssümma served in or commanded the Telmessian army under Orebillaha and Artembares, and that Pericles defeated Artembares and his lieutenant Ddarssümma; while Theopompus informs us that the Lycians under their king Pericles besieged and reduced Telmessus. By piecing together these scraps of information.

we get a very satisfactory little bit of history. Artembares either preceded or more probably succeeded Orebillaha as dynast of Telmessus, and as he employed an officer who was presumably a native of the neighbouring Pinara, he may have been master of that city also. But he was attacked and his city taken by Pericles, who though probably originally a ruler of Limyra, where alone his name is mentioned, succeeded in becoming king of all Lycia.

W. ARKWRIGHT.

*AN UNKNOWN KING OF LAGASH,
FROM A LOST INSCRIPTION
OF 6000 YEARS AGO.*

1. LAGASH the modern Tell Loh is now known to be the same as Shir-pur-la, Sir-pur-ila, Sir-bur-la, Zir-gul-la, Sir-tel-la, Sir-xil-la, the former attempts at deciphering that name by the separate sounds of the three ideograms employed in its rendering. Mr. Theo. G. Pinches has found proofs¹, and Prof. Fritz Hommel confirmatory evidence² that the usual reading of the group was that which we have just mentioned. I find in this reading one more instance of the curious phenomenons of transcription *backwards*³ which, may perhaps be looked upon as a survival of a former period of the cuneiform writing and its adaptation from one race by another. It deserves, any how, more attention than we are able to give to it in a passing remark⁴.

2. Two dynasties, at the least, of Kings and Priest-Kings or *Patesi-s*⁵, have ruled successively from⁶ Telloh or from its vicinity, over a region which varied in extension and is as yet very little known in its limits. No other source of information about them is at hand, except the fragments of their inscriptions hitherto discovered. And although the decipherment of these remains has disclosed the erection by certain monarchs of temples to gods and goddesses, numerous names of these deities, construction of public works and monuments, also trade routes by land and sea and many

other precious details, the very lists of these rulers are not known. In some cases the reading of the symbols representing proper names or personal epithets is doubtful and the quality of the person named is not ascertained. The parentage of these monarchs, their number, their chronological order, the exact extent of their dominion and their date are still more or less unknown, and much more light is required from further discoveries.

3. In the introductory note to his translation of *The Inscriptions of Telloh*⁷, and in his later article on *Sirpourla, d'après les inscriptions de la collection De Sarzec*⁸, our lamented friend and collaborateur Arthur Amiaud, who had made of these epigraphical discoveries his special field of research, has given the list of the names he knew of these Kings and Patesis, arranged according the order he thought befitting to the probabilities suggested by the inscriptions. We shall follow chiefly his arrangement in the lists we quote below.

NOTES—

- 1) From syllabary Sp. II. 26 and from a bilingual tablet K. 4871. Cf. his note in the *B.&O.R.* Dec. 1882, vol. III, p. 24, and his previous statement in 1883, *Guide to the Kouyunjik Gallery*, p. 7.
- 2) *B.&O.R.*, *ibid.*
- 3) The aforesaid name was written with three signs: *siru* which has the sound of SHIR and SIR; *buru* which has the sounds of *pur*, *bur* and *GUL*; and at last the sign *lalu* which has the sound LA. Cf. Brunnow's *class. List*, Nos. 982-3, 6969, 6971-2, and 1648. Reversing the order, we have *La-gul-shir* of which *Lagash* is apparently a simple corruption. In a note on *The name of Oannès in the cuneiform texts*: The Academy, 9th June, 1888, p. 399, I have quoted, as cases of similar reading backwards, the Assyrian antecedents of the Grecized Oannès and Xisuthros. The most convincing cases are those of *gibil*, *absu*, *lugal*, *ushumgal* which are written *bilgi*, *zuab*, *gallu*, *galushum*. With special attention a non-inconsiderable number of such cases could be put forward. Cf. T. de L., *Akkadian and Sum rian in comparative Philology*, §7, *B. & O. R.*, vol. I., p. 2.
- 4) This peculiarity might finally prove to be connected with an original and different position of many characters whose pictorial nature, when not entirely lost, protests through their later forms, against their systematic arrangement into the perpendicular columns of the early though not primitive inscriptions from Telloh. The list I have given in my paper on *The old Babylonian characters and their Chinese derivatives* (*B.&O.R.* March 1888, vol. II, pp. 73-99), in § 43 was perhaps premature, but it remains true for the larger number of instances, cf. also § 41, 42, and 10-14 on the various directions of the original hieroglyphics
- 5) Amiaud remarks that the other instances of the use of the title of *patesi*, lend it the sense of lieutenant before the name of a country,

or vicar before a divine name. Cf. *Records of the Past*, N.S. 1888, vol. I, p. 54. Prof. A. H. Sayce, *Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, p. 60, observes that the old rendering of *patesi* by viceroy rested on a mistake and he suggests that it should be rendered by high-priest.

- 6) Is it possible that *Telloh* should be simply the mound of LON, a worn-out form of LAGASH.
- 7) *Records of the Past*, N.S. 1889, vol. I, pp. 42-77.
- 8) *Revue Archéologique*, 1888; same paper as the preceding, but in french with numerous additions, and without the translation of the inscriptions.

II. THE KINGS.

4. They are older than the Priest-kings. Mons. L. Henzey has shown beyond doubt in his article on *Les Rois de Tello et la période archaïque de l'art Chaldéen*⁹ and in other papers that their monuments and their writing are more archaic. Only a few names are known.

? *Igi-ginna*, i.e. 'he who goes before.'

? *Nin-gal-gin*?, 'father of the following'¹⁰

Ur-Nina, i.e. 'Man of Ninâ.'

A-kur-gal, i.e. 'Son of Bel,' son of preceding.

Uru-Kagina.

* *Taltal-kur-galla*.

* *Ursa-gina*, i.e. the established hero.

The two first names are doubtful as to the character of the persons who may not have been kings, and in the case of the second, the reading is probably different.











The first of these names is mentioned in the stêla of the Vultures, and Amiaud, in his valuable paper on Sirpurla previously quoted, has declared that, as the words are followed with the qualification of king, there is no reason why, we should not place before *Ur-Nina* the name they imply. The second name, the reading of which is more than doubtful is not mentioned with the title of king in his son *Ur-Nina*'s inscriptions. The reign of a *a-kur-gal* is entered after that of *Ur-Nina* on the stêla of the Vultures. Finally the reign of *Uru-Kagina* must be more recent than the others, as shown by the lesser archaism of his writing¹¹. The two last names marked with a star did not appear in the list of Amiaud as we shall see further on, and most probably do not occupy here their right place. Their entry is provisional.

5. How many more names are wanting in the list to have it complete, we do not know. The only point that is certain is that some more names are wanting.

Prof. Sayce in his *Lectures on the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*¹² says that one of the earliest of the monarchs whose names are found at Telloh is called *Taltal-kur-galla* i.e. the wise one of the great mountain, but he does not give the source of his statement.

And Amiaud himself had remarked that a fragment of inscription¹³ in the same archaic style of writing as that of the monuments of Ur-Nina, and where the personal name is missing, -*si* only remaining in the line where the title usually is, seems to be that of a *patesi* of *Sir-pur-la-ki*¹⁴. As if *Patesi-s* had existed contemporaneously or previously to that well-known king.

6. The principal object of this unassuming notice is to call attention to the name of a King of Sirpurla which does not appear on the above list, and of whom we have only heard hitherto but through the unknown inscription of a seal: as follows:

		UR SAG
		GI NA
		LUGAL
		SIR LA
		PUR KI

Translation: Ursaggina, King of Lagash.

As *Ursaggina* means the established hero, it may be the title of a king whose personal name is lost.¹⁵

7. This inscription was communicated to me, ten years ago (1st July, 1880), in his room at the British Museum by my learned friend Theo. G. Pinches who had just seen a manuscript copy of it made by an Arab trader. Therefore the name cannot be entered on the list of the Kings of Lagash, otherwise than in a provisory manner, as the genuineness of the cylinder cannot be proved although a forgery is most improbable in such a case. Besides, should the original be genuine, the Arab copyist may have made a mistake in his copy. I find on my note on the subject, written at the said date, that M. Pinches thought that this King ought to have lived some 300 years before Gudea.

The wedges are perhaps more distinctly drawn on the manuscript copy than they were on the original. A peculiarity of the inscription is the ar-

rangement of the characters for *Sir-pur-la-ki*, which contrariwise to the other lines of the writing, are placed in two columns of two, instead of two lines of two. As to the decipherment, there is little to say. The first symbol reads *Tas* or *Ur*. It is that which is read *UR* by A. Amiaud in the name of *UR-NINA*, &c. Although in such cases it is placed behind, and on the inscriptions, the names appear written *Nina-Ur*, &c., it is not improbable that the present seal was that of *Ursaggina* and not of *Tassaggina*.

NOTES—

- 9) *Revue Archeologique*, Nov. 1882, pp. 271-9.
- 10) In his *Dynastic tables*, Prof. Sayce (Herodotus, p. 477) gives the name of *Khal-an-du* for the father of *Ur-Nina*. And Amiaud, *Sirpourla*, p. 9, declares that the lecture *Ghal-gin est inexacte*.
- 11) Cf. L. Heuzey, *Un Nouveau roi de Tello*, in *Revue Archéologique*, 1884.
- 12) 1887, p. 29, note.
- 13) E. De Sarzec, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pl. 2, n. 3.
- 14) A. Amiaud, *Sirpourla*, p. 10, n.
- 15) T. G. Pinches, *Ms. note*.

III. THE PATESIS.

8. The chronological order of these rulers is not known and their arrangement which we give below according chiefly to the researches of Amiaud, is provisional, and based only upon the relative archaism of their inscriptions. It is also highly incomplete.

<i>En-t a-n a</i>	or <i>En-anna-tumma</i>
<i>En-a n n a-t u m m a</i>	or <i>En-te-na</i>
<i>En-t e-n a</i>	or <i>En-anna-tumma</i>
• <i>En-a n n a</i>	or <i>Enn-anu</i> .
<i>Ur-B a-u</i> , i.e.	Man of Bau
* <i>Nam-lugh-ni</i>	
* <i>Ur-nin-shagh</i> ,	or <i>Ur-Papsukal</i> ,
	son of the preceding
<i>Gudea</i> , i.e. The elect	son of <i>Ur-Papsukal</i> ¹⁶ .
<i>Ur-Nin-gir su</i> , i.e.	His supremacy.
<i>Nam-magh á n i</i> , i.e.	His glory.

9. The three names marked * do not figure on the Amiaud's list. The first of these three has been read by George Smith¹⁷ on a fragment still unpublished, so that its relative archaism cannot be ascertained; the form of the name would suggest its place with the others beginning with *En*.

The two latter, in the opinion of Prof. F. Hommel¹⁸ were older than *Gudea*, but as their names are known only from cylinders, and their de-

cipherment still expects confirmation¹⁹, they cannot be entered with certainty.

NOTES—

- 16) T. G. Pinches, *Guide to the Konyunjik Gallery*, 1883. p. 7, after his examination of the monuments in the Louvre give the following names as those which he had deciphered: En-temena and his son En-anagin, Ri-nita-ni, Ur-Papsukal and his son Gudea.
- 17) *Early history of Babylonia*: Trans. S.B.A. I, p. 32; A. Amiaud, *Sirpourla*, p. 11.—Cf. also G. Smith, *The History of Babylonia*, edit. Sayce, p. 11.
- 18) *Die Semitischen Völker und Sprachen*, vol. I, pp. v., 486; *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 290, 293.
- 19) A. Amiaud, *Sirpourla*, p. 11; *The Inscriptions of Telloh*: Records of the Past, N.S., vol. I, p. 52.

IV. THEIR DATE.

10. The archaic character of the monuments and of the inscriptions from Lagash claim for them an older antiquity than that of Sargon I, whose son Naram-sin was King of Agadê, in 3750. B.C., as stated by Nabonidus in the cylinder which Mr. T. G. Pinches deciphered for the first time in 1882²⁰. The difference of time cannot be great as the huge clay cylinders inscribed under the reign of Gudea display in their writing the apex of the cuneiform strokes which was supposed to have developed but long after the hieratic style of characters of the stone inscriptions. Before and after 4000 B.C. is therefore the most probable period²¹ of the dynasties of Tell Loh.

11. Synchronistic details of the dynasty of *Patesis* may help in the future to ascertain its date with a greater precision.

A cylinder of a Kilulla *guzala* or throne bearer, son of Urbabi, mentions his homage to *Meslamtaêa*, i.e., The-god-who-come-forth-from-the-fruit-of-the-mesh-tree, a god of Lagash, for Dungi, King of Ur²². Now *Urbabi* is the same name as *Ur-bau*, according to Mr. T. G. Pinches who suggests that *Urbabi* is for *Urbavi* (Bawi) in consequence of the phonetic influence of the following genitive suffix *gê*²³. Now *Ur-bau*²⁴ was the father of *Dungi*, and for this we have the testimony of Nabonidus²⁵, but Dungi was not the father of *Gudea* as was wrongly supposed from a misread seal of the Museum of La Haye²⁶. On the other hand Kilulla *guzala* seems to have been simply a younger brother of Dungi the king, and Lukani, the last named of the *Patesis*, and a ruler whom we have been made acquainted with by Mr. Leon Heuzey²⁷, had

a son Ghala-lamma, who does not, like his father, take the title of *patesi*, but who offers homage in an inscription on the fragment of a statue to Dungi, King of Ur²⁸.

12. The synchronisms of the Rule of several of the *patesi-s* with the reign of Dungi are therefore pretty clear. Unhappily we must expect that further disclosures permit to ascertain the exact date of this great Monarch, and at the same time furnish the right explanation of a difficulty which we cannot understand but by a conjecture.

Some confirmatory evidence as to the fourth millenium will result from our investigation in the next section.

NOTES—

20) *Proc. S. B. A.*, 1882-3, pp. 5-12.

21) Such is also the view of Prof. Sayce, *Relig. Anc. Bab.* p. 137.

22) Cf. W. A. T. IV, 35, n. 2. Arthur Amiaud, *L'inscription H de Goudéa* : *Ztschr. f. Assyriol.*, vol. II, p. 293, has published this cylinder, but with several misreadings for the correction of which I am indebted to a Ms. note of our collaborateur Mr. T. G. Pinches. For a reproduction of that seal cf. his notice on *The Babylonian and Assyrian cylinder-seals of the British Museum*, pl. I, fig. 3 : *The Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 1885.

23) T. G. Pinches, Ms. note.

24) Amiaud wanted *Urbabi* and *Urbau* to be two different persons, but there is no sufficient reason to introduce this new complication, as the identity is otherwise more than probable and the explanation offered by Mr. T. G. P. disposes of the case.

25) In a cylinder severally translated by Dr. Oppert, Talbot, F. Delitzsch, Menant and Fritz Hommel. Cf. the latter's *Die semitischen Völker*, pp. 208, 457.

26) In J. Méant, *Catalogue des Cylindres Orientaux du Cabinet Royal des Médailles à La Haye*, 1878, p. 59.—Cf. the refutation by Prof. J. Oppert, *Bullet. Acad. Inscript. & B.-L.* 25 Jan. 1886, and MS. note on *L'Olive de Gudea* : *Z. f. A.* I, 439.

27) In his article on *Le roi Dounghi à Tello* : *Revue Archeologique*, Avril Mai, 1886.

28) Several Assyriologists look upon Kilulla *guzala* not as a proper name followed by a title, but as a two-worded title of Dungi himself, a view which seems me rather difficult to accept, as he could not have sacrificed under one name for himself under another.

TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE.

(To be continued).

A BUDDHIST REPERTORY

IN SANCSRIT, TIBETAN, MANDCHU, MONGOL & CHINESE.

(Continued from p. 168).

SECTION XV.

Bsam gtan dan pahi lha gsum. The three Heavens of first contemplation (*dhyaṇa*).—M. the three Heavens of the first Samādhi of the World of Forms.—Ch. id.

1. *Brahmaparipatyas.* Surrounding Brahma as their master. T. *ts'ans 'khor*, entourage of Brahma. M. tribe of Ersun. Ch. id. (M. *parishadyā*).
2. *Brahmapurohita*, Sacrificial assistants of Brahma. T. *t'sans pa mdunna 'don*, chaplain of B.—. his employé.—Ch. his assistant.
3. *Mahābrahmanā* [read *brahmāna*] the Superior Brahmas. T. *ts'ans pa c'en po*, Great Brahma. M. Ch. id.

SECTION XVI.

Bsam gtan gñis pahi lha gsum. The 3 heavens of second Contemplation.

1. *Paritubhās*, of feeble, moderate splendour (passed). T. *'od cur*, small light. M. Ch. slight splendour, [read *paritta*].
 2. *Apramāṇbhā*, light without measure or limit. T. *ts'ad med 'od*, id. M. Ch.
 3. *Ābhāsrara*, Resplendent light. T. *'od gsal*, brilliant light. M, id. Ch. heaven luminous of sound.¹
- 1) *Svara*, 'sound' for *sva*, brilliancy.

Bsum gtan gsum pahi lha gsum. The 3 heavens of third Contemplation.

1. *Parīṇaṣubhā* [read *paritta*]— inferior (passed, lessened felicity). T. *dge c'u*, slight felicity. M. id. Ch. inferior purity¹.
 2. *Apramāṇaṣubha*. Measureless felicity. T. *ts'ed med dge* [read *ts'ad*] id. Ch. unlimited purity.
 3. *Ḡubhakṛtā*. Completed felicity. T. *dge rgyas*, id. M. happiness in everything and everywhere. Ch. purity everywhere complete. [M. *Kṛtsnā*].
- 1) *Ḡubha* has also this meaning.

SECTION XVIII.

Bsam gtan bzi pahi lhan dgu ni. The 9 Heavens of fourth Contemplation.

1. *Anabhṛakā*. Cloudless. T.
2. *Puṇyaprapaṇā* [read—*prasava*] engendering merit, or felicity. M. id. T. *bsod nas skyeds*, life of merit.
3. *Pohatatyaphala* [read *Brhatphala*] with enormous fruits of merit). T. *'bras-bu c'e*, with great fruit. Ch. with immense fruit. M. with enormous reward.
4. *Avṛta*. Without obstacle, [al. *Arvha*, Lal. Vist.] T. *mi c'e*, M. without great occupation. Ch. without preoccupation.
5. *Atapa*. Without evil or pain. T. *mi gdun*. M. without cause of complaint.
6. *Pudṛṇā* [read *Sudṛṇ*]. Beautiful to behold, brilliant. T. *gya-nom snan*, happy splendour. M. Marvellous splendour. Ch. seeing well.
7. *Puladargaṇa* [read *Vipula*.—al. *sud*]. With vast splendour; showing itself over a vast extent. T. *cin-tu-mthon*, seen greatly (*vipula*). Ch. beautiful brilliancy [*su*].
8. *Akanishṭha*. Not being the smallest, superior. T. *'og min*, id. M. superior heaven, a top of all. Ch., *sse k'eu king*, whose colour or form is effaced (?) M. *Aganishṭhā*.
9. *Mahācvarīvasanam*. Dwelling in vast light [read *svaṛi*.] T. *dban phyun c'en po-hi gnas*, residence of the great king [reading *Maheç-varaṇivasanam*]. M. most powerful heaven. Ch., subsisting powerfully by itself (*ta-tse tsai*), reading *Mahāsvaṇivasana*. M. *Maham-aheçvarāyatam*).

SECTION XIX.

Gjugs med pa bzi-ni. The 4 Heavens of (the Worlds) without any form.

1. *Akāśānantyāyatam*, Infinite space of the Empyrean. T. *nam-mkha mtha yas skye mts'on*, endless space of heaven.—M. where the plenitude of void without limit is produced.—Ch. heaven of the unbounded space of void.
2. *Vijñānantyāyatanaṁ* [ānantya] indefinite extension of intelligence. T. *man-çes mtha yas*, etc. id. M. Ch. as in 1^o, "of intelligence."
3. *Akiñcanavyāyatanaṁ*. Space where there is nothing at all. T. *ci yañ med pahi skye mts'on*, id.

4. *Na'vasañjñānāsañjñāyatanam*. Space where there is neither knowledge nor absence of knowledge. T. 'du ṣes med 'du ṣes med min skye mts'on, id.

NOTES—§XIII-§XIX.

These Seven Sections expound the contents and degrees of the celestial world. This world is divided into three principal and superimposed parts—(1^o) the world of desire, the lowest and most imperfect, which is still subject to affections, and of which our earth is a part, Sect. XIII and XIV; (2^o) the world of form, inferior to the following, since it still possesses individual forms the results of acts and of affections which produce them, but superior to the preceding because the affection now exists only in their fruits and there is no longer any passion or sexual desire; (3^o) the formless world, superior to all, because delivered from all imperfection proceeding from desires and forms. Here unconsciousness reigns, but also merits are impossible.

The whole of this celestial sphere rests on Mount Meru which is its base and beginning.

I. THE WORLD OF DESIRE has six degrees, exposed in Sect. XIV. There are (1) firstly those of the four great kings, representing the four regions surrounding Mount Meru, viz., Dṛṣṭarāshtra to the east, Virūdhaka to the south, Virūpākṣa to the west, and Vaiṣṇavana to the north; each ruled by special genii, good or bad, and with a splendid capital. Their soil is respectively of silver (east), precious stones (west), gold (south), and crystal (north). They protect the men of the countries situated in their respective directions, and each has a life of 40 millions of human years. Their region has a height of 42000 yōjanas.

(2) On the summit of Meru are the 33 gods, ancient genii of the Vedic race, with Indra at their head. Each slope of the summit of Meru contains 8, whilst Indra or Çakra dwells on the top, in his capital Surdaçana ("belle vue"). Who the 32 other gods are, cannot be stated with certainty. This number, which is found both in the Vedas and in the Avesta, has something mythical and artificial about it which has probably never corresponded to a real number. For the Northern Buddhists, they are the 32 companions whom Indra joined to himself when he took up an ascetic life, and who after their death were born again as gods in the region at the top of Meru. Their books assign to Indra 1000 heads and 1000 eyes; a wife Çakti ("the mighty one," feminine of Çakra), and 110,000 concubines with whom he enjoys all pleasures. This does not prevent his watching over the progress of holiness on earth and employing the four Mahārājas for this purpose. The 33 gods live 36,000,000 years.

(3.) The heaven of Yama, 160,000 yojana above the heaven of the 33 gods. Yama is here not the god of Hades, but of the heaven of the dead, the region without darkness, which contains all treasures. Life there lasts 144 millions of years. The name of Yama is here interpreted in quite a different manner to that of the books whence Eitel has extracted his explanations. Here it is not time, nor the heaven of good time, but the heaven of combat, T. *ṭhab*, M. *dāin*, Ch.; the translators have deduced this sense from the root *yam*, to overcome,

(4.) At a distance of 320,000 yojanas above, is the heaven of the Tushitas, or joyous ones, where are born again the Bodddhisatvas before

arriving at the State of Buddha. At their head is Māitreya, who labours from this place to diffuse the Law. Life is there for 576 millions of years.

(5.) 640,000 *yojanas* higher up is the heaven of the *Nirmānaratayas*, or *genii* who can transform themselves at will to satisfy their desires, and who live 2,304,000,000 years.

(6.) At the summit of this world and at a height of 1,280,000 *yojanas*, we arrive at the *Paranirmānavāçavartinas* who transform at will not only themselves, but all exterior beings, and make them subserve their enjoyments. Their life lasts 9,216,000,000 years.

II. WORLD OF FORM. This begins 2,560,000 *yojanas* above the last named region, and is composed of 18 heavens, divided into four parts according to the nature of the contemplation (*dhyāna*) more or less perfect practised therein. All the inhabitants have the same form; there is no sex, and they are clothed without garments. Each heaven is called *Brahmalōka*, or world of *Brahma*, by reason of the holiness of its inhabitants.

The *first* contemplation has also three degrees: the servants of *Brahma* (the people);—the sacrificers (the nobles and ministers);—the kings and princes. The duration of their lives is in the proportion 1 : 2 : 3 (i.e. $\frac{1}{2}$, 1, $1\frac{1}{2}$ Kalpas). Sect. XV.

The *second* contemplation has also three heavens, whose names indicate progressive increase of splendour in these regions. The progress of life is in the proportion 1 : 2 : 4 (i.e. 2, 4, 8 Kalpas). Sect. XVI.

The *third* contemplation has also three stages, progressing according to the measure of holiness and purity. Duration of life, 16, 32, 34 Kalpas. Sect. XVII.

The *fourth* contemplation has nine heavens, whose names are given in Sect. XVIII. They indicate the degrees of light, of brilliancy of these regions. Life therein progresses from 125 to 16,000 Kalpas.

III. THE FORMLESS WORLD has four heavens, whose names are given in Sect. XIX. They show us void developing itself so as to become freed not only from all object and all knowledge, but also from all absence of knowledge. As is evident, we have again here that speculating on words, without heeding the sense they can bear, to which the *Brahmans* were only too fond of having recourse. The *Buddhists* were no less fond of them.

All these heavens have also their particular dimensions, accurately determined. They are reckoned in millions of *yojanas*; but their enumeration is tedious and offers no interest.

After having created all these supraterrrestrial abodes, it became necessary to assign to them an end and inhabitants. Therefore, according to the *Buddhist* doctors, they form an ever-increasing series of places of reward for merit acquired in preceding existences. We thus arrive by ascent after ascent at the Summit of the Scaffolding. A few examples will suffice to explain the system. One who has not violated the prohibition of killing and stealing, is born again among the *Trayastrīṇat* (I. 2.) If in addition he has not committed adultery, he will go to the *Yāmas*. If he has neither lied nor spoken ill, he will rise to the heaven of the *Tuṣhitas*.—For having moreover honoured *Buddha* and observed the seven duties of the body, he will be admitted among the *Nirmānaratayas* and even the *Paranirmānavāçavartinas*.

SECTION XXVII.

Skye gnas bzi-hi min-la. Names of the 4 Manners of Birth. [Matrices, *caturyōni*.]

1. *Jarāyuja*. Womb-born (i.e. viviparous). T. *mñal las skye ba*.
2. *Andaja*. Egg-born (oviparous). T. *sgo ña s.b.*
3. *Pamveraja*, [read *pīvara*]. Moisture-born. T. *drod-gger las*, of warm humidity. M. of moisture. Ch. id. (*shih*).—(M. *samsveda*, born of humours, perspiration, &c.)
4. *Upapāduka*. Born suddenly, spontaneously. T. *rdzu* (text *rjus*) *te s.b.*, born by magic operation, supernatural transformation. S. *rddhi*. M. *Kōbulin*. Mg. *Kobilyn töröku*. Ch. TX¹.

1) We have here Brahmanism mixed up with Buddhism. The Nyāya, reproduced by the Mānavadharmasāstra, distinguishes 5 modes of birth: from a womb, from an egg, (as here); then from secretion or humour, *sveda*; from heat, *ushmin*; and from budding, *udbhid*. (Mān I. 43-45). The Pāli texts recognise our four modes and another wherein *pokkhara* (*sk. pushkara*) replaces *pīvara*. But there is the question of the supernatural birth of the Bodhisattvas.

[The Sections XXVIII to XXX and some others are omitted, because they contain only a useless vocabulary of profane objects without any relation to religion, viz.: members of the human body, professions of men, colours, &c.]

SECTION XXXI.

Mikhom pa brgy d kyī min-la.—Names of the 8 Unfavourable Things, causing obstacles.—Ch. difficulties, or perils.—M. leaving no facility, or well-being.

1. *Naraka*¹. Hell. T. *dmyal-ba*. M. Ch. Subterranean prison.

1) *Naraka*, hell, a brahmanic term and concept admitted by Buddhism. *Naraka* is a place of darkness and torment, situated under the earth, beneath Jambudvīpa. Every world has its hell. It is composed of 8 different regions, ranged one over the other, with four gates and four ante-chambers to each gate. There are besides 8 hells of ice, beneath the extremities of the universe in the eight directions; and more towards the centre, 8 others of absolute darkness; moreover, an infinitude of others. The torments vary with the localities: in one part burning iron chains embrace the condemned; elsewhere mountains dashing together and breaking; a fire throwing out continual flames; incessant births and deaths which allow no repose nor alleviation. Elsewhere icy winds and intense cold, causing the flesh to swell and harden, stripping their bones, or rendering the victims incapable of pronouncing any words but *atata*, *ahaha* or *ababa*, according to the locality.

Yama and his sister Yamī preside over those tortures, one for men, the other for women. The damned have also their bodies cut to pieces, sawn asunder, torn with pincers, etc.

C. DE HARLEZ.

(To be continued).

THE BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

Contributors are alone responsible for their opinions or statements.

AN UNKNOWN KING OF LAGASH, FROM A LOST INSCRIPTION OF 6000 YEARS AGO.

(Continued from page 187).

V. FOREIGN AND MARITIME RELATIONS.

13. The most remarkable of the disclosures resulting from the study of the monuments brought to light by the excavations made at Tell Loh are certainly those concerning the relations of this state of Lagash with distant countries.

Ur-Ninâ, the most genuine Monarch of the dynasty of kings, records in one of his inscriptions^{28*} that "From Mâgan the country, all sorts of timber he has imported."

The same name appears several times in the inscriptions of the Patesi Gudea.

On the back of one of his statues, a passage of the inscriptions states that "in that year from the mountains of the country of Mâgan he had a block of precious stone brought, and he had it carved for his statue²⁹." On another statue, we find a similar statement: "From the mountain of the country of Mâgan he had a block of precious stone brought, and he had it carved for his statue³⁰." Five other of his statues bear the same declaration. Now these statues are in diorite, a sort of stone largely found in the Sinaïtic peninsula.

The inscription of another of the statues of the same Priest-King, states that: "By the power of Ninâ and of Ningirsu, to Gudea who holds his sceptre from Ningirsu, the countries of Mâgan, of Melukhkha, of Gubi and of Nituk, rich in trees of all varieties, have sent to him to Lagash vessels laden with trees of all sorts³¹." And in a passage of the cylin-

der A, it is said : "From Mâgan and from Melukhkha, countries which possess all sorts of trees, to build the temple of Nin-girsu, Gudea has had trees of all sorts sent to his town of Girsu-ki³²."

14. These various statements compared together are important as they show at that earliest of the known periods of history, the existence of a commercial intercourse and of circumnavigation around Arabia between Chaldea and Egypt. The various names quoted are as many emporia of that primitive route of commerce. *Nituk* was well known as the Isle of Tilmun in the Persian Gulf³³. *Mâgan*³⁴ and *Melukhkha*³⁵ could not be anywhere else than in the vicinity of the Sinaitic peninsula. Mâgan was the country of copper and as we have seen, also of diorite, while Melukhkha was the country of turquoises, all products of that region, known to the Chaldeo-Babylonians also in the time of Naram-sin son of Sargon I, (3800 B.C.) who carried his arms thus far³⁶. *Gubi* completes the series, as happily suggested by Amiaud who has proposed its identification with Coptos³⁷, the Ancient Gubti, the Egyptian town whose commerce was already important as testified by the special route made between it and the Red sea by Pepi I, the second king of the sixth dynasty.³⁸

15. These various peculiarities imply a synchronism which we must notice. Snofru of the third dynasty had opened the works of the copper and turquoises mines of the Sinaï after having driven back the *Mentiu* or nomadic tribes on the Asiatic borders. Khufu, the pyramid builder had kept up the struggle, but his successors were not as successful, and the Sinaitic mines were lost. They were not recovered before the sixth dynasty under the reign of Pepi I, and then only during few reigns; for the same dynasty was not ended, that the mines had again passed to the hands of foreigners where they remained until the XIIth dynasty who conquered them once more³⁹. The conquest by Naramsin of the land of Magan⁴⁰ should we trust the chronology of Mariette⁴¹, must have been made during the Vth dynasty, when the Sinaitic peninsula was no more an Egyptian possession. And the relations of Kings and Patesis of Lagash with the quarries of diorite and the copper mines of the peninsula and with Egypt must have taken place during the IVth dynasty.

16. The statues of Lagash remind to an extraordinary extent the great diorite statue of King Khâfri, the builder of the second pyramid of Gizeh, and the chief ornament of the Museum formerly of Bulak and now there. "The Babylonian execution is infinitely inferior; but the attitude, the pose, the general effect, and to a certain extent the dress, are remarkably

alike"⁴², says Prof. A. H. Sayce, in his *Lectures on the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*. Another proof is that Diorite is as foreign to the soil of Egypt as it is to that of Babylonia. And that which finally makes the relations of the Lagash rulers with Egypt certain⁴³ at that period, is that the standard of measurement marked upon the plan of the city, which one of the figures of Tell Loh holds upon his lap, is the same as the standard of measurement of the Egyptian pyramid builders⁴⁴.

NOTES—

- 28*) Inscript. I, col. IV Cf. A. Amiaud, *The inscriptions of Telloh*, l. c. p. 65.
- 29) Inscript. G., col. III.—A. Amiaud, *L'inscription G. de Goudêa*, pp. 26, 3s : *Ztschr. f. Assyriol.*, vol. III.
- 30) Inscript. H, col. II.—A. Amiaud, *L'inscription H de Goudêa*, pp. 288-9 : *ibid.* vol. II, and *The Inscriptions of Telloh* (cont.) : *Records of the Past*, n.s., vol. II, 1890, pp. 75, 83, 88, 91, 97, 100, 103 ; inscriptions of the A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H statues of Gudea.
- 31) Statue D. col. 4.—A. Amiaud, *Sirpourla*, p. 7 ; *Records of the Past*, n.s., vol. I, p. 52.
- 32) Cylinder A., col. XV, l. 4 sq.—A. Amiaud, *Sirpourla*, p. 7. The various sorts of wood imported for Gudea are specified on the inscription of his statue B. Cedar wood from Amanu (cf. *infra* § 30) in joists of 70, 50 or 25 spans. *Zabanum*, *shaku*, *tubulum* and *gin* trees from Ursu, both places in the vicinity of the Upper Euphrates ; *Kala* trees from Melukhkha, and *Ghaluku* trees to make pillars from Gubin, in the Red sea.
- 33) The exact identification of this island which was said to be at 30 kasbu of the coast in the *Marratu* or Persian Gulf, is no more an open question. Dr. J. Oppert had proposed the Tylos of Classical Geography, the Samak Bahrein of modern maps. Cf. his paper on *Le siège primitif des Assyriens et des Phéniciens* : *Journal Asiatique*, 1880, t. XV, pp. 90-92, 349-350; Maspero, *Histoire Ancienne*, ed. IV, p. 138. —François Lenormant, *Essai sur un document mathématique Chaldéen*, 1869, pp. 123-145, and *Essai de commentaire des fragments cosmogoniques de Bérosee*, 1872, had identified it with Bendêr-Dilloun and Prof. Fr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 229-30, suggested an island now absorbed by the alluvions of posterior ages.—Sir Henry Rawlinson, in his *Notes on Capt. Durant's Report upon the islands of Bahrein* : J. R.A.S., April, 1880, vol. XII, pp. 201-227, has fully identified it with Bahrein. On the ruins there and excavations, cf. Capt. Durant's *Extracts from Report on the Island and Antiquities of Bahrein* : J.R.A.S. *ibid.* pp. 139-201 ; and on further excavations there, the discovery of Phœnician remains and of ivories carved like those of Assyria, by M. J. Theodore Bent, cf. *The Mounds of Bahrein* : *The Athenæum*, No. 319, p. 38, July 6, 1889, and his communication to the R.G.S.
- 34) Mâgan. Cf. the *Makna* of Ptolemy, in E. Rehatsek, *Emporia, chiefly ports of Arab and Indian international commerce, before the Christian era* : J. Bombay Br. R.A.S., 1881, vol. XV, p. 114, and also R. Burton, *The gold mines of Midian*, 1878. Lenormant, Oppert,

Sayce, Dalattre, Amiaud have all placed it in the Sinaitic peninsula. Cf. a refutation of other views in A. Amiaud, *The names of Sumer and Akkad*, pp. 130-133: *B.&O.R.*, July 1887, vol. I; and A. F. Sayce, *Relig. Anc. Bab.*, p. 32, n. Amiaud compares the מֶרֶן of Judges v, 12.

- 35) While *Magan* was the eastern side of the peninsula and probably also Midian, the country of *Melukkhkha* seems to have been the western side and part of Egypt. Prof. G. Maspero, *Histoire ancienne*, ed. IV, p. 430, identifies the latter with that part of the Delta which is situated on the two sides of the Canopic branch, with probably the addition of Saïs. It has been thought by several scholars that (in the later times of the Assyrian Monarchy) *Melukkhkha* may have been the Libyan portion of lower Egypt. Cf. F. Lenormant, *Revue Archéologique*, Jan. 1872, p. 26; *Trans. S.B.A.*, t. VI, pp. 348-353, and 399-401.—Sir Henry Rawlinson, *J.R.A.S.* 1880, vol. XII, p. 212, claims to have been the first to identify *Milukh* with *Meroe*, in his *Illustrations of Egyptian history from the Cuneiform Inscriptions*: *Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.* Feb. 1861, a view proposed also by Dr. J. Oppert. But Prof. G. Maspero, *Histoire Ancienne*, ed. IV, p. 430, n., has remarked that the exact name of *Meroe* was *Beroua* without any final *h* or *kh*. Pat. A. J. Delattre, *L'Asie Occidentale dans les Inscriptions Assyriennes*, 1885, has proved that *Melukkhkha*, which is constantly associated with *Magan*, was the desert district immediately to the south of the Wâdi-el-Arish.
- 36) Cf. A. H. Sayce, *The Ancient empires of the East*, p. 370.
- 37) A. Amiaud, *Sirpourla*, pp. 12-13. Cf. the GUB of Ezekiel xxv, 5.
- 38) Cf. G. Maspéro, *Histoire ancienne*, ed. IV, p. 81.
- 39) G. Maspéro, *ibid.*, p. 59, 65, 93 and 121.
- 40) A tablet giving an account of the great Sargon's career says that the king reached the lower sea or Persian Gulf, and the country of the Black heads, and also reduced *Nidukki* and another sea-port of which the name is incomplete. In what appears to be the continuation of the same campaign on another tablet, Sargon's son Naramsin, is said to have conquered *Rish R manu*, the king of Apirak, and his ally the King of *Magan*, whose name however is lost. Cf. *Trans. S.B.A.*, vol. I, pp. 46, 51: *J.R.A.S.*, n.s., vol. XII, p. 214. Prof. F. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 231 and 131 has *Apirak* in South Babylonia.
- 41) *Aperçu de l'histoire d'Egypte*, p. 65; IIIrd dynasty, 4449; IVth 4235; Vth 3951; VIth 3703.
- 42) A. H. Sayce, *Rel. Anc. Bab.* p. 137, and p. 33.
- 43) A. H. Sayce, *op. laud.* l.c.
- 44) As observed by Mr. Flinders Petrie, in *Nature*, Aug. 9, 1883, p. 341; the cubit of 20·63, quite different from the later Assyro-Babylonian cubit of 21·6.—M. Leon Heuzey, *Un Palais Chaldéen*, 1888, p. 11, states that the graduate rule has a length of 27 cent. (=10·63 inch). Dr. J. Oppert as early as 1872, *L'étalon des mesures assyriennes*: *Journal Asiatique*, Aug. Sept. p. 157, sqq., had ventured to prove that the unit of measurement of the Chaldeans was 27 cent., the half-cubit or span. His reasoning was based upon his own and others measurement of the wall of Khonabad, i.e. 6790 m., compared to the

statement of Sargon himself, that the circumference of the wall was 24740 units, therefore 0m 274 mm. Cf. his paper *Sur quelques uns des inscriptions cuneiformes, nouvellement decouvertes en Chaldée*, p. 635: Actes VI, Congr. Orient. Leide, 1883, Part II, 1; and also *Bullet. Soc. Philologique*, 25 Avril, 1882, p. 243.

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17. An extremely interesting feature of these disclosures about the relations by sea at that time between the Persian Gulf⁴⁵ and the Red sea⁴⁶ consists in the inkling they give of the early maritime commerce which has occupied so important a part in the primitive spread of civilisation. The statement of Gudea that the countries of Mâgan, Melukkhha, Gubi and Nituk *have sent to him ships*⁴⁷ laden with trees of all kinds, seems to show that the ships did not belong to Gûdea himself nor to his people, and therefore that this sea-trade was in the hands of others. This fact was already well known although not as far remote in antiquity⁴⁸. Having no timber the Chaldeo-Babylonians themselves could not build sea-faring ships of large size. Even in later times their boats remained generally small⁴⁹, as convenient for their use on the rivers much more than on the sea.

18. Many of the crafts represented on the monuments, carrying logs of timber or towing a few of them, are river boats⁵⁰. Other ships are figured on the basreliefs of Nimroud⁵¹; they are certainly better fitted than the others, for the creeping along the coasts sort of navigation, which was then the only possible feat of the sea-farers; but none of them has the size or appearance of the large vessels built for the Egyptian Queen Hatshopsitu of the eighteenth dynasty⁵², for navigation on the Red sea in concurrence to those belonging to the sea-faring race then and there in possession of the maritime commerce. And yet the unseaworthiness of these Egyptian ships has been pointed out, and we may remark that their dimensions were apparently double of those figured on the Assyro-Babylonian monuments, nine centuries later⁵³.

19. But the statements of the king Ur-Nina and those of the patesi Gudea, refer to a period much older than anything that had been heard of previously about this early sea-trade. And the special enumeration of the emporia and countries visited at the time of Gudea, shows that this coasting trade had not yet assumed the same importance as it did many centuries afterwards. The simple statement referring to Magan in Ur-Nina's inscription must be compared to those equally simple of Gudea, and does not however prove that this place was the only one with which

an intercourse was carried on as yet in his reign. Magan⁵⁴ is quoted alone because it was from there that the diorite required for the statue had been brought, and there was no occasion to mention any other place.

20. There is however a curious sentence in one of Gudea's inscriptions which deserves special attention. It seems to speak of a ship, which by the protection of the Goddess Ba'u, did go out of the great sea and went away. She reached the sea of Kansurra, and yet her crew was not discouraged and remained faithful⁵⁵. Although the translation is apparently provisional and will require some amends, the statement should it be verified looks like an attempt by Gudea at doing by his own people that for which he was previously, like his predecessors, indebted to others. The sea of Kansurra (?) being the Red sea, the ships which used to carry the diorite from Magan in the Sinaitic peninsula were already navigating all its length. Therefore the attempt of Gudea looks like those of Queen Hatshepsut and of Kings David and Solomon in the after centuries.

21. We are not yet sufficiently enlightened from epigraphical evidence, to know if the attempt of Gudea was continued and the actual beginning without subsequent interruption of a Chaldean navy of sea-going ships. In the enumeration of the maritime stations which we have quoted from his inscriptions, prominence is given to Nituk or Dilmun, in the Bahrein islands as if this was the central port and the home of the seafaring race, the most probably ancestor of the Phœnicians, as shown by the recent archæological discoveries made there⁵⁶. The Minæans⁵⁷ and Omanites had not yet established their emporia on the Southern coasts of Arabia, which a thousand years or more, afterwards, were the centre of trade and the self-imposed intermediaries between Egypt, Ethiopia, Babylonia and India⁵⁸. And although the circum-navigation between the Persian Gulf and the heads of the Red Sea could not be carried without numerous callings and stoppages along the coast, the silence of the cuneiform documents as to the names of important ports is rather significant as to their non-existence.

22. The continuous association of the three names of Nituk, Magan and Melukhkha had suggested a geographical proximity between them, and the two latter had been unsuccessfully sought for in the low lands of Babylonia⁵⁹. Another suggestion was that Magan and Melukhkha should be found in the vicinity of the Bahrein islands⁶⁰. Both hypotheses admitting later western as well as an early eastern existence of the two countries, and their locations in the Red Sea. But none of

them could be effectively supported ; and they have been cleared away by close criticism⁶¹ and progress of knowledge⁶². It is quite certain that the earliest Magan and Melukhkha were situated in the Sinaïtic peninsula, and therefore that the circum-navigation from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea was regularly established six thousand years ago.

23. The bilingual list, Akkado-Sumerian and Assyrian, of names of ships and marine terms⁶³, which has been referred to in the Magan controversy, shows the subsequent existence of a Chaldean navy. The tablet cannot be older than the period of literary activity about the time of Khammurabi. It may be of later date⁶⁴. There is no doubt that native ships besides the river boats existed at the time. The list includes ships of *Ma-uru*, or ship-city, a designation of *Surippak*⁶⁵, of *Assur*, of *Ur*, of *Nituk*, of *Magan*, and of *Melukhkha*⁶⁶. It will be remarked that this list is arranged in geographical order and that the three latter names remained associated as in primitive times, suggesting that it had come to pass to designate all the commercial navy of the race of sea-traders simply by the names of their three most ancient and important ports of the two extreme points of the circumnavigation they use to carry on. *Assur* must necessarily refer to the fluvial boats, and *Ur* may also be understood as partly referring to the same navigation which from olden times was that with which the Chaldeo-Babylonians were best acquainted. The Sumero-Akkadian hymn which describe the cedar ship of Hea does not mention its going otherwise than on the canals and rivers⁶⁷. But the river towns of Lower Babylonia were also reached by sea-going vessels. A legendary fragment which at one time had been erroneously included into the Nimrod-Epos⁶⁸ speaks of ships coming up the Euphrates as far as Erech, the modern Warka,—that is about 120 miles above Kurna, where the river now joins⁶⁹.

24. *Shurippak*⁷⁰, which is spoken of as late as the time of Khammurabi but not later, was apparently the maritime place par excellence. Its epithet of ship-city had apparently been won from its navigation pursuits. Even in the earliest times of known history it was too far inland to be concerned with sea-going vessels, and its navy could be but fluvial. Its position near Sippara on the banks of the Euphrates⁷¹ was well suited for the purpose, and it seems to have been from there that Sin-liki-ini, the Chaldean poet who wrote the Nimrod-Epos about the twenty third century B.C. did get his maritime information⁷². The building and floating of the ship of Samash-Napishtu are placed by him there, as in the greatest historical port of Babylonia, and he was thus able to give to his

poetical recit under that respect, an appearance less unhistorical. Unhappily the mutilated condition of the tablet has not permitted as yet the decipherers-Assyriologists to agree on the signs half obliterated and the inferences to be drawn from them as to the last parts which refer to the measures and other peculiarities of the ship⁷³, and therefore ought to be most interesting. But we must expect further decipherments and elucidations to be enlightened on the subject.

Other names of places with reference to ships, which appear on the lists above quoted, are those of Nisin, the Sumero-Akkadian for Khararak, the Karaka of the list of Darius, and the Kharax of Aspasia (cf. *B.&O.R.*, vol. IV, p. 139) near the mouth of the Euphrates; and of the Khatti on the upper course of the latter river.

25. The bilingual list, besides the names of places gives the special terms which we have mentioned, for various ships and parts of a ship in the two languages, Sumero-Akkadian and Assyrian. As the most important of these have been published in the *B.&O.R.*⁷⁴, by Mr. Theo. G. Pinches in his paper on *The Babylonians and Assyrians as maritime nations*, it is needless to mention them here again; although the larger part of the names refer to small boats such as those required for river craft, there are a few words of parts of ships, which cannot apply but to vessels of some size at the ancient time when the list was framed⁷⁵. Boats and ships existed of all dimensions from 5 to 60 *gur*⁷⁶ in tonnage.

NOTES—

45) Called in Assyrian *Marrātu*. Cf. F. Delitsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 180.

46) Perhaps called under Gudea *Kan surra*, in Sumero-Akkadian; cf. E. Babelon-Lenormant, *Histoire ancienne*, t. IV, p. 85.

47) Statue D, col. 4, and cylinder A, l. 4 sq. Cf. *supra* § 13. And A. Amiaud, *The Inscriptions of Telloh* (continued): *Records of the Past*, n.s. vol. II, 1890, p. 91.

48) Cf. T. de L., *The Kushites, who were they?*, §§ 4, 6, 7; *B.&O.R.* vol. I, pp. 25-27.—Lepsius, *Nubische Grammatik*. Einleitung, p. 95, says that they were the first sea-faring people of the Ancient world, and controlled by their ships the coasts of the Red Sea and Indian Ocean to the Persian Gulf, and also the coasts of India to Ceylon and not only exchanged the products of these distant lands but also introduced the sciences and arts they learned in their visits.—But Lepsius was mistaken in his views about the Kushites whom he looked upon as everywhere and regularly black, while all the evidence that we possess shows that the historical Kushites were a race hybrid and irregularly mixed, as we shall have occasion to indicate further on.

49) A bilingual list, probably of the time of Khammurabi, quoted by M. Theo. G. Pinches, *The Babylonians and Assyrians as maritime nations*:

B.&O.R. vol. I, pp. 41-42, indicates the tonnage of the ships varying from 5 to 60 *guru* or *gurri*. Now this measure, if it is the same as the Kor, being equivalent to about 400 lit. (exactly 393.66 according to Aurès, *Essai sur le système métrique Assyrien*, the largest of these ships had only a capacity of 24 tons, and the smallest : 2 tons. Dr. J. Oppert : *Les signes numériques des mesures Babyloniennes de capacité* : Ztschr. f. Assyriologie, 1889, vol. IV, p. 372, says : " nous savons seulement que la troisième partie du *gur* se nommait un *homer*, en assyrien *imeru*." But this *gur* cannot be that which was used to define the capacity of ships, as the *homer*, according to Aurès was equivalent to 3 lit. 936 only. The first would be too much, the second too little.

- 50) They are not longer than the timber they carry or tow, and the largest have five men on board. Cf. their representation on the monuments, as for instance on a bas-relief from the Sargon palace at Khorsabad ; in Vigouroux, *La Bible et les découvertes modernes*, ed. IV, 1884, t. III, p. 374, and Lenormant Babelon, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient*, 1885, ed. IX, t. IV, p. 231.—There are also representations of rafts supported by inflated skins to carry large stones. Cf. Lenormant-Babelon, *O.C.*, t. IV, p. 86.
- 51) Represented on the Bas-reliefs of Nimroud ; they were biremes with seven or eight oars each row, and two oars at stern for rudder, having on board at the utmost forty men all told, including soldiers ; one pole mast only with a square sail. The upper part of the prow is shaped as a horse head or perhaps a hippocampus, (Cf. the illustration in Lenormant-Babelon, *O.C.* t. V, p. 105), which may have been not unknown to the navigators in these south seas. A list of terms referring to the various parts of a ship, (*B.&O.R.*, I, 42) gives the expression *émeri élippi*, which M. Theo. G. Pinches has translated the ass of a ship, perhaps the prow or figure head. The Assyrian *imeru*, Sum.-Akk. *anshu*, originally an Ass, or beast of burden, may also have been simply a horse. Cf. Fr. Hommel, *Die Semitischen Völker*, p. 403 ; and also, however, my remark n. 2, *B.&O.R.*, vol. I, p. 42. Sir George Birdwood has informed me that the native ships in the Indian seas have as yet the habit of carrying a she-ass on board. Other sorts of ships, different altogether and without any animal heads at the stern, are figured on later monuments. Cf. the same work, t. IV, pp. 258, 259, and T. G. 1 inches, *Guide to the Kouyunjik Gallery*, pp. 48-49. The earliest boats on the cylinders and seals, which see in Menant's *Glyptique Orientale*, vol. I, pp. 65 and 99, roughly drawn, had a crescent appearance seen also on the ships of the bas-reliefs, and still preserved by boats trading between Bagdad and Bussorah, on which cf. Ed. Balfour, *Cyclopedia of India*, ed. III, vol. I, p. 393.—We must remember that all these representations of ships belong to a period of more than three thousand years later than that of the seafaring mentioned in the inscriptions of Lagash.
- 52) This Great Queen, elder sister of Thotmes III and regent during his minority had a fleet built, of five ships, which are figured on the monuments. Cf. a sailing ship of this fleet, p. 15, of G. Maspero, *De quelques navigations des Egyptiens sur les côtes de la mer Erythrée* : Revue historique, Jan. 1879, and another one taking her cargo, p.

- 572 in Vigouroux, *La Bible et les découvertes modernes*, t. III. These ships were about seventy feet in length, with one pole-mast 26 feet high; one row of 15 oars on each side, two oars as rudders, and a crew of 39 men, all told. Cf. also Dümichen, *Die Flotte einer ägyptischen Königin*, and B. Graser, *Das seewesen des Alten Egypter*; G. Maspero, *Histoire ancienne*, pp. 195-6; and besides: J.D.C. Lieblein, *Handel und Schiffart auf dem rothen Meere in alten Zeiten*, Christiania, 1886, a most important monograph. The Egyptian name of sea-faring ships was *men shu* (F. Pierret, *Vocabulaire Hiéroglyphique*, p. 216) which has perhaps survived in the *Manche* of the West coast of India, on which cf. E. Balfour, *Cyclopedia of India*, ed. III, vol. II, pp. 838-9.
- 53) Eighteenth dynasty: 1703-1462 B.C. (Mariette).—Sargon II: 722-705 B.C. (Sayce).
- 54) Magan, being written with two ideograms, the first of which is a boat was translated accordingly with reference to navigation in ancient Assyriology, but graphical etymologies in ideographic writings are always a snare. Magan is simply a foreign name with the unavoidable inconvenience of an ideographical meaning. As in Chinese the ideograms were used phonetically for the transcription of proper names, but their meaning could not be dropped: the scribes were compelled to make a suitable choice among the homonymous ideograms and therefore to make up a graphic etymology which must not be mistaken for the historical etymology of the name, and be carefully avoided.
- 55) Dr. J. Oppert, *Communication à l'Académie des Inscriptions*, Jan. 23, 1882; Babelon-Lenormant, *Histoire ancienne*, t. IV, p. 83.—A posthume translation of this inscription by the lamented A. Amiaud, has just appeared in the latter part of his article *The inscriptions of Telloh*: Records of the past, n.s., vol. II, 1890, pp. 89-92. It is the Nr. 4, statue D, and the passage we refer to is the following: "In this temple the offerings—of the goddess Ba'u—his lady—he has regulated.—His favourite bark . . . named *Kar-nun-ta-êa*.—he has caused to be made; on the *Kar-zagin-ká-surra*—he has placed it.—The crew of this bark... and its captain—he has organised."
- 56) Cf. *supra* § 14, note 33.
- 57) On the importance of this race, cf. the recent work of Edward Glazer, *Skizze der Geschichte Arabiens von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Propheten Muhammad*. Munich, 1890. The learned author tries to prove from inscriptions brought from Arabian countries by him and Prof. Euting of Strasburg, that the Minæan (of Ma'in) rulers can be traced nearly to the year 2000 B.C., and that their inscriptions which are in Phœnician characters, are not of much later date. The Minæans were conquered by the Sabeian dynasty, of whom we possess the Himyaritic inscriptions. *The Athenæum* 3250, Feb. 8, 1890, p. 179.
- 58) The earliest evidence of Indian products reaching Egypt consists in the Ceylonese shell of mother-of-pearl engraved with the cartouche of Usurtasen of the XIIth dynasty, circa 3000 B.C., and brought back from Egypt by Prof. Sayce in 1883. Cf. *B. & O.R.*, vol. I, p. 29, n. 28. I have not heard that this evidence should be above suspicion.
- 59) F. Delitsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 139.—and before Eberh. Schrader, *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, pp. 282-299.

- 60) Sir Henry Rawlinson, *The islands of Bahrein*, l.c. p. 212 sqq.—For other views cf. *suprà*, notes 33, 34, 35.
- 61) Cf. J. Halevy, *Mélanges de critique et d'histoire*, p. 152.—Arthur Amiaud, *The various names of Sumer and Akkad in the cuneiform texts*: B.&O.R., vol. I, p. 130 sq.—F. Lenormant, *Origines de l'histoire*, t. II, p. 532.
- 62) The decipherment of Gudea's inscriptions and the evidence of relations with Egypt.
- 63) *W.A.L.*, II, 46.
- 64) M. Theo. G. Pinches mentions 2500 B.C. Cf. *B.&O.R.* vol. I, 42. A. Amiaud says: of a time long before that of Sennacherib. *ibid.* p. 132.
- 55) F. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 224-225.
- 66) M. Theo. G. Pinches, l.c. p. 41, thinks that each of these places most likely had a distinct build of ship.
- 67) *W.A.L.*, t. IV, 25.—Partly translated in F. Lenormant, *Chaldean Magic*, p. 160.
- 68) K, 3200. By George Smith.
- 69) W. St. Ch. Boscawen, *From under the dust of Ages*, p. 113.
- 70) Near Sippara, the Larancha of Berosus. Cf. F. Lenormant, *La langue primitive de la Chaldée*, p. 342.—Dr. P. Jensen, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, p. 387 quotes the Armenian version of the chronicle of Eusebius, ed. Schoene, p. 9.
- 71) As stated in the Deluge episode of the Nimrod-Epos, l. 11.
- 72) Especially in lines 23-25, 54-56 all mutilated. Particulars had been guessed there as to the measurements of the ship, the number of its ribs, &c. which have all disappeared with the progress of decipherment.
- 73) Dr. Haupt, *The dimensions of the Babylonian Ark*: American Journal of Philology, vol. IX, pp. 419-424, had thought a decipherment justified which would have indicated for the Ark a displacement of more than 80000 tons or three times the size of the Great Eastern. But this reading is not ascertained, cf. P. Jensen, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, p. 371.—We shall have to deal with the subject in a forthcoming part of our paper on *The Deluge Tradition, and its remains in Ancient China*. A comparison of the ancient versions of G. Smith, with those of Haupt and Sayce (*Fresh light from the ancient monuments*, p. 29), Jensen (*Kosmologie*) will show how difficult it is to reach at the final truth in the interpretation of the mutilated parts of the Nimrod-Epos.
- 74) Vol. I, pp. 41-42.—Cf. also W. St. Chad. Boscawen, *From under the dust of Ages*, p. 114.
- 75) As to the dimension of ships in later times, we may quote two contract tablets of 494 and 504 B.C. about the sale of ships at Babylon, which give some indication as to their size: A ship of six cubits above the hold (?) broad, and twenty cubits draught (lit.: twenty by the cubit the seat of its waters), for four mana of silver (and) ten shekels of silver which are not struck with the birdtail (name of a plant)—20: A new ship, covered (decked), of eight (cubits) wide above the hold (?) for eight mana of white silver, coined, which is by the one-shekel piece. Cf. Theo. G. Pinches, *Guide to the Nimroud Central S. loon*, pp. 115, 113, Nos. 92 and 86.

* * *

26. It is not without astonishment that we miss in the names of places concerning the early sea-trade, any indication of a direct commerce with India or any land eastward. All the names refer chiefly to the circumnavigation of the Arabian peninsula from the Persian Gulf to the Red sea, or to the inland river navigation. As the latter names are not doubtful, and as all their identifications are pretty well ascertained, while the names concerning the sea-trade have also been identified, it is clear that no maritime relations at that time, i.e. 4000 years before our era, existed between Lower Babylonia and any country lying in the East, such as India. The matter is not without importance for the history of expansion of civilisation. Immature speculations have fancied an early influence of Babylonia on India through the activity of these unproven maritime relations⁷⁷, but the whole is moonshine.

27. The little of influence which Assyro-Babylonia has had on India belongs to a much later date, in fact, as may be easily shown⁷⁸, not earlier than the ninth century B.C. and through inland trade only. The maritime commerce was monopolised entirely by the sea-traders of the coasts of Arabia who used to travel direct to the Indian ports, and to store in their own emporia products of the various countries to exchange and export them elsewhere. It is through their channel that a few Egyptian notions and ideas have flowed into the civilisation of India. But all this refers to much later times than that of the Monarchs of Lagash. Should relations however indirect have existed with India during the reigns of Ur-Nina or of Gudea, when timber was so much required by them that the latter endeavoured to get some from everywhere they had connections, South and south-west, as well as North and north-west as we shall see further on, it is most probable that they would have been able to procure teak wood from the Indian coast where the forests of its trees, so precious for building purposes, are so extensive⁷⁹. But the careful excavations of Tell Loh have not disclosed that this indestructible wood has ever been used there, and this negative argument concurs with the silence of the inscriptions. Timber was required from foreign countries all over Babylonia for constructions, and remained during many centuries an important element of trade⁸⁰. However, with the exception of a most doubtful case of a late date, no teak wood has been found in any of the numerous archeological excavations of its monuments. And the statement to the contrary which has been often repeated of late and has given rise to some wonderful hypotheses on historical matters, is simply a misconception as

we shall see rapidly.

28. The supposed relations of Babylonia and India six thousand years ago rest upon the assumption that teak wood has been found in ruins of Ur belonging to that time, and that the word *sindu* found in a list of cloths of unknown date, is the name of India⁸¹. As to the latter word, I have shown in another paper⁸² that it belongs to a rather late time; and therefore, whatever may have been its meaning direct and indirect, it cannot have anything to do with the question three thousand and more years previously. The other point has no greater bearing on the case. In 1854, Mr. J. C. Taylor, making excavations in the ruins of Ur⁸³, discovered two rough logs of wood, *apparently of teak*⁸⁴, and these logs he discovered with a cylinder of Senakherib (B.C. 704-630). We are thus very far of the fabulous calculations quoted before, and we must thus conclude that there is not a single tithe of evidence in favour of early relations by sea at the time of the kings and patesis of Lagash, between Babylonia and India.

29. Another feature not devoided of interest in all of these ancient notices of the Chaldean navy, is their complete silence about Eridu, the Holy city⁸⁵, which recent speculations⁸⁶ had supposed to have been a maritime port of importance, because of its proximity at that time to the sea-board of the Persian Gulf. It was situated on the banks of the Euphrates, and not far to the south of Mugheir or Ur, where it is represented by the mounds of Abu-Shahreïn. It was the centre from which the ancient culture and civilisation of the country made its way, and it was there that in primitive times had landed the sea-faring civilisers arriving from somewhere in the South or West⁸⁷ who were in after times fabled into the legend of Oannes or Hea⁸⁸. This silence is rather significative as to the non-existence of sea-faring community and navy at Eridu, considering that ships of Ur and other places higher on the river are mentioned in the forequoted lists, and that Eridu (Sum.-Akk. Num-ki) is mentioned in the texts of Gudea, as a town only⁸⁹.

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76) Cf. *suprà*, note 49.

77) Notably by Mr. J. F. Hewitt, *Notes on the early history of Northern India*: J.R.A.S. 1889, vol. XXI, pp. 204 sq.

78) This question is examined by us in another paper on *The trade of Chinese silk at the time of Nebuchadnezzar*.—Cf. *suprà* note 58.—On a legend supposed to indicate the introduction of peacock in Babylonia, cf. the *Baveru jataka*, transl. Rhys Davids, in *B.&O.R.* Dec. 1889,

vol. IV, pp. 7-9.---Prof. Alb. Weber, *History of Indian Literature*, p. 30, says that the Nakshatras, or Lunar Mansions, are enumerated singly in the Taittiriya-Samhita, and the order in which they occur is one which must necessarily have been established somewhere between 1472 and 536 B.C. The same scholar has found that the whole character of Indian astrology (it can hardly be called astronomy) was purely Chaldaic before its contact with the Greeks. M. J. F. Hewitt, the most recent writer on the subject *op. cit.* l.c. p. 247, and 302, claims for the Nakshatras a Babylonian origin, and says rather inconsiderately that it is to the Semite-Accads (!) that the importation into India of astronomical knowledge and the art of writing is due, and the Greeks had nothing to do with this !!! The writer who is fully at home when dealing with the social status of the ancient and modern Non-Aryan population of India, has not made himself sufficiently acquainted with the other parts of the subject he wanted to treat of in his *Notes*. The Greek origin of Indian astronomy is a fact glaring to the face and beyond dispute. Cf. Max Müller, *India, what can it teach us?* p. 321 sq.; A. Barth, *Religions of India* p. 253, and the full demonstrations of Lassen, in his *Indisch. Alterthumsk.* The North Indian writing rests on a Semitic basis through the cursive writing of the Persians of which a specimen has been found on a tablet of the time of Artaxerxes. Cf. my paper *Did Cyrus introduce writing into India?*: B.&O.R., Feb. 1887, vol. I, pp. 88-64, where the scientific facts and probabilities of the case have been put forth,—As to the lunar mansions, they do not appear in Babylonia earlier than on astronomical tablets of the Greek period, namely on calendaric tablets of 122 and 100 B.C. Cf. their names in Pater J. Epping, *Astronomisches aus Babylon*, pp. 117-133: *Ergänzungshefte zu den "Stimmen aus Maria-Laach."* 44; Freiburg, 1889. Dr. P. Jensen, *Die Kosmologie des Babylonier*, Strassburg, 1890, has nothing important on the subject. The Babylonian names in 21 cases out of 28 are purely descriptive; for instance: II, *māru sha rishu ku*, i.e. West-of-the-head-of ku, or β Aries; III, *Arku sha rishu ku*, i.e. East-of-the-head-of-k u, or Aries; XXI, *Māru shi shātu*, i.e. South-of-Nāru, or α Libra; &c. and these descriptions show that the knowledge of these 28 lunar mansions were a foreign importation in Babylonia, grafted on their own previous knowledge of ecliptical constellations.—Prof. W. Whitney, in his studies on the Nakshatras published in the *Journ. Am. Orient. Soc.* in 1866, has come to the conclusion that, considering the concordances existing among the three systems "of the Hindoos, Chinese, and Arabians, it can enter into the mind of no man to doubt that all have a common origin, and are but different forms of one and the same system," (cf. *B. & O. R.* vol. III, pp. 98, 218, 221 in my researches *On the Early Chinese civilisation*.) These concordances, coupled with the foreign character and late appearance of the lunar mansions in Babylonia and the ancient existence of such a system with the old Khorasmian astronomers, points to the latter's country as the focus from where it spread to China and through the channel of the Persian dominion, to India, Babylonia, Arabia afterwards. Such is the solution we have advocated in the last-quoted work.

- 79) Cf. the maps of the forest trees of India, arranged by species, by Trelawny Saunders, in *Statement of the progress of India* in 1882-3, part II, pl. XI.
- 80) As shown by the bas-reliefs representing boats carrying logs. cf. *suprà*, § 19, note 50.
- 81) A. H. Sayce, *Religion of the ancient Babylonians*, pp. 18, 137-8.
- 82) See note 78.
- 83) *Notes on the ruins of Mugeyer*, p. 264: J. R. A. S. 1855, vol. XV. No other specimen of the same wood has been found in any of the numerous excavations which have been carried on in that country.
- 84) These are the very words of the discoverer, which therefore are very guarded, and ought not to have been taken as a positive statement. Should it be acknowledged that these two logs were really teak wood, it does not follow that this teak must have come from India, even through the emporia of Nituk-Dilmun. as a sort of teak grows in Western Africa, and may have been carried from there to Babylonia by the same traders. Sir Henry Rawlinson, in J. R. A. S. April, 1880, vol. XII, p. 225, had thought that the group GISH-MESU-MA-GAN-NA was a name for teak-wood brought from India through Magan, which he placed in the Bahrein island. But the reading now ascertained (cf. Brunnow, *Class. List*, 5965—3693) to be Alallu Magan means simply papyrus of Magan.
- 85) The modern Abu-Shahrein. It was called also the good city, the lordly city, the land of the sovereign. (cf. F. Delitsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 227-228.
- 86) A. H. Sayce, *Relig. Anc. Babyl.*, p. 134 sq.
- 87) A. H. Sayce, *ibid.*, p. 135.
- 88) Diodor. Sicul., Lib. I, cap. 2, has the positive statement that Babylonia was civilised by a colony from Egypt. The statement is probably an exaggeration, as we shall see further on.
- 89) Like also Larrak (Bar-bar-ki) and Kinunir-ki. Cf. A. Amiaud, *Sirpourla*, p. 14.

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30. Southern intercourse was not the sole opening of the activity of the Kings and Patesis. On the statue B of Gudea, the inscription says: "After he had caused the temple of Nin-Girsu to be built, Nin-Girsu, the lord beloved by him, has forcibly opened for him the roads from the sea of the highlands to the lower sea." As remarked by A. Amiaud when he translated this passage, the sea of the highlands is evidently the Persian Gulf, and it is impossible to doubt that by lower sea is intended the Mediterranean⁹⁰.

31. Several names of countries which must be identified in the north, appear in the inscriptions from Lagash⁹¹. Such is Martu, i.e. Phœnicia and Syria; from where the Amanus mountain furnished them with cedar wood and other trees, and two other mountains Susalla and Tid-

anum with two sorts of stones; also from a mountain of Barsip, which was probably near the Syrian city of Til-Barsip, they derived certain stones which were conveyed in vessels, and therefore had only to descend the Euphrates. Two other places, the town of Ursu-ki, in the mountains of Ibla, or better Tilla or Dalla (=Urtû) furnished them with wood, and they did get stones from Shamanum, in the mountains of Menna; both places may be sought for near the sources of the river⁹². The Patesi Gudea says also that he received some gold-dust from the mountain of Ghaghnum⁹³, some copper from the town of Abul-abisu or Abullât near the mountains of Kinash, and another product probably bitumen from Magda in the mountains of the Gurruda river. The three latter places have not yet been satisfactorily identified⁹⁴.

32. The campaign of Gudea in Elam and his conquest of the town of Ansan⁹⁵, is the only fact known of the military feats of these princes. The unavoidable relations which ensued that conquest are therefore the eastern complement of the foreign relations of the rulers of Lagash.

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90) *Sirpourla*, pp. 14-25, or *Records of the Past*, I, 57.

91) On these cf. A. Amiaud, *Sirpourla*, pp. 13-14.—Fr. Hommel, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 329 sqq.—*Amanu* is called the mountain of cedars in Inscription B of Gudea. Cf. *Records of the Past*, n. s. vol. II, p. 79.

92) A. Amiaud, *Sirpourla*, p. 14.

93) Is this not the Gagama of the conquests of Ramses III; (cf. Brugsch, *History of Egypt under the Pharaohs*, t. II, p. 152; F. Lenormant, *Origines de l'histoire*, t. II, part II, p. 264), and the Gangum of the Assyrian documents under Salmanazar II and Tiglathphalasar. In his inscription of 854 B.C. Salmanazar mentions gold among the tributes of Gangum. (Cf. A. H. Sayce, *Records of the past*, t. III, p. 98; F. Vigouroux, *La Bible et les découvertes modernes*, ed. IV, vol. IV, p. 5).

94) The name of Abullat or a similar one is written KAGAL-ADDA-KI. The mountains of Kimash recall the land of Mash or Arabia Petra, the Mash of Gen. X, 23. From Ki-mash was derived the Assyrian *Kemassi* copper. (Cf. A. Amiaud, *The inscriptions of Telloh* (cont.): *Records of the Past*, n.s., vol. II, 1890, p. 81.—Magda is perhaps the Makta (Megiddo) of the campaigns of Thoutmes III, on which cf. Brugsch, *History*, t. I, p. 328, and R. Conder, *Megiddo*: Quarterly statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund, Jan. 1877, p. 13 sqq., who has proposed its identification with Mejedda, near Beth-Shean.

95) Mentioned in the inscription of statue B. col. VI. *Records of the Past*, 1890, II, 82.

TERRIEN DE LACUPERIE.

(To be continued).

THE TRADITIONAL DELUGE
AND
ITS GEOLOGICAL IDENTIFICATION.

The object of this paper is to define a problem, and to urge research, and not by any means to solve a problem, or even to affirm that the problem stated is, as yet, capable of solution. But it seems important clearly to define the problem of the identification of the traditional, with a geological Deluge for two reasons more particularly: First, because, both in its coincidences with, and its variations from the Chaldean Deluge-tradition, the Chinese tradition discovered by Dr. de Lacouperie, so remarkably indicates an extraordinary convulsion of Nature; and Secondly, because it seems desirable to protest, in the name of Historical Research, against Dr. Huxley's confidently dogmatic assertion in the July number of the *Nineteenth Century*, that the Deluge-episode of the Chaldean Epic is nothing more than "one of the oldest pieces of *purely fictitious* literature extant," and had no more of fact at the root of it than, perhaps, an overflow of the Euphrates. And an indication of my reasons for thinking scepticism justified as to the affirmed "purely fictitious" character of the Deluge-story, will naturally lead to such a definition of the Deluge-problem as it is the object of this paper to state.

Now, in the first place, I must observe that nothing, perhaps, has been more characteristic of modern research than the demonstration of historical fact at the root of stories hitherto deemed "purely fictitious." I need here refer only, for instance, to the "tale of Troy divine," and to the story of the Amazons, and particularly to the justification of the latter by the discovery of such an important historical institution as Matriarchy.¹ And hence, considering how many stories confidently qualified as "purely fictitious" have been shown to have had important historical facts at the root of them, I venture to think that, to say the least, scepticism is justified as to the "purely fictitious character" of the Deluge-episode of the Chaldean Epic.

Secondly, we must note the very important distinction between the representation of historical events in early Folk-tradition, and their representation in late Culture-poetry. An apt illustration is afforded by the Arthurian traditions and Romances respectively. In the earliest traditions, Arthur is hardly named at all, or only as a *Guledig* or *Dux Bellorum*. The historical conflict and defeat, however, of the Sixth Century recorded in these traditions,² made so great an impression on the popular imagination that it not only was remembered for a thousand years, but was, in the course of these thousand years, elaborated and mythicised almost out of all resemblance, not only to the original historical facts, but to the earliest traditions of these facts. It was this elaborated and mythicised traditional material that the *Trouvères* and *Minnesänger* of the Twelfth Century made use of, and still further transformed in their Arthurian Romances. And the Chaldean Epic, and particularly its Deluge-episode, I would look upon as a similar poetical transformation of a similarly age-long process of the elaboration and mythicising of Folk-traditions of an actual historical event. Hence I should expect a Culture-poet's account of the Deluge (supposing there was such an historical event) to differ as completely from the original simplicity of the tradition, as the Culture-poets' account of Arthur differs from the original simplicity of the Arthurian Tradition. So far, therefore, from the mythical personages associated with the Chaldean account of the Deluge making it incredible, as Dr. Huxley thinks, that any greater event than an overflow of the Euphrates was at the root of the story, our inference must be precisely the reverse. The mythical Deluge-story of the Chinese is quite distinct from their matter-of-fact tradition of the Deluge caused by the overflow of the Hoang-ho in the reign of Yu in the Third Millennium B.C. And the later results of historical research appear clearly to show that it is only an event (or person) of a quite extraordinary character, and one powerfully affecting the popular imagination, that becomes the nucleus of an elaborated mythical narrative.

Not only, however, are we thus led from the character of the narrative itself to think it likely that an important historical event was at the root of it, but that the former existence of a Central Asian Mediterranean is certain; it is at least probable that more or less sudden upheavals, depressions, and earthquake-rifts were the causes of the draining off of this Inland Sea in widespread deluges affecting both Northern Asia and the coasts of the Ægean³; and it

is at least not disproved that, in connection possibly with these northern convulsions, there was an upheaval of the bed of the Persian Gulf, of which the result would have been a Deluge in the Euphrates-valley, of an incomparably more serious character than one caused by an overflow of the river, and such as to drive refugees northeastward towards the mountains of Kurdistan which appear to be indicated by the Deluge-story.⁵ Such a cause would, at all events, be in accordance with that remark of Strabo's,⁶ "the profoundness of which," as Sir Charles Lyell said,⁷ "modern geologists are only beginning to appreciate." But in suggesting such a cause of an actual Deluge in the very country where it was located by the Epic, it must be added that even were such a Deluge in the Euphrates-valley disproved, a Folk-tradition of such a Deluge in the North would still remain possible; seeing how free is the use made by Culture-poets of traditional material, and how probable, therefore, that, if the fact did not suit the artistic design of the author of the Epic, it would only be so much the worse for the fact.⁸

And now we may be in a position more clearly to define the problem of the geological identification of the traditional Deluge. The composition of the Chaldean Epic, which contains as an episode that oldest Deluge-story of which all others appear to be variants, seems to date from about 2300 B.C., or say, generally, the Third Millennium B.C. But the mythical character of this episode shows that the event which it records probably occurred millenniums before the composition of so poetical a narrative. And the Deluge-problem may be thus definitely stated: Can evidence be found of geological changes Deluge-accompanied in the Euphrates-valley or elsewhere in Asia, within the possibility of human memory and historical record? Were such a question to be verifiably answered in the affirmative, much more would result than the geological identification of the traditional Deluge, important as this would be. A geological Deluge thus traditionally remembered would also probably be found to account for the Chaldean myth, of which there are so many variants, of a War of Gods of Chaos and of Harmony, of which all current explanations appear to be entirely inadequate. And suppose that this geological Deluge was but one event in a cycle of traditionally remembered geological convulsions, the origin of the ancient philosophical theory of Periods of Destruction, and of Regeneration—a theory which is, in fact, but a prose version of the mythological War just referred to—would be, perhaps, more adequately explained than hitherto.¹⁰

NOTES—

1) I may, perhaps, be permitted also to refer to the evidence I have collected to show that the primitive Paradise-stories were traditions of actual earlier homes of the White Colonisers of Egypt and Chaldea. See *Traditions of the Archaian White Races. Trans. of the R. Hist. Soc.*, 1889.

2) See *Encyc. Brit. sub voce Arthur*, where I have summarised the facts and argument of my Essay on *Arthurian Localities*, now long out of print.

3) See, for instance, Lyell, *Principles of Geology*, chap. VIII, and Map.

4) See generally L'anglebert, *Elements de Geologie*, p. 54; and compare De l'apparent *Traite de Geologie*—"Tableau resumé des époques géologiques"; see also Scrope, *Volcanoes*—and particularly p. 390 on the Trans-European volcanic band from Hungary across the Danube, through Servia and Roumelia to the Bosphorus, and thence into Asia Minor—and compare Daubeny, *Volcanoes*, pp. 334, &c. As to the evidence of a flood in Northern Asia, see Howorth, *The Mammoth and the Flood*. As to Asia Minor generally, see the three geological volumes of Tchihatcheff's *Asie Mineure*. And as to Thessaly and Tempe more particularly, see Kriegk, *Geographie von Hellas*—*Das Thessalische Tempe*; Björnsthül, *Briefe aus seinen ausländischen Reisen*, B. VI, Heft. 1, §§ 215–18; and the *Travels of Holland*, pp. 280–361, and of Walpole, p. 534.

5) Prof. de Lacouperie informs me that a theory to this effect has been actually worked out; but I have not seen the book, nor do I know whether the assumed causes have been connected, as above indicated, with the *Soulèvement du Tenare* and other ascertained convulsions of nature in Southern Europe and Northern Asia.

6) "Restat, ut causam adscribamus solo, sive quod mari subest, sive quod inundatur; potius tamen ei quod mari subest. Hoc enim multo est mobilius, et quod ob humiditatem celerius mutari possit." *Geog. Edit. Almelo, Amst. 1707, lib. I.*

7) *Principles*, chap. II, *Theory of Strabo*.

8) Thus, for instance, the later poets located the wars of Arthur in the south, though the earliest traditions agree with historical facts in placing these barbarian conflicts in *Y Gogledd*, or "the North." See Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*.

9) Cf. Benoit, *Fragment d'un Voyage entrepris dans l'Archipel Grec en 1847. Archives des Missions*. "Il me semblait, en lisant Hésiode dans une crevasse du volcan de Santorin, que les anciens, guidés seulement par un merveilleux instinct avaient pressenti souvent ce que le savant moderne n'a découvert que longtemps après... Le noir cratère qui m'environnait, cette nature bouleversée par les puissances infernales, ces roches brûlées, battues par une mer furieuse, m'expliquaient mieux le vieux chant mythologique du poète d'Asra que tous les commentaires," p. 631. Cf. Hesiod, *Theog.*, 643–78 and 714; Scholion on Pindar *Pyth.* 4, 246; and Philostratus, *Icon.* 2, 17, p. 835.

10) As, for instance, by the observation merely, as suggested by Sir Charles Lyell, of "the marks of former convulsions," and "the remains of marine animals embedded in the solid strata."—*Principles*, chap. II, *Oriental Cosmogony*.

J. S. STUART-GLENNIE.

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

(Continued from p. 168).

SECTION XXXI (cont.)

2. *Tīryaṅka*², (lit. 'going across'); animal, animality. T. *dud-g'ro*, animal. M. Ch. domestic animal, cattle. Mg. *aloko son*.
3. *Prêtā*³. Ghost, dead returning to earth, spirit of the dead. T. *dvaṇs*, soul. Not therefore here the purified soul, (cf. Jaeschke, p. 249, b). M. spirit of the dead, famished. Ch. id. Mg. *birit*.
4. *Dirghāyushā*⁴ *devā*. Long-lived spirit or deity. M. Ch. Mg. id. (*abka*, *t'ien*, *tengsi*). T. *lha tse riñ po*.
5. *Pratyantajānapada* [*pati*] neighbouring country. T. *mtha 'khob kyī mi* land adjoining a barbarous (non-Buddhist) country. M. extreme frontier. Ch. *piñ tu hia tsin*, neighbouring land deserving contempt. (The neighbourhood of unbelievers is dangerous for the faith; besides which these infidels persecute the believers).
6. *Indriyavaikalyam* [*intriya*] Defect of senses. T. *dbañ bo-ma ts'an ba* Ch. incomplete sense. M. defect, weakness of sense.
7. *Mishyadargana* [*mīthyād*]. Intelligence subject to error and false doctrine. T. *khog par lta la*, intelligence in state of decrepitude. M. bad, spoiled or wicked intelligence. Mg. id. Ch. of a wordly or deceitful wisdom.
8. *Tathāgatānām anutṛyā* [read *anutpattyā*?] *dhāta* [*jāta*?] Born when no Tathāgata (Buddha) existed. (M. reads *anutpādatā*). T. *de bz'in gcegs pa rnans ma byuñ ba*, id. M. born when Fucihi had not yet appeared.—Ch. anterior or posterior to Fo.

2) *Tīryaṅka*. This word designates either the animal passions which are obstacles to self-denial, the practice of the law; or else earthly goods (see Chinese-Mandchu), the desire of which causes similar obstacles; or else the condition of animality in which these are born who have lived ill; or else simply an irregular life. Here it is the state of being born again under animal form.

3) *Prēta* (lit. 'gone beyond') was originally the soul of a dead person. Afterwards in consequence of the idea of a malicious and malignant ghost, it became an evil genius, famished like souls to whom no offering of food have been made and who hence become miserable and

malicious. Finally it come to mean famished demons, ever seeking to do harm, some living on earth, but visible only at night ; others dwelling in hell, and acting as Yama's executioners.

4) *Dirghāyus*, a deva who is such and remains such for millions of ages. As the *dêvas* cannot attain to Bodhisattvam or Nirvāna without becoming men, to remain among them is a thing to be feared.

These four first terms, therefore, indicates unhappy re-births ; the 8th is an unfavourable religious condition ; the other three are physical defects.

SECTION XXXII.

Rna ñon drug. The six fundamental or essential defects¹.

1. *Rāga*. Passion. T. 'dod c'ags, carnal passion. M. desire. Ch. passion directed towards an object.
2. *Pratigha*. Feeling of anger, hostility. T. *khon khro*, internal anger, resentment passion which separates and causes to act against one. It is the opposite of *māitrī*.
3. *Manas*. Pride. T. *ña rgyal*, id., arrogance.
4. *Avidyā*. Ignorance, stupidity. T. *ma rig pa*, want of intelligence.
5. *Drṣṭi*. Peculiar, incomplete, erroneous view.—T. *lta ba*, id. Ch. M. false view.
6. *Vicikīṭṣā* [read *sā*] doubt, want of faith. T. *th ts'om*.

1) The Vinaya, or Buddhist code of morals, is specially concerned with the life and perfection of the monks, to whom it desires to secure peace and joy, by teaching them how to repress passions and increase devotion, so as to be free from all re-birth. But it is especially negative ; it forbids, rather than prescribes. 250 vows of abstinence are reckoned. It distinguishes unpardonable and venial sins. For this reason, our vocabulary is occupied with faults rather than with virtues.

SECTION XXXIII.

Ne-ñon ñi-çuhi miñ-la. The 20 accessory defects.

1. *Kroddha*. Wrath. T. *khro ba*.
2. *Upadāha*. Hostility, internal malevolence. T. 'khon 'dzin. (M. *upadāha*).
3. *Mraکشu*. Hypocrisy. T. 'ab-ba, hidden (character). M. hidden evil desires. Ch. malicious hypocrisy.
4. *Pradāṣa* [read *praddāha*] burning passion. T. 't'rg. M. *fancara*, internal burning of any passion. Ch. irritation.
5. *Irshyā*. Jealousy. T. *phrag-dog*, id.
6. *Mātpatya* [read *Māpatya*, supidity ; *Mātsarya*, envy?] T. *sersna*,

- avarice.—M. avidity, immoderate desire.—Mg. greediness ; Ch. id. (M. *mātsaryam*).
7. *Māyā*. Deceit, artificial or deceitful character. T. *sgyu*, id.. imposture.
8. *Cātyam*. Deception. T. *glo*.
9. *Mada*. Drunkenness, mad desire. T. *rgyags-pa*. M. bragging, big talk. Ch. id.—Mg.
10. *Vihīṇsā*. Injury, desire to injure. T. *rnam 'ts'c*.
11. *Ahrīkyam*. Shamelessness. T. *ñā-ts'a med pa*, id., who does not blush at his faults, and thinks lightly of them.
12. *Anapatrāsyam*. Without fear (of evil or shame). T. *khral-med pa*. without shame or modesty. (M. *anapatrāryam*).
13. *Styānam*. Heaviness, coarseness. T. *rmugs-pa*, tepidity, heaviness. M. weakness.—Ch. heaviness, darkness of mind.
14. *Oddhatyrm*. Agitation, turbulence. T. *rgoñ pa*, savage or rude manners. M. turbulence.—Ch. causing trouble ; unquiet, agitated mind.—Pāli, *uducha*.
15. *Agraddha*. Want of faith. M. *ma-dad pa*.
16. *Gāupītyam*. [*Kāusidyam*.] T. *le-lo*, indolence, idleness, negligence.
17. *Pramāda*. Given up to passion ; too easy-going of conduct. T. *bag med pa*, without care, unprincipled. M. without fear of evil ; too free morality.—Ch. like Sk.
18. *Mushitasmṛtitā*. With memory taken away, forgetful. T. *brjed pa*, forgetful. M. much-forgetting. Ch. having lost ones memory.
19. *Vakshepa* [*avakshepa*] trouble, (*vikshepa*). T. *rnam gyo*, moveable, never at rest. M. troubled. Ch. troubled, confused.—Troubled mind, confused in its ideas, ever agitated.
20. *Asamprajñānam*. Whose mind is not fully present or sane.—T. *ces bz'in min pa*.—Ch. intelligence not firm or right. [M. *asamprajanyam*].

NOTES TO §§ xxxii & xxxiii.

We have here a special list of defects and passions, rather Brahmanic than Buddhist. It forms part of the *Sankhārakhandō* of the Pāli books (*Saṅs-kāraskāndha*), which reckon 52 or 55 faculties, virtues or vices.

All these terms scarcely need explaining. The six first (§ XXXII) refer to general tendencies without application to any particular objects and are the sources of the rest, or passions with special object. They are here enunciated without order or plan ; and only two deserve special note, viz. 14 and 15 of § XXXIII.

Oddhatyam, a form not used in classical Sanskrit, probably from *ā +*

âh (or *vadh*), a form tending towards Pâli, (viz. *uddhacca*), which is rendered by "vanity," or more correctly by "disquietude, agitation of mind."

Gâupīyāṃ is still harder to explain. In the Pâli texts its equivalent is *mijja* (*middha*) indolence, negligence; or else *Kukkucca*, (cf. Sanskrit *Kāukkutika*, hypocrisy), malevolence, morseness.

The Lalita Vistara and the Pâli books have another list of 10 faults or defects, partly corresponding to these two sections XXXII and XXXIII.

SECTION XXXIV.

Phyogs mth'ams kyi min-la. Names of the Directions and Regions'.

1. *Aiçânî.* Region of the Supreme Lord, (*îça, îçvara, Çiva*). T. *Dbañ ltan phyogs.* powerful region. M. id.—Ch. region of the great T'ien self-subsistent. (Apparently the NE).
2. *Āgnēyî.* Agni's region, (spirit of fire). T. *me-lha hi phyogs.* M. Ch. of the spirit of fire.—(SE).
3. *Vāyathi* [read *vî*] Region of Vāyu, the wind.—T. *rluñ lha hi phyogs.* M. Ch. of the spirit of wind.—(NW).
4. *Nāirṛti.* Region of Nirriti², the genius of destruction and error (SW).—T. *bden bral.*—M. Mg. distant from, deprived of truth; region of error.—Ch. region of the convents of the Law (i.e. Buddhist).
5. *Aindrá.* Region of Indra.—T. *dban po*, of the powerful One, the Lord. M. of Hormuzd.—Mg. of Erketu.—Ch. *Ti Shu* of the Supreme Buddha. (E).

1) The text gives first of all the names of the 8 principal and intermediate directions,—N., S., &c., N.E., N.W., &c.; then the 'up' and the 'down' (zenith and nadir); then repeats the 8 first, giving them the names of the gods whom the Brahmans looked upon as their special genii. Brahma is not one of them. We are here in full Brahmanism, or rather pre-Buddhist Çivaism of Western India. The sea is to the W.; fire or light to the SE; to the N. the bases of the vast mountain ranges are the storehouse of wealth; the great wind comes from the NW.; the seat of error is the SW. All this, for the rest, is in the midst of the non-religious part of our vocabulary.

2) *Nirriti*, as its etymology shows, is Destruction. Already in the Vedas it is personified as such. Its abode is in the abyss. Morally, it is destructive error.

C. DE HARLEZ.

(To be continued).

THE BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

Contributors are alone responsible for their opinions or statements.

THE CALENDAR PLANT OF CHINA THE COSMIC TREE AND THE DATE-PALM OF BABYLONIA.

1. In my researches on *The Tree of Life and the Calendar Plant of Babylonia and China*, published in *The Babylonian and Oriental Record*⁵¹, about two years ago, several inaccuracies and misprints have occurred which require rectification, while some papers previously published⁵² ought to have been mentioned therein. As some interesting articles⁵³ and monographs⁵⁴ have appeared, since then, and must be referred to, I take this opportunity to return to the subject, in order to correct and complete several statements of my former paper in some respects. Three chief subjects demand once more our consideration, the calendar plant of China, the mythic world-tree, and the names of the date-palm in early Chaldea.

NOTES—

- 51) June 1888, vol. II, pp. 149-159.—We continue here the numeral series of the notes for easier references.
- 52) Prof. Eberhard Schrader, *Ladanum und Palme auf den Assyrischen monumenten*, with plate: Monatsber. d. Berliner Akad. d. Wiss. 5 May, 1881, pp. 413-428.—H. P. Jensen, *Ztschrift. f. Keilschriftforschung*, I, 285, II, 25. Cf. B.&O.R. IV, 117-118: T. de L., *Stray notes on ancient Date Palms in Anterior Asia*.—Sir George Birdwood: *The knop and flower pattern*; pp. 325-344 of his interesting work: *The Industrial Arts of India*, 1884, South Kensington Museum.
- 53) Dr. E. Bonavia, *Sacred trees of the Assyrian Monuments*; B.&O.R. III, 7-12, 35-40, 56-61; *Did the Assyrians know the sexes of date palms*; ibid. IV, 64-69, 89-95, 116-117.—M. W. St. Chad Boscawen, *Notes on the Assyrian sacred trees*: ibid. IV. 95-96.—Dr. E. B. Tylor, *The fertilisation of date palms*. The Academy, 8 June, 1889, and *Nature*, 23 Jan. 1890. And also:—T. de L., *The cone fruit of the Assyrian Monuments*: The Academy, 22 June 1889.—
- 54) Rev. William Hayes Ward, *The asserted sevenfold division of the*

Sacred Tree of the Babylonians: Journ. Soc. Bibl. Lit. and Exegesis, June-Dec. 1888, p. 151-5.—J. Ekins, *Ancient Symbolism among the Chinese*, Shanghai, 1889.—Cte. Goblet d'Alviella, *Les Arbres Paradisiaques des Semites et des Aryas*: Bullet. Acad. Roy. Belgique, 3^e ser., t. XIX, 1890, pp. 683-679.—J. G. Fraser, *The Golden Bough: a study in comparative religion*. 2 vols, Macmillan (London, 1890).—E. Bonavia, *Bananas and Melons as dessert fruits of Assyrian monarchs and courtiers*: B. & O. R. July 1890, vol. IV, pp. 169-173.—T. de L., *On Eastern names of the Banana*: *ibid.* p. 176.—A. de Gubernatis, *Mythologie des Plantes*, 2 vols.—Richard Folkard, jun., *Plant Lore, Legends and Lyrics; embracing the Myths, Traditions, Superstitions, and Folk-lore of the Plant kingdom*. 1884.—Hilderic Friend, *Flowers and Flower-lore*, 1884, 2 vols.—James Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent worship*, 2nd edit. 1873. (some wild speculation spoils this work).—C. F. P. von Martins. *Die Verbreitung der Palmen in der alten Welt mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Floren-Reiche*. München, 1839.—Wilhelm Mannhardt, *Der Baumkultus der Germanen und ihrer Nachbarstämme*, Berlin, 1875; *Antike Wald-und Feld-kulte aus nordeuropäischer ueber lieferung erläutert*, 1877.—C. Bötticher, *Ueber den Baumkultus der Hellenen und Römer*, Berlin, 1856.—A. Bastian, *Der Baum in vergleichender Ethnologie*: *Ztschr. f. Völkerpsychologie*, 1868, vol. V.—F. Lenormant, *Origines de l'histoire*, 1880, t. I, pp. 74-96.

THE CHINESE CALENDAR-PLANT.

2. In my report of the Chinese tradition about the calendar plant of Yao's palace, a full line was dropped by the printer in the making up of the page containing it, and this misprint has thoroughly altered the calendaric character of the plant which it was so important to put forward. Therefore I am compelled to reproduce it in full.

When the Emperor Yao had been on the throne seventy years, . . . a kind of plant, called *lik-kiep* the calendar plant, grew on each side of the palace stairs. On the first day of the month it produced one pod, and so on, every day a pod to the 15th, while on the 16th one pod fell off, and so on, every day a pod⁵⁵, to the last day of the month; and if the month was a short one (of 29 days), one pod shrivelled up, without falling⁵⁶.

3. The description is so precise that no misunderstanding is possible as to the peculiar nature of this fairy shrub, growing pods for a fortnight, and dropping them the following fortnight, in accord with the waxing and waning moon. The denomination of *lik-kiep* or calendaric plant given to it in the Chinese folk-lore shows how well understood was its character from the calendaric aspect.

Some monumental representations of that tree show seven buds on each side,⁵⁷ as the total of fourteen is there connected, not with the seven days of the week twice repeated, but with the fourteen days of the half-moon, and

no doubt can be entertained as to the symbolical views underlying this iconography, and loan from the West.

4. The most important feature is the regular number of the pods which does not look anything else than a direct loan from the Assyro-Babylonian imagery of sacred trees. Nowhere does exist a similar legend which might have been the prototype of the Chinese, or its immediate antecedent, or the intermediary between it and the original pictures from where it has been first evolved.

The Persian artists in all that they have borrowed from Babylonia and Susiana, although reproducing the pattern of the sacred tree, have not attached any importance to the number of branches, boughs or pods of the tree as having any symbolism of calendar. Far from that, so far as they ever preserved a regularity in the number of the buds, leaves or fruits of the tree, they seem to have had a preference for the number nine which appears from time to time on the Assyrian iconography, and their reason for that may be the resemblance with the regular number of nine petals or flower leaves of the lotus in Egyptian decoration. The influence of Egypt on Persia is well known.⁵⁸

5. Therefore it cannot be through the channel of Persian imagery that the Chinese have been made acquainted with that peculiarity of symbolical iconography. It must have come to them in olden times, when the symbolism was in force in Assyro-Babylonia, and most likely at the same time as so many other items of their early civilisation.

In the oldest figuration of the Babylonian sacred tree, the outlines are rough, and the fixed number for branches and offshoots are not strictly observed. The symbolism had not grown as yet to command the iconography; but this was only so in the primitive times, and the sacred numbers of seven, or fourteen, or twenty eight, of twelve or fifteen became afterwards gradually paramount. And, as we are now well aware that the Elamo-Babylonian civilisation was spread to China but some twenty-seven centuries or thereabout later than the ancient monuments of Babylonian culture hitherto known, namely those of Lagash circa 4000 B.C. there was consequently plenty of time for the calendaric symbolism to have assumed its development and have imposed its sway on Art.

NOTES—

55) These underlined words are those which were dropped by the printers.

The incomplete passage is unhappily that has been referred to by Count Goblet d'Alviella, *Les Arbres Paradisiaques*, p. 669.


56) *Tchu shu ki nien*, Part II, 1.—The *Kang kien y tchi luh* states that

the event took place in the 45th year of the reign of Yao.—Cf. also, Hwang Fu-mi, *Ti wang she ki* : Tai ping yü lan, k. IV, fol. 7 verso.

57) Fung yen-hai and Fung Tsih-hien, *Kin shih so*.

58) Some traces of this Egyptian influence in Persia have been pointed out in my work on the *Origin of the early Chinese Civilisation*, Note 364 : B.&O.R., vol. III, p. 222 ; and *The Deluge tradition and its remains in ancient China*, § 51, note 118 : B.&O.R., vol. IV, pp. 109, 110.

THE COSMIC TREE.

6. The  *Gishkin* in Sumero-Akkadian and *Kiškkanû*⁵⁹, in Assyrian successively had been supposed to be a pine tree⁶⁰, and a palm-tree⁶¹, and we had looked upon it with the latter meaning in our paper⁶², but this view must be reconsidered, as this so-called tree does not seem to be open to any botanical identification.

7. The first verse in the bilingual hymn, where it is mentioned, has been rendered variously by several Assyriologists :

For instance :

“In Eridu a stalk grew overshadowing ; in a holy place did it become green⁶³.”

We have objected to the rendering here of *Kiškkanû* by *stalk* as being not sufficient.

A more recent version is the following :

“In *Iridu* wuchs ein dunkler *Kiškkanû*-Baum empor, wurde geschaffen an einem herrlichen (lichten ?) Orte⁶⁴.”

We may compare with these the two older versions, which follow :

“Dans Eridou a crû un pin noir, dans un lieu pur il a été formé,” where Fr. Lenormant, author of the version⁶⁵, has remarked that his rendering of the second part of the verse is made quite safe by the Akkadian text.

“In Nun-ki (Eridu) wuchs aus ein dunkler *Kin*-Baum, an einem reinen Ort wurde er geschaffen,” by Prof. Fritz Hommel.⁶⁶

Whatever may be the slight discrepancies between the different renderings we have quoted, it is evident that no botanical characteristics may be made out from them.

8. The hieroglyphical etymology of the word, so far as it can be understood from the hieratic, does not mean much, as we have no evidence that the actual signs of the combination *Gissu + Kikkīnu*, are identical, save the difference of style in the writing, with those of the hieratic period; neither are we certain that the primary meaning of the symbol read *Kanu* was still known at the time of formation of the complex ideogram. We do not even know if the combination existed at all in hieratic times⁶⁷. Therefore any attempt at hieroglyphical etymology in

this, as in the similar cases, must be taken with some reservation. It is made of the sign for wood *Gissu*, the same that is employed frequently in later (?) times as a silent determinative. The second symbol *Kikkinu* looks like a corruption of a pictorial sign of an enclosure filled up or with inside partitions. It has nine non-Semitic⁶⁸, and no less than twenty-two Semitic values⁶⁹, with a general idea underlying them of circular foundation.

Coupled together, they form a complex ideogram for which two readings are indicated: *Kishkanû* and *Usurtu*⁷⁰; the latter indicates a born or a foundation. Joined with the necessary words this compound ideogram appears in a list⁷¹ as *Kishkanu pišû*, *Kishkanu salmi* and *Kishkanu sâmi*, otherwise, *Kishkanu* white, black, and blue.

9. Therefore the *Kishkanu* cannot be a tree, and the composition of the expression by which it is called shows itself not to have been framed in view of designating a real tree. The decipherers Assyriologists will have to reconsider their rendering of the verse we have quoted, so far as it was understood as referring to the growing of a tree. The *Kishkanu* was most probably a central pole, (like that of a tent, for a tent-inhabiting population), whence it was taken to be the main-staff, and in mythology the central pillar (of the world). Its conception in that sense is fully explained by the following statements, of the bilingual hymn previously referred to, as follows: "Its fruit⁷² was of (jade⁷³ or) white crystal which stretched towards the deep!" "Its seat was the (central) place? of the earth: "Its foliage (? or summit) was the couch of Zikum⁷⁴ the (primæval) mother." (There is the home) of the mighty mother who passes across the sky. In the midst of it was Tammuz. (There is the shrine?) of the two (gods⁷⁵.)"

10. No possible doubt can remain now that the *Kishkanu* is not the tree of life that is figured on so many monuments of Babylonia and Assyria. It is the world-tree, the pillar of the world, the great shaft which unites heaven and earth in the mythological conceptions of more than one of the nations of old. Its nearest congener were the star-bearing world-tree of the Finns⁷⁶ and the similar conception though of late derivation of the Tartar tribes of Minussinsk⁷⁷.

11. The mythical view of the Chaldean poet was apparently the outcome of a popular idea, current in his time, which in a less state of development was brought into the country by the Altaic speaking Sumerians. Once embodied into poetry and therefore more easily present to the mind of cultured people, its influence on the folk-lore and formation of myths

amongst other nations was possible, and in that respect it may have followed the spread of the Chaldaean civilisation. We may be sure that it spread further still, as experience has shown that mythology and folk-lore being among the most subtle parts of a civilisation, travel wide and afar much more easily than the other parts, which more substantial so to speak, cannot be grasped with the same facility. And as the communications by chance or sought for, isolate or repeated, which have happened in the course of ancient times from one to another part of the world are not known all, it is sheer imprudence to speak of the independent rising and appearance of identical conceptions and myths in various countries⁷⁸. In the immature state of our knowledge of antiquity, before inferring from such a similarity some big conclusions as to the nature of the human mind, it would be much wiser by far to be satisfied with the ascertaining of the facts.

12. The world-tree, or heaven's-pillar of Eridu, seems to have worked upon the Egyptian conception of the Tat-pillar⁷⁹, and the matter deserves to be the object of further investigation. In the same way a Chaldaean influence may be thought, either for the source or the cause of transformation of former and more rude ideas, in many cases of mythological conceptions, folk-lore, and of tree-worship. But the distinction, although often forgotten, must be preserved between the notion of the world-tree and that of the tree-of-life. At first the notion was indistinct, and the Chaldaean conception in the hymn of Eridu belongs to that period. But a distinction grew gradually in considering the cosmic tree under these two aspects⁸⁰, and although the distinct conceptions of a world-tree and of a tree of life have always shown a tendency to fuse together, they have also been preserved more or less apart in some mythologies.

13. Let us remember here as instances of world-tree⁸¹:

The *Khanbe* of the Airyana-Vaedja, begirt with the starry girdle of the Iranians⁸²; the world-pillar of the Rig-Veda⁸³; the star-bearing *ashvattha* of the Hindus, whose original symbolism seems to be lost;⁸⁴ the winged oak of the Phœnicians, as described by Pherecydes⁸⁵; the *yggdrasil* of Norse mythology⁸⁶; the *Irmensul* of the ancient Saxons⁸⁷; and others. The antecedent of these conceptions is found in the cosmic tree, so represented with the winged-sun above it, on the cylinders and on the monuments of Khorsabad⁸⁸.

14. So far as we know, the Chaldaean conception is the oldest. Embodied in literature, it has been spread largely, and thus far has given rise to several conceptions somewhat similar, which conceptions spread in


their turn have suggested elsewhere related myths, and so forth further on with gradual divergences leading to final discrepancies; we cannot, however, as yet maintain that it is the parent-stem, or the prototype, direct or indirect, of every one of the many myths of the kind, found so extensively. The matter requires more extensive research and, to begin with, a chronological and genealogical classification of the world-tree myths hitherto known.

NOTES—

- 59) R. Brunnow, *Classified List*, No. 8536.
- 60) By F. Lenormant, *Les origines de l'histoire*, II, 104.
- 61) By Prof. Fritz Hommel, *Die Semitischen Völker*, I, 406, who compared with name that of *mushu-kannu* of Prof. Eb. Schrader, as a dialectal variant.
- 62) Part I, and notes 4 sq.
- 63) A. H. Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures on the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, p. 238.
- 64) P. Jensen, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, p. 249. The learned author, *ibid*, has endeavoured to show, from phonetic affinities, his reason to look upon it as an 'Orakelbaum.'—Dendrolatry had led to philomancy which was a part of Chaldean mantology.
- 65) *Les Origines de l'histoire*, 1882, t. II, p. 104.
- 66) *Die Semitischen Völker und Sprachen*, p. 406.
- 67) There is no such evidence amongst the inscriptions from Lagash.
- 68) The non-semitic are : *gur*, *ghar*, *ghir*, *ghur*. *ir*, *ur*, *kin*, *kikkin* and *mur*.
- 69) The Semitic values are the following (with probable meanings); *esênu*, vault; *esêru*, bracelet; *ghâru*, ? to dig; *ghalâsu*, ? tower, citadel; *gharru*, cavern, hollow; *ghashû*, liver; *ghubâtu*, ? valley, ? pledge; *kabidu*, ? considerable; *kadâdu*, ? signature; *kapru*, great, high; *kima*, ? thus, so; *kirbu*, centre; *kishkânu*; *libbu*, heart; *parâzu*, command; *ramimu*, greater; *shêmiru*, diamond; *tertu*, body; *tulimu*, *tultu*; *umma sha êrê*; *ușurtu*, born, foundation.
- 70) R. Brunnow, *Class. List*, Nos. 8536 + 8545.
- 71) *W.A.I.* II, 45, 52-55.
- 72) Prof. Sayce reads (*sur*) *sum* and translates root. Cf. his edition of G. Smith's *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, p. 87, and *Lect. Relig. Anc. Bab.* p. 233. François Lenormant understood fruit instead of root, cf. his *Origines de l'histoire*, t. II, p. 104, and his translation is supported by the parallelism of the following verses. Mr. St. Chad Boscawen: *Modern Thought*, July 18 83, p. 327, reads also fruit.
- 73) Cf. note 49 of my first paper.
- 74) The mother of Ea was *Zikun* or *Zigarum*, the heaven (*W.A.I.* II, 48, 26; 50, 27), whom a mythological list describes as "the mother that has begotten heaven and earth" (*W.A.I.* II, 54, 18). Vid. A. H. Sayce, *Lect. Relig. Anc. Bab.* pp. 374-5. The same scholar, *ibid*, has suggested the identification of *Zikum* with the known goddess *Bahu*.

- 75) A. H. Sayce, *ibid.* p. 238.
- 76) In the *Kalevala*, trans. A. Schiefner, Helsingfors, 1852, Rune X, 31-42; W. F. Warren, *Paradise found*, p. 276.
- 77) A. Schiefner, *Heldensagen der Finussinischen Tataren*, p. 62 sq.; Lenormant, *Origines*, t. I, p. 76.—Cf. also among Ugrian tribes, O. Peschel, *Races of man*, p. 406.—It is not unlikely that such notions were introduced there through the Iranians and afterwards through the Buddhists.
- 78) Part similarities, resemblances and coincidences are too often looked upon as identities. Yet it is certainly an exaggerated opinion of their knowledge, this view of many a folk-lore of the present day, when, being apparently satisfied that they know the last word of ancient history with regard to intercommunications, migrations and displacements of populations, they think possible to draw conclusions as if unheard-of interchanges were historically proved to be impossibilities.
- 79) On which cf. C. P. Tiele, *History of the Egyptian Religion*, pp. 46-47; Brugsch, *Astronomische und Astrologische Inschriften*, p. 72.—Dr. W. F. Warren, *Paradise found*, p. 265, has rightly objected to the cloud interpretation proposed by Mr. LePage Renouf, in his paper on *Egyptian Mythology, particularly with reference to Mist and Cloud*; Trans. S.B.A. 1884, pp. 217-220.
- 80) For instance in Genesis II, 9 there are two trees, while in II, 17 and III, 3-6, there is only one.
- 81) As instances of the Tree-of-life, let us remember the following: "the fig-tree which distils the soma," and "the tree of life, *ilyor'ikshah*," of the celestial world, in the *Tchândogya* (VIII, 5, 3) and the *Kanshitaki* (I, 3); Upanishads; the *Kalpavrikshas* of the classical literature of India; and the *Djambu* tree, south of the Meru, whose knowledge has been carried to China by the Buddhists, the *Bôdhi* tree of the latter; the *Setarran* of the Mendaïtes; &c.
- 82) *Bundehesh*, XXIX, XXX; *Homa yasht* 26.
- 83) Cf. *Rig-Veda*, X, 81, 4. and other passages on which cf. Julius Grill, *Die Erzväter der Menschheit*, Leipzig, 1875, vol. I, pp. 358-9.
- 84) Guigniaut, *Religions de l'Antiquité*, vol. I, p. 157, and vol. IV, pl. II, fig. 16.
- 85) A. Maury, *Religions de la Grèce Antique*, vol. III, p. 253.—Lenormant, *Origines de l'histoire*, t. I, p. 96.
- 86) Cf. C. F. Keary, *Outlines of Primitive Belief*, 1882, p. 57.
- 87) Cf. J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 759.—Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, vol. I, p. 155.—Finn Magnussen, *Den Aeltre Edda*, Copenhagen, 1822, vol. II, p. 61.—Hindu and other influences in occurrences unknown to history have carried similar conceptions of a world-tree and tree of life in Indonesia and Polynesia.
- 88) Perrot & Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art*, t. II, fig. 343.—Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, pl. 49, fig. 9, pl. 61, fig. 6.
- 89) *Ibid.* t. II, fig. 444; from Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, ser. I, pl. 51.
- 90) Prof. Finzi, *Ricerche per lo studio dell' Antichità Assyria*, Turin, 1872, p. 553, n., has suggested an Aryan and particularly an Iranian influence for the origin of the sacred tree of the Assyrian monuments. But since then the progress of research has shown that this view is untenable.

THE NAMES OF THE DATE-PALM IN ANCIENT CHALDÆA.

15. The symbol  MU, which in its hieratic form represents visibly a tree⁹¹ with its branches and with offsets at the foot, as is the case with female date-palms⁹², was, it seems to me, the original sign for date-palm tree.

A tablet, from the library of Assurbanipal, published in the collection of the British Museum⁹³ and perhaps a copy of a much older document⁹⁴ of about 2000 B.C., already referred to in the *B.&O.R.*, gives the words *zikaru* for male and *zinnishtu* for female date-palms⁹⁵. *Gishimmaru*, as we shall see below, is a general name for date-palm *without distinction of sexes*, and a name whose written form, far from being primitive, is a late one. It has the two readings just quoted only when written in combination and with the addition of the determinatives NITAGHU for male, and GIMU for female, which themselves are respectively read thus *zikaru*, and *zinnishtu*⁹⁶ and give their sounds to the group, while *gishimmaru* is silent.

MU, on the other hand, has a primitive form whose hieratic shape is known and represents a tree; two of his readings are *zikaru*, *zikru*⁹⁷, same as that of the late compound ideogram for male date palm, aforesaid. The general range of its meanings implies greatness and famousness; heaven, king, name, rise are among its acceptations, and *zikaru* by itself means famous, great, and male.





16. It seems therefore that the date-palm, in its quality of the tree *par excellence* of the country was looked upon in early times as the kingly, heavenly, great and renowned tree, and accordingly received from the Semitic population⁹⁸ the name of *zikaru*. From the pictorial evidence this sign MU was applied more especially to the fruit-bearing or female tree, as we may infer from the offsets carefully drawn at the foot, although the non-figuration of the hanging fruits suggests that it may have been as well applied to the male-tree. This would refer to a time anterior to the knowledge of the distinction of sexes which had not been reached as yet during the Pre-semitic period of Chaldæan civilisation. The Sumero-Akkadian word was *Mu*.

17. Some confirmatory evidence of this view may be found in the following facts. At Bussorah, a word for date-palm, according to Niebuhr⁹⁹, is *aschkar* which may be compared to the Assyrian *zikaru*. In the Mekran dialect, E. of the Persian gulf, the general word¹⁰⁰ is *Mogh* or


Moch, while at Bagdad one of the terms used is *Mekkarri* ; both names remind the Sumerian *Mu*.

In his *Glossaire Assyrien*, Fr. Lenormant has rendered¹⁰¹ a word *sigaru* as date-wine.

Nu is the initial symbol of *Musukkan*, palm-tree as we shall see further on.

18. A name for palm-tree in general seems to have been *Musukkan*     which occurs in the inscriptions discovered in the foundations of Khorsabad Palace. It was translated at first by tamarisk¹⁰², but subsequently, this rendering was objected to, and it was suggested¹⁰³ that the tree thus named was the palm-tree. The spelling of *Musukkan* is late and entirely Assyrian ; it may be a corruption or a Semitised form of an old Sumerian word.

It has been looked upon¹⁰⁴ as a late alteration of a dialectic variant of *kishkanu*. An objection to this view would be that the latter word was not a name for the palm-tree ; but it is not impossible that the word may have been occasionally applied to that tree in after times because of its great importance for the population of the country. The explanation being unsatisfactory, it has been suggested that, the regular name for date-palm being now known as *gishinmaru*, the word *musukkan* was simply a name for the palm-tree in general¹⁰⁵. Let us remark in favour of this view that the initial syllabic sign of *Musukkan* is no other than the symbol *Mu* which we have come to consider as the original one for the date-palm.

19. On the other hand the sign *gi gu* ¹⁰⁶ which I had suggested to be a palm-tree, with reference to its use with the sound *gi* in *Ki-en-gi*¹⁰⁷ turns out to be only a part of the tree, and especially the trunk of the palm-tree as we shall see below. It is roughly figured on ancient cylinders¹⁰⁸, and the comparison of the monuments from Telloh, shows that the original position of the symbol, as adverted by M. Pinches was left to top, the upper part being the horizontal stroke, and not the reverse.

Its identification is difficult. When preceded of the determinative of trees, it was read *Abu*¹⁰⁹. The meaning of the latter being generally 'father,' it is difficult to explain how it could be so in the present case, unless it be as a descriptive term of the father as the trunk, or better the main stay of a family, because the symbol, among other readings has those of *kānu*, read, *šabatu*, staff, *šimtu*, foundation, &c.

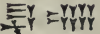
20. Now examining its oldest graphical form¹¹⁰ from the pictorial aspect, it seems probable that it was intended to represent a tree with the upper part, i.e. the leaves cut-off and the offsets grown at the foot¹¹¹, while the dates-fruits which stand under the leaves are left for easier identification of the image, and a top line horizontal ending the figure shows the special object of the pictogram to be the trunk, and not the whole tree with its branches. On some cylinders this top-line is shaped like a crescent, of the moon? in religious scenes¹¹², as if taken for a figure of the world tree and pillar of heaven, for which *Kishkinu* was the special term.



In itself the symbol GIGU meant simply at the beginning, the trunk or stem of a palm tree, and a confirmatory evidence is given by the symbol GIL, which was formed originally of two GIGU crossing one the other obliquely¹¹³, and meant *agu* upwards, *napraku*, cross-bar, *sikuru* enclosing, among others¹¹⁴.

NOTES—

- 91) Amiaud—Méchineau, *Tableau comparé*, No. 12.—T. de L., *The old Babylonian characters and their Chinese derivatives*, 1888, par. 36.
- 92) Cf. E. Bonavia, *Did the Assyrians know the sexes of the date-palms?* pp. 65-66 : B.&O.R. 1890, vol. IV.
- 93) *W.A.I.*, II, 46, l. 29, 30.—R. Brunnow, *Classified List*, 7293-4.
- 94) Theo. G. Pinches, MS. note, 22 March, 90.
- 95) They are indicated by the ideogram otherwise read GISHIMMAR (cf. § 21) with the addition of the determinative for male or that for female, and the silent prefix of *rees*.
- 96) R. Brunnow, *Class. List*. 1237-8.
- 97) R. Brunnow, *Class. List*. 5048-9, 10920.
- 98) A. V. Kremer, *Semitische Culturentlehnungen aus dem Tier- und Pflanzen-reiche : Ausland*, 1875, has shown that the Semites before their dispersion were acquainted with the camel, but that the palm and ostrich were unknown to them.
- 99) *Reisebeschreibung*, 1778, t. II, p. 225-226.
- 100) C. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XIII, p. 788.
- 101) *Glossaire Assyrien*, p. 268 ; E. de Chossat, *Répertoire Assyrien*, p. 151.
- 102) J. Oppert, *Expedition scientifique en Mésopotamie*, 1858, t. II, p. 344.
- 103) By Prof. Eberhard Schrader : *Monatsber. der Berl. Akad. d. W.* 5 Mai, 1881.
- 104) By Prof. Fr. Hommel, *Die Semitischen Völker*, p. 406.
- 105) By Dr. P. Jensen, *De incantamentorum Sumerico-Assyriorum serici quae dicitur 'surbu' tabula VI*: *Ztschrft. f. Keilschriftfors.*, 1885, vol. II, p. 25.
- 106) R. Brunnow, *Class. List*, No. 2383 sq.
- 107) *The tree of life*, note 2.

- 108) Cf. for instance, Longpérier, *Notice des Monuments*, No. 540.—J. Ménant, *Glyptique Orientale*, vol. I, fig. 71; *Catalogue de la Collection De Clerq*, t. I, pl. 31, fig. 330.—Inscription of Uru Kagina and of Gudea, in Amiaud-Méchineau, *Tableau comparé*, No. 267.
- 109) Brunnow's *List*, No. 2386.
- 110) Cf. Amiaud et Méchineau, *Tableau comparé*, No. 267.
- 111) Cf. *suprà*, par. 15.—These offsetts are shown to be blown partly off in the symbol z1 spirit, derived from the preceeding, and where the wind is shown browng on them. Cf. the oldest form in Amiaud, *O.C.* No. 269.
- 112) Cf. J. Ménant, *l.c.* note *suprà*.—Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire del' Art*, t. II, pl. 342.
- 113) Amiaud and Méchineau, *Tableau Comparé*, No. 268.
- 114) Brunnow, *Class. List*, 1386-1401.

21. We have already mentioned¹¹⁵ that *gishimmaru*  has been recognized as the most common appellative of the date-palm.¹¹⁶ It has two general meanings; that which was supposed to be, a stem, or trunk of a tree,¹¹⁷ previously to its final recognition as a date-palm, agreeably with a suggestion of Dr. J. Oppert¹¹⁸, and of which the Sumero-Akkadian value was *gishimmar*¹¹⁹. The other meaning was that of auspicious, fortunate, good, which alone occurs in the inscriptions of Urba'u and of Gudea¹²⁰, and of which the readings were *shunga*, *shag* in Sumero-Akkadian and *damâku*, *damûu* and *dumûu* in Assyrian. *Shanga* was however applied to the date-palm by the Pre-Semites, as shown by the fact that such readings was applied to this symbol when prefixed with the determinative *gish* of trees¹²¹. The auspicious tree was indeed a proper appellative for a tree which was so valuable for the population of the country.

22. The oldest form known of this symbol is not primitive like that of MU¹²², but a complex¹²³ apparently of two signs; as they are rather fused together, we may not venture to mention them otherwise than as a suggestion. They are placed one above the other. The upper one seems to be an old form of  SA¹²⁴ which is a frequent initial symbol of complex ideograms for names of trees, parts of trees and the like¹²⁵. The Sumerian value SA is explained by the words *kurnu* and *shêtu*¹²⁶; the first appears in the Sumerian term *kurnu gi*, i.e. the land of no return, where *gi*=land, in Assyrian *irîit lâ târat*¹²⁷; the second has been shown to be connected with Hebrew *shéd*, idol and the Syriac *shidâ*, demon¹²⁸. The second and lower symbol of this oldest form is  GAB, or TUGH¹³⁰ which mean breast, to split, to deliver, half, with the former and to show with the latter sound, but GAB was certainly

that in view when the complex ideogram was framed. Now let us remark that this sound was also a Semitic reading for this symbol, and that the Assyrian word *gab* means to speak, word, promise¹³¹, &c. SA + GA, the latter suggested by *gab*, were therefore the phonetic indication of the aforesaid readings *shanga* or *shag* for the whole¹³². We must take this apparently as another instance of the system of approximative renderings in phono-ideograms which we are accustomed with in the ideographic writing of the Chinese. The identity of the Sumerian and Chinese processes which has been already pointed out in several of my works, is the regular outcome of the derivation of the early Chinese writing from the Archaic Babylonian.

23. A singular resemblance with China calls here our attention. It occurs with the names of the calendar plant in China *Lîk-kep* and *Mik-kep* described in our former paper on the subject, (part **).

The sounds of the two component parts of the ideogram SHANGA, we have just examined, present the affinities in question. The first SA has among other Assyro-Babylonian readings those of *riksu*, and *markasu*¹³³, bond or lien, and the second whose old forms are much like a representation of shrubs¹³⁴ is *gab* or *kap*. Now folk etymology in its happy-go-lucky ignorance among the less-cultured populations of the eastern part of the country, seems to have made light of the reasons, undoubtedly strong, which caused the scribes to read *shanga* or *kîshimmaru* the complex ideogram formed with the two symbols aforesaid. *Markasu-kap* and *Riksu-Rap*, shortened by the simple dropping of the final syllable *su* of the first word, make *Mark-kap*, and *Rik-kap*, and were so, most probably the antecedents of the terms learned by the BAK families civilisers of the Chinese, which we have found as *Mik-kep* and *Lik-kep* anciently in the Flowery land, with the unexplained meaning of Auspicious or felicitous plant. As we have had before several occasions to ascertain that the Chaldeo-Elamite civilisation was learned by the civilisers of the Chinese from popular intercourse and not from scientific teaching, the present case cannot be a coincidence, considering the large number of proofs of various kinds which has established the historical fact of a considerable loan of culture from Babylonia and Elam in the early Chinese civilisation.

24. Let us return to the word *shanga*. Its meaning has thus been made pretty clear in the sense of Auspicious or good omen which we had

seen before, and its application to the valuable date-palm, the most useful tree of the land, shows that its importance was fully appreciated by the scribes¹³⁵.

The palm-tree seems to have always been the object of a special cult in S.W. Asia. Its sacred character among the Assyro-Babylonians is plainly shown by the name we have just seen given to it. And the fact that we have been able to show three names for it, a primitive symbol *Mu* or *Zikaru*, besides the qualitative term *SHANGA* or *Gishimmar*, and another word *musukkan* for palm-tree in general, is significant with regard to the great value attached to it by the founders of the Chaldæo-Babylonian civilisation.

The Phœnicians appear to have worshipped it to a certain extent¹³⁶, but it is chiefly in Southern Arabia that its cult was the most deeply established. It lasted until the time of Muhammed¹³⁷.

NOTES—

115) Cf. *suprà*, par. 15.

116) Theo. G. Pinches, *Sign-List*, No. 246.—P. Jensen, *Ztschriftf.*, *Keilschriftf.*; t. II, p. 25.—*B. & O. R.*, vol. IV. p. 118.

117) A. H. Sayce, *Assyrian Grammar*, No. 319.—Fr. Lenormant, *Glossaire Assyrien*, No. 232.

118) *Ztschriftf. f. Keilschriftf.*, I, p. 55.

119) R. Brunnow, *Class. List*, No. 7284, sq.

120) On a statue of Urba'u, col. 5, l. 9: Records of the Past, N. S., vol. I, p. 77; on Gudea's statue D, col. 3, l. 14: *ibid.* vol. II, p. 91; on statue E, col. 1, l. 2: *ibid.* p. 92; on statue H, col. 1, l. 2: *ibid.* p. 103.

121) R. Brunnow, *Class. List*, No. 7285.

122) *Suprà*, par. 15, 16.

123) Amiaud-Méchineau, *Tableau comparé*, No. 278.

124) Amiaud, *O. C.*, No. 128.

125) R. Brunnow, *Class. List*, sign. GITU, SAGITU, No. 3068. It occurs in twenty such cases.

126) R. Brunnow, *Class. List*, Nos. 3070, 3077, 3083.

127) *W. A. I.*, II, 32, 19; 48, 7 f; IV, 31, 1a; P. Jensen, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 218, 232.

128) F. Hommel, *Semit. Völk.*, p. 368.

129) Cf. the oldest form in Amiaud et Méchineau, *Tableau comparé*, No. 45.

130) R. Brunnow, *Class. List*, Nos. 4469-4492.

131) G. Schrader, *Assyr.-Babyl. Keilinschr.* p. 186; J. Ménant, *Grammaire Assyrienne*, p. 171, 205; J. Oppert and J. Ménant, *Documents juridiques*, p. 47; E. de Chossat, *Répertoire Assyrien*, p. 79.

132) It is not uninteresting to remark that, although the word intended to be suggested phonetically is Altaic, the script-play was made by Semites.

133) Brunnow, *Class. List*. Nos. 3080-3082.

134) Amiaud, *Tableau*, No. 45.

- 135) On the great usefulness of the date palm tree, cf. E. Bonavia, *The sacred trees of the Assyrian monuments*: B. & O. R., III, 9 and 59.
- 136) W. Baudissin, *Studien zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, t. II, p. 201 sq., 211 sq.
- 137) Caussin de Perceval, *Histoire des Arabes avant l'islamisme*, t. I, p. 125, 236; Osiander. *Ztschrft. d. D. M. G.*, t. VII, p. 481; Krehl, *Ueber die Religion der vor-islamischen Araber*, p. 73 sq.; Dozy, *Die Isrâéliten zu Mekka*, p. 19; Fresnel: *Journal Asiatique*, Jan.-Fev. 1871, p. 51 sq.; Fr. Lenormant, *Origines de l'histoire*, t. I, p. 82.











TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE.

(To be continued).

THE YENISSEI INSCRIPTIONS.—PART I.

I.

The Archæological Society of Finland may well be congratulated upon the admirable manner in which they have published the very interesting Yenissei Inscriptions¹, 32 in number and written in a script and language as yet undeciphered and untranslated. The work consists of a preface by Professor Aspelin, an account of the finds and of some former speculations on the characters, of copies of the 32 Inscriptions together with certain signs used by the writers, of a list of the forms employed, and of some excellent photographs of various Inscriptions, and is further enriched with 15 engravings. At the instance of Professor Stevens of Cheapinghaven I have made some examination of this mysterious writing, and have in consequence arrived at certain conclusions which I have briefly indicated elsewhere²; and in the present article I propose to offer a few observations on the script, avoiding for the sake of brevity a more comprehensive discussion of the subject, which is many-sided and as difficult as it is interesting.

The first letter in Prof. Aspelin's list is , which also appears in the variants , , and ; , , , and  are also simpler forms of the same character, and in these one half of the  has been omitted. This letter is, I think clearly derived from the Gothic Rune *othil*, , *o*, *æ*, from

which it differs only by the lengthening of the \wedge over the \times . The form 𐌲 , 𐌲 ($=w$) in Ulphilas, is derived, as Canon Isaac Taylor has shown³, from the Thrakian Ω (w); so that we have Ω — 𐌲 — 𐌲 , Thrakian—Gothic—Yenisseian. Next, remembering that the Uigur and Mongol alphabets are derived from the Syriac, and, like their prototype, contain variant initial, medial, and final forms of the same letter, we notice from the Inscriptions that the Gothic Rune 𐌲 , which is not found in the Scandinavian rune-forms, has been adapted to this peculiarity; and that 𐌲 is used as an initial, 𐌲 as a medial and final form, *e.g.* $\text{𐌲}\text{𐌲}\text{𐌲}$ $\text{𐌲}\text{𐌲}$ (Ins. iii. 1. 2; xii. 4, etc. (The script is read from right to left).

Here 𐌲 is the Gothic Rune *berc*, 𐌲 , *b*, and \times is the Gothic Rune *gebo*, \times , *g*; so that the word in question is *æbægæ*, or, in Mong. which as no *æ* diphthong, *abaga*, 'grandfather,' 'ancestor.' If, therefore, the foregoing suggestions are correct, we obtain from this example alone the source whence at all events an important part of the Yenissei script is derived: namely, the Gothic (not the Scandinavian) Runes. That a form of writing used by the Goths of the Borysthenês (Dnieper) Valley should, in the course of some centuries, have penetrated as far north eastwards as Yenisseisk is natural enough; and it is equally natural that the language of Yenissei Inscriptions should be either Turko-Tatar, Mongol, or some other Turanian dialect or dialects. Strahlenberg remarks that many 'characters,' which he defines as "such a kind of writing which no one can understand but he that hath the key to it," "are to be found in Siberia and Tartary, upon rocks and stones, either carved or painted," some of which "either are burnt in, or written with a red indehble colour," and specimens of these 'characters' "were found in the further part of Siberia, between the cities of Crasnoyahr and Abakan, upon the Rocks which are on the Banks of the River Jenisei⁴." "This was a famous place belonging to the Mongols⁵;" and to make such Inscriptions "was a general custom with Tamerlane, whose officer's engraved characters higher in the north than the Irtish⁶." "Although many of the Inscriptions in Siberia are known *not to be very ancient*, no one has been able to decipher them. This was probably a custom adopted in the north of Asia, to designate a country of which possession was taken⁷," and may be compared with the practice of the Hittites and others. If, then, the Inscriptions, or most of them, are Mongol, they cannot well be placed prior to the XIIIth century, the era of Mongol greatness under Djinghiz and his immediate successors.

II.

The fact that the Yenissei Inscriptions, unlike the Gothic, read from right to left, points to the inference that the inscribers were already acquainted with a similar system of writing, *e.g.*, the Syriac (in a derived form); and just as the Mongghols adopted the Estranghelo-Nestorian script with a difference, *i.e.*, they changed the horizontal lines to perpendicular, so in this adoption of the Gothic script, a difference has been introduced, *i.e.*, many letters are indifferently used both in an original and in a reversed form, *e.g.*, $\mathfrak{B}=\mathfrak{g}$, $\mathfrak{H}=\mathfrak{h}$, $\mathfrak{X}=\mathfrak{x}$, $\mathfrak{\text{^}}=\mathfrak{\text{v}}$, (Ins. xii. 2 with xiv. 1), $\mathfrak{\text{^}}=\mathfrak{\text{v}}$, $\mathfrak{<}=\mathfrak{>}$, $\mathfrak{D}=\mathfrak{d}$, $\mathfrak{G}=\mathfrak{g}$, $\mathfrak{C}=\mathfrak{c}$, $\mathfrak{O}=\mathfrak{o}$, $\mathfrak{F}=\mathfrak{f}$, $\mathfrak{L}=\mathfrak{l}$, $\mathfrak{Y}=\mathfrak{y}$, $\mathfrak{\text{^}}=\mathfrak{\text{v}}$, \mathfrak{I} (at times) = \mathfrak{i} (Ins. viii. 3 with x. 1) $\mathfrak{H}=\mathfrak{h}$, $\mathfrak{H}=\mathfrak{h}$, $\mathfrak{L}=\mathfrak{l}$, $\mathfrak{Y}=\mathfrak{y}$, (Ins. viii. 3 with xii. 4), $\mathfrak{I}'=\mathfrak{i}'$, $\mathfrak{L}'=\mathfrak{l}'$, $\mathfrak{C}=\mathfrak{c}$, $\mathfrak{G}=\mathfrak{g}$, $\mathfrak{X}=\mathfrak{x}$, $\mathfrak{X}=\mathfrak{x}$, $\mathfrak{I}=\mathfrak{i}$, $\mathfrak{I}=\mathfrak{i}$, $\mathfrak{Y}=\mathfrak{y}$, $\mathfrak{Y}=\mathfrak{y}$, $\mathfrak{H}=\mathfrak{h}$, $\mathfrak{Y}=\mathfrak{y}$, and $\mathfrak{X}=\mathfrak{x}$.

\mathfrak{I}' and \mathfrak{i}' are least-effort variants of \mathfrak{L} and \mathfrak{Y} (cf. Ins. i.1 with xii. 1),

\mathfrak{I} , \mathfrak{i} , $\mathfrak{I}=\mathfrak{i}$ the Runic \mathfrak{I} , \mathfrak{i} .

$\mathfrak{I}=\mathfrak{i}$ the Runic \mathfrak{I} , \mathfrak{i} at times \mathfrak{i} , by reversal (cf. Ins. i. 2 with v. 1; ix. 2 with xiv. 1).

$\mathfrak{I}=\mathfrak{i}$ the Runic \mathfrak{I} .

\mathfrak{I} , $\mathfrak{i}=\mathfrak{i}$ the Gothic Runic, non-Scandinavian \mathfrak{I} , \mathfrak{i} , which has the values *i*, *ih*, *eo*.

$\mathfrak{\text{^}}$, $\mathfrak{\text{v}}=\mathfrak{\text{^}}$ the Runic $\mathfrak{\text{^}}$, *u*.

$\mathfrak{<}$, $\mathfrak{<}=\mathfrak{<}$ the Runic $\mathfrak{<}$, *c*, *k*.

\mathfrak{D} , $\mathfrak{d}=\mathfrak{D}$ the Runic \mathfrak{D} , \mathfrak{d} , which has the value *o*, but must have another value in Mong.

\mathfrak{H} , $\mathfrak{h}=\mathfrak{H}$ the Runic \mathfrak{H} , *h*.

$\mathfrak{\text{^}}$ =the Runic $\mathfrak{\text{^}}$, *a*, *æ*.

$\mathfrak{S}=\mathfrak{s}$ the Gothic Runic \mathfrak{S} , *s*. The Scan. Rune-form for *s* is \mathfrak{S} . So far we have obtained 13 characters obviously Runic in origin.

Word-examination shows that certain signs are used more or less interchangeably, as having the same or a slightly different value. Thus:—

$\mathfrak{\text{^}}=\mathfrak{\text{Y}}=\mathfrak{\text{Y}}$ (Ins. i. 1; ii. 2 with x. 3). But $\mathfrak{\text{^}}=\mathfrak{u}$; therefore $\mathfrak{\text{Y}}$, \mathfrak{i} \mathfrak{X} (the same form doubled), $\mathfrak{\text{v}}$ (the same form with the top reversed), \mathfrak{Y} and \mathfrak{L} (cf. the Thrakian \mathfrak{Y} , *u*) = *u*, *ou*, &c.

$\mathfrak{X}=\mathfrak{H}$ (Ins. iii. 6; xii. 2, with xviii. 4). Prof. Aspelin groups \mathfrak{H} , \mathfrak{H} , \mathfrak{X} and \mathfrak{X} as variants; \mathfrak{X} is a Runic *ng*-variant⁸, and Olaus Wormius gives \mathfrak{H} as a Runic *p*-variant⁹. Respecting these characters I will merely here

remark that such a peculiar Sign as \mathfrak{H} , thus common to the Runes and and to the Yenisei script, is in all probability derived from the former, and neither of independant origin, nor elsewhere obtained by the Yenisei writers.

$\mathfrak{Y} = \mathfrak{Y}$ (Ins. iii. 1, 4 with xiv. 2, xviii. 1).

$\mathfrak{A} = \mathfrak{A}$ (Ins. vii. 1 with xii. 1, xviii. 2). Various forms are doubled, a process probably connected with emphasis. Thus \mathfrak{A} reappears as \mathfrak{A} , $\mathfrak{H} = \mathfrak{H} + \mathfrak{T}$, $\mathfrak{J} = \mathfrak{J} + \mathfrak{T}$, $\mathfrak{B} = \mathfrak{B} + \mathfrak{J}$, $\mathfrak{S} = \mathfrak{S} + \mathfrak{L}$, $\mathfrak{X} = \mathfrak{Y} + \mathfrak{J}$. But, as we have seen, \mathfrak{A} and \mathfrak{A} each = *u*; therefore \mathfrak{A} and $\mathfrak{S} = \dot{u}$, *ou*.

$\mathfrak{T} = \mathfrak{A}$ (Ins. i. 2 with v. 1). This is in accordance with the previous equations.

$\mathfrak{P} = \mathfrak{Y}$ (Ins. xxxii. 4 with 5).

$\mathfrak{T} = \mathfrak{B}$ (Ins. viii. 3 with x. 1).

$\mathfrak{E} = \mathfrak{Y}$ (Ins. i. 2 with v. 1).

$\mathfrak{B} = \mathfrak{J}$ (Ins. xviii. 1 with 6).

The special Mong. interpunction forms $\mathfrak{=}$, $\mathfrak{=}$, and $\mathfrak{+}$ occur in the Inscriptions. Words are sometimes undivided: The interpunction form (.) and (:) are also used, as in Etruscan. The Inscriptions are alphabetic, not syllabic, and are not written *βουστροφηδόν*.

III.

Ins. xxxii consists of 5 short lines, 2 of which only contain one word each, and is written in connexion with "scènes de chasse, scènes d'animaux" on a rock at Karaious, Souliek. It is not continuous, but is composed of distinct descriptive statements. The first scene represents a bowman on horseback at full gallop in pursuit of some animal of the deer kind. In the now extinct Arintzi dialect which, as I have shown¹⁰, bears such an extraordinary resemblance to Etruscan, and some words of which have fortunately been preserved by Strahlenberg, 'elk' is *okaeschi*. The Inscription reads ;

Line 1. $\mathfrak{J} \mathfrak{D} \mathfrak{H} \mathfrak{K} \mathfrak{Y} \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{X}$
i-x^s-h-e-a-k-o

Line 4. $\mathfrak{J} \mathfrak{D} \mathfrak{H} \mathfrak{K} \mathfrak{Y} \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{X}$
elk

Line 5. $\mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{D} - \mathfrak{Y} \mathfrak{J} \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{X}$
i-x^s-e-a-k-o

i. e., okaeschi, the form given by Strahlenberg to a letter.

✕ the initial, ✕ the non-initial form.

✕ = ʃ, the Rune-form ʃ. k. I think that ʃ = ^ (cf. Ins. viii. 3 with x. 1).

ʃ, H, ʃ and I have already been referred to. It will be observed that the passage absolutely confirms the powers attributed to them. ʃ, as of course, = I (Vide *sup.*).

ʃ thus = ʃ, = ʃ. This ʃ appears to be the Gothic Rune *N*, *y*; ʃ reminds us of the Anglian Rune-form ʃ, *æ*, simplified. The equation is thus *æ* = *y*.

ʃ, *th* in Gothic, will thus be *sx* in the North Asian dialects.

ʃ = ʃ, as noticed.!

) we observe must have the value *a*; at present I can only remark that ʃ is the Indo-Bactrian *a*; ʃ ʃ a Kypriote form of *a*; and ʃ the Lykian *u*.

Whether these combinations in connection with the drawing, and viewed in the light of the previous evidence can be accidental, or whether the rendering here given is the true one, the reader will judge.

The second scene in the Inscription represents the Bactrian camels, animals "of which two are their backs," as an Assyrian scribe puts it, standing opposite each other, and apparently about to fight. The two humps are very clearly shown, and the Inscription reads.—

Line 2.—I ʃ ʃ ʃ ʃ ʃ ʃ ʃ ʃ

i - k - m - t - o - m - o - k - i - k

two - camels - humped - two

= "a couple of two-humped camels."

ʃ = ʃ, the Rune-form *k*. So the Anglian ʃ = the Scandinavian ʃ, *k*. *Ki*—'2'; so the Yen. *ki-na*, Arintzi *ki-nae*, and Etruscan *ci-ne*, *ci*, '2'. Cf. the Zyrianian *ki*, "the hand."

ʃ. A considerable amount of evidence tends to show that this character has a *k*, *q*, or *x*-sound. Professor Aspelin places the forms ʃ and ʃ together, and the former, it may be remarked, is all but absolutely identical with the Bactrian *k*; but, from a comparison of Ins. iii. 1 with V. 1, it is more than probable that ʃ = ʃ (*k*, *q*), and this is confirmed by the present passage, the first and last words in which are almost certainly identical. Throughout the Inscriptions variant forms, and, in some cases, different spellings occur much "according to the taste of fancy" of the inscriber; for we cannot reasonably expect to find in such records either high art or great consistency, though an apparent inconsistency might in some cases disappear

Υ Ι Ε Χ : Σ Η (Ins. i. 1).

u-l-e-a : i-χ

Χ Ι Υ Χ (Ins. v. 1).

u-l-e-a

Υ Ι Θ (Ins. xvii. 3)

ê-l-o-a

Ϝ is the Thracian Ϟ (ϵ), the Gothic Runic ƿ(æ). Ϟ=Υ (Vide *sup.*)

Ο, Ϲ, Θ, Δ, Ϸ, are variant forms of ο. Ο=ο in the alphabet of Halikarnassos, and in an alphabet found at Cære in Etruria. Ϸ=ο in an alphabet of Nola.

Υ=Υ+λ=e+e=ê.

)=Χ=a. (Vide *sup.*)

The Yen. χ*i*-aelu=the Tchagatai *i-ke-öle*, "tous les deux," 'both,' *i-ki* meaning (2) and *ikeö* "the pair." The Tchagatai numerals closely resemble the Mong. numerals²¹, and the Tcha. *ikeöle*=the Mong. *χueghole*, 'both.' On Yen. form is *aolé*, and alike in Yenissei, Mongolian² Arintzi, and Etruscan the initial *i* has been dropped, whilst it appears in the Yakute *ikki* and the Osmanli *iki*, '2.'

In further illustration I add an Etruscan example of the use of *ci* '2.'

Aleθnas - V. V. Θelu : zilaθ. parχis zilaθ

Alethnas V. V. Thelu, an-Asylas²² (and) the-descendant of-an-Asylas

eterav . CI . Acnanasa vlsši I Celuša I ril
(and my) children 2 of-Acnanasa my-consort, Celusa aged

XXAIIII Papalser ΔI²³

29 (and) Papalser (aged) 6.

NOTES.

(1) *Inscriptions de l'Yénissei* (Helsingfors, 1889). (2). Vide R. B., Jr., in *The Academy*, 1890, Feb. 8, p. 103; March 22, pps. 208-9. June 28, p. 448. (3), *Greeks and Goths*, 54-5. (4). *Description of Siberia*, Eng. Trans. 1738, p. 347. (5). Ranking, *Wars and Sports of the Mongols*, 216. (6). *Ibid.* 209, 214. (7). Ranking, *Historical Researches on the Conquest of Peru*, etc. 217. The Author's theory that the Mongols made extensive conquests in America in the XIIIth century is, of course, merely amusing. (8). Vide Stephens, *Runic*

Monuments, 149. (9). *Runir seu Danica Literatura Antiquissima*, 1651, p. 60. (10). R. B. Jr., *The Etruscan Numerals*. (In the *Archæological Review*, July, 1889). (11). The dot indicates that the letter is considered by the Authors of the *Ins. de. l'Énissée* to be doubtful. I entertain no doubt of the correctness of this Inscription. (12). *Greeks and Goths*, 86. (13). I cannot further discuss here the general question of Rune-progress eastward. (14). Vide Fabretti, *Primo Supplemento*, Pt. ii, Fas. i, pps. 193-4. (15). Vide Sayce, in *Trans. Soc. Bib. Archæol.* ix. 136. (16). Vide in T. de Lacouperie, *Early History of the Chinese civilisation*, 1880; comparing the Ak. gam and Old Chinese gam, "curved." (17). Vide Schott, *Das zahlwort in der tschudischen sprachenclasse* etc. 20; R. B. Jr., *The Etruscan Numerals*, 28. (18). Vide Budenz, *Magyar-Vgor Oss. Szótár*, 61. (19). Vide R. B. Jr., *Remarks on the Tablet of the Thirty Stars* (In *Proc. Soc. Bib. Archæol.* Feb. 1890). (20). Vide Müller-Deecke, *Die Etrusker*, ii. 425. (21). Vide Vámbéry, *Cógataische Sprachstudien*, 16-17. (22). Vide Vergil. *Æn.* x. 175-7; R. B. Jr., in *The Academy*, May 4, 1889, p. 308. (23). Fabretti, *Terzo Supplemento*, No. 327. p. 125.

ROBERT BROWN, JUN.

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

(Continued from p. 216).

SECTION XXXIV (cont.)

6. *Váruni*. Region of Varuna, god of waters. T. *c'u lha*.—M. Mg. Ch. of the genius of water, of the Ocean (W).
7. *Yámyá*. Region of Yama, king of hell. T. *gçin rje*, of the king of the dead.—M. *il-mun han*. Mg. Erlik, id.—Ch. *Ya-mo* (transcribed). (S).
8. *Káuveri*³. Region of Kuvera, god of earthly treasures. T. *Lus nañ*, region of the miserable body. M. *yakca*, of the Yakshas, (genii who help Kuvera to guard the treasures). Ch. *ya-ca* id.—M. region of the bad and small. (N).

3) *Kāuverī*.—The T. is taken from the etymology of *Kuvera* = 'evil body,' which had caused him to be represented in India as deformed, with three legs and eight teeth.

SECTION XXXVI.

Dge-ba dan ces ba. Moyens of Happy Augury.—M. *Hôtuñ feksen*.—

Ch. *Fuh-teh kih tsiang*, Happy Augury producing welfare or riches.

1. *Ācīrvāda*. Words of blessing, good wishes. T. *ces-par bzjon pa*, words of good wishes.—M. wishes of happiness.—Ch. good words.
2. *Ācīshas*. Prayers of blessing.—T. *legs susnom pa*, prayer of desire for happiness.—M. id.—Ch. ample wishes.
3. *Vandavādī*. Speaking with praise. T. *bsñags smarba*, eulogistic word. M. Mg. Ch. id. (M. *varṇavādī*).
4. *Grī*. Prosperity. T. *dbañ gyañ*. M. prosperity, favour. (*Grī*, the goddess of prosperity among the Brahmans, has been introduced as such into the Buddhist pantheon.)
5. *Maṅgalaṃ*. Good omen, augury of felicity; good wish or prayer for happiness. T. *bkra çis pahi ltas*, propitious omen. M. another sign of prosperity. Ch. (The *Mangalya-lakshanas*, or happy marks, indicated the destiny of Çakyamūni).
6. *Karuḥalam* [read *Kutuhalam*] prodigy, marvel of good omen. M. id. T. *dge mts'am nam ltad ms*, happy sign, heavenly prodigy.
7. *Praçasta*. Praised, encouraged, happy. T. *dges-cig*, felicity. M. may prosperity be confirmed. Ch. to augment prosperity.
8. *Svasti*. Happiness, prosperity, good fortune. T. *bde legs sma dge*, well-being, prosperity. M. place, good, prosperity. [Employed either as a common noun or as an exclamation: 'Happiness to so-and-so!' e.g. *Svasti* to us, o Sudra!" R. V. I, 89, 5.]
9. *Svastyāyanam*. Happy life, wish of prosperity. T. *bde legs-su gyur pa*, arriving at well-being. M. may it turn out well, at peace. Ch. peace, joy. (Simple common noun).
10. *Çūghyam* [read *Sukham*] welfare. T. *legs-ba*, id. [Perhaps also *gubham*. happy, favourable. M. *çlāghya*].
11. *Kupalam* [read *Kuçalam*] healthy, happy. T. *mkhas pa*. M. Ch. wise. *Kuçala* is all that is exempt from physical or moral evil or blame, and that procures merit or reward].
12. *Vashaṭ!* [Another exclamatory term, already used in the Rig Veda

at the moment of casting the offerings into the fire. According to the translations, the idea attached to it was of a wish of prolongation of happiness. "Vashat to thee!" was the phrase. The Buddhists employ it also in their invocations. It is a 3rd pers. sing. Subjunctive of a lost verb, perhaps related to *raksh*]. T. *gz'i mi grib pa*, State or situation which does not diminish or grow less. M. state not diminished. Ch. perpetuity without diminution.

13. *Om*! Exclamation of respect. T. *rab-sñags*, magic formula. M. profound veneration, praise! Mg. id. Ch. perfectly beautiful, admirable.
14. *Svâhâ*! happiness (to N.) T. *gz'i tsuhs*, foundation, sure or well-established position. M. Mg. id. Ch. *Kieh wen*. [An indeclinable word, constituting a formula of good wishes, and employed in the Vedas at offerings, e.g. "Drink, ô Sûdra, of this juice, *Svâhâ*! May it bring thee welfare!" The Brahmins employed it chiefly at the end of sacrificial ceremonies, and the Buddhists pronounce it at the end of their prayers, formulas, and litanies.

Among these terms some are simple common nouns, others interjectional formulæ, employed in direct address. They are easily recognisable: *Svasti* (lit. 'bene est') belongs to both categories; *Svâhâ* seems to signify 'bene dicit.'

Om was probably at the beginning nothing more than a simple respectful affirmation; perhaps a contraction of an obsolete or lost word, *avam*, a demonstrative. (Compare also *avas*, satisfaction, enjoyment, happiness). It was employed in liturgical formulæ before the names of the gods prayed to; hence the word obtained a sacred character, as representing the divine name and the divinity itself. Its absence of signification caused a mystic, profound, incomprehensible sense to be attached to it: it was pronounced only in a low voice and with profound respect. Being made up of three letters (*a, u, m*) it was proclaimed as representing the supreme Brahmanic trinity, Brahma, Çiva, and Vishnu. The Buddhist adopted it as the expression of a sacred and mystic concept, as profound as incomprehensible. They employed it in another magic formula, which is repeated without being understood, as a magical incantation. *Om mañi: padmé huñ*; and which in reality refers to Brahma,—"Om! the pearl in the lotus, hum!"—but which they refer to Buddha. *Hum!* is an interjection that is taken in either a good or a bad sense, especially as a sign of approbation, consent, or leave-taking. It thus suitably closes the formula. *Om* is employed in worship as an offering agreeable to Buddha.

C. DE HARLEZ.

THE END.

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THE BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

Contributors are alone responsible for their opinions or statements.

SIR HENRY PEEK'S ORIENTAL CYLINDERS.

WE can always expect, even in a small collection of Oriental cylinders, to find some new and valuable help to elucidate what was before dark. Such help I find in the collection of Sir Henry Peek, so admirably figured and described by Mr. Pinches in his catalogue of them just issued.* His descriptions and notes leave little to be desired, so far as they go. Some other fresh points of interest I may venture to suggest.

The important thing in figure 1, to which Mr. Pinches gives a date soon after 3000 B.C. is that it affords us, so far as I know, the earliest examples of what had come, as early as 2000 B.C., to be the usual conventional form of representing the Šun. On the great Abuhabba bas-relief we have an unmistakable and enlarged figure of the Sun, as a circle, with four acute rays, the quadrants between them occupied by waving lines indicating that the Sun-god in the heavens supplies the fertilising rains. This is the same idea, only reduced to a conventional emblem, which we find on the earliest cylinders, some of them, I believe, as early as the archaic Gisdubar seals, expressed by streams eachside of the seated Sun-god. About the time that the seated Sun-god lost the streams, and kept only the vase out of which they originally flowed, we begin to find the streams put into the star emblem which originally, I am inclined to think, designated the Sun and not Venu Ishtar. In figure 13 of the Peek Catalogue, which seems to be one of the latest and crudest of the archaic period which preceded the fine hematites of 2000 B.C., we have the seated Sun-god, with the two rain-streams still surviving, and the emblem of the Sun with rays, but without streams,

* "Babylonian and Assyrian Cylinder-seals and Signets in the possession of Sir Henry Peek, Bart." London: 4to., 17 pp. and plate.

enclosed in the solar disk. The extremely interesting representation of this Sun in figure 1 has a small central disk, and the pointed rays of light, and the alternating and, in this earliest example, scarcely waving water streams around it. It had not yet occurred to the artist to put the disk around the rays and streams, much less to enclose the sun in the moon's crescent, as was always done in the period of later conventional art to whose best specimens Mr. Pinches gives an approximate date of 2000 B.C.

Another interesting and unusual point about this same cylinder is that it gives us the buffalo and the bull on the same seal. It is another evidence, I think, that Mr. Pinches is right in putting this cylinder rather late in the archaic period. The animal attacked by the left hand lion has the long corrugated horns of the *bubalus*, retreating far back toward the neck, while the right hand lion has pushed down on his haunches a *bos*, the *reem*, as I understand it, of the Hebrews. The buffalo is an immense water animal, living now in his perfection in the marshes of lower Chaldea, and must have been the most dangerous to attack of all the wild beasts known to the earliest inhabitants of Southern Mesopotamia. Accordingly Gisdubar, when accompanied by Heabani, fights the buffalo, and leaves the lion to his companion. The bull, or *reem*, with his shorter and more upright horns, and his smaller body, inhabited the forests in the hills, and was less familiar to the people who made the earliest cylinders. Yet even they knew him, if we may judge from the fact that Heabani is himself half bull and half buffalo. On this cylinder we have both the buffalo and the bull. The former probably became extinct, as a wild beast, very early in the history of Babylonia, and the later art only knows the bull, until, five or six hundred years B.C., the Indian-humped cattle began to appear, and after some centuries came to be predominantly if not exclusively employed on the Sassanian seals.

The Peek Collection is rich in having two peculiar seals not easy to classify. These are numbers 2 and 18. The former presents us a lion and a bull, both rampant, and ready for a fight. Between their upper legs is a heart-shaped object which is unique, I believe. Below it a fragment of a bird, and also a Phœnician inscription. The art looks to me more Persian than Phœnician, and the inscription does not militate against a Persian *provenance*. I am not ready to suggest that it is a Sabeian seal, although I have lately come into possession of a large and very interesting cylinder, as yet unpublished, which much reminds me of this, and which gives us a naked hero-attacking two lions, and a bird much like that on

Sir Henry Peek's cylinder, and which contains a Sabean (or Himyaritic) inscription of a dozen letters. In M. Ménant's very complete work 'Pierres Gravées,' he makes no mention of any Sabean cylinder. The style seems to be more Persian than Babylonian.

Still more peculiar and interesting is number 18. It has escaped Mr. Pinches' notice that I have published a figure of this cylinder in *The American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. II, No. 1, in connection with another, somewhat longer and fuller of details, but so much like it that both would seem to have come from the same workshop. I published my copy from an ink impression which I obtained from the dealer in Baghdad through whom it passed to Europe. The other similar cylinder I saw in the possession of a gentleman in Semawe, a town South of Baghdad, who allowed me to take a wax impression of it, and who reported it as having come from Niffer. It is one of the largest and most curious of the hard black serpentine or "altered basalt" cylinders that I have seen; its height is one inch and eleven sixteenths. It is very fortunate that one of these two cylinders, previously known only from a poor paper impression after the rude Turkish fashion, has now turned up in the possession of a man who has given it to the world in so admirable a reproduction.

A comparison of the two will elucidate some points that were doubtful, but will not, I fear, make the subject clear. Both cylinders are seen to have come from Southern Mesopotamia, and it is not likely that there is any Western Semitic influence about them. At the same time they are utterly unlike the usual Babylonian cylinders. On both of them appears the extraordinary figure of the naked human figure astride the bird, and with two dogs under it and looking upward at it. Mr. Pinches ingeniously suggests that this may be a form of the winged sacred disk. That would make these cylinders the product of a late period when the origin of



this divine emblem had been forgotten, and its idea quite changed. The

naked personage astride the bird's back and holding on to its neck cannot be a supreme god as in the Assyrian and Persian cases, in which one, or three, divine faces or forms are enclosed in the disk or rise above the wings. At the same time the attitude of the two dogs and of the worshipping shepherd with the pail, probably of goat's milk, in the Peek cylinder shows that the bird, apparently an eagle, with the man or hero being carried to the skies, like Ganymede, was an object of reverence. We must wait for Eastern mythological literature to offer us its variant or original of the Ganymede myth.

In the Peek cylinder the eagle with the man astride is the central object of attention by the two dogs below, the worshipper with the pail, the kneeling person with the rectangular object before him, and the second shepherd behind his flock. But in the other cylinder the eagle appears a second time between the two divergent branches of a tree, but without a rider; and it is this second eagle toward which the worship seems to be directed. A lion stands each side of the trunk of the tree, one of them standing up on his hind legs looking up at the bird, while the flock of sheep approaches, led by a goat, as on the Peek cylinder, and with a shepherd in front with one hand lifted in worship, the other carrying a staff, and a second shepherd follows behind with a whip. Instead of the two persons sitting one each side of the large vase we have in this cylinder one sitting



on one side of it, and the vase tipped. The personage kneeling and "presenting a square object with indications of characters upon it," also appears; but in this case the square object is a square arrangement of round dots; and underneath a scribe appears to be writing on a tablet, as if he were making a record of the heap of round objects and of the flock of sheep. Besides these there is a gridiron-shaped object which I doubt not is the gate of the enclosure into which the flock is being led.

These two very curious cylinders must be compared with a third, material and ownership unknown, figured in Lajard's "Culte de Mithra," Pl.



XII. 5, from an impression received from Constantinople. This is a mere pastoral scene, but it is in the same general style of art, and has on it a flock of three sheep led by two goats and driven by a man with a whip; also a man seated before a large vase tipped partly over; also a dog, and a gridiron-shaped gate arranged to swing on its post. An upper register has a flock of goats, one of which is being milked, and a crouching figure reaching out to a square collection of round objects, evidently the same as on the two cylinders we have been considering. But most important is a line of Babylonian writing in, I should judge, quite an archaic style, which Mr. Finches can read with more certainty than I can. The material of the two first cylinders, and the shape of all three would agree with an old period, more than 2000 B.C., if the inscription on the Lajard cylinder would allow it. The free drawing and the nudity, or semi-nudity, of the figures would also point either to an early, or to a non-Babylonian origin, if the inscription did not settle the *provenance* of the third. The other two, as I have shewn, came from Babylonia, but have little in common with Babylonian art, indeed seem more Egyptian in drawing and feeling, as seen especially in the Lajard cylinder.

In my description, four years ago, of the cylinder of which I took the impression at Semawe, I made the mistake of seeing and drawing but seven dots in the square heap of round objects towards which the crouching figure is reaching. I now see several more in the impression. The emblem of seven dots would indicate a much later period and an Assyrian or Hittite origin.

WILLIAM HAYES WARD.

THE CALENDAR PLANT OF CHINA
THE COSMIC TREE
AND
THE DATE-PALM OF BABYLONIA.

(Continued from page 231).

*

25. Chaldæa has never been a richly wooded land, and the oldest information we gather from the inscriptions about the trade of the country concerns chiefly the importation of timber. In the various texts inscribed on his statues, Gudea, the Patesi of Lagash, in the fourth millennium B.C., boasts of his deeds under that respect¹³⁸. Cedar wood or *erinu*, from Amanu in Northern Syria was sent to him in joists of 70, 50 or 25 spans. *Zabanum*, *shaku*¹⁴⁹, *tubulum* and *gin* trees were cut for him, near the city of Ursu, in the regions of the Upper Euphrates. *Kala* trees¹⁴⁰, from Melughgha, in the vicinity of the Sinaitic peninsula, and *ghaluku* or *ghalup*¹⁴¹ wood, to make pillars, from Qubin in the Red sea, were sent to him¹⁴². All this shows how these rulers in Chaldæa were little provided with the wood and timber required for their constructions.

26. Examined critically from a botanical standing¹⁴³ the iconography of the sacred trees on the monuments of Assyro-Babylonia exhibits six forms of them ; but as the artists have greatly indulged upon their creative imagination in often amalgamating the characteristics of the various sorts of trees with which they were acquainted, none of their figures are true to nature. The task of a botanist was therefore difficult in dissassociating that which the artists had so cleverly woven together. We are indebted to Dr. Bonavia for his researches in that direction. From his remarks we know now that the Assyro-Babylonians were well acquainted with three sorts of trees, the palm-tree, the vine, the pomegranate, and that besides they had a slight knowledge of the fir-tree¹⁴⁴.

27. The palm-tree has been largely dealt with, but we have still to examine the Vine in its relation with the Tree of life. Premature speculation had seen in the name *geshtin* a compound expression of wood, tree *gesh*, *gish*, and life *tin*, and therefore the proper term tree-of-life supposed to have been abusively applied to the vine¹⁴⁵. But now we


tree actually growing under the eyes of the scribes who were the first to frame the complex ideogram.

31. The sense they have endeavoured to inculcate, by an appropriate selection of two simple ideograms formerly in use, corresponds unto a certain extent to the mythical ideas which are exposed in a magic text bilingual. Ea describes to Merodach¹⁶⁴ the means whereby he is to cure a man who is possessed of the seven evil spirits, and advises him to go first to the cedar tree "upon whose core the name of Ea is recorded."¹⁶⁵ These notions and ideas must have been brought into civilised Babylonia from the North under Sumerian influence, and the special character we have described was composed accordingly. The idea still prevalent with several writers that the cedar tree was the tree-of-life has not been confirmed by a botanical examination of the iconography of the sacred trees. Confirmatory evidence of the non-primitiveness of the idea amongst the Babylonians, shows that the documents where the cedar is looked upon as endowed with so great a virtue do not belong to nor represent the earliest views of the Chaldaeo-Babylonians.

NOTES—

- 138) Notably in his inscription B. Cf. A. Amiaud, *Inscriptions of Telloh*, pp. 79-82: *Records of the Past*, N. S., vol. II.
- 139) In Assyrian *ashûku*.
- 140) In Assyrian *ushu*.
- 141) In Assyrian *huluppu*. None of the names in Sumero-Akkadian are written with single or complex ideograms.
- 142) We had already occasion to mention this in our paper *On an unknown King of Lagash of 6000 years ago*, the primitive commerce and beginnings of the Chaldaean civilisation—§ 13, n. 32: B. & O. R. IV. 193-195.
- 143) By a learned collaborateur and botanist, Dr. E. Bonavia in his paper on *The sacred Trees of the Assyrian Documents*: B. & O. R. III.
- 144) E. Bonavia, *l. c.*, pp. 7, 10, 38, 56.
- 145) F. Lenormant, *Etude sur quelques parties des syllabaires cuneiformes*, ch. X; *Origines de l'histoire*, t. I, p. 85.
- 146) Cf. T. G. Pinches, *Sign-list*, No. 76, 76 a.
- 147) Cf. Egyptian *Kerāmā*, Hebrew *Karmu*, vineyard, Greek *Karoinou*. also E. de Rougé, *Origine de l'alphabet Phénicien*, p. 46.
- 148) Brun. 5007.
- 149) Brun. 5118.—Amiaud, *Tableau*, No. 75.
- 150) Cf. our *Chips of Babylonian and Chinese Palæography*, III, when the Chinese derivate character is indicated.
- 151) *Shikaru*, previously quoted in these pages (§ 16) and which Prof. Sayce, *Assyrian Grammar*, No. 197 translates beer, while Mr. T. G. Pinches, *Sign-list*, 76, makes it (intoxicating) drink.

- 152) A. Amiaud, *Tableau*, No. 135.---Brun. 9852.---Unless it may be explained by a comparison in Simeone Levi's list of hieratic signs, No. 93.
- 153) Col. II, l. 17. In several forms. Cf. P. Jensen, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 375, 411, 412.
- 154) A. Griesbach, *Die Vegetation der Erde*, I, §23, holds that the dense forests of the Pontus and Thrace up to the Danube, a district particularly rich in creeping plants, were the original home of the *vitis vinifera*, from where it would have been carried east. A. De Candolle, *Origin of cultivated plants*, p. 194, at a later date, insists on the Transcaucasian provinces of Russia, where it is found wild and indigenous.---For its representation in the Assyro-Babylonian monuments, cf. Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art*, t. II, fig. 212, 237, 267, 317. The Bak families, civilisers of China, seem to have carried away with them a sort of vine, that which grows in the north of China and which Regel, *Acta Hortis Imp. Petrop.* 1873, considers as identical in species with our own vine. It is named *Vitis Amurensis*, Ruprecht, and its appearance differs. Cf. A. de Candolle, *Origin of cultivated Plants*, p. 194. The cultivation of this vine was not encouraged and did not develop in China, as shown by the following legend which is given in the *Tchen Kwoh ts'eh*, a work partly older than the Han dynasty. "The Emperor's (Shun) daughter commanded I Ti to make wine, and it was good. She gave of it to Yü (the Great), who, when he had tasted of it, poured the liquid upon the ground, and sent I Ti in banishment, and forbade the knowledge of wine." Cf. Mayers' *Chinese R. M.* I, 230. The invention of wine from the grain of rice is attributed in China to a certain Tu K'ang, whose name is sometimes confounded with that of Shao K'ang, of the Hsia dynasty, *O. C.* 682.---The introduction of the real vine from the west was made by Tchang Kien in 122 B.C., who said that its name was *p'u-tao*; this is a transcription, approximate as Chinese orthography permits, of a loan word belonging to the same group as Zend *vaeti*, Huzvaresh *rit*, Latin *vitis*. On the latter words cf. Spiegel in Kuhn's *Ztschr.* V, 320; A. Pictet, *Les Aryas Primitifs*, I, 253.
- 155) In Arabic *Rûman*, Hebrew *Rimmon*, whence Portuguese *Rumaas*; Greek *Roia*, *sidai*, Albanian *Sige*; Turk. *anâr*, Hindi *Anaar*, Persian *Annar*; Sanskrit *Darimba*; Hindi *Darim*, Telugu *Dadima*, Malay *Dalina*, Tamil *Madalum*; Singhalese *Delunghudie*; Javanese *Gangsalan*; Chinese *Ngansihliu*; &c.
- 156) In three cases only. On a basrelief Sargon is figured holding a branch of three pomegranates. A full tree with fifteen fruits is figured on a cylinder of a certain Musesinip of the same period. Cf. Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art*, t. II, fig. 235, 343. A similar tree appears on a cylinder in Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, 49, 9.
- 157) Cf. *suprà*, § 6.
- 158) Arabic *sarwat*, Turkish *serv azad*.
- 159) Brun. 10802, Amiaud 295, Sayce 493.
- 160) Inscriptions, statue B, col. 5, l. 19, 28, 29. 31. 45; statue D, col. 2, l. 10. And *suprà*, § 25.
- 161) In suggesting that a comparison was made between the minute and numerous foliage of the cedar and the appearance of the warp and woof, we were guided by the cuneiform style of the character whose first part

- looks like the sign SIG cloth, Brun. 10775. It is one more proof that no etymologies can be established on that style of writing.
- 162) Brun. 10747, Amiaud 294, Sayce 485, Pinches 229. Cf. T. de L., *The old Babylonian characters and their Chinese derivatives*, par. 38.
- 163) Brun. 2620, Amiaud 29, Sayce 66, Pinches 42. The archaic form of the character must not be mistaken for that of URASH , Brun. 10474, Am. 277, Sayce 483, Pinches 219.
- 164) A. H. Sayce, *Reli. Anc. Babylon*, p. 240.
- 165) W. A. L., IV, 15, rev. 10-13; cf. IV, 16, 2; IV, 29, 1, 29-31.— Cf. Fr. Lénormant, *Origines de l'histoire*, I, 84-5, note.

CONCLUSIONS.

32. The results, we have arrived at in the foregoing pages, must be viewed, with reference to our former paper on the same subject, from the double stand point of our researches, so far as they suggest or confirm anything new, or rectify any previous opinion, concerning : 1^o) the beginnings of the Babylonian culture, and 2^o) the later loan of some items of that culture to the ancient Chinese.

33. The Chinese felicitous plant *mik-kep* or *lik-kep* has been shown to be more completely a calendar plant than the quotation of the legend truncated by misprint in our first paper, had lead my readers to expect (§§ 1-5). And the curious resemblance which those name bear with two possible readings, probably regional of the Babylonian name of the date-palm, enhance the testimony of iconography as to the derivation of the Chinese notion from S.W. Asia. (§ 23).

34. Furthermore, as the Bak families civilisers of China, did carry with them the knowledge of a sort of vine, and as this knowledge was not primitive amongst the Babylonians, it follows that they did not migrate eastwards, from the neighbourhood of the Chaldæo-Elamite cultured populations, previously to the spread of that knowledge among the latter. (§ 27 and note 154).

35. With reference to the beginnings of Babylonian civilisation, our results, chiefly of a botanical and palæographical character, fully confirm our views as to the Southern, and not Northern origin, of the creators of the Chaldæan culture. *Kishkin* has proved to be, not the date palm as we had suggested, but the very term for a central pillar, and in mythological conceptions the Tree of the world (§§ 6-14). *Gigu*, whose nature had been left uncertain, has been shown to be the trunk of the palm-tree (§§ 19-20; while *Musukkan* was a general name for that tree itself (§ 18), and *Shanga* or *Gishimmaru*, for the date-palm in general (§§ 21-2. 24), the original name and primitive pictorial

character for that tree being *Mu* which therefore was known to the creators of the writing. (§§ 15-17). On the other hand, the Vine and the Cedar are represented by compound characters and do not belong to the primitive period; in the same way the pomegranate and the fir-tree were only known in later times; all this forming undoubtedly one more link of arguments in favour of the view that the first founders and creators of the Chaldaeo-Babylonian writing and civilisation were not originally from the North or North East, but from the South,

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA—

Note 54. *Add*: McLennan, *Worship of plants and animals*: Fortnightly Review, 1869-70.

Par. 3. l. 8. *Read*: and the total *instead* *f* as the total.

Par. 5. l. 8. *Read and Add*: observed, but the number *seven* is more frequently met with than any other.

Par. 14. l. 3. *Read*: which conceptions *instead* of which neceptions.

Par. 15. l. 18. *Read*: the late *instead* of the la e.

Par. 17. l. 9. *Read*: *Mu* is *instead* of *Nu* is.

Par. 22. l. 20. *after* phono-ideograms *add*: similar to those.

TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE.

THE BABYLONIAN LEGEND OF THE SERPENT- TEMPTER.

HAD the Babylonians a legend of the Temptation and Fall of the human race in any way resembling that which we find in the Hebrew writings? This is a question which has long excited attention among Assyriologists, but which has had no satisfactory reply. Mr. George Smith, in the first issue of his Chaldaean account of Genesis, was of the opinion that a tablet which he placed in the Creation series contained some traces of this story; but he seems to have been in error as to the nature of the text, but not as to a slight reference to the subject; and the publication by him of a curious seal, bearing figures of a male and female seated beside a tree, was also considered to show traces of this important

story. Without any such direct evidence, I think it may be possible by an examination of various passages and the deductions which may be made from them, to find traces of the existence of such a legend.

In the Creation legend of Kutha we find the epithet of *Musenik*, "the nurse or suckler," replacing that of *muallidat*, "the bearing mother," of the first tablet of the Babylonian series¹, and in this aspect we see her represented with full breasts similar to the figures of the Hittite goddess at Carchemish, and the Ephesian Artemis, or the Phœnician Astaroth. In this form she is the nourishing moisture, the fertile source of all nature rather than an evil creation. It is when she becomes associated with *Kin-gi*, her husband, whom Mr. Pinches² has rightly regarded as the demon of darkness, that she becomes the opponent of the gods. She may be compared with the Egyptian serpent Apepi, who bears the name of *Hemhemte*, "the Roarer," a title which plainly recalls to mind the shrill cries of Tiamat, *itrura isdasa*. We find Apepi described as "the Roarer before whom Ra is in a flutter, and Seb standeth still in terror, and the company of the mighty gods is in a quake." Apepi is at last overcome by the flint sword of the sun-god and forced back into his cavern, and over him is placed a stone, a culmination of the nature-war which closely resembles the defeat of Tiamat by the sword of Merodach and the binding of Tiamat and her allies in the pit of Arali. This is the same nature-myth which we find in the legends of Vishnu, Ahuramazda, Apollo, Heracles, and many others; and it is not unknown in the mythologies of the New World.

The famous seal published by Mr. Smith in his Chaldean account of Genesis (p. 88), has long been supposed to represent the scene in the Garden, but this has been much contested. The evidence which I have been able to gather is from various passages, and especially from the Third Creation Tablet where the passage, though mutilated, seems to clearly indicate the existence of a Temptation in the Garden.

In the first place, we have to see what evidence we have of the character of evil attributed to Tiamat. In several inscriptions the Serpent is *abu ilani*, "the enemy of the gods", and upon a boundary-stone of the twelfth century before the Christian era the Michaux Stone, the writer says: "The emblems of the great-gods and the serpent upon this written stone are engraved". Also upon the memorial stone of Nebuchadnezzar I., king of Babylon, B.C. 1140, this Serpent-god is mentioned by name,

1) B. O. R. IV. 26, line 4.

2) Ibid., p. 33.

and is called *šupu*, evidently the Hebrew שָׁפָר "to glide", "smooth." In the Akkadian inscriptions we find the Assyrian *aibu*, equalled by the word *Erem* and *Erema*, which seems to me most certainly to be a borrowed word, on account of its close resemblance to the Hebrew עֵרֵךְ used in Genesis (III. 1). with the sense of "*Subtile*". and the root עֵרַם has the meaning "to stay by subtilty or guile". The Hebrew name of the serpent *Nakhas* נָחָשׁ, with its cognates *Nakhšon* "diviner" (Numb. i. 7), are both connected with the root, נָחַשׁ the Assyrian *Nakasu*, which has the meaning "to remove by subtilty", and has an undoubted magical signification, occurring in such phrases as: "observed times and used enchantments" (2 Kings xxi. 6) "neither shall ye use enchantments" (Lev. xix. 26), to "seek for enchantments" (Numb. xxiv. 1) We can now, by the aid of the inscriptions, see the force of the words in Gen. iii. 1: "The Serpent (*Nakhas*) was more subtle (*aroni*) than any beast of the field." If, as is most probable, the words here are connected with magic and divination we see the force of the words "The serpent beguiled me and I did eat." In the magical inscriptions the *Lu Erim* or *Erima* or magician was the greatest foe of man, and this word is equivalent to *aibu* "foe". In the same way, the *Nam Erima* was the equivalent of the *Mamit* or "Fate" "the evil curse *arrat*, or the "Evil Fate" like the *Ate* of the Greeks. The serpent was regarded as associated with both, with darkness and death, being called *binut Arali* or *bit muti* "the house of death." This connexion between magic and death is shown by the sign for sorcerer which is "the one in whose mouth is death." and the bite of the Serpent is called "a touch of the mouth of death." The important question now arises: Have we any trace of the story of the Fall in the Babylonian inscription, and, if so, is it in any way associated with death? The first indication is afforded by the seal figured in Mr. George Smith's Chaldean Genesis (p. 88), in which a scene in many ways resembling the fall is represented. A man and woman are seated on either side of a tree from whose branches hang rich bunches of fruit; and behind the woman a serpent is rearing up. The Garden of the gods is represented upon several seals, notably one in the Hague Museum, and some in the Cesnola collection. Now, in the mythological tablet, which is the IIIrd of the Creation series, and which describes the various wicked acts of the Serpent Tiamat, we read:

"The great gods, all of them determiners of fate,

They entered, and, death-like, the god Sar filled.
 In sin one with the other in compact joins.
 The command was established in the garden of the god.
 The Asnan (fruit) they ate, they broke in two,
 Its stalk they destroyed;
 The sweet juice which injures the body.
 Great is their sin. Themselves they exalted.
 To Merodach their Redeemer he appointed their fate."

It is almost impossible not to see in this fragment the pith of the story of the Fall, while the last line at once brings Merodach before us as the one who would defeat the tempter and restore the fallen. The expression used is *mutir gimili su-nu*, "restorer of their benefit." This is one which calls for more than passing comment. It reminds us at once of the often-repeated expression *tir gimili*, "to obtain satisfaction," and certainly places the demiurgos Merodach in the position of the Redeemer. The more we examine the position of Merodach in the Babylonian mythology, the more we see how closely it approaches the Hebrew conception of the Messiah. He was the son of the great earth-mother Dav-kina, the wife of Ea, and bore as his own name that of *Mar-dugga*, "the Holy Son." He was the mediator between gods and men, healing sickness, forgiving sin, raising the dead not by his own power, but by that of his father Ea, and now we find him acting as the redeemer of the fallen pair, we may be sure that the importance of this small fragment to Biblical students is very great indeed.

The discovery of this important legend even in the fragmentary state in which we find it here is of considerable importance, inasmuch as it has been the custom rather to regard the story of the Fall as being due to Persian influence. We must now, I think, abandon this, and see that both the Hebrew and the Persian traditions found in the Zend-Avesta, and, later still, in the Bundahesh, are now to be traced to Babylonian sources. In the name given to the sacred tree, or rather the tree of which the inmates of the garden partook, we have also, I believe, a valuable point raised. The tree is called the "Asnan 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 tree." I have already in my paper on the Babylonian Canals named some remarks upon this word, which is a derivative from the root 𐤀𐤍 "to repeat," and means the double fruit or double tree. May not this account for the mention of the two trees in the garden, and also for the double form given to the tree in the sculptures.

The expression used in the mention of the gods entering the garden is also worthy of comment. The gods entered and *muttis* "in a death-like manner," being an adverbial form of *mutu*, "death," seems to imply the same association with death as that in the Hebrew account, "In the day that thou eatest thereof ye shall surely die" (Gen. ii. 17), and this is supported by a repetition in another line which reads, "which injures" *khabišu*, from the root *khabaṣ* which means "to press," to crush down. It would seem that we have here all the essential features of the Fall story. If, as it seems to me impossible to doubt, the story of the Fall was one of those traditions which among the Hebrews received its literary form after the Captivity, we may account for this wonderful agreement not only in general details, but in this case in manifest verbal similarities which cannot have been preserved during the long period of centuries which elapsed since their first sojourn in Chaldaa.

W. ST. C. BOSCAWEN.

ORIENTAL EXPLORATIONS.—The great success which has attended Mr. Flinders Petrie's explorations on the site of the ancient city of Lachish has served to prove that the work carried out by the Palestine Exploration Fund would result in a rich harvest, were the necessary firmans for excavations granted. It is, however, extremely important to note that these works have excited great interest in the Jewish community, and a proposal is now on the *tapis* to raise funds to carry out explorations on those sites most associated with Jewish history. The two places at present selected are Hebron and Kharran. At the former no doubt valuable results await the explorer, as the Tel-el-Amarna tablets have shown its importance in pre-Hebrew times; and the ruins of Eski-Harran or old Kharran have long been looked upon as a most fruitful field. The influence of the Jewish community should certainly be able to overcome the difficulty of obtaining the necessary permits from the Porte, and result in valuable and interesting discoveries.—W. ST. C. B.

THE ONOMASTIC SIMILARITY OF
 NAI HWANG-TI OF CHINA
 AND
 NAKHUNTE OF SUSIANA.

SOME views with regard to the name of Nakhunte, opposed to those of the present writer and of the group of scholars who, after criticism and close verification, have come to share them, have been lately put forth in a popular paper and unscientific language by the venerable Prof. J. Legge of Oxford on *Chinese Chronology*.¹

The writer of the present note, standing on a purely scientific ground, is at a disadvantage in answering a certain part of the said paper, which paper not a few will rather object to consider otherwise than as a flimsy production. Not having the experience of the venerable Sinologist, he cannot indulge in the unparliamentary expressions which shine therein, nor in the pleasure of putting in English verses an epitome of his views and their proofs, in the same way as the venerable Sinologist, who in the same paper has put in English verses an epitome of the Chinese dynasties. Therefore he must be satisfied with plain English, and he hopes his readers will not object to these unsatisfactory conditions.

2. The author does not quote my name in his libellous criticism of my identification of the appellation of Nakhunta of Susiana with that of Hwang-ti or Yu Nai Hwang-ti of China. His blunt and imprudent remarks, which show that he was stepping into a field of research still untrodden by himself, are directed against the anonymous author² of an article on *Chinese and Babylonian literature* published in the *Quarterly Review* of July 1882, where several of my disclosures on ancient Chinese history were mentioned and explained. Prof. R. K. Douglas, Professor of Chinese at King's College, London, who wrote this article, and whose name to that effect has already been disclosed in print, had carefully considered the matter before committing himself as he did, and I am aware that for long he had taken the care of verifying and controlling every one of my statements and suggestions.

3. The similarity of the two names was pointed out by me in a lecture on *China and the Chinese, their early history, &c.*, which appeared in the *Journal of the Society of Arts* of July 16, 1880, and was reprinted the same year with additions in a pamphlet form under the title: *Early history of Chinese civilization: a Lecture* (London, 1880)³.

As I am the responsible author of the identification, the shot was aimed at myself, and therefore it is my duty to show that the gunner had smoky powder and no projectile in his weapon, and that his criticism is the remarkable instance of *humana incuria* he has spoken of. The best and sole means open to me is the exact statement of the philological and pñæographical reasons which have led me to the identification.

Since 1880, this similarity has been indicated after me by several scholars, and I have had but little to change in my original statements. In a resumé of the proofs that the ancient civilisation of China came from Babylonia and Elam, which I am publishing in *The Babylonian and Oriental Record*, I had the occasion in the March number of 1889 to come again to the point.

4. Referring especially to the connection with Elam, among other peculiarities, I resumed the fact as follows:

"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, which was evidently taken in imitation of the kings of Susiana, whose generic appellation at least for many, was *Nakhunte*, in honour of their chief of the gods." And I appended as a note to Nai Hwang ti: The full name may be *yu* Nai Hwang ti, old *Ku-Nak-Khun-te*, but *yu* may be a prefix, and *Nakhon* appears written in one single group in the Ku-wen style of writing⁴.

NOTES—

1) A paper read at a meeting of the Victoria Institute, March 3rd, 1890.

2) In his paper which has been kindly communicated to me by the Rev. Dr. Syle and by Mr. W. St. Chad Boscawen, Prof. J. Legge accuses the author of the article: 1^o, of a baseless and amusingly wrong assertion when stating that the distinctive name of Hwang-ti was *Nak*, because this character thus read by him has only the sound *Hsiung* (in the modern Pekinese corrupted phonetics); 2^o, of what seemed to him (Prof. Legge) "to verge on literary dishonesty" till he happened to find the same reading *Nai* in the late Mr. Mayers' works; 3^o: of having never looked at the Chinese character; 4^o, of having copied

Mr. Mayers' *humana incuria*.—Now, we leave to our readers to judge after having read the present notice how far the venerable Sinologist was justified in his statement.

3) With a plate of ancient Babylonian and early Chinese characters.

4) Cf. Fu Lwan-siang, *Luh shu fun luy*, s.v.; and Tung Wei-fu *Tchuen tze wei*, s.v.

* *

5. Hwang-ti, as the central figure of Chinese beginnings half lost in the mists of remote ages, has been made the subject of many legendary accounts. Recollections of distant times turned out into fables and mixed up with marvellous adornments have been piled up over his head, and many deeds of several personages have been attributed gratuitously to him.

The various legends centred around his name have been collected and arranged together by several scholars, notably by Lo-pi, the erudite author of the XIth century. Several earlier scholars had specially studied the subject, and foremost amongst them are Hwang P'u-mi in his *Ti wang she ki* (215-282 B.C.) and Szema Tsien in the *She Ki* (circa 163-85 B.C.). A complete biography of his was written under the T'ang dynasty by Wang Kwan, under the title of *Hien Yüan pen ki*, but it seems to have been lost long ago. In the *Tai ping yü lan* cyclopædia which was compiled in the years 977-983 by a committee of scholars who had access to many works which are no more to be had, and were enabled to collect excerpts from thirty different authors about Hwang-ti, the just quoted biography does not figure in the list.

Apart from the references made to Hwang-ti in the sacred books⁵, and a certain number of minor works such as the *Shan hai King*⁶, the *Kwei-tsang*, &c., the principal writers quoted who lived before the Christian era, from the XIth century downwards are: Yü tze (dawn of the Tchou dynasty); Kwan tze (died 645 B.C.); Lieh tze (early in the IVth cent.); Tchwang tze (IVth cent B.C.); She tze (about 280 B.C.); Han tze (IIIrd cent. B.C.); Han ying, *Han she wai tchuan* (178-156 B.C.); Hwai-Nan tze (D. 122 B.C.); also the *Tchun tsiu yüen ming pao*, a part of the *Tchun tsin wai shu* (written in the Ist cent. B.C.) And besides the works of our era previously quoted, we may also refer to Tsiang tze: *Wan ki lun*; Pao-po-tze (died 330 A.D.); Sun Tch'oh tze; Fu tze; *Lung yü Hotu* (of the Vth cent. or earlier) and others.

6. This name of the first of the Chinese rulers exhibits indeed the most striking resemblance with that of the chief of the gods of Susiana, as I pointed out ten years ago.⁷ The evidence is multifold and may be

resumed as follows:—

Nakhunte, as the god, with Shushinka as his goddess, were the supreme deities of the Elamite pantheon, and we are made aware, by an inscription of Asshurbanipal, that his statue, hidden in the sacred grove of Susa, was carried away to Babylon by the Assyrian conqueror, at the same time as a statue of the goddess Nana, which had been looted from Babylon by the Elamite king Kudur Nakhunte 1635 years before.⁸ This statement takes us back to 2294 B.C., for the invasion of Babylonia by the Elamite king.

7. It was the habit for the kings of Susa to wear, like the Babylonian, and afterwards the Assyrian kings, an appellative embodying the name of a god. *Kudur*, which has been explained as meaning *servant*,⁹ is prefixed to several names of other deities, in royal names, besides Kudur-Nakkundi, such as Kudur Lagamar, Kudur Mabug, Kudur Karbi. But Nakhunte which is variously transliterated Nakhundi, Nankundi, Nahunta, Nakhkhunte, &c., by the Assyriologists, reappears more often as befits his high rank in the Pantheon. In the Elamite royal names hitherto known which contain a name of a god, Nakhunte appears three times out of seven. The canon of those kings is not known, with the exception of those few names, and between the Khedorlaomer (Kudur-Lagamar) of the Bible and the time of Sargon II of Assyria, there is a blank. A Sutruk Nakhunte, King of Susiana, son of Halludus, and father of a Kudur Nakhunte who ruled after him, was contemporary of the Assyrian monarch just named. Therefore the name of the Elamite chief god had remained prominent and was still in use 1580 years after the first king of the same name known to history¹⁰. Consequently we are justified in assuming that *Nakhunte* was the most venerated name of God which the Elamite rulers liked to choose as their protector.

8. In Nakhunte or Nankundi, *Nah* or *Nan* was not necessarily an integrant part of the name and *Kunte* could as well be used by itself or mentioned alone. The Assyrian inscriptions give us an instance of the case¹¹. *Sutruk Nakhkhunte* has his name written *Istar Khundu* in the text known as The Babylonian chronicle. As to the meaning of the word among the Elamites, nothing, or very little if any, seems to be known. It is not unlikely that the name was an ancient adaptation of the epithet *Nukimmut*, an Akkadian title of Ea¹². We are well aware that the country of Elam was at a very early date occupied by the Babylonians in several cases, and that the civilisation of the country was an offshoot of the old Babylonian¹³. The old Sargon of Akkad "marched

against the country of Elam and subjugated the men of Elam" some 3800 years B.C.¹⁴; Gudea the Priest-king of Lagash, who lived about the same time, made also a campaign in Elam, in the course of which the city of Anshan was captured¹⁵. As the writing, and the civilisation were derived from those of Babylonia¹⁶, so were the gods. In the cuneiform texts the Elamite *Sutruck* is rendered by Istar; and we surmise that the Babylonian gods *Lakhamu* and *Nukimmur* were the prototypes of Lagamar and Nahkhunte. In its Elamitic garb, the latter was obviously altered in view of a popular etymology, which may be explained by further disclosures resulting from new decipherments and excavations.

NOTES----

- 5) *Yh King*, Hi tse II, 15.—*Li ki*, &c.
- 6) *Shan hai King*. Bks. 14, 16, 17 and 18, *pass.*
- 7) *Early history of the Chinese civilisation*, p. 27.
- 8) G. Smith, *History of Assurbanipal*, p. 251.—On the certainty of this date, cf. J. Oppert, *La plus ancienne date de l'histoire*: *Bullet. de l'Athénée Oriental*, Nov. 1871, p. 40; J. Ménéant, *Glyptique Orientale*, 1883, vol. I, p. 103.
- 9) First by Talbot and afterwards by Finzi, *Ricerch per lo studio dell'anichità Assira*, p. 205, who have compared it to the Samoyed-Ostiak *Kote*, Tshaia *Kotö*, Ketsh *Kotte*, &c. It is translated in Assyrian by *tuklat*. Cf. *Cuneiform inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. II, pl. 65, l. 2.—In his paper on *The Inscriptions of Mal-Amir and the language of the second column of the Akhemenian Inscriptions*, Act. VI Congr. Inter. Orient., Leide, 1883, sect. II, p. 741, Prof. Sayce gives: Mal-Amir *Kutur*, a servant; Susian, *Kutir* and *Kutur*; Amardian *Kuti*, to carry.
- 10) Cf. A. H. Sayce: *The languages of the cuneiform inscriptions of Elam and Media*, in *Trans. S.B.A.* 1874, t. III, p. 465-485.—J. Oppert; *Les inscriptions en langue Susienne; Essai d'interprétation*, in *Cte R. I. Congr. Int. Orient.* Paris, 1873-76, t. II, p. 179.
- 11) Cf. *Records of the Past*, N.S. 1888, pp. 24-25.—An identification of the same sort suggests itself between the Babylonian *Lakhamu* and the Elamite *Lagammar*.
- 12) It has passed into the Assyrian language and occurs frequently in the texts, according to Lenormant, *Chaldean Magic*.
- 13) Sir Henry C. Rawlinson, in G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. I.
- 14) A. H. Sayce: *Translation of the Annals of Sargon of Accad and Naram-sin*, p. 37 of *Records of the Past*, N.S. 1888, vol. I.
- 15) Arthur Amiaud: *Sirpulla, d'après les inscriptions de la collection de Sarzec*, p. 13: *Revue Archeologique*, 1888; and *The Inscriptions of Tellah*, p. 54, of *Records of the past*, 1888.
- 16) Cf. T. de L.: *Chips of Babylonian and Chinese palæography*, III. B.&O.R. October, 1888).—The original meaning of the name *Nakhunte* is altogether unknown and the unripe speculations made about it must be left aside altogether.

9. *Nai* is said to be the name of the principality which Hwang-ti inherited of, and which caused him to be called *Yu Nai Hwang-ti* and also *Yu Nai she*¹⁷, by the usual prefixing of *Yu* 有 and the occasional suffixing of *she* 氏 which are no integral part of the name. Placed before a geographical name *Yu* emphasises its meaning as that of a state and also with reference to its holder or sovereign; and *she* which is added to them when used separately as a personal appellative corresponds pretty well to *The* in such names as *The O'Connor*, *The McDermott*, &c.

10. The symbol *Nai* has several sounds; the most common is *hiung*; *ying*, and *Nai* (anciently *Nak*) are also indicated by the authorities quoted in the *Khang hi tze tien* dictionary. The last named *Nai* is the oldest of which any instance is given, as the reader is referred for it to the *Tso tchuen*, Duke Tchao, year VII i.e. 535 B.C., where it is said that the Marquis of Tsin dreamt that a yellow *nai* or bear entered the door of his chamber¹⁸.

The spelling by the *fan-tsieh* process is * + 來 or $N(ang-l)AI = Nai$ ¹⁹, which is upheld by another and older spelling from the *Shoh wen*, where it is written by the same process 女又 + 來 $N(o-l)AI = Nai$. The first of the two instances is however the only one which is said to be identical to 能, otherwise 同能²⁰. Now the character *lai* which is here employed to suggest the final in the two spellings, has lost a final *-k* which was still felt if not altogether pronounced at the time of the older of these spellings, and therefore the ancient sound of *Nai* should have been *NAK*²¹.

11. The character 熊 as we have just seen, was said to be identical with 能 of which it is a derivative, being composed of 能 as a primitive with the determinative fire under it. This primitive has several sounds such as *neng*, *nai* and *nak*; the latter in composition is given in the *Kwang-ya*, a dictionary of the IIIrd century, with the sounds added under the Sui dynasty (581-617).

In the improved edition of the *Shwoh wen* of 100 A.D. published in 1833, it is stated that 能 *neng*, an animal like a bear with a deer's feet, was anciently pronounced *nai*²². The reason why they did not say *nak*, is that in no case have the authors of this learned work taken into account any of the finals which have decayed and disappeared in the course of time. *Neng* is simply a variation, with a twang, of the older *Nak*.

*Key 30+19 str. *Nang*: No. 1497 Basil.; Phonet. 1038 Gallery; Medhurst, *Chin. Eng. Dict.* p. 119.

The derivative of this character, which appears as the complementary appellative of Hwang-ti, was written in the oldest or Ku-wen style of writing with two signs. 能 *Nak* at the right of 黃 *huang*, formerly *hong*²³ and still more anciently *Kon* or *Khon* according to the rude phonetic spelling of the Ku-wen period²⁴. Read from right to left according to the Chinese system, the two characters make NAK KHON, as I briefly pointed out before. The Ku-wen form here described is given in the learned palaeographic works, the *Luh shu fun luy* of Fu Lwan-siang (1751), the *Tchwen tze wei* of Tung Wei-fu (1691) and also in the *K'ang hi tze tien*.

12. The late William Frederick Mayers has read this character *Nai* in relation with the name of Hwang-ti. And the insistence with which this careful and competent scholar has repeated his reading, shows that he had duly studied the matter. In the first publication of his *Chronological Tables of Chinese dynasties* in the second volume²⁵ of Doolittle's *Vocabulary and Handbook*, (1872), the lamented scholar had given the vulgar reading *Hung*. But in his *Chinese Reader's Manual* (1874) he reads it *Nai*, and he has taken care as it were to show that he had paid special attention to the matter. In the biographical notice of Hwang-ti, which he has obviously worked out with the attention it required, he says: "He (Hwang-ti) was also surnamed Kung Sun 公孫 in virtue of his descent; whilst from the fact of his inheriting the principality of Nai 熊—the Bear (country)—he was also denominated 有熊氏 (No. 225, p. 71). In the chronological tables appended to the same work, Mayers has repeated his reading *Nai* so far as concerns Hwang-ti; and in the final index of Chinese characters, the sign 熊 is given with two sounds *Nai* and *hiung*, referring to two Nos. of articles, viz. 225 that on Hwang-ti, for *Nai*, and 947 for *hiung* in the name of Yü-hiung commonly Yü tze, a writer of the XIIIth cent. B.C. Such being the case for W. F. Mayers, it is clear to any impassionate reader, that he had carefully studied the point at issue as otherwise he would not have modified his former reading²⁶.

13. In the *Tso tchuen*, Hwang-ti was also called 鴻鳥 now read *Hung*, which as a separate appellative was arranged into 帝鴻鳥氏²⁷ now read *Ti Hung she*.

The symbol here read *hung*, and meaning generally: a stork, is not the deo-phonetic character which it seems to be; namely a compound of the phonetic 鴻 *Kiang* with the mute determinative or key for birds (*niao*). and cannot rank with the complex including the keys 118, 140, 142, 184, 196, which are the genuine derivatives of this phonetic²⁸. The determinative water is

an addition to the character which was previously written in one group, *niao-kung*, the bird *kung* such as is shown by the ancient forms of the symbol in the older or ku-wen style of writing illustrated in the palaeographical dictionaries such as the *Tchuen tze wei* of Tung Wei-fu, and the *Luh shu fun tui* of Fu Lwan-siang²⁰. Instead of *Niao*, the other determinative for *birds* 隹 *tchui*, short tailed bird was also employed at will, but in this appellative of Hwang-ti, the compound *niao-kung* was specially used. Now without going into the particulars of legendary character which have led to this curious soubriquet, I cannot help thinking that the selection of this symbol with its special composition was due to the approximate sounds of its parts with the name of Yu Nai Hwang-ti.

14. I bring these notes to a close as my sole purpose was to give the proof of the similarity in names of Nakhunte of Susiana and Nai Hwangti of China. The story of the latter is greatly fabulous and the amount of real events concerning him is at minimum in the compiled narratives made by the various writers we have mentioned above.

It is more than probable that when his legend is critically examined, scholars will be able to disentangle its fabric and separate that which belongs to a genuine leader of the Bak families who had received or taken the name of *Nakhunte*, in Ch nesé sounds *Nak Konti*, in imitation or souvenir of the rulers of Susiana with whom they were acquainted. Among the extraneous matter, souvenirs will be found which relate to some or other of the Susianian kings themselves. I have began the task some years ago. (*The Chinese mythical kings and the Babylonian Canon*, 1883.) And I intend to continue it some day should leisure and eye-sight permit me.

NOTES——

- 17) *She ki*, *Wu ti ki*, in *K'ang hu tze tien*, sub. verb., 86 + 10, fol. 33.—Hwang Fu-mi, *Ti Wang she ki*.
- 18) Cf. J. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. IV. p. 613, col. 3, for the Chinese text, and p. 617 for the translation.
- 19) In the *Tsih yun* of Sung Tchi (1035); also in the *Luy pien* of Szema Kwang (1009-1086).
- 20) *K'anghi tze tien*, sub. verb.
- 21) The final *-k* is proved by the rhymes of the Odes as shown by Twan yu-tsai. Cf. J. Edkins, *Introduction to the study of Chinese characters*, p. 83, No. 409; and J. Chalmers: *The Rhymes of the Shi King*, III, c.
- 22) Cf. John Chalmers, *An account of the structure of the Chinese characters under 300 primary forms; after the Shwoh-wan*, 10C, A.D., and the *Phonetic Shwoh-wan*, 1833, (London, 1382), pp. 21, 102, 120.
- 23) Cf. Amoy hong, Tsiang-tsiu hong, Sino-Arn. hoang.
- 24) It was written: *Ko*, fire 火 under, for the initial and 井 Nhap, 20

over it for the final, by Acrology. The symbol thus written was for bright; for the meaning yellow, another sign Ku, long time was added to strengthen the initial. No confusion must be made between this old character +20 and the signs 其 and 十十 which are somewhat similar to it only in their modern form. as their older shapes were quite different.—On the curious and imperfect system of phonetic spelling in Ku-wen, I have given some information and instances in several of my works: *The oldest books of the Chinese* (1882), par. 23; *The old numerals, the counting rods, and the Swan-pan in China* (1882), pp. 21, and 25; *Beginnings of writing around Tibet*, par. 50; *The oldest Book of the Chinese*, pp. 33, 34, 104, 105, 117, 123, &c.; *The tree of Life of Babylonia and China*, (1888), p. 10; *Le non-monosyllabisme du chinois antique* (1889), pp. 3-6; &c.

25) Vol. II, p. 239.

26) And the subsequent writer we have referred to, was not entitled to criticise and still less to abuse the departed scholar, unless he had shown clearly in black and white that he is himself in the right, and this he has neither done or attempted to do.

27) In the *Tso tchuen*, Duke Wan, year XVIII, par. 9.—Hwang P'u-mi, *Ti Wang she ki*.

28) Cf. the list in Kang-hi's concise dictionary by the Rev. J. Chalmers.

29) It is specially labelled *Ku-wen* in the latter work.—The *Luh shu tung* of Min Tsi-kih, I, 6 has not the form.

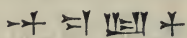

TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE.

EXIT GIŠṬUBAR!

It has been found at last, the long wished-for reading of the name of the well-known hero, and it is neither Gišṭubar, nor Gišdubar, nor Gišdubarra, nor Izdubar, nor finally, Namrašit, but

GILGAMESH.

The text which gives it is from Babylonia, and is numbered 82-5-22, 915. There, in the fourth line of the obverse, we have it:



 D.P. GIŠ-GAN-MAŠ | D.P. GI - IL - GA - MEŠ.

Gilgameš is, of course, for Gišganmaš, and is composed of three elements, namely, 𒀭 (giš), 𒄠 (gin or gan), and 𒌦 (maš). *Giš* has changed into *gil* before the following consonant. Assyriologists may congratulate themselves upon having been, mostly, practically right with regard to one syllable out of the three, for most of them, I take it, regarded Gišṭubar, Gišdubar, &c., as provisional readings merely.

Notwithstanding the ending -aš or -eš I, for one, am not at present inclined to regard the name as Kassite. THEO. G. PINCHES.

THE BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

Contributors are alone responsible for their opinions or statements.

THE DOG AND DEATH.

The Dog is in many mythologies and folk-lore connected in one way or another with Death and the Spirit-world.

In the Veda, Yâma's two broad-nosed (*urunasa*), four-eyed (*caturaksha*) brindled (*çabala*) dogs, sit at the entrance of heaven to keep out the godless (RV. X, 14, 10, 11). These hounds also go about among men to seek out those destined to die and conduct them to Yâma, the death-god (RV. VIII, 6, 15, 16 ; V, 4, 22.)

Numerous writers have shown the connection between these dogs and the Greek and Latin *Κέρβερος*, and even the etymological affinity of the latter name with the Sanskrit epithet *Çabala*, (through the Prakrit *Çabbala* for **Çarbala*, **Çarbara*), to say nothing of the form *Karburā*, with the same meaning, (*Kumāra-Sambhava*, iv, 27). The best summary of all that has been said on this subject is in Van den Gheyn's admirable little monograph "*Cerbère : Etude de Mythologie comparée*," (Bruxelles, 1883).

The Scandinavian hell had also its guardian dog at the gates, Garmr, who like the Hindu or Greek hounds, had to be quietened with food. An exactly similar belief is stated to have existed among the North American Indians, where the Algonquins had a 'river of the dead,' crossed by 'a snake bridge,' and guarded at the extremity by a great dog (Tanner, and Schoolcraft, quoted by Rajendralala Mitra, *Indo-Aryans*, vol. ii. p. 158).

There is no trace of dog or dogs guarding the Spirit world in Avestic sources. We now know, that the *Zarin-gôsh*, or yellow-eared hound, guarding the Cinvat bridge, exists only in a later poetical Persian version of the *Arđâ-i Vîrâf Nâme*, and not in the original of that work

though Darmesteter also quotes the tradition from the Grand Ravalet, p. 592, and sees allusions to it in Vd. XIII, 9, and XIX, 30. Indeed the commentary to XIII, 9, says: "There are dogs who watch over the earthly regions; there are others who watch over the fourteen heavenly regions."

But the dog is distinctly brought into connexion with *death* in the Mazdayasnian religion, though in a quite different manner. The dying believer, with the modern as with the mediæval Farsis, has to undergo the rite of the *sagdîd* or "dog-gaze." A dog is brought to the bed of the dying person and placed so as to look straight into his eyes, for the gaze of the dog puts the demons to flight.

In the Avesta itself, the gaze of the dog is used to put the Naçus, or death demon to flight, either from the corpse itself (Vend. VII, 2, 3), or from one defiled by contact with a corpse (Vend. VIII, 35 seq=111 sq.), or from places so defiled (Vend. VIII, 16-18=41-47). In the last case these hounds must be "four-eyed," (*cathrucashma*) like Yâma's in the Veda, and "white with yellow ears." Otherwise, however, it is not easy to see what connexion the Mazdayasnian demon-chasing dog can have with the hounds of Yâma or the Hellenic Cerberus. An interesting question was started in these pages by Prof. de Harlez regarding the origin and meaning of this curious Avestic prescription of the use of the "four-eyed" dog in purificatory rites. As the employment of such a dog is actually enjoined, it is clear that some kind of real dog is referred to; and that in any case the "four-eyed" dog of the Avesta cannot be the same as the mythical "four-eyed" hound of Yâma. In his article in Vol. I of this review, (B.O.R., Jan. 1887, pp. 36-38), de Harlez shews this very convincingly and, with Spiegel, prefers to seek the explanation of the "four-eyes" in Mazdayasnian tradition. That tradition, which is explicit and unhesitating, affirms that the kind of dog referred to was one *with a spot over each eye*, giving the appearance of four-eyes. This traditional interpretation is powerfully confirmed by the Mandchu word cited by de Harlez, *durbe*, which according to the authorities appealed to by him (the *Manju-gisun-i Buleku Bithe*, a native dictionary, the *Tsing-wen-wei-shuh*, etc.), means "a dog with four eyes, a dog which has two yellow or white spots above the eyes." Nay more, in a subsequent number of B.O.R., it will be remembered, Miss A. Smith of Kingston-on-Thames, bears witness that she actually possesses such a dog,—in this case indeed with bright yellow spots *under* the eyes, "resembling spectacles or extra eyes" (Vol. I, p. 64). And this dog is from Lapland,—a Tur-

anian country. De Harlez seems, therefore, justified in concluding from these facts that the Avesta has here absorbed a Turanian or Tartar belief. How legitimate this inference is, may be seen from the fact that several other characteristic usages and doctrines of the Avesta are of Turanic origin, e.g.—(1) the exposure of corpses to birds and beasts of prey; (2) the extravagant religious respect for the dog; (3) the extreme veneration for fire, and the fear of sullyng it by the breath, (l.c., p. 38).

Turning, now, to another variety of superstition, we find the belief, still so common in England, that the howling of a dog at night near a house is a presage of the nearness of Death. Everybody living in this country can bear witness to this superstition. The same is the belief of the Arab. "Most people believe," says the late regretted Burton, "that when a dog howls near a house it forebodes death, for, it is said, a dog can distinguish the awful form of *Azrā'il the Angel of Death*," (*Arabia*, Vol. I, p. 290). De Gubernatis cites the superstition for Russia and Italy; and further remarks that in the neighbourhood of Florence it is considered a sign of death even to *dream* about a dog. This superstition, he reminds us is referred to also by Terence. In all these cases the dog is closely connected with death. (*Die Thiere in der indogerm. Mythologie*, p. 368).

But perhaps the most interesting parallel is that quoted by a recent writer from the beliefs of the Philippine Islands. Isabelo de los Reyes, in his valuable studies "*Religion de los antiguos Tagalos ó Filipinos*," has the following: "The *alalá* is a real ghost. On the third and ninth day after its death, it visits its home and all the places it used to frequent in life. *The howling of dogs announces the presence of an invisible spectre: and in order to see it, one must smear ones eyes with the humour from the eyes of a dog.*" (*Las Misiones Católicas*, año X, No. 233, p. 335).

Now this Philippine belief appears to me of the greatest value, and to hold, if I may so say, the key to the cycle of superstitions regarding the Dog and Death. I shall therefore venture to examine it in detail.

Perhaps I need scarcely call attention to the mention of the *third and ninth* day after death,—dates, which with the thirtieth day or 'month's mind,'—play a significant part in the beliefs regarding Death and the disembodied spirit in more than one part of the world. For instance, in the Avesta and Mazdayasnian literature the Death-spirit hovers about the house for three days, and the ghost of the deceased remains three days seated by the head of the corpse; (see *Ardā-i Viráf*, chap. iv.,

Mainyo-i Khard, c. ii, *Dinkart*, ii, c. 75 ; also cf. *Saddar*, 78 ; all being developments of the Avesta, *Vend.* xix, and *Yashts* xxii and xxiv.) ; whilst the death-defilement lasts *nine* days, at the end of which the barashnûm *nû shaba*, or "nine nights" purificatory service is to be performed (*Vend.* ix.—Parallels might be adduced from the Hindu and other rites ; but I pass on).

In the Tagalo (Philippine) superstition we find that (1) the dogs howl at the advent of the *alalia*, or ghost ; evidently (2) because they are gifted with sight keen enough to see spirits,—just as in the Arab belief we cited, they can see *Azrâ'il*, the Death-Angel (Burton, l.c.) ; also (3) this power of seeing spirits can be communicated to the human eye by anointing with the humour of the dog's eye, in which apparently the virtue resides.

This belief in the keenness of the dog's gaze, even into the spirit-world, evidently underlies the world-wide connexion between the proximity of death and the howling of dogs. I would venture also to suggest that it underlies also the Vedic myths of Yâma's *Çabala* hounds, and the classic myth of Cerberus, and the Turano-Eranian rites of the *sagdîd*.

The epithet 'four-eyed' (*caturaksha*) given to the Vedic hounds is rightly interpreted by de Harlez as implying originally nothing more than sharp-sighted or 'seeing on all sides,' or, I suppose, seeing at all four points of the compass ; and indeed the like name is given to Agni also, (*RV.* I. 31, 13), thus indicating that "the poet desires only to give it to be understood that these supernatural personages see on all sides and that nothing escapes their observation" (*B.&O.R.* vol. I, p. 37 ; so too, Rajendralala Mitra, op. cit., p. 163.) No doubt the extreme keenness of vision of the dog would be one of the qualities which most struck the first peoples who domesticated or employed him.

And we can quite understand that among other and independent peoples a similar epithet of 'four-eyed'—whether suggestive of a double supply of eye-power, or of seeing all round,—may have been appropriated to the keen-eyed hound ; and it is very easy to conclude that the dog's supposed power of 'seeing spirits' may have had a similar origin. If in time this very simple origin of the epithet 'four-eyed' became forgotten, we can very well understand subsequent attempts, especially in ritual, to find a plausible realistic explanation. Hence the application of the Mandchu *durbe* and the Mazdayasnian *Cathrucashma* to such dogs, with spots under or over the eyes, as tradition refers to and as Miss A. Smith

actually possesses. For otherwise *why* should Mazdayasnian ritual, or even the Turanian rites which it may have absorbed, have fixed upon such a peculiar kind of dog?

To sum up, I should thus correlate the various traditions and beliefs referred to in this paper concerning the Dog and Death :—

(1) It was observed that the Dog,—especially in hunting and in watching the house, (cf. Avesta, Vend. XIII. 39),—is gifted with extraordinary *keenness of vision*.

(2) Hence a popular belief that he could see even what was beyond human ken,—such as ghosts, spirits, the angel or demon of death, (England, Philippine Islands, Russia, Italy, Arabia, Persia, &c.)

(3) Hence, too, his supposed *use* by analogy to guard the gates of the spirit-realm against intrusive ghosts (Rig-Veda; later Mazdayasnian literature; Scandinavians; North American Indians);—as well as to see and frighten off the death-demons from the living and from the corpse (Avesta), or to similarly frighten off the demons from the dying man's side by the *sag-did* (later Mazdayasnian belief).

(4) Hence, also, an *epithet* appropriated to him, i.e. 'four-eyed,'—indicative of extreme keenness of vision, (*Caturaksha* of Veda, *Cathracashma* of Avesta; Turanian *durbe*).

(5) The latter epithet eventually gets taken in a *literal* sense,—the Vedic hounds are depicted as actually having four eyes. Turanian and Eranian rites requiring the actual presence of a dog, the difficulty is met realistically by fixing upon a dog so marked as to appear to have four eyes, owing to spots on the face above described.

(6) The furthest extension of the idea appears in the Philippine belief, that the very humour of the canine eye is able to communicate the spirit seeing power.

(7) Meanwhile the Dog and Death have become so intimately united in the popular mind, that the mere howling of the former, or ones dreaming about it, is a warning of the approach of the latter.

NOTE.

It will be seen that the theory above sketched differs from that ably put forward by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra, in his *Indo-Aryans*, Vol. II, pp. 156-165. (Calcutta and London, 1881). The Indian savant rightly rejects the 'solar-myth' explanation of Max Müller, which is, of course, as in other cases, carried to still more unwarrantable excess by De Gubernatis in his *Zoological Mythology*. The learned Brahmin's own suggestion has the merit of simplicity: he traces the connexion of the ideas of the dog and of death to a primitive custom of disposing of the bodies of the deceased by giving the flesh as prey to the dogs. Such a usage is

vouched for among the Persians by Herodotus; by Strabo and Cicero for Sogdians, Bactrians, Parthians, and others. Modern evidence to its use in Mongolia and Tibet is supplied by Irjevalsky, della Penna and Abbé Huc. Dr. R. Mitra thinks the Parsi *sagdîd* a remnant of a similar custom. This theory is ingenious; but I do not think that it sufficiently covers all the ground occupied by these various superstitions I have detailed, and others akin to them, and therefore prefer the evolution of beliefs which I have endeavoured to trace out in the preceding pages.

L. C. CASARTELLI.

THE SILK GODDESS OF CHINA AND HER LEGEND.

SUMMARY. INTRODUCTORY.

§1. Present worship of Si-ling she.—2. Is no proof of its genuineness.

I. ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY OF SERICULTURE.—

§3. Silk industry indigenous in China.—4. Attributed to Si-ling she Lui-tsu yuen-fei.—5. Silk of Shan-tung in the Shu king.—6. Silk mentioned in the Yh king.—7. The Tribute of Yü, the oldest description of China.—8. Products of four provinces.—9. Products of five provinces.—10. Candid view to be taken of these statements.—11. Silk and cloth from Tsiu-tchou and Yang-tchou.—12. Stuff and silk from King-tchou and Yu-tchou.—13. Four instances only of silk in the Eastern provinces.—14. West and Central China had no silk.—15. Shan-si, the Chinese focus had silk on the East.—16. Late allusion in the Shi-king as to S. Shensi.—17. Poetical description of sericulture.—18. It had been introduced from the East.—19. It developed there under the Mongols and disappeared.—20. The *Tchou li* mentions silk only in Honan and N. Shansi.—21. The sericulture of Szechuen is not primitive.

II. CALENDARIC RULES, RITES AND CUSTOMS.

§22. Entries about silkworms in the Brief Calendar of the Hia dynasty.—23. In the Ritual of the Tchou dynasty (*Tchou li*).—24. In the *Yueh ling* of the Li ki, with reference to a sacrifice to the ancient Emperors.—25. On the Royal culture of silkworms.—26. The Princesses like the Queen must attend to silkworms.—27. Silkworms and silk in the *Shi king*.—28. No souvenir of their discovery.

III. VARIOUS TUTELARY SPIRITS AND GODDESSES OF SILK.

§ 29. Discovery of silk not mentioned in the *Hi-tze* nor in the *Shan hai king*.—30. Rationalised tableau of savage life in the *Li ki*.—31. Sacrifice to the *Sien Ts'an* or First silkworms mentioned in a spurious passage of the same work.—32. Sacrifice for silkworms to the Land deity, IIIrd cent. A.D.—33. Sacrifice by the Ts'in Empress in the IVth cent. to *Tsan shen* i.e. the Tutelary Genius of silkworms.—34. Official ceremony in 460 A.D.—35. Vague statement of the Tung Kien Kang Muh.—36. Nothing known by tradition as to a real inventor.—37. *Tchou she*, wife of Wu-ti, 141 B.C., worshipped in the Vth century.—38. *Yuen yü* and *Yü she* worshipped in the XIth cent.—39. They belong probably to the IInd cent. A.D.—40. No ancient traces of the goddess Si-ling she Lui tsu.

IV. FORMATION OF THE LEGEND OF THE GODDESS SI-LING SHE LUI TSU.

§ 41. *Lui tsu*, a bare name in the *She ki*.—42. Its analysis developed into a mythological statement.—43. Given as an historical fact in the XIth century.—44. Quite unknown in earlier times.—45. Shen-nung as inventor of silk.—46. Lui-tsu, a daughter of the Si-ling clan.—47. Interest at identifying the Si-ling.—48. Described in the *Er-ya*.—49. They were in Kan-suh.

CONCLUSION. § 50. Lui tsu is a case of mythography, and sericulture was a pre-Chinese industry.

INTRODUCTORY.

1. In the grounds of the Imperial Palace¹ at Peking is an altar forty feet in circuit and four feet in height, surrounded by a wall² and also a temple called the *ts'en-tsan-tao*, "The early silk worms' altar in the vicinity of which a plantation of mulberry trees and a cocoonery are maintained. It is dedicated to *Yuenfei* otherwise First wife in her quality of discoverer of the silkworms,³ and annually in April, the Empress worships and sacrifices to her.⁴ The same goddess has several important temples in Tchekkiang, one of the provinces where the silk industry flourishes, but I have no evidence to adduce as to her probable worship elsewhere. As we shall see further on, *Yuen-fei* is said to be the name of *Si-ling-she*, first wife of Huang-ti the leader of the Bak families who civilised China.

2. However deeply rooted this belief may be in the mind of the Chinese people, it cannot necessarily be looked upon as a proof of historical veracity; and some more proofs are required for it being accepted as a fact that the first leader of the Chinese and his wife, on the North-west of China proper, some twenty-three centuries before our era, had taught the inhabitants of the Middle Kingdom, the rearing of silkworms and the silk industry.

Is there any truth in the legend, and if not what is the origin of the belief?

NOTES—

- 1) North of the bridge leading to the *Kiung hwa tao* island.
- 2) The present enclosure was put up under Yung tching in 1742, but its buildings, says W. Williams, II, 23, are now much dilapidated.
- 3) W. Williams, *Middle Kingdom*, R. Ed., vol. I, p. 71; II, 33.
- 4) J. H. Gray, *China*, vol. II, p. 220. On a fortunate day in the spring of each year, her state worship is duly solemnized by the Mandarins.—In the interesting description of *Peking* by the Rev. Joseph Edkins, printed in A. Williamson: *Journeys in North China*, 1870, vol. II, we find the following statements: "On the North side (of the lake) is a hill on an island called *Kiung hwa tao*, capped by a white pagoda or dagoba. Here there is an altar on the hill side to the originator of silk manufactures and to the presiding genius of the silkworm; the altar wall is 1600 feet round and the altar itself forty feet in circuit, and four feet high. Round it are mulberry trees, and near it a tank for washing the worms. The Empress comes here annually to feed the silkworms, which are kept in a house suitable for the purpose; she thus sets an example of industry to the working women of the empire." Cf. p. 335.—"On a fortunate day of the ninth month, the empress, either personally or by proxy, accompanied by a train of princesses and honourable ladies, repairs to the altar sacred to the discoverer of silkworms. After sacrificing, the empress with golden, and the princesses with silver implements, collect the mulberry leaves to feed the imperial silkworms. They, then, wind off some cocoons of silk, and so end the ceremony. This very ancient festival is considered as the counterpart of the agriculture one, observed by the emperor in the spring." M. Murrow, *Hongkong Chronicle and Directory* for 1865, in J. H. Gray, *China*, vol. II, p. 220.

I.

3. Silk industry is indigenous in China as the silkworm itself. It has not been brought into the country by its ancient civilisers the Bak tribes, neither by any of the other races, like the Jungs, who also immigrated into China in remote times. We cannot be surprised therefore if the Chinese traditions about the silkworm rearing and the silk industry are by far the oldest and hitherto the only ancient ones on the subject.

4. Legend attributes the art of winding the silkworms' cocoons to the time of the first leader of the Pre-Chinese Bak tribes, while they were established as yet on the North-west borders of present China proper. This leader commonly known as Hwang-ti, but whose complete name was *Nakhunte*⁶ married four wives;⁷ the first of them from the clan of Si-ling,⁸ and named 女累祖 *Lui-tsu*,⁹ is the one who is said to have begun to rear silkworms. She has been deified and she is still worshipped for that reason at the (先) *Sien-tsan* or ancient silkworms' altar.¹⁰ She is also called 元妃 *Yuen-fei* or first wife.¹¹ We shall examine these various

appellatives further on (§§40-45), so far as they confirm or weaken the veracity of the legend, and we shall see that it is nothing more than an instance of mythology caused by the ideographism of the written characters.

5. The first reference to silk or better silk-cloth in historical documents is that which occurs in the second chapter of the Book of History¹², the Canon of Shun, where the Chinese ruler is said to have made a tour of inspection among the fiefs eastward as far as the mountain of *Tai*, otherwise the *Tai shan* in Shantung W., the most famous of the sacred hills of China. Shun made there a certain number of regulations, including one concerning the *san peh* or three sorts of silks. The text there is apparently corrupted and contains a difficulty which has not been cleared off either by the native commentators or the Sinologists who have translated it. But this does not affect the *san peh*, as they are mentioned at the same time as the five classes of rites to be observed, the five orders of gem-tokens, and the other articles which prepared the way to the princes for their audience from the Chinese ruler. The oldest sons of chiefs were bound to hold silk of a deep red, the sons of the three highest officers silks of a reddish black, and the chieftains of small attached territories yellow silks. There is perhaps in this explanation much of later rites, although a distinction of some sort was then and there established for three sorts of plain silk cloth as articles of introduction, and the unparalleled stableness of the rites and institutions of the Kingdom Beneath-Heaven allows the explanation of many ancient manners and customs by the peculiarities of the later ones. An interesting characteristic of the foregoing statement of the *Shu King* is that the regulation concerning the three classes of silk's presents was made when the Chinese ruler went to the East of his dominion, in the modern province of Shantung which has always been known for its silk industry, as we shall see further on.

6. An older reference to *peh* or plain silk, if no substitution of character has been made in the text since antiquity, would be that which occurs in the Book of Changes, Chapter XXII¹³, concerning the symbol *Pi* and *Fen*, where it is spoken of *shuh peh*, bundle of silk cloth.

7. The *Yü Kung*, or Tribute of Yü, the oldest geographical document of Chinese literature, describes the chief products of the country according to its divisions under and outside the Chinese rule. This distinction which has not as yet received the attention it deserves is somewhat con-

cealed from view, and the nine *tchou* are all enumerated, as if to convey the idea that every one in its entirety was under the Chinese dominion. The sole difference consists in the use of one or the other of two words when speaking of the products of the land, *Wu* and *Kung*¹⁴. The first means: revenue, contribution of revenue, assess; while the second, *Kung*, is to present as tribute to a superior, to offer up; showing therefore that the products which are *wu* are those of Chinese or others, subjects to the dominion of the son of Heaven, while the products which are *Kung* come from foreigners and non-subjects and may or may not be brought according to treaties, homage, convenience or for trade purposes.

The *Yü Kung*, once noticed this distinction, is most instructive about the real extension, limited at that time, of the dominion of the Chinese, and it shows which products and industry were then in the hands of the native population, and those of the Chinese themselves.

8. In the province of *Kitchou*, i.e. roughly the present Shansi, and the real seat of the Chinese no special products or industries are spoken of.

In *Yentchou*, to the east of the preceding, a part of Tchihli W. and C., the offerings consisted of lacquer, silk and ornamented stuffs¹⁵ in round bamboo baskets.

In *Tsingtchou*, roughly Shantung, salt and a fine grass cloth were presented from the sea-shore, silk¹⁶ and hemp from the valleys of the Tai, and baskets of silk of wild-silkworms¹⁷ from the Lai tribes.

In *Tsiutchou*, i.e. Shantung S., and Kiangsu¹⁸, the aboriginal tribes of the Hwai brought oyster pearls and fish, and baskets of reddish black and undyed fine fabrics¹⁹.

9. In *Yangtchou*, i.e. the region around and south of the mouths of Yangtze, the articles presented were various and included fabrics and cauries²⁰.

In *Kingtchou*, W. of preceding, i.e. Hupeh and the adjoining South, the offerings included baskets of reddish black and crimson stuffs²¹, with strings of irregular pearls²².

In *Yutchou*, corresponding to Honan, baskets²³ filled with fine fabrics, and fine floss-silk, were presented²⁴.

In *Liangtchou*, which corresponded to the W. of Honan and Hupeh with the North of Szetchuen, there were no offers of silk, although other products were numerous²⁵.

The same thing may be said of the last province, *Yungtchou*, com-

prising Shensi and the adjoining west which produced no silk, nor other products worth mentioning, with the exception of several sorts of precious stones; offers of hair-cloth and skins were made, but only by the foreign tribes of the mountainous west²⁶.

10. The present résumé is an unsophisticated account of the textile industry in the parts of China proper known to the authors of the Yü-Kung. It is by far less glowing a description than some published translations would lead their readers to suppose. The cause of this difference is not far to seek. We have confined ourselves to the bare statements of facts, without indulging into inferences which are not supported by positive words to that effect. Although the terseness and vagueness of the Chinese texts leave much to the reader's mind to infer, we are of opinion that it is a great error to develop the meaning of the characters beyond their natural and commonly received acceptation. We must not follow the Chinese commentators in their erroneous system of considering and interpreting all the ancient statements in a roseate and glowing view. In *Yentchou*, for instance, the offers consisted of lacquer, *se* or silk and *tchewen* or woven ornaments. This is the literal translation, but native commentators, in their constant endeavours to beautify and make the utmost of all that concerns the deeds of their ancients, have suggested that these words implied fabrics of the highest quality as handiwork and material²⁷.

11. In *Tsiu-tchou* we have noticed offers by the native tribes of the Hwai of fine fabrics reddish black and undyed. The terms are *hiuen sien kao*, meaning literally: reddish black²⁸ fine fabrics and raw. *Sien* is properly small, fine like silken fibres²⁹, and it applies also to a cloth wove with a black warp³⁰, and white wool³¹. Now commentators of the Shu King have improved upon that and we find these three words magnified into black silks and chequered sarcenets in Medhurst's³² and by: deep azure silks, and other silken fabrics, chequered and white in Legge's translation³³.

In *Yang-tchou*, the region bordering the maritime provinces of the south east, the text says that the offers consisted in *tchew pei*, fabrics and cauries, which are magnified into: woven ornamented silks in Legge's translation³⁴, and more soberly rendered by: weaving cotton in Medhurst's³⁵.

12. Offers were made from *King-tca'u* in *hiuen hiun* or reddish black and crimson stuffs. The two Chinese symbols mean simply deep-azure and bright-red-three-times-dyed³⁶, and there is no statement as to

what application these colours had received. Commentators of course made it to be silk and accordingly we hear of reddish-black and purple silken fabrics' and of 'black and red silk' in Legge's and Medhurst's renderings³⁷.

From *Yu tchou*, offers were made in *Sien Kw'ang* or fine-fabrics and fine-floss-silk. The proper meaning of *sien* has previously been ascertained, and as to that of *kw'ang* there is a sufficient amount of proofs independent of this very case to justify the foregoing rendering³⁸. In Medhurst's translation the two words become : different coloured floss silk and silky cotton, and in Legge's : fine silken fabrics and fine floss silk³⁹.

13. This critical survey shows how the four genuine statements concerning production of silk referred to in the *Yü Kung*, have been magnified into nine by uncritical, if patriotic, commentators whom several European scholars have blindly followed. A criticism of the original Chinese texts according to western method is the first thing to be done by Sinologists before trusting statements of native scholars of the Middle Kingdom.

14. Silk culture was then restricted to a much more limited area than is commonly believed, and flourished only in the East. The present provinces of Shensi, Szetchuen, Hupeh, &c. were not silk-producing regions, although in the last-named province the weaving industry was re-knownn, and may have employed silk in the manufacture of its famous cloth, reddish-black and crimson, while in the two first-named provinces woollen cloth was the object of a regular industry. Tchihli, Shantung, and Honan were producing silk. In the two first provinces silk was an indigenous product, especially in the east of Shantung, where it was in the hands of the aboriginal population.

15. It is worth noticing that Shansi province does not appear in the preceding list, as producing or non-producing-silk. The negative evidence, however, is no proof, as the whole province was then the real seat of the Chinese, and no list whatever of products is given therefrom, perhaps because they were all assessed or *wu* goods. We do not feel justified to infer from that silence that the Chinese of the region were no silk culturists. The importance they attached to silk vouches of their sure efforts at introducing silkworms in Shansi should they not have found some therein. In the same document we have just examined, there is a positive statement to that effect with reference to a part of *Yentchou* (Tchihli-W. and C.): "the mulberry ground having been supplied with

silkworms, the people descended from the hills and dwelt in the plains."⁴⁰

16. The Book of Poetry might be referred to as a proof that silk culture was in olden times a regular occupation in the south of Shensi, in the P'in and K'i countries, the seats of the Tchou tribes for some five hundred years previously to the establishment of their dynasty eastwards at Hao-King, later Si-ngan, and at Loh-yang. The celebrated Duke of Tchou wrote a long ode describing the ancient manners and ways of his countrymen.⁴¹ The tale is supposed to be told by an aged yeoman, but no allusion is made to the date nor to the name of the region of the scene. But as the spokesman alludes to the Fire-star or Heart of Scorpio passing the meridian in the seventh month, an astronomical fact which was correct in the twelfth century, while it was not so 600 years previously, and as the numeric order of the months quoted therein is yet that of the Hia dynasty, it follows that the descriptions in the Ode refer to the condition and occupations of the Tchou people during the age immediately preceding the foundation of their dynasty.

The verses concerning the silk-culture are interesting to read:—

With the spring days the warmth begins
And the oriole utters its song.
The young women take their deep baskets,
And go along the small paths
Looking for the tender (leaves of the) mulberry trees.

In the silkworm month they strip the mulberry branches of their leaves.
And take their axes and hatchets,
To lop off those that are distant and high;
Only stripping the young trees of their leaves.
In the seventh month the shrike is heard.
In the eighth month, they begin their spinning;
They make dark⁴² fabrics and yellow.
Our red manufacture is very brilliant,
It is for the lower robes of our young princes.

18. The song of the Oriole gave notice of the time to take the silkworms in hand, and the note of the shrike was the signal to set about spinning. The expression used here for that operation, *ts'hi*, (8004) is that specially appropriate to the twisting of hemp. The commentators explain the following verse as referring to the dyeing operations on both the woven silk and the cloth⁴³. But as silk work was an occupation more noble, so to say, than hemp and dolichos work, it was to be expected from the commentators that they should impress upon their readers that silk was alluded to in the passage in question. Anyhow, in face of proof to the contrary derived previously from the *Yü-kung*, it cannot be inferred from these verses that silk culture was indigenous in Shensi, and known there

in the most ancient times, as it may have been and most probably was introduced therein from the eastern provinces by the Chinese as they did in Shansi.

19. Marco-Polo (1265-1289) mentions repeatedly abundance of silk in Shansi and Shensi, whereas now there is next to no silk grown in these districts.⁴⁴ In the highly interesting Reports on Silk drawn by the officials of the Chinese Imperial customs, hardly any reference is made to silk of these provinces. The change of climate which has been spoken of Shensi in and southern Shansi by geologists⁴⁵ may have caused this result. A commercial change may have come to the same. The climate of the two aforesaid provinces apparently, was not at any time favourable to the spread of silk worms unless specially reared and this may be the simple explanation of the divergence in the statements.

20. The Ritual of the Tchow dynasty has a special book, the 33rd, concerning the officers in charge of the different regions of the dominion, and in which the various products of the nine-provinces are enumerated. It is the counter part at a later date of the statements on the same subject which we have found in the *Yü Kung*. The information therein confirms the facts elicited, from our unsophisticated resumé of the older document, on the limited area of silk culture in ancient times. Of the nine provinces, two only were producing the precious textile. *Yu-tchow* corresponding to the same province than that of the same name in the *Yü Kung* i.e. roughly to Honan, continued to produce silk and also lacquer, and hemp, with the addition of bamboo. *Ping tchow*⁴⁶ corresponding to N. Shansi and previously included in *Ki tchow* produced linen and silk⁴⁷. And this is all⁴⁸. The culture of silk in the hands of the native tribes mentioned in the *Yu Kung* are out of reckoning in that work.

21. The Szetchuen province has been for long a silk producing land as shown by the history of the country⁴⁹ written about the Christian era by Yang-Hiung the philologist⁵⁰ who was himself a native from there. One of the early kings is called the silk-worms rearer⁵¹ and therefore might be looked upon as having introduced them in his country. He had easily obtained some from the Chinese. This king seems to have lived some five hundred years before the Christian era. The geography of the Han period⁵² mentions a *Tsan ling* or Silk worm's range in the Shuh Kiun, which shows that silk culture had become prosperous. The silence of the *Yü kung* showing the absence of silk products in the Liang tchow combined with the information to be derived

from the statements just quoted, must be taken together as a precise indication that sericulture was not practiced in that part of China proper during the earliest period. Therefore it was special only to the eastern part of the country.

NOTES—

- 5) Cf. *Tso chuen* Siang Kung, year xiv, 1. and *The Languages of China before the Chinese*, par. 28 and 89.
- 6) On this name cf. my special paper: *Onomastic similarity of Nakhunte of Susiana and Nakhunte of China*: B & O.R. IV. pp. 256-264.
- 7) Hwang P'u-mi, *Ti wang she ki*,—*Tai ping yü lan*, kiv. 135, fol. 7 verso. Hwang-ti had twenty five children by his four wives. In the Persian legends Kaiomars, the first king, had also twenty five children, according to the Bundelesh.
- 8) *Si-ling*, (9852-11803) i.e. West Hills. The Nos. in brackets are throughout those of the Chinese characters as arranged in the old Dictionary of Basile de Glemona edited by de Guignes (1813), and in the *Dictionarium Linguae Sinicae*, A.M.D.G., Ho-kien, Jan. 1877. It is the most convenient system of indicating the characters when they are not available.—The *Si-ling* have not been identified as yet, because those of central China have no possible relation with the former, as they were so named as late as the Han dynasty. The *Si-ling* of Nakhunte's time must be looked for along the Kuenlun range.
- 9) Litt. Grand-mother of thread, a rather ominous meaning.
- 10) W. Williams, *Middle Kingdom*. Rev. Edit, I. 71, II. 33.—It must be remarked that Lui-tsu was the mother of Tchang-y, who was sent away near the Joh water, as reported by Szema-Tsien's *She-ki*, and other works.
- 11) In Hwang P'u-mi's work quoted *supra*, note 7.
- 12) *Shu King*, *Shun tien*, 8.
- 13) *Yh King*, Kwa XXII. The character is (10450).
- 14) 賦 Wu and 貢 Kung.
- 15) Written: 糸系 *se* and 織文 *tchew wén*.
- 16) Written: *se* (7853) as in preceding note.—Also: lead, pine-trees, and curious stones.
- 17) Written: *Yen-se*. (1076-7853). Such worms exist as yet in the province.—Cf. Dr. Fauvel: *The wild silkworms of the Province of Shantung*, in *China Review*, vol. VI, p. 89.
- 18) Its articles of tribute were earth of fire different colours; with the variegated feathers of pheasants from the valleys of the Yu; the solitary dryandra from the South of Mount Yh; and the sounding stones that seemed to float, near the banks of the Sze.
- 19) Written: *hiuen sien kao* (6051-8078-12656).
- 20) Written: *Tchew Pei* (8021-10408).—And also: gold, silver and copper; *yao* (5981) and *kuen* (5948) stones; bamboos small and large; elephants' teeth, hides, feathers, hair and timber; and from islanders, garments of grass. Also small oranges and pummelos.
- 21) Written: *hiuen hiun* (6051-8087).
- 22) Also: feathers, hair, ivory and hides; gold; silver and copper; the *tch'un* tree, wood for bows, cedars and cypresses; *K'wen* and *lu* bamboos, hoo-tree wood, three-ribbed rush, &c.

- 23) And also lacquer, hemp, a finer and coarser hempen cloth ; also occasionally stones for polishing sounding-stones.
- 24) Written . (8078-2568) *Sien kwang*.
- 25) The offered products consisted in sonorous stones, iron, silver, steel, stones for arrowheads, and sounding stones, skins of bears, great bears, foxes, jackals, and articles woven with their hair.
- 26) The sole articles offered, were hair-cloth, and skins from the tribes of Kuenlun, Sibche, and K'iuson.
- 27) Meddhurst, *The Shoo King*, p. 92. translates . stuffs of various colours.—Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. III, p. 99, has : woven ornamental fabrics.—Panthier, *Chine Ancienne*, p. 48, translates : 'tissus de diverses couleurs.'
- 28) *Hiuen* is properly a black hue with a flush of red in it.
- 29) *Shwoh Wen*, sub verb.
- 30) Wells Williams, *Syll. Dict.* p. 800.
- 31) *K'anghi tze tien*, 120+17 fol. 65 verso, quoting the *Li Kien tchuan*, a late work. A commentator of the *Tsien Han Shu* explains it as : fine cloth.
- 32) *The Shoo King*, p. 96.
- 33) *Chinese Classics*. vol. III, p. 107.—Pauthier, *Chine*, p. 48, translates : 'soie rouge, noire, et blanche.'
- 34) *Ibid.* p. 111.
- 35) *The Shoo King*, p. 98.
- 36) Cf. *Er-ya*—*Shwoh Wen*.—*Tchou li*, *Kao kung ki*.
- 37) *Chinese Classics*, vol. III, p. 116.—*The Shoo king*, p. 101. Pauthier, *Chine*, p. 49, translates : 'pieces de soie noire et rouge.'
- 38) The *Shwoh wen* explains it by *Na*, ravelled silk, and the *Yü pien* by *Mien*, new silk. Cf. *K'anghi tzetien*, 120+15, fol. 63.
- 39) *The Shoo King*, p. 102.—*Chinese Classics*. vol. III, p. 119.—Pauthier, *Chine*, p. 49, translates : 'toiles fines et fil de coton.'
- 40) *Shu King*, *Yü Kung*, III.
- 41) This Ode *Ts'ih yueh* classified in the *She King* as the first among those of Pin, is supposed by the commentators to refer chiefly to the manners of the first settlers in Pin under the rule of Duke Liu. But the piece does not bear any internal evidence of this contention. Neither Pin nor the Duke Liu are mentioned therein.
- 42) The term *hiuen* here translated dark is the same as note 28.
- 43) Cf. James Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. IV, pp. 228-9, and notes.
- 44) In Shansi, only little silk is produced, namely about 700 piculs annually in Raw silk, of which 500 piculs are wild. Cf. *China. Imperial Maritime Customs II.—Special Series* : No. 3, *Silk*, 1881, pp. 20-21. Nothing is said of silk in Shensi. M. Natalis Rondot of Lyon, in the statistics he has compiled from older documents for the Exhibition of 1878 in Paris has included the names of Shansi and Shensi in his figures. The latter province however is referred to only for Oak silkworms.
- 45) Notably by F. von Richtofen ; cf. H. Yule, *The book of Ser Marco Polo*, vol. II, p. 18.
- 46) *Tchou-li*, *Tchih fang she*, XXIII, fol. 17.—Ed. Biot, *Le Tchou-li ou Rites des Tch'ou*, 1851, vol. II, p. 269.
- 47) The commentary of Y-fu says that this province which existed at

the time of Shun when he divided the Empire in 12 provinces, was included by the great Yü in the Ki tchou, and restored by the Tchou.

- 48) *Ibid.* fol. 49, and page 275. Ld. Biot, forgetting the previous statement about the Yu tchou, remarks how curious it is that silk should be attributed only to the North of the Empire, and supposes that it may indicate an exportation of silk. The learned author was labouring under the glowing and exaggerated explanation put forth by the commentators of the *Yu kung*, and the wrong impression that silk culture was much more extensive than it really was in olden times.
- 49) *Shuh wang pen tsi*.—Cf. also the *Tcheng-tu ki*.
- 50) On this great scholar cf. T. de L., *The languages of China before the Chinese*, §§ 42-53.
- 51) *Tsang t'sung she* (9628-1108-480).
- 52) *Tsien Han shu*, T'i li tchi.

II.

CALENDARIC RULES, RITES AND CUSTOMS.

22. A remarkable document, the *Brief Calendar of the Hia dynasty*⁵³, which internal evidence shows to have been compiled about 2000 a.c., proves how great was already at that time the importance attached to silkworm rearing. There are in it three special entries, as follows :

1. 30. “(In the second month). Is plucked⁵⁴ the *Ailanthus glandulosa*⁵⁵. Multitudes of small insects (silkworms?) tap the eggshells (which contain them).

1. 38. In the third month, gathered are the mulberry leaves.

1. 44. Lasses and Lads begin attending the silkworms.

1. 45. And take in hand the rearing-house “business⁵⁶.”

These calendaric statements of olden times, assumed afterwards the value of official regulations.

23. The *Ritual of the Tchou dynasty*⁵⁷, which we have previously quoted rules that “in the middle of spring, the *Nei-tsai* invites the Queen to inaugurate the rearing of silk-worms in the Northern suburb to make the sacrificial robes⁵⁸.” *Nei tsai* is the title of the special officer of government in charge of the part of the palace occupied by the queen, wives and concubines of the Son of Heaven. There are besides two officials, the *Manager of silk* or *Tien se* and the *Manager of flax* or *Tien si*, who keep these textiles in stores and distribute them for embroidering and wearing, and receive them when worked out⁵⁹.

24. In the third century B.C., Lü Pu-wei (D. 237 B.C.) or one of his collaborateurs, compiled for his collection entitled *Tchun tsiu*, the monthly regulations, similar to the *Brief Calendar of the Hia dynasty*, but with all the modifications and additions which had occurred in the meantime. This precious record, named *Yueh ling* or *Monthly rules* was

afterwards introduced into the Record of Rites or *Li ki*, where it forms the fourth book⁶⁰, by a renowned scholar named Ma Yung (79-166 A.D.) "In the last month of spring⁶¹,—the son of Heaven presents robes yellow like the young leaves of the mulberry tree to the ancient *Ti* or divine ruler⁶²." As the queens were not called *Ti*, this may indicate a sacrifice not to the queens, but to the ancient Emperors, if not perhaps to Huangti himself, looked upon as the initiator of the silk-worm industry. "In the same month,—the queen after vigil and fasting, goes in person to the eastern fields to work on the mulberry trees. She orders the wives and younger women (of the palace) not to wear their ornamented dresses, and to suspend their woman's work, thus stimulating them to attend to the business with the worms. When this has been completed, she apportions the cocoons, weighs out (afterwards) the silk, on which they go to work, to supply the robes for the solsticial and other great religious services, and for use in the ancestral temple; not one is allowed to be idle⁶³."

"In the first month of summer,---when the work with the silk-worms is over, the queen presents her cocoons; and the tithe-tax of cocoons generally is collected, according to the number of mulberry trees; for noble and mean, for old and young there is one law. The object is with such cocoons to provide materials for the robes to be used at the sacrifices in the suburbs and in the ancestral temple⁶⁴."

25. Other parts of the same Ritual, the *Li ki*, refer to sericulture. They are not uninteresting to read. In the chapter on *Tsi-y* or Meaning of sacrifices⁶⁵, it is said:

Anciently the Son of Heaven and the feudal lords had their own mulberry trees and silkworms' house; the latter built near a river, ten cubits in height, the surrounding walls being topped with thorns and the gates closed on the outside. In the early morning of a very bright day, the ruler, in his skin cap and the white skirt, divined for the most auspicious of the honourable ladies in the three palaces of his wife, who were then employed to take the silkworms into the house. They washed the seeds in the stream, gathered the leaves from the mulberry trees, and dried them in the wind to feed the worms.

When the (silkworm) year was ended, the honourable ladies had finished their work with the insects, and carried the cocoons to show them to the ruler. They then presented them to his wife, "Will not these supply the materials for the ruler's robes?" She forthwith received them, wearing her head dress and the robe with pheasants on it, and

afterwards caused a sheep and a pig to be killed and cooked to treat (the ladies). This probably was the ancient custom at the presentation of the cocoons.

Afterwards, on a good day, the wife rinsed some of them thrice in a vessel, beginning to unwind them, and then distributed them to the auspicious and honourable ladies of her three palaces to (complete) the unwinding. They then dyed the thread red and green, azure and yellow, to make the variously coloured figures on robes. When the robes were finished, the ruler wore them in sacrificing to the former kings and dukes;—all displayed the greatest reverence.

26. In the following chapter *Tsi t'ung* containing a summary account of sacrifices, it is said⁶⁶: “..... the Son of Heaven himself guided the plough in the Southern suburb, to provide the grain for the sacrificial vessels; and the queen looked after her silkworms in the Northern suburb, to provide the cap and robes of silk. The princes of the States guided the plough in their eastern suburb, also to provide the grain for the sacrificial vessels, and their wives looked after their silkworms in the northern suburb, to provide the cap and robes of silk.”

27. Although silkworms and silk are not unfrequently mentioned in the Book of Poetry, no allusion appears anywhere to a Tutelary spirit of silkworms.

Silk was a great luxury and its cultivation cannot have been extensively used. It is severally spoken of as the material of embroideries.

In Tchih-li, great officers wore lamb-skins and sheep-skins with five braidings of white silk⁶⁷, while young princes are said to have been angling with lines made of silk thread⁶⁸.

A Marchioness of Wei (S. Shansi) about 750 B.C. wears a green upper robe in silk with a yellow lining⁶⁹. Great officers of the same state have pennons on staffs with ox-tails and white silk cords or ribbons⁷⁰.

Silk was used also for girdles⁷¹, and occasionally for string of bows⁷²; reins are praised when they are glossy like silk⁷³. Officers wore silk robes for sacrificial ceremonies⁷⁴.

In all these cases the written symbol to denote silk is the special one for it, (7853) *se* and no misapprehension is possible. But there are other terms which also appear in the Book of Poetry.

A dress of thin undyed silk 糸高 *kao* is spoken of once in an ode where the poet speaks of his lady-love: she in the thin silk and the light blue coiffure⁷⁵.

Princes of state in sacrificing wore an inner robe made of white silk,

with a vermilion collar. On this were embroidered the axes of authority, and it was fitted also with a hem or edging of vermilion coloured silk⁷⁶, S u (7786) white silk is the expression used in the ode speaking of this robe, and also in another ode to describe the strings in white silk of the ear-stoppers of a bridegroom⁷⁷.

28. These various references show how important was the value attached to silk and silkworms amongst the ancient Chinese. Should any invention or discovery of the sort had been made by them at a certain time, the souvenir of the event would have preserved in one or the other of these ancient books. But nothing is said as if silkworm rearing had ever existed.

NOTES—

- 53) The *Li-ki*, Bk. VII or *Li yun*, sect. I, par. 5, puts in the words of Confucius that he found himself "The Seasons of Hia" a work which was preserved in the state of *K'i* in charge of the traditions and sacrifices concerning the Hia dynasty.
- 54) This grammatical construction, peculiar as it is, is that which is referred to in *Les langues de la chine avant les chinois*, par. 12.
- 55) It was used at sacrifices and as food for silkworms.
- 56) *Hia siao tcheng*. Cf. R. K. Douglas: *Early Chinese texts. I. The Calendar of the Hia dynasty*, 1882, pp. 29, 32 and 34. The end of the last statement is translated: . . . the rearing-palace matters.
- 57) *Tchou-li*, VII, 10: trad. Biot; vol. I, p. 146.
- 58) The commentators infer from this, in comparison with the statements of the *Hia siao tcheng*, and of the *Yueh ling* which see *infra*, that there existed since olden times an official building for the silkworms, otherwise an official Magnanerie.
- 59) *Tchou Li*, VII, 36-41.
- 60) *The Li ki*, trad. Legge; introd. pp. 7 and 20-21.
- 61) On the third day of the third month; according to Dr. J. de Groot, cf. following note.
- 62) *Yueh ling*, III, 6; in *Li ki*, trad. Legge, vol. I, p. 263. Dr. J. de Groot: *Les fêtes annuellement célébrées à Emouy*, vol. I, p. 203 translates it to the plural. The Chinese texts quoted in Dr. Groot, says simply that the Son of Heaven offers *Kiuh* robes to the ancient Ti(s?): De Groot translates . . . vêtements couleur d'aster. . . . Dr. Eitel, *Cantonese dictionary*, p. 296, explains *K'uh* as 'clothes made of the fibres of the yellow mulberry.' Where they not the robes made with the silk of the preceding year?
- 63) *Yueh ling*, III, 12; *ibid.* p. 265.
- 64) *Li ki*, XXI, sect. II, par. 7; Legge's translation, p. 2-3.
- 65) *Li ki*, XXII, 5.—Legge, *o.c.* p. 239.—Mencius, (37 -289 B.C.) in his book II. part 2, ch. III, par. 3, quotes the same passage, in his usual loose manner.
- 66) *She king*; *Kwoh fung*; Odes of Tchao Nan. VII.
- 67) *Ibid.* Ode XIII, 3.
- 68) *Ibid.* Odes of Pei, II, 3.

- 70) *Ibid.* Odes of Yung, IX. 1-3.—The fourth of the Odes of Wei in the same part of the *She King*, contains an allusion to a lad who came to exchange cloth or *p'u* against silk or *se*; which the critic explains by woven silk and raw silk.
- 71) *Ibid.* XIV, Odes of Tsao, II, 2,
- 72) *She King*, Part III, div. 3, Ode II, 9.
- 73) *She King*, Part. II, div. 1, Ode III, 3.
- 74) *She King*, Part. IV, div. 1, sub. div. III, Ode VII.—Edward Biot in his valuable *Recherches sur les mœurs anciennes des Chinois, d'après le Chi king*, 1843, states that in Shensi the King of Ts'in wore a garment of fox-fur, with one of brodered silk over it, and refers to I. xi. V; but the expression used is simply 金帛衣 *kin y*, brodered robe, without reference to the material of the cloth. The Ode I. iii. XII, also quoted as showing that similar garments of fox-skins were worn at the court of P'ei by the officers, does not speak of silk at all.
- 75) I. xix. 7, XX.
- 76) I. x. One IV.—J. Legge, *Chines Classics*, vol. IV, p. 179 note
- 77) Ode III, 1 of I, viii.

III.

VARIOUS TUTELARY SPIRITS AND GODDESSES OF SILK AND SILKWORMS.

29. No allusion is made to the invention of silk among the many disclosures attributed to the early rulers in the great appendice to the *Yh-king* where a not unconsiderable amount of ancient lore has been piled up. The authorship of the document is attributed to Confucius, and it would have been pencilled down by one of his disciples.

The same silence occurs in the various fragments of olden times which have been added to the *Book of Mountains and Seas*, under the Han dynasty.

30. But if there is no allusion to the invention of silk in these ancient documents, the same condition rather ominous exists no more in late works. The *Li ki* or *Record of Rites* has a curious passage sketching a period of savage life in the history of the people⁷⁸.

“Formerly the ancient kings had no houses. In winter they lived in caves which they had excavated, and in summer in nests which they had framed. They knew not yet the transforming power of fire, but ate the fruits of plants and trees, and the flesh of birds and beasts, drinking the blood, and swallowing the hair and feathers (as well). They knew not yet the use of flax and silk, but clothed themselves with feathers and skins.

“The later sages arose, and men (learned) to take advantage of the benefits of fire. They moulded the metal and fashioned clay, so as to

rear towers with structures on them, and houses with windows and doors. They toasted, grilled, boiled and roasted. They produced must and sauces. They dealt with the flax and silk so as to form linen and silken fabrics.

No deity, or presiding genius of silk culture seems to have been known at the time of the foregoing text.

31. It is however in the same work that a statement which has been expurgated from the received edition, refers to the *Sien Ts'an* (580-9628) as Tutelary Genii in the following terms: "In the first month of spring the *Hou fet*, i.e. the wife of the King or Prince, after having fast of animal food, offers a sacrifice at the *Sien Ts'an* or First Silkworms, &c." The passage is quoted in a cyclopedia of the Xth century⁷⁹. And a gloss in the same work explains *Sien Ts'an* by *T'ien sze*⁸⁰, the quadriga of heaven which consists of four red stars of the Scorpio; this was one of the many names of *fang* the fourth of the 28 zodiacal constellations, and the most important of spring. It was looked upon as announcing the forthcoming harvest. The commentary is important as it tends to show that *Sien Ts'an* was not a proper name and simply an appellative of season. And the statement does not say to which tutelary god or spirit the sacrifice was offered. We do not find however confirmation of this identification of the Quadriga-of-heaven with the *Sien Ts'an* in any of the many appellatives of that group of stars⁸¹. The commentator was ill-informed, or the appellative was a popular one which has not found its way in astronomical literature. It is only the *Nü siu*, the third constellation of winter which shows some references to silk culture. A secondary star-group within, the *Fu Kwang* or The Basket-with-handles is said by the Book-of-Stars to preside at the rearing of silkworms⁸². As the Book-of-stars although based upon an older work of the same title, has been recast at the time of the T'ang dynasty (618-906) the selection of this presiding star-group may be not much older than that period. It does not appear in the short list of stars given in the *Er-ya* of the Confucian era.

32. Another interesting statement concerning the part played by the Emperor himself with reference to the Sericulture is made by Tehang hwa (232-300 A.D.⁸³), in his 'Records of remarkable things,' where he states that in the first months (of the year) of the Tchou, the Ti, or Emperor, did make the census of the silkworms, and presented it with the proper sacrifice (*tsi*) to the tutelary deities of the land (*shè*) that they would be favorable to the seeds of the silkworms⁸⁴.

No reference is made in these quotations of ancient times to any special god or goddess of silkworms. They only show how great was the importance attached by the government to sericulture. We see by the *Tchou-li* and the *Li ki* that there was in the capital a state Magnanerie in olden times. The inference is not deprived of evidence. A description⁸⁵ of the public buildings in Tchang-ngan, the ancient metropolis during the Han dynasty mentions a *kien kwan* or cocoonery within the grounds of the *Shang-lin* park, and a *Tsan sheh* or silkworms' house which gave its name to a street of the capital.

33. We cannot positively say that the state inauguration by the Queen and Empress of the silkworm season, which is regulated by the two rituals, we have quoted, was solemnized regularly and without intercession since Antiquity. But there are occasionally statements about it.

In the Dynastic Annals of the Tsin dynasty (265-419 P.C.) Section of Rites, we find stated that the Empress drove to the silkworm mansion in the Park of the eastern suburb and sacrificed to the (God or Goddess of silkworms (9628-705), *Tsan shen*⁸⁶. We know that the Empress of Kang-ti (343-344) renewed the observation of ancient rules⁸⁷, the silk-worm ceremony was probably one of them. Who was then designated as the goddess of silkworms does not appear. It may have been one of those whose names appear in later statements. (Cf. §§ 37, 38).

34. Under the Sung dynasty of the Vth century, in the reign of Hiao Wu ti, year 460, there is a special entry in the Dynastic Annals stating that the Empress, in the third month ordered that the ceremony of feeding the silkworms should be solemnized, and was herself present⁸⁸.

Whatever may have been the temporary breaks in the celebration, we have seen that the ceremony is still solemnized now a days.

35. The *Tung kien kang muh* or Synopsis of history, states that several Empresses, after the time of Si-ling she gave their patronage to sericulture, but it does not substantiate the statement. The probabilities are that the silk industry was indeed taken care of by the sovereign and his queen, but no personal names are quoted with or without prominence with reference to it⁸⁹.

35. Sericulture was then and has remained since a national industry of paramount importance. But no reference occurs in any of these quotations from the classics as to whom was the creator or at least the teacher of the industry for the Chinese. Doubts seem to have been entertained, by the people, about the departed personage, who in her life time had taken, more than any other, interest in the matter and whose

the spirit was presiding over the silkworms rearing and silk industry. One thing only was certain. As it was a feminine occupation, the tutelary deity could not be a man.

37. In the Vth century, Tch'en-yoh a celebrated scholar in a curious work now lost, called *The harmonious Record of Ts'i*, an extract of which I find in a cyclopedia of the Xth century, makes a distinct reference to a tutelary goddess of silkworms. He says that: "In the middle of the first month (of the year, the spirit (7025 *shen*) comes down to the grave of *Tchen she* (11788-4820). She is our own Tutelary goddess of silkworms and knows to appreciate the sacrifices (offered to her⁹⁰).—Now *Tchen she* was the family name of the first wife of Wu-ti the great ruler of the Han dynasty⁹¹, who had married her before he ascended the throne, 140 B.C. This is, as far as I am aware, the oldest statement quoting a proper name for that deity.

38. We must come to a much later time to find another instance. Lo-yuen of the XIIth century, in his work called *Er-ya y* or *Wings of the Erya*, states simply: Now the *Tsan shen*, i.e. spirits of the silkworms, are two, and called YUEN YŪ *fu jin* and YŪ SHE *kung tchu*⁹². No information as to the identification of these two persons is given therein, but the description words which follow each name are most precise. *Fu-jin* means simply the woman and *Kung-tchu* is a term apply to the daughters of the Royal House since centuries before the Christian era⁹³. There is no intrinsic evidence that these deities were ancient. It is improbable that these two names should be impersonations of the spirits of all the women and Royal or Imperial Princesses, who by duty bound, and from olden times had attended the rearing of silkworms.

39. They refer more likely to some once renowned females for their devotion to silk culture, whom we know perhaps under different names. The Imperial princess *Yü she* is probably the heroine of the following story:

In the first part of the second century of our era a Chinese princess of the Imperial house⁹⁴ was married to Vijayajaya, the king of Khotan.⁹⁵ On the demand of her future lord as formulated by a special messenger who informed her that his country had neither silk nor silken stuffs, she secretly procured the seed of the mulberry and silkworms' eggs, and concealing them in her headdress, was thus enabled to escape the search of the guard at the frontier.⁹⁶ It was then strictly forbidden to carry any out of the country. Her difficulties, however, did not finish there.⁹⁷

Once in her new country, the Princess-queen began to raise silk-worms at Ma-dya, situate south of the capital. But the Chinese delegates seeing this, led the king to believe that these worms would become venomous snakes which would ravage the land. Vijaya-jaya gave orders to have the *snake-raising house* burnt down. The queen, however, managed to save some and reared them secretly; after a time she had procured silk and could wear silk garments which she showed to the king, who regretted what he had done, and henceforth favoured the silk culture.

Unhappily for the proposed identification, we are not in a position to carry it positively further, as we do not know the exact name of the princess. The *Bstan-hgyur* gives it as *Pu-nye-shar*, which may mean the house-wife of the east, and therefore is no name. On the other hand, Hiuen-Tsang, the Buddhist pilgrim speaks of *Lu-shi*, litt. stag-pierced, as the convent founded by the above Princess-queen, and this name has been gratuitously supposed to be hers, or as the meaning does not fit, a transliteration of it. There is, however, an equation of meaning between *Pu-nye* as *house-wife* and *Yü-she* which suggests the idea of a person residing, the resident. Such is apparently the clue to the identification.

As to the other goddess, *Yüan yü kwei jin*, we have no clue about her; she may have been a Lady-in-waiting to the above Princess. Acting on this suggestion *Yüan* would have been her name, and *Yü kwei jin* would be her description as a woman of *Yü*, which was the name of a district in the north of Shen-si under the Han dynasty.⁹⁸ The fact that they were worshipped and enumerated together must be taken into consideration, and speaks in favour of this view.

40. It is important to remark that in none of the statements here collected, no reference whatever has been made to the part attributed to *Si-ling she*, alias *Lui-tsu*, *Sien tsan*, alias *Yuen fei*.

NOTES—

78) *Li ki* VII; *Li yun*, sect. I. par. 8 and 9.—J. Legge, *The Li ki*, p. 369.

79) *Tai ping yü lan*, Kiv. 925, fol. 7.

80) In the *Er-ya*, sect. of T'ien it is mentioned that *T'ien sze* is *Fang*. It consists of β , \hat{c} , π , ρ .

81) Some interesting remarks on this constellation are given in G. Schlegel : *Uranographie Chinoise*, pp. 113-115.

82) *Sing King*.—G. Schlegel, *Uranographie Chinoise*, p. 205, quoting also the *T'ien huang hwey tang*.

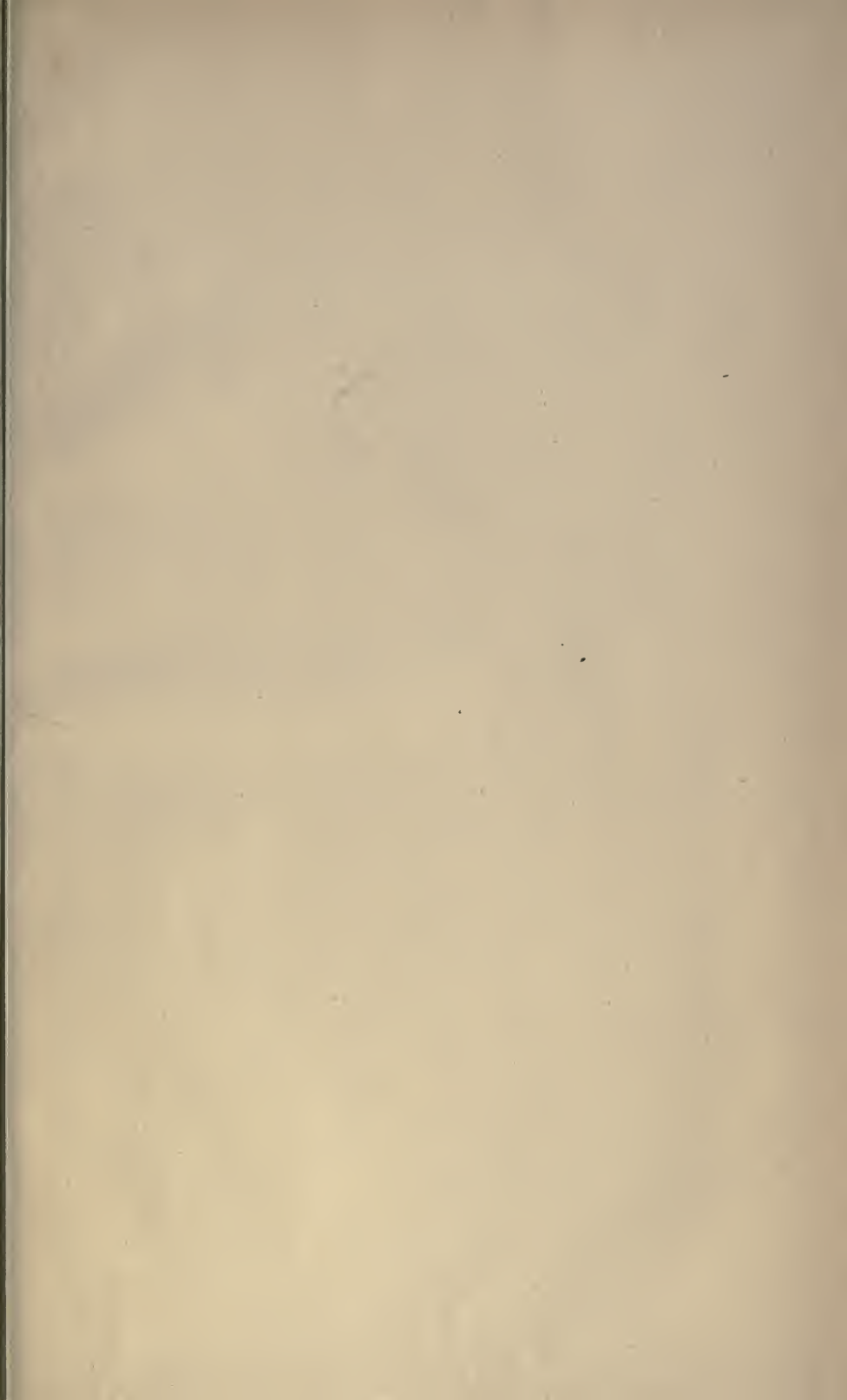
83) Mayers, Chinese R. M., I. 16.—A. Wylie, *Notes on Chinese literature*, p. 153.

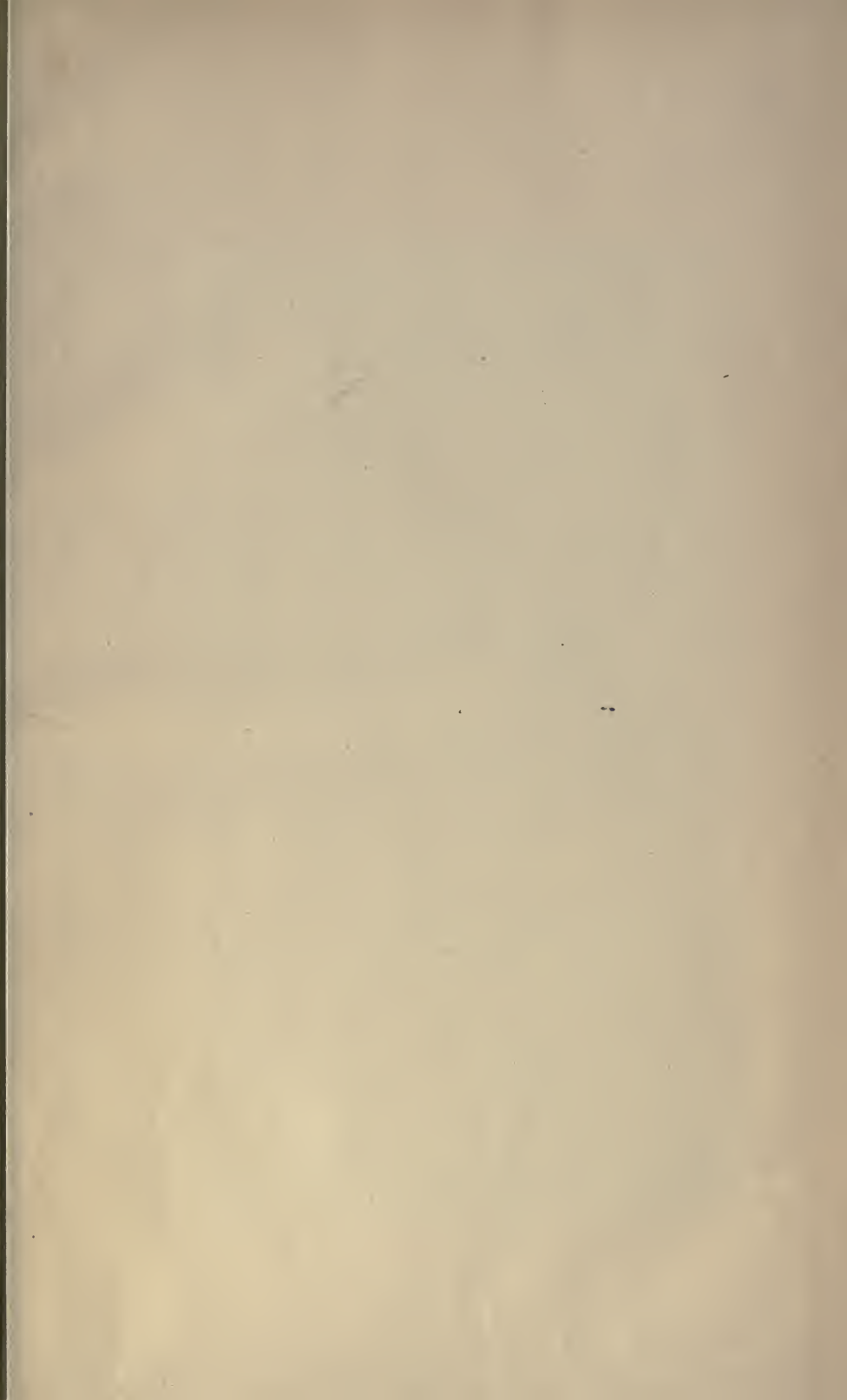
- 84) *Poh Wuh tchi*.—*Tai ping yü lan*, kiv. 532. fol. 8.
- 85) The *San fu huang t'u*, author unknown but commented upon by Kwoh-P'oh (276-324 A.D.) Cf. kiv. 6, fol. 6 verso.
- 86) *Tsin shu*. Li tchi.—Kang hi tze tien, 142, 18. fol. 71 verso.
- 87) She is called Kang-ti Tchi Hwang-höu, and her biography from the *Tsin chung tien shu*, is mentioned in *Tai ping yü lan*, kiv. 138, fol. 9 verso.
- 88) *Lih tchao Ti W ng nien piao*; Nan Peh tchao; Sung, Hiao Wu-ti, 4th year *ta ming*.—*Tung chien kang muk*; De Mailla, tom. V. p. 111.—A quotation of the *Sung shu* in the *Tai ping yü lan*, kiv. 142, fol. 8 states that the Empress, in the said year, presided personally over six mansions for the gathering of mulberry leaves in the western suburb.
- 89) De Mailla, *O.C.* *ibid.*
- 90) Tcheng yueh p'an yu shen kiang Tchen she tchi tchey yun, wo she tsan shen neng kien tsih. Cf. *Tai ping yü lan*, kiv. 825, fol. 4 verso.
- 91) Cf. *Tsien Hun shu*, biography of Hiao Wu Tchen huang höu; *Tai ping yü lan*, kiv. 186, fol. 4.—Szema Tsien, *She ki*: biogr. of Tchen huang höu; kiv. 49. fol. 10.
- 92) *Kin Yuen Yüfu jin Yü she kung tchu K'ang hi tze tien*, key 142+18, fol. 71 vers. On yuen as a proper name cf. 140+5 fol. 12 vers.
- 93) It occurs for instance in the commentary of the Tchen tsü by Kungyang in the third century B.C. Cf. *Tai ping yü lan*, kiv. 152, fol. 1 verso.
- 94) Named Pu-nye-shar according to the *Bstan-hgyur*, vol. 94(u) *Li-yul-gyi Lo-rgyus-pa*, fol. 433a; Woodville Rockhill, *The early history of Li-yul (Khoten)* forming chap. VIII of his work, *The Life of the Buddha* from Tibetan sources, 1884, p. 238.
- 95) Cf. A. Rémusat, *Histoire de la ville de Khotan*, p. 53.—De Rosny, *Traité de l'éducation des vers à soie au Japon*, 1869, says 419 of our era, which seems too late by far, as the event happened under the 11th reign after Vijayasambhava, who ascended the throne of Li-yul or Khotan (Chin. *Li-kwei*, *Yü-tien*) 165 years after the foundation of Li-yul. The latter event is fixed by Tibetan sources at 234 years after Buddha's Nirvana (477 B.C.) or in 248 B.C. Therefore 185+240 (= 12 reigns of 20 aver.) would lead to 162 A.D.
- 96) As recorded by Hiuen-tsang, the Buddhist pilgrim.—S. Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. II. p. 319.—Stanislas Julien, *Voyages des Pèlerins Bouddhistes*, vol. III. p. 238.
- 97) The following comes from Tibetan sources, in W. Rockhill, *Op. cit.* p. 239.—Fa-hien the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, *circ.* 400. mentions silk in Khotan; cf. S. Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. I. introd. p. 26.—The Chinese annals *Peh-she* (386-581) mentions mulberry trees in the same country. Cf. *Tai ping yü lan*, Kiv. 792, fol. 6.
- 98) Cf. Playfair, *The cities and towns of China*, No. 8819.

TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE.

(To be continued).

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