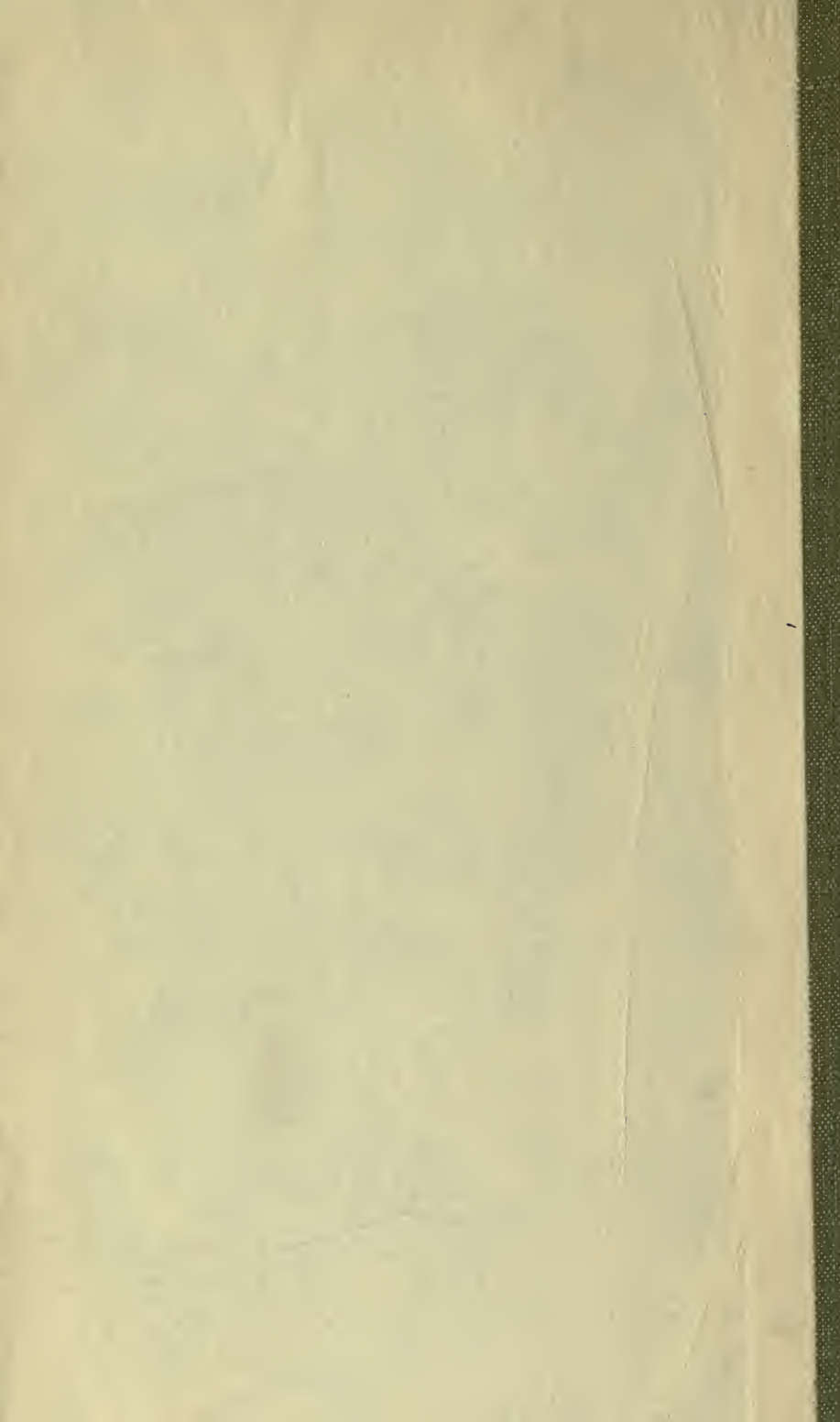


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MANCHESTER EGYPTIAN AND ORIENTAL  
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## EDITORIAL NOTE.

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AT a joint meeting of the Manchester Egyptian Association and the Manchester Oriental Society, held on October 14, 1912, it was decided to amalgamate the two bodies. It was resolved at the same time if possible to continue the publication of a Journal. An appeal was made for Journal Members and for donations to a Special Publications Fund. The response to this appeal and the promise of support from the Publications Committee of the University have been such that a second number of the Journal now makes its appearance with the title *The Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, and there is good reason to hope that the publication is now firmly established.

The Manchester Egyptian Association, which was established in 1906, has published an annual Report since 1909. In 1912 the Manchester Oriental Society published a Journal in which papers read at its meetings and articles written specially for the Journal were printed. The present Journal represents a combination of special features in the publications of the two parent bodies. It contains, as the Report of the Manchester Egyptian Association always has done, a

fairly full account of the Proceedings of the Session and, appended to this and other information, specially written articles such as the Journal of the Oriental Society contained. In borrowing the most useful features from the periodical publications of the two parent bodies, the new Journal, we venture to think, has increased its interest and value.

One omission perhaps needs a few words of explanation. The Report of the Egyptian Association contained a list of books on Egyptology. A list of books both Oriental and Egyptological would be too long to print in the Journal at present. We have decided, therefore, since members of the Association have found the list of books on Egyptology of great service, to print it separately, without adding at present a list of Oriental books. Our justification for this course is that, whereas lists of books on Egyptology are rare, good lists of Oriental books may be found in a number of well known Journals.

M. A. CANNEY.

THE UNIVERSITY,  
MANCHESTER,  
*30th September, 1913.*

## OBJECTS OF THE SOCIETY.

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- (i.) To discuss questions of interest with regard to the languages, literatures, history and archæology of Egypt and the Orient.
- (ii.) To help the work of the excavating societies in any way possible.
- (iii.) To issue, if possible, a Journal. If this is not possible, to print at least a Report, including abstracts of the papers read at the meetings of the Society.<sup>1</sup>

## SUBSCRIPTIONS.

- (a) For ordinary members, 5s. per annum (student members, 2s. 6d.)
- (b) For Journal members, 10s. 6d., of which 5s. 6d. is assigned to the Special Publications Fund.

## PUBLICATIONS.

*Journal of the Manchester Oriental Society* for 1911, published 1912... 5s. 0d. net.

*Journal of the Manchester Oriental and Egyptian Society* for 1912,  
published 1913 ... .. 5s. 0d. net.

The more important articles can be purchased separately.

*Manchester Egyptian Association Report*, 1909—1912 ... .. each 0s. 3d. net.

*Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society Report*, 1912-13 ... .. 1s. 6d. net.

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<sup>1</sup> There is a *Special Publications Fund*, for which subscriptions and donations are invited.



# REPORT

OF THE

MANCHESTER EGYPTIAN & ORIENTAL SOCIETY

1913

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## POSITION OF THE SOCIETY

AT END OF SESSION 1912-13.

TEN meetings were held during the session, the result of amalgamation being to increase the number. The experiment of advertising the meetings very freely was made, but the attendance does not justify the continuance of the increased expenditure in another session.

The number of members is 107. We have to deplore the death of one member, Mr. Walter L. Behrens. There have been six resignations, chiefly caused by departures from the neighbourhood. We are now deprived of the presence and help of Professor R. M. Burrows by his acceptance of the post of Principal of King's College, London, but he has accepted the position of a Vice-President of our body, and continues to take an interest in our proceedings (*see page 24f*). Eighteen persons have joined since last October.

At the joint meeting of the Manchester Egyptian Association and the Manchester Oriental Society, which decided in

favour of amalgamation, the name resolved on was the "Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Association." It was found later that this title was unacceptable to many members of the Council, some of whom had been unavoidably prevented from attending the joint meeting. They preferred the word *society*, pointing out that *association* is a term used by large bodies having branches in many localities rather than by small ones such as ours. As it was found that no member of the Council would oppose the change, a vote of the members of the Association was taken in July through the post. The votes recorded were overwhelmingly in favour of the alteration, which has been adopted. The name of the body therefore now is "The Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society."

The number of books and pamphlets in the library is 120, an increase of 30 since last year. The principal additions are the ten volumes sent by the Musée Guimet, the Report of the Archæological Survey of Nubia for 1908-9, and volumes of the British School of Archæology in Egypt, two of which, "The Labyrinth, Gerzeh and Mazghuneh" and "Tarkhan and Memphis V.," we receive in return for our subscription, while Miss Hewitt, of High Street, has presented "Memphis III.," thus making our set of books on Memphis complete to date. Mr. T. F. Wright has presented a useful collection of news cuttings relating to various ancient and modern oriental peoples, and some acceptable books. Mr. Alan H. Gardiner kindly sends us reprints of the articles he contributes to various journals, and the Bishop of Salford has forwarded papers received from Professor Wiedemann. On hearing that we possessed "The Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund" up to 1906, Professor Dickie kindly presented us with his lately published Index to the vols. 1893-1910. At various meetings votes of thanks have been passed to the donors of these most acceptable gifts. A complete catalogue appears in the Bibliography, issued separately. Members can borrow by applying to the Secretaries after a meeting, or at the Manchester Museum (Jesse Haworth Building), the University, between 10 a.m.

and 5 p.m. (Saturdays 9 to 12). Exchanges of publications have been arranged with the Liverpool School of Archæology and the Musée Guimet of Paris. There was a considerable response to the appeal for Journal Members, who now number 52, but more subscribers of sums above the minimum Journal subscription of 10s. 6d. are still much needed. A statement of accounts, audited by Mr. E. W. Melland, who kindly undertook this task, appears on p. 32.

W. M. C.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE SESSION

1912—1913.

THE **First Meeting** of the Session was held on October 29th, 1912, the President in the chair. Prof. W. M. Flinders Petrie gave a lecture on "Amulets." He remarked that little had as yet been written on the subject, though in England there had come into our possession more clues than were to be found in most other countries. Italian amulets had been well studied and published by Bellucci; many forms had descended from the Stone Age. The purposes for which they were used were of a very mixed nature. The use of amulets was not equally diffused among all peoples. They were highly valued by the Tasmanians and Arabs, and by the Italians in both classical and modern times. Among some nations or races they seem to have been practically unknown, among the Veddahs, for instance. In the Norse literature, the lecturer believed, there was not a single mention of amulets. In Egypt a great variety of objects of the nature of amulets had been discovered, and they were well preserved; and in this field the meanings of such objects were explained in the literature. There we had a great deal of information, so much indeed that the study of amulets in Egypt might be made the basis of the study of the whole subject.

The development of the use of amulets in Egypt was represented by at least four stages. At the first stage they were

actual objects. These in pre-historic times were buried with the dead. In the second stage the objects were broken to prevent the risk of their being stolen, as well as to make them available in spirit form. In the next stage models of all the things which a person needed were made, and carved figures were held to be as good as the reality. Another stage is represented by the practice of painting the figures of offerings on the coffin and the tomb. In much later times (XXVI. Dyn.) all offerings were transformed into amulets.

As to the use of amulets, there were several theories. According to one of these, the amulet was beneficial from the self-confidence point of view. With this was connected the idea of faith-healing. According to another theory, the use of amulets was dictated by the conscious idea of having a double. Certain amulets were supposed to have a vicarious value for the organs of the body. The lecturer himself preferred to explain the use of amulets by Sympathetic Magic, better termed here the Doctrine of Similars. In every case it is something which *is similar* that gives a benefit to the person.

Egyptian amulets might be divided into five classes. The *first* class consisted of direct similars of parts of the body or of ideas connected with certain aspects of the mind. The *second* consisted of symbolic similars, conveying the idea of power (*e.g.*, the sceptre). The *third* class conveyed the idea of property. The *fourth* and higher class consisted of written charms. The *fifth*, the greatest class, were the amulets of gods.

These various classes of amulets were illustrated by lantern views. In the first class were shown amulets (similars) of the head or face (representing the powers of the senses of the head in the future life), and of separate organs, such as the eyes, ears and heart. In the second were shown amulets (symbolic similars) of the fly (in connection with which it was pointed out that there was an Order of the Fly, given for great activity in military service), the papyrus sceptre (representing

the power of growth), the jackal-head (representing watchfulness), and the leopard-head. There were amulets of locusts, which would seem to have been similars for protection from locusts. There were amulets of teeth which, the lecturer suggested, were teething amulets, worn by children. Powers of the body were represented by the bird known as the *Ur* (greatness) and by the Sistrum (the emblem of rejoicing and dancing). Qualities were represented by the Square (rectitude), and the Plummet (equilibrium). In dealing with the class of property-amulets, the lecturer pointed out that combs appeared only in the Roman Age. An important amulet was that bearing the name of a person. The reason for this was that the preservation of the name was considered of the greatest value.

Prof. Petrie then dealt more particularly with what might be called Charms. There were stone implements, such as were exactly described by Pliny (*bætyls*)—"of great value in the taking of streets and cities." There were bells, representing a protective influence. There were inscribed amulets and written charms. One of the most interesting of the charms illustrated was that of a knotted cord. The lecturer explained that in modern Egypt, when a person expressed a good wish, he tied a knot in order to secure it. This knotted cord, representing wishes or prayers, might be regarded as a primitive form of the rosary. In referring to the idea of "the evil eye," it was mentioned that, as a protection against it, pieces of shell were worn on the forehead. African women and girls still wore a disc in this manner. In conclusion, it was explained that charms of gods included the Two Eyes of Horus, and sometimes a whole mass of eyes together, the Infant Horus, the god Horus, Osiris, and the Heart of Osiris. There were also bust-amulets. Some of these, the lecturer thought, were oracular busts. The amulets of gods included animal gods. There were pre-historic amulets of the ram's head. Other amulets represented the cow, the hare, the camel, the lion, the cat, the dog, the crocodile, etc. In Coptic times the figures of saints were worn as amulets.

The **Second Meeting** of the Session was held on November 5, 1912, the President in the chair. Professor Elliot Smith gave an account of "Recent Excavations." He explained that he had received from Mr. J. E. Quibell a manuscript report of his work, together with a number of lantern slides. He proposed to show some of these slides and to explain their import and importance. Mr. Quibell's report gave the results of two winters' excavation in a certain small patch of the cemetery of Memphis. More than 400 tombs were dug. Four were of the first Dynasty: The rest of the II<sup>nd</sup> and III<sup>rd</sup>. Mr. Quibell's report was confined to the latter (II. and III. Dynasty).

The tombs varied greatly in size, but were uniform in plan. One was 50 metres long and 30 wide, but another, of which a picture was shown, was not more than  $1\frac{1}{2}$  metres long, and originally was not more than 1 metre high. "It consists of a hollow oblong of unbaked brickwork filled in with gravel and stone chip, plastered and white-washed externally. On the east side are two niches, the southern one being the larger and the more important. Below the mastaba was a small stairway and a subterranean chamber . . . . One tomb showed very clearly the origin of the later type in stone. The niche has been withdrawn into the body of the building and protected by a door. A small chamber is thus formed and the sides of this were, no doubt, decorated with paintings; later, when stone replaced the crude brick, the scenes were made in low relief. This is the form of most of the mastabas published by Mariette; the more complex plans of the large tombs that have been left open are exceptional."<sup>1</sup>

In some of the larger tombs the space inside the four walls contained a great number of coarse vases. Sometimes these had been placed in orderly rows. In one case "the whole desert floor between the walls of the tomb and the edge of the shaft had been covered with these vases with clods of black clay placed between them." It would seem that these were deposits intended to supplement the furniture of the subterranean chamber. In one tomb, of which a picture was

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<sup>1</sup> The quotations are from Mr. Quibell's manuscript report.

shown, there was found below the filling, hidden beneath 3 metres of gravel, a shallow trench  $\frac{1}{2}$  metre wide, once roofed with wood. "Inside it were two rows of jars or model barns, each 30 cent. high, made of unbaked clay and containing a brown organic powder, probably decayed corn. The trench is lined with brick and from it a tiny tunnel, a handsbreadth wide and high, leads to the mouth of the shaft. This surely was a secret supply of food for the dead man."

In the larger tombs was found something that represents "a feature new in Egyptian tombs and surely in any other tombs, viz., a dummy latrine; north of this in two cases was a narrow chamber with rude basins carved in the floor, probably meant for a bathroom."

The antiquities found in the underground chambers were disappointing. They included, however, bowls and dishes of alabaster, diorite and other stones, ewers and basins of copper; and in three tombs the mud seals on the vases were inscribed with kings' names, which gave assured dates for the cemetery.

Complete coffins were found only in four tombs. "They are short, with panelled sides, and arched square-ended lid: two niches are made in the east side." In one coffin, the east side of which was shown on the screen, the two central panels are covered with a series of slabs. These are rounded at the ends and do not, as one would expect, butt against or mortise into the uprights. This suggests that they are in imitation of a door. The preservation of the coffins and bodies was partial. "About 50 skeletons and parts of skeletons were found in fair condition." These, owing to the visit of Prof. Elliot Smith, could be carefully examined—some of them before they had been touched.

In one only of all the 400 tombs were paintings found. This was the tomb of Hesy. It is a tomb of very considerable interest, and the paintings are so extensive that the time of Mr. Quibell's party for a whole season was mainly occupied in copying them. The panels of Hesy have been, for more than 40 years, in the Museum. They were brought there by Mariette, who attributed them, correctly, to the IIIrd Dynasty.

According to Mariette, they were obtained from a row of niches in a tomb of Saqqara. The position of this tomb was supposed to be lost. But with the help of Mariette's old workmen, Mr. Quibell has rediscovered it and dug it out completely. Almost in the last basketful of earth were found two clay seals bearing the name of Neterkha, a monarch of the third dynasty, well known as the builder of the Step Pyramid. "This accords very well with all the evidence, and we may confidently say that it was during this king's reign that Hesy died."

A few human bones and part of a skull were among the debris in this tomb. "If these are the bones of Hesy, he was a slightly built man with a small head and a rapidly retreating forehead, and his portraits on the panels were anything but lifelike." Above ground in a long corridor Mr. Quibell found a wall, which he describes as the most interesting part of the tomb. It is a very fine piece of plasterer's work, is astonishingly flat, and is covered with a series of paintings in a style which Mr. Quibell believes to be quite new. "At the north end Hesy was represented seated. Before him a great mat was spread, and on the mat were laid wooden trays containing his games and tools, his weights and measures; beyond them were his kitchen implements, his camp equipment, his beds and chairs and other furniture, much of it hard to understand. The rectangular trays are placed side by side, like pictures on a wall." The patterns on the niches could be best understood if they were seen in colour. By comparing one niche with another, the patterns had been recovered, water colour copies had been made, and from these slides had been prepared. The pictures were then thrown on the screen. It was explained that: "The yellow strip with a red centre is in the small set-back panel. There are four patterns which we may call the tile pattern, the cross-stitch, the lozenge and the hanging chain. The detail at the bottom is better drawn than in any example of this design yet published. The patterns clearly represent mats or tapestries taut by an arrangement of evelets held

by a running cord to a horizontal rod. The chain pattern is mysterious; it looks much like a chain with white links falling together at the bottom, but it is difficult to suppose that large chains of metal would be used at this time and unlikely that chains in any other material would be made at all. No convincing explanation has yet been offered."

The **Third Meeting** of the Session was held on November 18th, the President in the chair. Mr. H. R. Hall, M.A., of the British Museum, delivered an address on "The Connection of Early Cretan and Egyptian Civilisation," illustrated by lantern slides. He sought to show that modern archæological discoveries have proved the existence of a Bronze Age culture in Crete which is coeval with the civilisation of ancient Egypt, with which it may have had a common origin. Various curious coincidences in religious matters are noticeable, and in the early ceramic and stone-cutting arts of both lands there are resemblances which probably mean more than mere commercial relations, and argue a common origin for both cultures. Similarity in costume is also an argument in favour of this. Commercial relations existed as early as the time of the VIth dynasty in Egypt, the Third Early Minoan period in Crete, and to them we may ascribe the passing on of the spiral design from the Aegean to Egypt and the art of glazing pottery from Egypt to the Aegean. There is no doubt that the spiral was not of Egyptian origin and that glazed pottery was. Then at the time of the Middle Kingdom we see Egyptian influence in Cretan wall paintings of the Third Middle Minoan period, such as the cat fresco from Phaistos and the painting of the goose from Melos. At the same time we have the direct evidence of connection in the alabastron-lid of the Hyksos king Khayanu or Khian and the statuette of the Egyptian Sebek-user, both found at Knossos, besides the "Middle Minoan II." pottery of Abydos and Kahun. Then we come to the XVIIIth dynasty and the fully developed First Late Minoan period, when the ambassadors of Keftiu and the Isles brought Cretan vases to the courts of Hatshepsut and

Thothmes III. The lecturer concluded with some pictures of Crete and Egypt, showing how the difference in the landscapes of the two countries coincided with the differences in their respective cultures and styles of art.

The **Fourth Meeting** of the Session was held on December 2nd, 1912, Prof. R. M. Burrows in the chair. Mr. Jesse Haworth read a paper on "The Progress of Egyptology in Manchester." Before doing so, he drew attention to a number of objects before him on the table. These included coptic textiles and other embroideries added to the collection since the opening of the Museum. They were found in the winter of 1887 at Hawara, and some of them resemble cloths which are now produced weekly in their thousands in Lancashire.

Mr. Haworth explained that the genesis of Egyptology in Manchester dated from 1887, when the first important Egyptian antiquities shown in Manchester were placed in a case under the dome of the Jubilee Exhibition. The case contained the Throne-chair of Queen Hatshepsut, who was then called Queen Hatasoo. In it there were also a chess-board and a set of chess, besides other interesting and valuable objects. At the time it was not permissible to say how these things had been secured, but now no one could be compromised by the public knowing how they were obtained from Egypt. They had been hidden away for some years in an Arab dwelling at Luxor, and by Miss Edwards' influence the late Rev. J. Greville Chester, who used to spend his winters in Egypt, and had known of them for some time, eventually was able to purchase them. At the close of the Exhibition they were given to the nation, and the authorities of the British Museum pledged themselves to give the case a good and central position for permanent exhibition. Before this there were very few Egyptian antiquities in the Manchester district, but in the year following (1888) began the regular contributions to the Manchester Museum. For nine years, from 1887 to 1896, Dr. Petrie was working on private account. No year was of lean kine, but all of

them were fat years of plenty, and the Museum was greatly enriched. Since then the additions had continued but had been of less volume. The Museum, however, became so crowded that new objects had to be locked up in the attics.

Incidentally, Mr. Haworth remarked that although in the Museum itself there was an absence of papyri, Manchester at any rate had become immeasurably rich in this respect since the purchase by Mrs. Rylands in 1901 of the Earl of Crawford's most valuable collection. Dr. Petrie's finds of papyri had not been so large or valuable as those of Drs. Grenfell and Hunt, who were specially employed by the Egypt Exploration Fund in exploring and afterwards in translating and publishing the papyri. The most important of Dr. Petrie's finds was the Iliad papyrus which was given at his request to the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

The lecturer then referred to the enormous increase which had been made in the literature on Egyptology during the past twenty-five years.

Reverting to the Egyptian collection, he said that now that the new Museum had been opened, he trusted there would be a revival in the study of Egyptology, and that lectures to school children and others would be arranged more frequently. Mrs. Petrie had at times conducted such parties and explained the antiquities.<sup>1</sup>

It might confidently be expected that Egyptian antiquities in future would continue to flow into the new Museum. On the opening day, Mr. Platt had offered his valuable collection of scarabs to the Vice-Chancellor (Sir Alfred Hopkinson), a collection pronounced by Professor Newberry, an authority on scarabs, to be a very fine one.

Mr. Haworth then proceeded to refer to those who had had so much to do with the collection of Egyptian antiquities in the past twenty-five years. It was not altogether pleasant, he said, to have to make personal references, but he could not quite avoid it, as he and his wife had been connected somewhat with the development of the study of Egyptology in Manchester.

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<sup>1</sup> See page 31, "The Jesse Haworth Building."

In January, 1880, nearly 33 years ago, they sailed up the Nile to the second Cataract. Apart from the pleasure of the journey, it was an educational tour, and became to them an inspiration and an abiding interest. As a preparation for their trip, they had read carefully Miss Edwards' "Thousand Miles up the Nile." A few years later it was their good fortune to make her acquaintance, and afterwards she became an attached friend. She was a remarkable woman, possessing not only literary skill but also great natural ability. Some of her novels had at one time a large circulation in this country and in America. But she gave up fiction and an ample income that she might devote the whole of her time and energy to the study and furtherance of Egyptology. She was virtually the founder of the Egypt Exploration Fund, and until her death was its vital force in organising and developing its usefulness. On June 9th, 1887, she wrote to the lecturer, saying:—"The difficulty in raising funds for each year's work is enormous, To raise them I sacrifice my life's work and my private earnings. I write hundreds of letters each year." In November, 1887, and again on February 13th, 1889, she lectured under the auspices of the Royal Manchester Institution in the Mayor's Parlour at the Town Hall. She lectured also at Alderley Edge, Bowdon and elsewhere. Her subject in Manchester on the latter occasion was "Ancient Portraiture in Sculpture and Painting." On October 26th of the same year she sailed from Liverpool to undertake a lecturing tour in the United States in order to further the interests of the Society she had so much at heart, and succeeded in securing many new subscribers. Her own personal earnings from the lectures there she left to found a Chair of Egyptology at University College, Gower Street, London, which has been occupied by Professor Petrie since its foundation. Her large library, which contained many valuable Egyptian books, she bequeathed to Somerville College, Oxford.

Mr. Haworth said he thought Miss Edwards' life had been shortened by her American tour, for she had the misfortune

to fracture her arm by falling on the staircase of the hotel at which she was staying at Columbus. Dr. Gladdon, of that city, who was in this country some years ago, told him that he was present at Miss Edwards' lecture there, and she began by saying that although she had broken her arm that afternoon, she was not going to break her engagement to lecture. The same night she had to take a long railway journey to keep an engagement to lecture on the following day. The fractured arm and overwork in America were no doubt the cause of her impaired health after her return to this country.

The lecturer then went on to say a few words in appreciation of a Lancashire lady, who did much to promote the study of Egyptology in the district, the late Miss Kate Bradbury, afterwards Mrs. F. Ll. Griffith, of Riversdale, Ashton-under-Lyne. Very few even in her own neighbourhood knew of the valuable service which she rendered to the Exploration Fund, of which she was an active member for fifteen years. She translated from the German, *The Ancient Egyptian Doctrine of Immortality*, by Alfred Wiedemann, and she prepared also an *Atlas of Ancient Egypt*. She became the intimate friend and travelling companion of Miss Edwards on the American lecturing tour and other journeys, and nursed her with all the devotion of her noble nature. That devotion probably shortened her life.

Although it was more than ten years since the pulse ceased to beat in the hands which so carefully cleansed and mounted the embroideries displayed on the table, it was not without a pang that the lecturer and his wife gave them up quite recently, but they felt it better that they should be in the new Museum, especially as their new shrine was not far from Bowdon.

Mr. Haworth then said he proposed briefly to refer to those who were still living and working on behalf of scientific research, and first to Dr. Petrie, to whom we were chiefly indebted. It was in the autumn of the Jubilee year (1887) that he first met him. He was in Manchester at the meetings of the British Association, to exhibit the plaster casts of the

Racial Types which he had taken in Egypt. He had, however, heard of him previously, and knew of his work. On January 21st of that year, Miss Edwards wrote to him that she hoped Dr. Petrie might be secured to search for one of the undiscovered royal tombs at Luxor, and said: "It would be giving work to a great and admirable scholar, a man of chivalric honour, and advancing the cause of science." She added: "He is the most accomplished excavator the world has ever seen." Although he has never been permitted to excavate in the valley of the Tombs of the Kings, we must acknowledge gratefully that he has been allowed to explore elsewhere, and with such profitable results as to greatly enrich the Manchester and other Museums in this country and across the Atlantic.

At one time it was thought that he had to do with "Spoiling the Egyptians," in getting out of Egypt the throne-chair and other objects to which reference has been made, but he must be acquitted of any connexion with the matter. His explorations had always been "above board," and from the first he had had the full authority of the Egyptian Government to work in Egypt, on condition, however, that a considerable portion of his finds should be taken by the Cairo Museum, only what remained being allowed to leave the country.

The lecturer ventured to describe him as being now the foremost excavator in Egypt. The British School of Archæology, which he founded, was most liberally supported.

It was unnecessary to refer to Dr. Petrie's annual lectures at Manchester University, as all knew how they had promoted the study and progress of Egyptology.

A most important part of his work had been in training more than twenty able and enthusiastic students, some of whom were still engaged in exploring. Others were employed profitably in scientific and historical research, and a few had already made their mark in Egyptian Literature.

Dr. F. Ll. Griffith was one of the early students, and afterwards held the appointment of Reader at the University. He now had the same position at the University of Oxford, and

was held by many persons to be the first Demotic scholar in Europe. For the last two winters he had been excavating in the Sudan, and on the day of the opening of the new Museum he had to leave for Nubia to resume his explorations. He had generously contributed some of his finds.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. and Mrs. Quibell were both early and successful students. Mrs. Quibell (as Miss Pirie) was engaged in sketching in the tombs before she and Mr. Quibell decided to unite their two lives and work together in the desert.

On the opening day of the new Museum, he (the lecturer) had asked Mr. Quibell if he still adhered to the estimate he made on his last visit to this country, which was that it would take sixty years to complete their work. He replied that he and his wife had carefully considered the matter, and they thought they could not finish it in less than two centuries. Mr. Haworth, of course, said that they must not think of leaving their work until it was completed!

Mr. Arthur Weigall, another student, had the appointment of Government Inspector in Upper Egypt. But he had found time to contribute to Egyptian literature. His life of Akhenaten was a most readable book and was in the Christie Library of the University. In the *Nineteenth Century Magazine* for August, 1912, there was an interesting article by him on "The Morality of Excavation," which gave a fair statement of the case and was well worth reading.

Professor Garstang, another student, was now working for the University of Liverpool, but for two years he contributed a portion of his finds to the Manchester Museum.

Professor Newberry had been referred to already.

Mr. N. de Garis Davies, of Ashton-under-Lyne, through Miss Bradbury's influence was sent out by the Exploration Fund, and the fine paintings on the staircase of the new Museum, kindly lent by Dr. Gardiner, were the work of Mrs. Davies.

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<sup>1</sup> [Now on view in the end room of the first floor of the Jesse Haworth Building.]

In conclusion, the lecturer remarked that he wished to say a few words about Dr. Petrie's own literary work. In the library of the University there were over 40 volumes which had reference to his archæological researches. The great value of his work had not been in digging up specimens, but in scientific and historical results, which he had tabulated and published fully and carefully. Objects which had been preserved for thousands of years in the dry sands of Egypt would soon perish if they were exposed to our treacherous climate and atmosphere. But these published records would remain as standard books for reference and instruction to future generations, and would endure when some of the Museum exhibits had crumbled to dust.

At the conclusion of the paper, lantern illustrations of Dr. Reisner's recent excavations at Gizeh and also at Mersa Matruh in Upper Egypt were shown on the screen, and were explained in a very interesting way by Prof. Elliot Smith. In supporting a vote of thanks to Mr. Jesse Haworth and Prof. Elliot Smith, proposed by Prof. Canney and seconded by Dr. Alan Gardiner, Prof. Boyd Dawkins laid special stress on the advisability of following up a suggestion made by Mr. Jesse Haworth, that popular lectures on Egyptology should be given in the Museum at suitable hours. Prof. Burrows, while supporting this, drew attention to the fact that on the monthly open evening of the Museum, portions of the Egyptian collection were occasionally explained by the assistant in charge.

The **Fifth Meeting** of the Session was held on December 9th, 1912, the President in the chair. Dr. Alan Gardiner gave an address on "The Tomb of a Theban Noble of the XVIIIth Dynasty." With the help of lantern illustrations, Dr. Gardiner gave a very interesting description of one of the private tombs in the necropolis of Thebes. Incidentally, he deplored the fact that in ancient and modern times the tombs had not been protected adequately against vandalism. At the close of the address, Prof. Elliot Smith, in proposing a vote of thanks, said that as regards the protection of tombs in

Thebes, Dr. Gardiner himself had been instrumental in bringing about a better state of things. It was largely through his exertions that Mr. Robert Mond had taken up the matter in the hope that before long the Egyptian Government would interest itself. In replying to the vote, which was seconded by Prof. Burrows, Dr. Gardiner said that he had the protection of these tombs very much at heart. The most urgent need now in Egypt was not so much to excavate as to protect and to study countless monuments that were above the soil.

The **Sixth Meeting** of the Session was held on January 27th, 1913, Professor Canney in the chair. Mr. Charles Weizmann, D.Sc., gave an address on "The Zionist Movement." The lecturer gave a very interesting account of the rise and progress of the movement. A striking feature in the work of the Zionists is the revival of a more or less classical type of Hebrew as a spoken language. Dr. Weizmann referred also to the proposal to found a University in Palestine.

The **Seventh Meeting** of the Session was held on February 25th, 1913, Professor Canney in the chair. The Rev. R. Travers Herford, B.A., read a paper on "The Continuity of Pharisaism." The subject of the continuity of Pharisaism, he said, offered a problem, the right solution of which would be a contribution to history. If the generally accepted view of the Pharisees is correct, there must have been a breach of continuity in Pharisaism. According to Professor Charles this began with the Fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. The Judaism that survived was "a Judaism lopped in the main of its spiritual and prophetic side and given over all but wholly to a legalistic conception of religion." He seemed to mean that Judaism no longer included the apocalyptic element, true daughter of prophecy, as he calls it. But as a matter of fact there is a considerable amount of apocalyptic matter in the Talmud and the Midrash. Whatever, therefore, may have been the character of Judaism before A.D. 70, its spiritual

poverty after that date is less evident than Professor Charles' words imply. It is pretty evident that Prof. Charles' theory is based on his estimate of the value and influence of Apocalyptic as a factor in Judaism. But it does not account for the phenomena of Pharisaism at any one of its stages. It does not accord with what there is of Pharisaism in the Old Testament; it does not solve the problem of the New Testament representation of Pharisaism; and it does not explain how the later Pharisaism of the Rabbis could (as it did) produce any spiritual results worth mentioning. The real explanation of the peculiar appearance of Pharisaism in the New Testament is mainly the fact that the medium is changed through which Pharisaism is seen. Pharisaism, so far as it is visible in the Old Testament, has a character deemed, even by unfriendly critics, to be not unworthy of admiration. There, the medium is Jewish: the literature of the nation of which the Pharisees formed a part. In the New Testament, Pharisaism appears in a character which can only be called repulsive. There the medium through which it is seen is a literature based on ideas which were in sharp contrast with those of Pharisaism. In the Rabbinic literature Pharisaism appears again in its natural form: one can hardly speak of any medium through which it is seen, for that literature is the self-expression of Pharisaism, in which its excellencies and its defects, its virtues and its faults, are all written down with the honesty of unconsciousness, for anyone to read, if he can read the record.

From first to last, Pharisaism was a consistent development, in theory and practice, of one main principle. The Pharisees' supreme authority in religion was the Torah, a word which, having been translated "Law," has been much misunderstood. The Torah meant the whole of what God had revealed to Israel, what he had given for their guidance and instruction, over the entire range of religious and moral life. The Torah meant not merely the written word, the Pentateuch, but also the interpretation of the written word. It was inexhaustible. No one could ever draw forth the whole of its

contents; and however far the process of interpretation were carried, the results duly ascertained were still Torah,—no longer implicit but explicit. Those who most fully and unreservedly accepted the Torah and acted up to it were the Hasidim of the Maccabean times, and their later successors the Pharisees. The Pharisees were those who were most concerned to “walk according to the Tradition of the Elders.” But their reason for doing so was, not just because it was the Tradition of the Elders, but because it was (in their belief) the declared will of God. It is of great importance to recognise that there were three elements in Pharisaism—viz., personal relation to God, the fulfilment of divine precept, and the reception of divine teaching upon religion generally. For it is only by leaving out the first and the third that any case can be made out for the common assertion that the effect of the Torah was to dry up the springs of spiritual life and reduce religion to a mere formal observance of rules, the endurance of an increasingly heavy burden.

It may safely be said of such a system as Pharisaism, (1) that its peculiar form lends itself easily to abuse, and (2) that it would present its least attractive side to those who did not accept its main principle. It may be freely admitted that the vices charged against the Pharisees in the Gospels were present in some, possibly in many, members of the class. But it ought also to be admitted that such vices were characteristic of the individuals who were guilty of them, and not of the Pharisaism upon which they brought dishonour. That the Pharisees in general were guilty of them is an assertion which is contradicted by the unconscious witness of the whole of their literature from one end to the other. Moreover, the severest denunciation of the Pharisees (Matt. xxiii.) was delivered in Jerusalem. Jerusalem had its “smart set” in the last century of its history, and no doubt there were professing Pharisees amongst that set who made their co-religionists blush. As regards the other point (2), if Pharisaism came into contact with a form of religion where the supreme authority was not the Torah but the inward

intuition of the mind and conscience (or, if you will, the personal authority of one who had the very highest right to speak), then there would necessarily be a conflict between the two systems; and the conflict would be most acute precisely on points where the doing of duty was involved.

The destruction of the Temple involved the disappearance of the Sadducees. But the Pharisees, depending upon the synagogue and the school for the nurture of their spiritual life, were quite prepared to go on without the Temple. And they did go on; so easily and naturally, that one might almost say that its loss made no practical difference to them. Pharisaism passed from Jerusalem to Jabneh without a break; and carried with it the religion of Torah, uninjured, and, if changed at all, only the more radiant in spiritual beauty by being released from association with its material symbol. This is clear from all the Rabbinic literature. It is also clear on the Rabbinic side, that the Pharisaism of the period down to A.D. 70 was continuous with the Pharisaism after that time.

The **Eighth Meeting** of the Session was held on March 11th, 1913, the Rev. C. L. Bedale, M.A., in the chair. Letters of apology for unavoidable absence were received from Dr. Elliot Smith and Mr. Jesse Haworth. Dr. J. T. Marshall, Principal of the Baptist College, read a paper on "The Aramaic Papyri of the 5th century B.C. recently found near Assouan." In 1904 ten papyri were purchased in Assouan. These were title-deeds of property of a Jewish family living for generations in Elephantine in the 5th century B.C. As the result of German exploration, Prof. Sachau, of Berlin, in 1907 published three more papyri more startling than the others; and in 1911 produced prototypes of about 75 papyri and 25 ostraka. The language of these documents is Aramaic. Each of the first-mentioned ten papyri is dated from the year of the reigning Persian monarch. A colony of Jews, it appears, existed 500 miles up the Nile in the fortresses on the border of Nubia. They had settled there before Cambyses subjugated Egypt in 525. The papyri transport us to a time

about 100 years after Jeremiah, and plant us down in the midst of a Jewish military colony, living in the island of Jeb, possessing and transferring property, buying and selling, marrying and giving in marriage, lending and borrowing, as keen and busy and energetic as any modern Jew could be.

The papyri furnish abundant illustration of the way in which the Jews, even thus early, adapted themselves to the customs and general life of the people among whom they sojourned and yet kept themselves aloof as to marriage and religion, and even did a little proselytizing. They lived quite contentedly under the Persian government, enrolled under the ensign of some Persian captain. They had a separate court for their own special cases, called the Court of the Hebrews: but in the main they were under Persian law and their title deeds were drawn up in substance and phraseology like the legal documents of Persia and Babylon, and the witnesses are by no means all Jews. As regards the religion of these Jews, with one exception we find exemplary loyalty to Jaho. In the courts of justice they take the oath by the god Jaho (Yahweh), and as a rule avoid heathen marriages; and—what is most remarkable of all—they built a Temple to Jaho in Jeb, right among the Jewish properties described in the deeds. The exception to unbroken fidelity to Jaho is a Jewish lady who swears by the goddess Sati (the Queen of Heaven). She seems to have retained this much of the reverence the women of Jeremiah's time showed to the Queen of Heaven as to be willing to take an oath in the name of the goddess Sati in business transactions with an Egyptian.

The newer papyri speak of a great calamity that befell the Jews of Jeb and Syene. It appears that when the Persian satrap was absent from Egypt on a visit to Persia, Widranag, commandant of the garrison, was bribed by Egyptian priests to destroy this Temple of Jaho and to take its costly vessels and treasures as spoil. The Jews write to Bagohi (*Gk.*, Bagoas), the Persian governor of Judah, and beg him to use his influence with the Persian governor of Egypt to compel the Egyptians to rebuild the Temple. They say they have sent

a copy of their letter to Delayah and Shelamyah, sons of Sanballat, Persian governor of Samaria.

All this is very remarkable, but the fact that startles us most is that in the 5th century B.C. there should be a Jewish Temple in Egypt at all, especially when we call to mind how strongly Deut. xii. forbids that there should be more than *one* sanctuary where sacrifice was offered to Yahweh. And this was a Temple and not merely something of the nature of a synagogue; for reference is made to the meal-offering, the incense, the burnt offering, gold and silver bowls, priests and a High Priest. It would seem that the Egyptian Jews held to the Jewish faith of the pre-Reformation or pre-Deuteronomic period, agreeing with King Josiah's opponents rather than with the king himself. There is just a possibility, on the other hand, that these Egyptian Jews were influenced by a prophecy of Isaiah xix., 19, if we could be sure that it came from the historic Isaiah.

We have no information whether the Temple at Jeb was rebuilt. The Jews, it seems, requested that the Temple might be rebuilt, in order that the meal-offering and the incense-offering might be offered on the altar as before; and, according to one of the papyri, that the right of offering the burnt-offering might also be restored. Now the burnt-offering was often of rams, and rams were specially revered and worshipped by the Egyptians of that district. It may be that here we have the secret of all the mischief. The Jews sacrificed what to the Egyptian was sacrosanct or taboo!

At the conclusion of Dr. Marshall's address the Bishop of Salford rose to express the general regret felt by members of the Association at the impending departure of Professor Burrows, to take up his post as Principal of King's College, London. This, he said, was a grievous loss to the Society, the University, and to the City at large. The Egyptian Association, at the time when Professor Burrows came to Manchester, was in a rather languishing condition, and was most deeply indebted to the energy and enthusiasm of

Professor Burrows, which had greatly contributed to its revival. He was also an original member of the Oriental Society and had been active in the amalgamation of the two bodies. He was one of the most distinguished scholars in Europe as regards the Minoan and Aegean civilisations, and the Association had been greatly honoured by his connection with it. The Bishop then proposed a resolution:—"That this Association thanks Professor Burrows for his interest, help and encouragement in its work, wishes him God-speed, and even more brilliant success in his new sphere, and asks him to continue his connection with the Association by accepting election as an honorary Vice-President."

Dr. Walter M. Tattersall, Keeper of the Manchester Museum, in seconding, referred to the very valuable assistance Professor Burrows had given in connection with the extension of the Museum, as a most active and interested member of the sub-committee for the Egyptian and Anthropological sections. The resolution was supported by Mrs. Rhys Davids, who at the same time expressed the great regret of the President at his inability to be present on this occasion. The resolution was then carried unanimously.

Professor Burrows, in replying, thanked the members for their good wishes, and said that he accepted very gladly the office of Vice-President. He had always found much interest and pleasure in the meetings of the Association. He had been specially struck by the good feeling and spirit of camaraderie displayed by the members. He hoped that this feature would continue to be prominent and that the Association would grow and prosper in every way.

The **Ninth Meeting** of the Session was held on April 28th, 1913, Prof. Canney in the chair. Mr. H. R. Hall, M.A., of the British Museum, lecturing on behalf of the Egypt Exploration Fund, delivered an address on "The Excavation of an Egyptian Temple: Deir-el-Bahari, 1903-7." With the help of lantern slides Mr. Hall gave a very interesting account of his

own excavation work. He urged his hearers to remember the claims of the Egypt Exploration Fund, as well as those of other Funds, and to do what they could to support it.

The **Tenth Meeting** of the Session was held on May 6th, 1913, the Rev. C. L. Bedale, M.A., in the chair. Mr. L. W. King, M.A., F.S.A., of the British Museum, gave an address on "Collecting Rock Inscriptions in Kurdistan and Western Persia."

The lecturer described particularly those which he had published for the first time or of which he had prepared new editions. The work, he said, had been carried out in the course of two journeys on which he had been sent by the Trustees of the British Museum and, as a result, he had been fortunate in collecting a good deal of new material bearing on the rock-inscriptions of different classes and periods which exist in that part of the world.

In speaking of the Western Asiatic rock-inscriptions and the rock-sculptures that so frequently accompany them, the lecturer referred to some of the descriptions published by early travellers from the seventeenth century onwards, and to the ingenious theories which had from time to time been advanced in explanation of them. Gardanne, Sir Thomas Herbert, and even Sir Robert Ker Porter had all made quaint suggestions with regard to the origin of those they had seen. It was only when the inscriptions had been copied and deciphered, in the course of the second half of the last century, that their true history had been recovered, and even now the Hittite hieroglyphs were still baffling the decipherer. The lecturer pointed out how the character of rock-sculptures gradually changed as one passed further eastward, the religious element giving place to a desire on the part of the makers of the records to perpetuate their own fame and personal glory. To whatever category the more eastern rock-hewn reliefs or texts belong, whether they were the work of Old-Babylonian, Elamite, Vannic, Assyrian, Neo-babylonian, Persian, or Sassanian craftsmen, they commemorated, with but few exceptions, the form, name and achievements of the

king who set them up. To the historian and geographer their value was often considerable, for they were contemporaneous records, often executed in the land or district they describe ; thus their credibility could not be shaken, as is so often the case with records composed at a distance, whether in time or space, from the events to which they refer.

The lecturer showed numerous lantern-slide illustrations of the rock-inscriptions and sculptures, and of his method of reaching the more inaccessible by means of tackle suspended from crow-bars driven into crevices in the rocks.\*

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\*All the Meetings of the Session were held at the University.



NEWS FROM EXCAVATORS.

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1. Professor Elliot Smith received towards the end of 1912 from Mr. J. E. QUIBELL a report of his excavation work, an abstract of which will be found on *pp.* 8—11.

2. At the meeting held on January 27th, 1913, Mrs. Flinders Petrie kindly read extracts from a letter written by Professor PETRIE, dated Tarkhan, Jan. 7th. The chief facts of interest were: The work was in the main valley between the cemeteries examined the previous season. Prof. Petrie concludes that near here was the pre-Memphite capital of the conquering tribe and that it died down as Memphis arose. Nearly all the objects found were of the period shortly before Mena. A large jar bore a variant of the name of King Narmer, who is probably Mena. It is a very important variant, as only the *nar* fish is the *ka* name, and the *mer* is put below: further, it is not the chisel *mer*, but the hoe or plough *mer*. This finally disposes of any other proposed reading for the name. A fine series of skulls, important for defining the types at this critical period, was to be brought away. Professor Petrie was photographing the skulls, with four views of each. Foreign pots had been found in graves of the Ist Dynasty, and others in a grave of the XIII—XIVth Dynasty. At Gerzeh, Mr. Engelbach has found some fine stone tombs like pyramids, probably of the Third Dynasty. Mr. Campion, whose voluntary aid in the arranging of the Manchester Museum collection during the last days before the opening

was so valuable, offered his services at Tarkhan and Prof. Petrie writes, "The work here is greatly helped by Mr. Champion."

3. Mr. AYLWARD M. BLACKMAN (Laycock Student of Egyptology at Worcester College, Oxford), who had originally arranged to address the Association on April 28th, 1913, on his work in copying the inscriptions and frescoes of the unprotected tombs at Meir, not far from Tell el-Amarna, wrote from this place that he much regretted his inability to keep his engagement, due to his late discovery of a very interesting painted tomb, with a long biographical inscription, which he must copy before he could leave the neighbourhood, as these tombs were quite unprotected.

4. Dr. A. H. GARDINER (Reader in Egyptology in the University) wrote as to his work amongst the Tombs of the Nobles at Thebes: "By dint of much ferret-like crawling, I managed to discover or rediscover about thirty tombs. The great prize was one with a superb picture of negroes and Syrians alternately kneeling at the base of the throne of Amenhotep III. This tomb belonged to the head nurse of the king's children, who is depicted dandling no less than four of the little princes on his knee! Mr. Mackay, Mr. Robert Mond's assistant, is hard at work restoring and guarding the tombs, which may now be considered for the first time adequately protected, thanks to Mr. Mond's liberality."

## THE JESSE HAWORTH BUILDING.

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The extension of the Manchester Museum, accommodating on its first floor and gallery the Egyptian antiquities of the Museum, was opened on October 30th last by Mr. Jesse Haworth, to whose liberality both the valuable collection and the building are chiefly due.

The entire extension was not completed at that date, but the largest room was available, and in that the objects from the earliest times up to the end of Dynasty XIX were arranged. Since then the gallery above and the further room on the first floor have been completed. The latter will contain the objects of the later periods, chiefly Ptolemaic and Roman, and will shortly be in order. In the gallery is arranged a temporary exhibit of Egyptian spinning and weaving implements and fabrics, the most attractive being the embroideries of about 300—600 A.D. from Hawara, presented since the opening by Mr. Haworth. The Assistant in charge, Miss W. M. Crompton, is always glad to guide visitors who wish for more information than is supplied by the as yet inadequate labelling. Persons who wish to bring parties to view the Egyptian or any other department of the Museum, particularly at the week-ends, are recommended to write beforehand to the Keeper, Dr. W. M. Tattersall, in order to ensure a date when the Assistant in charge of the department in which they are specially interested is able to guide them.

# MANCHESTER EGYPTIAN AND ORIENTAL SOCIETY

ACCOUNTS FROM OCTOBER 5th, 1912, TO SEPTEMBER 18th, 1913.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Carried forward from last year .....	10 14 3	Report, 1912.....	7 3 3
Subscriptions .....	22 17 6	Advertising in Newspapers .....	11 0 0
Sale of Reports .....	0 1 0	Posters .....	0 12 6
Bank Interest 4/2, less Commission 1/-.....	0 3 2	Printing Notices .....	1 11 3
		Tea for 25, hire of Room, etc. (farewell to Prof. Burrows) .....	0 15 0
		Subscription to British School of Archaeology in Egypt.....	2 2 0
		Postage, Stationery, etc. ....	4 0 1
		Lecturers' Expenses .....	1 16 0
		Total .....	£29 0 1
		Balance .....	4 15 10
	£33 15 11		£33 15 11

## SPECIAL PUBLICATIONS FUND.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
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" Larger sums received—			
Bishop of Salford .....	£5 0 0		
Miss A. E. F. Barlow .....	3 5 6		
Anonymous, per Mrs. Hogg .....	2 10 0		
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SPECIAL  
ARTICLES



THE LAND OF ALASHIYA  
AND THE RELATIONS OF EGYPT AND CYPRUS  
UNDER THE EMPIRE.

(1500—1100 B.C.)<sup>1</sup>

By H. R. HALL, M.A., F.S.A.

BEFORE the XVIIIth Dynasty we have little evidence of any connection between Egypt and Cyprus parallel to the important connection which undoubtedly existed from the earliest times between Egypt and Crete. The relationship between the types of Cyprian and Egyptian copper weapons in the time of the earliest dynasties<sup>2</sup> does not seem to have extended to other forms of art and handicraft, as, for instance, to the pottery. There are superficial resemblances between the unusual "Incised white-filled" ware of prehistoric Egypt and that of the Middle Bronze Age in Cyprus, but there is no connection between the Cyprian pottery of this type or any other and the contemporary Egyptian wares of the XIIth Dynasty.

Under the Middle Kingdom we have little or no evidence of connection between Egypt and Cyprus, if, as I think probable, the peculiar black "punctured" or "punctuated" ware found in Cyprus, Palestine and Egypt, in the latter country

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<sup>1</sup> This contribution is a paper which was read at the International Historical Congress held in London in April of this year. It is intended as an amplification, and where necessary a correction, of the views expressed on the subject in my recently published *Ancient History of the Near East*, p. 243 n.l. I have added the necessary notes and references.—H. H.

<sup>2</sup> MYRES, *Cat. Cypr. Mus.*, p. 19.

always in burials of the XIIth and XIIIth—XVIIIth Dynasty and often with Middle Minoan Kamárais ware from Crete, is not Cyprian at all, but Syrian.<sup>1</sup> It does not seem to me to connect at all with the contemporary native hard-faced red and black pottery, with incised decoration, though this seems at times to attempt an imitation of it. Since large quantities of it have been found by Randall MacIver in the XIIth Dynasty settlement at Wadi Halfa in the Soudan, where it seems to go on into the XVIIIth Dynasty, he has been inclined to regard the punctuated pottery as Nubian.<sup>2</sup> In this case it will have been exported from Egypt to Cyprus and be a proof of connexion, but I see nothing Nubian in it whatever, or Egyptian,<sup>3</sup> and it seems to me to be Syrian<sup>4</sup> and exported to both Cyprus and Egypt. Similarly, at the beginning of

<sup>1</sup> This peculiar ware is well known to archæologists. It was first noted by Naville at Khata'aneh in the Delta and by Petrie, with Aegean (Kamárais) sherds, at Kahun, and has since been found by Petrie (*Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, pll. vii., viii.) in Hyksos graves at Tell el-Yahudiyah (from which it would seem to be specially associated with the Hyksos, who were of Syrian origin), and, as mentioned above, by Randall MacIver at Wadi Halfa under the XVIIIth Dynasty (a date recently confirmed by Peet at Abydos); as well as commonly in Cyprus and often in Palestine.

<sup>2</sup> MACIVER, *Buhen*, p. 133. This ware must not be confused with the native Nubian incised black ware of the Middle Kingdom ("C— group" pottery), which it in no way resembles.

<sup>3</sup> The remarkable black vase in the form of a hawk (Brit. Mus., No. 17046), first published by myself in *The Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 69 (fig. 30), may have been made for the Egyptian market. Miss M. A. Murray, in *Historical Studies*, II, pp. 41, 45, pl. xxv., 71, erroneously describes this vase as red, and ascribes it to the XVIIIth Dynasty. It is quite as probably of the Middle Kingdom, being of the black pottery with pricked designs (our "punctuated ware," described above) which, though it is found as late as the XVIIIth Dynasty, is, as Miss Murray says, l.c., p. 42, specially characteristic of the Hyksos period (PETRIE, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, pl. viii.a, 59-63). And the Hyksos were Syrians.

<sup>4</sup> Although this ware does not seem to me to connect directly with the undoubted native ceramic ware of Cyprus, the earlier hard-faced red or black jugs and bowls with incised geometric decoration (note the typical punctuation of these vases), or the rather later white-faced pots and bowls with painted geometric decoration, yet it belongs to the same circle of ceramic development, so to speak, and I should not be inclined to put its place of origin further away than Syria or Cilicia.

the XVIIIth Dynasty we do not see much evidence of connexion. In Cyprus as in Egypt are found great quantities of the undoubtedly Syrian "Base-ring" ware;<sup>1</sup> but here again we are dealing with an export from Syria to Cyprus and Egypt, which do not seem to have been connected by any exchange of commodities. Real Cyprian pots of this period are almost unknown in Egypt: I have only heard of one single specimen of the typically Cyprian milk bowls with the white slip and painted ornament having been found in Egypt, and the other forms do not appear.

We are now in the time of Thothmes III. The histories, and Prof. Myres's admirable article in the last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, speak of Cyprus as having paid tribute to this king. Cyprus is supposed to have been the land of Asi or Isy, which sent gifts to him. The identity of Asi or Isy with Cyprus seems generally assumed, though Professor von Bissing has protested against it.<sup>2</sup> I desire to second his protest. In the annals of Thothmes III., Asi sends gifts in the 34th, 38th and 40th years. The entry for the 34th year reads—"Tribute of the chief of Asi in [this year]: 108 blocks of purified (that is, smelted) copper, weighing 2,040 *debn*; . . . 5 blocks of lead; 1,200 pigs of lead; lapis lazuli, 110 *debn*; ivory, one tusk; 2 staves of — wood." The entry for the 38th year reads simply, "Crude copper; and horses": that for the 40th, "ivory, 2 tusks; copper, 40 bricks, lead, 1 brick." In this statement of the tribute of Asi the

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<sup>1</sup> "Base-ring" ware is common in Cyprus, in Palestine, and in Egypt, and dates to the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties, being, if I may so express myself, more XVIIIth than XIXth. We know it from its tall thin jugs of polished red ware, and its double lekythi and broad-spouted pots of coarse ware covered with a brown slip which almost exactly resembles burnished leather. The simple decoration consists of relief twists or dull white-painted stripes and smears. We find this ware exhibited in collections of Cyprian antiquities and catalogued as Cyprian because it is found in Cyprus, though I think there can be little doubt that it is not Cyprian at all, since it is found quite as commonly in Egypt and Palestine as in Cyprus (Cf. EVANS, *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.* 1900, p. 202).

<sup>2</sup> *Statistische Tafel von Karnak*, p. 47.

amount of copper brought is by no means extraordinary as compared with that brought or sent to Thothmes III. by various countries and towns which were certainly in Syria, as, for instance, Anaugasa in the Lebanon district. This place in the 38th year contributed 276 blocks of copper, twice as much as Asi. In fact, there is no doubt that Asi would never have been identified with Cyprus at all had it not been that in one of the Ptolemaic texts one of the names for Cyprus looks as if it were a corrupt form of the ancient Asi. Whether it is so or not is uncertain; Ptolemaic identifications are of little value, as we see in the case of Keftiu, which the Ptolemaic antiquaries said was Phœnicia.<sup>1</sup> There are also other reasons against the identification—the ivory, the lapis lazuli, and above all, the lead. Why should *Cyprus* hand on ivory and lapis lazuli from Inner Asia to Egypt? And lead (I speak on the authority of Oberhummer)<sup>2</sup> is unknown in Cyprus, like silver, with which it is usually found. But the Anatolian mainland was the chief oriental centre of silver production, and with it, of lead. From Anatolia must have come the 1,200 pigs of lead from Asi. Now when we find Keftiu and Asi bracketed together in Thothmes' "Hymn of Victory," as, apparently, typical representatives of the north-western lands, we may justly regard Asi as representing some part of the south coast of Asia Minor. But we find Anaugasa, the Lebanon town already mentioned, sending 26 blocks of lead to Thothmes. It might be argued that Asi need be no further afield than Anaugasa, both being Syrian places which sent the copper they got from Cyprus and the lead they got from Anatolia. But the mention of Asi with Keftiu shows that it was farther away.

It may be that we have the real name of Cyprus in the land of Tinay or Antinay, which once sent tribute. This name might well be the same as the late Assyrian Yatnan or

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<sup>1</sup> Whether Keftiu was Crete or not (I believe it *was* Crete; the evidence of the Keftian costume shows that at least it *included* Crete) it was certainly no more Phœnicia than it was the moon.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Insel Cypern*, p. 183.

Yatnana, which was certainly Cyprus, and it seems to be the original of the name "Nebinaiti," which is given to Cyprus in the Canopus decree.<sup>1</sup> Here the Ptolemaic archæologists may have been right. But the tribute of Antinay includes no copper, which would be remarkable if it were Cyprus. Still, however, this cannot be pressed, as the country is only mentioned once, and this tribute may have been merely a complimentary gift of works of art. A "šuibti-vase of the work of Keftiu" is mentioned,<sup>2</sup> which points in the direction of Crete and the Minoan world, and we must remember that now or very shortly afterwards Cyprus became included within the circle of Minoan civilization and art.

The excavations carried on by the British Museum fifteen years ago at Enkómi and elsewhere in the island have shown that at the beginning of the Third Late Minoan period, about the time of Amenhetep III. (1410-1380 B.C.), Cyprus was invaded and colonized by "Mycenaeans." It was an occupation like the Cretan colonization of the Peloponnese, Attica and Boeotia, which, two or three centuries before, at the end of the Middle Minoan period, had introduced a higher culture to the Greek mainland. The invaders of Cyprus

<sup>1</sup> See my *Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 163; *B. S. Ann.* VIII., p. 170. Of the name only the syllables . . . *ntinay* remain in the inscription. It is a moot point whether the *n* belongs to the name or is not rather the word *n*, "of." The missing words are certainly "*Inu n ur n . . .*," "Offerings of the prince of . . . ." The question is whether the *n* of *ntinay* is not the second "of," and the name "Tinay," or whether other signs are visible which would necessitate the *n* belonging to the name, which would then be ". . . *ntinay*." W. M. MÜLLER, in *M.V.G.*, 1900, p. 8, read it "Antinay," with the pillar sign 'an; I, in *O.C.G.*, l.c., read *Intinay*, *Ientinay*, or *Yantinay*, supplying the legs-sign *i* or *y*, on account of the spelling of the Ptolemaic *Nebinaiti*, which I indicated as due to a corruption of a hieratic spelling of *Yantinay*. I prefer my solution to Müller's, in view of my identification of the XVIIIth Dynasty word with the Ptolemaic *Nebinaiti*. This identification was not made by Müller, nor did he perceive the probable identity of *Antinay* or *Yantinay* with the Assyrian *Yatnan*.

<sup>2</sup> V. BISSING has shown (*Ä.Z.*, xxxiv. (1896), p. 166) that the *šuibti*-vase occurs in the el-Amarna letters, as also do two other kinds of vase, called in Egyptian *nemse(t)* and *ka-hi(r)-ka*, in cuneiform *namsa* and *kuihku* (forms which no doubt give the Egyptian pronunciation of the words). (*ERMAN*, *Ä.Z.*, l.c. p. 165).

now bestowed a similar gift upon that island. Whether they came at least partly from Crete, as I have supposed elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> as fugitives before the return attacks of the mainlanders, which may have destroyed Knossos and ended the Palace-period in Crete, or whether they were themselves mainlanders or came from the Aegean islands, is uncertain. In favour of the latter idea is the fact that their pottery soon became remarkable for the constant appearance upon it of the human form, which, so far as I know, was unknown to the Minoan styles of Crete,<sup>2</sup> but is previously paralleled at Melos<sup>3</sup> and is soon known on the mainland.<sup>4</sup> However this may be, it is noticeable that evidence of close connection between Cyprus and Egypt only begins with their coming. Did they bring with them the habit of a regular connection with Egypt, which was previously unusual? At this time Egypt was no longer connected so closely with Crete as with the non-Cretan Mycenaean world: the Mycenaean pottery found in Egypt shows this. Is this pottery Cypriote-Mycenaean? If so, however, it is odd again that none of the native Cyprian ware is found with it, although the Enkómi graves show that the Mycenaeans there used it side by side with their own pottery and the imported Syrian "base-ring" ware. Also, we never find in Egypt any of the later Cyprian-Mycenaean pottery with human figures. The evidence of connexion is seen, however, in the fine objects of Egyptian

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<sup>1</sup> *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* xxxi. (1909), p. 228. My view seems almost identical with that of Sir Arthur Evans in *Scripta Minoa* (p. 69), published in the same year, but was reached independently.

<sup>2</sup> It is found on the painted pottery *larnakes* or coffins of L.M. III., but these can hardly be reckoned as "pottery" in the narrower sense. Sir Arthur EVANS, however, thinks that the idea of the paintings on the Cyprian vases was derived from that of the Cretan *larnakes* (*Scripta Minoa*, p. 69, n. 6). In favour of this view is perhaps the fact that the Cyprian vases were used, and were probably intended to be used, as cinerary urns, cremation having been introduced by the time they were made. The tradition of decoration was transferred from coffins to urns.

<sup>3</sup> In the "Fisherman vase" (*Phylakopi*, pl. xxii.)

<sup>4</sup> On a sherd, from Tiryns, at Athens (SCHUCHHARDT, *Schliemann*, fig. 132).

art of the XVIIIth Dynasty which were found in the Enkómi tombs.<sup>1</sup> These may be seen exhibited in the First Vase Room and the Gold Room of the British Museum. We find only one Egyptian object that is earlier than the XVIIIth, and none that is later than the XXth Dynasty. The earliest Egyptian object is a scarab of the XIIth Dynasty.<sup>2</sup> It was found on the surface, but was evidently cast out of a tomb at the time of the "XVIIIth Dynasty" burials, and is perhaps to be associated with some punctuated Syrian vases, already mentioned as of Middle Kingdom date, which were found in two of the Enkómi graves,<sup>3</sup> and with the only sherd of Kamárais ware yet found in Cyprus, published by Mr. E. J. Forsdyke in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1911, p. 113.<sup>4</sup> The latest Egyptian object is a scarab of Rameses III. (1200 B.C.)<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> EVANS, *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, 1900, p. 199 f.f. The majority of the Egyptian objects are of the XVIIIth Dynasty, and are dated to about 1400 B.C. by rings and scarabs of Akhenaten and Queen Teie. I should note here that the statement of Dr. Poulsen, made on my authority in his recent article on the Enkómi graves in the *Jahrbuch Arch. Inst.* for 1910, as to the precise date of the fine silver ring of Akhenaten is perfectly correct, and Prof. v. Bissing's implied criticism of me (as Poulsen's Egyptian "Gewährsmann") in his recently published paper *Der Anteil der ägyptischen Kunst am Kunstleben der Völker (Festr. K. bayr. Akad.* 9 März, 1912, p. 29) is incorrect, since the ring bears not only the name of Horakhti but also that of the God Ptah, as was pointed out on Prof. Petrie's authority by EVANS, l.c. p. 205.

<sup>2</sup> Unpublished. It bears the prenomen of Senusret I.

<sup>3</sup> Nos. 66 and 88. Both graves were re-used by the "XVIIIth Dynasty 'Mycenaeans,'" and the majority of the objects found in them are of their period, including vases of the later Syrian "base-ring" ware and of the native Cyprian white-slip pottery, Mycenaean "*Bügelkannen*" of the Third Late Minoan style, the fine rhyton in the form of a horse's head (which one would ascribe to a somewhat earlier period), and a blue-glazed saucer of somewhat coarse workmanship, which, if not an actual Egyptian work of the XVIIIth Dynasty, is certainly copied from one. The figure of a fisherman guiding his reed boat, which is painted upon it, is distinctly of XVIIIth Dynasty style, as is also the glaze of the saucer. In many of the Enkómi tombs we have certainly successive burials, dating from two clearly defined and separated periods, contemporary with the XVIIIth Dynasty and with the beginning of the Geometric period (see p. 40 below): in graves 66 and 88 we have a third and earlier period represented. POULSEN, *Jahrb. Arch. Inst.* XXVI. (1910), p. 115 f.f., has attempted to arrange all the grave-finds in chronological order.

<sup>4</sup> *J.H.S.* XXXI. (1911), p. 113.

<sup>5</sup> MURRAY, *Excavations in Cyprus*, pl. IV. 29.

We have later objects from Enkómi, such as the famous carved draught-box with a hunting scene in relief,<sup>1</sup> with which were found iron knives and the bronze tripods<sup>2</sup> which are paralleled in Dipylon graves of the Geometric period<sup>3</sup> that date from the early iron age, and cannot be any earlier than 1000 or 900 B.C. A tripod exactly similar has just been found in an Early Iron Age grave at Vrokastro, in Crete.<sup>4</sup> But we have nothing Egyptian which is absolutely dated later than the scarab of Rameses III. Some of the scarabs from the Amathus graves<sup>5</sup> may, in my opinion, be later—of the XXIst—XXIInd Dynasties,—but most of them seem to be of the XIXth. We have thus a connexion with Egypt from about 1400 to 1150 B.C., and probably till about 1000 B.C.

Yet we do not find much definite trace of this connexion in Egypt, unless most of the Mycenaean pottery found there is really Cypriote. In the Berlin Museum is the peculiar carved wooden object of the foreigner Sarobina,<sup>6</sup> with its griffins, the style of which might well be compared with that of the ivory mirror-handles found at Enkómi, and *their* griffins.<sup>7</sup> But though there is a Minoan touch in these carved ivories, I have often felt that there is something in them that is non-Minoan. The griffin is Syrian, like the winged sphinx; both came to the Enkómi ivories, to Cretan seals, and earlier to Hyksos scarabs in Egypt, from Syria. But the griffin-slaying Arimasp on one of the Enkómi ivories is not Syrian in appearance or dress: as Sir Arthur Evans pointed out fourteen years ago,<sup>8</sup> but for his wearing a round helmet and not a feather crown, he is exactly like one of the Philistines who attacked Egypt in the time of Rameses III. That is to say, he is not a Minoan any more than is the helmeted (?) male type shown in the small heads, also of ivory,

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. i.    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.    <sup>3</sup> *Ath. Mitth.* XVIII. (1893), pl. xiv.; FURT-WÄNGLER, *Sitzb. K. bayr. Akad.* 1899, 415; POULSEN, *Dipylongräber*, 29.

<sup>4</sup> In excavations carried on for the Philadelphia Museum by Miss E. H. Hall.

<sup>5</sup> A. H. SMITH, in MURRAY, l.c., pl. ii.

<sup>6</sup> Illustrated by SPIEGELBERG, *Blütezeit des Pharaonenreichs*, p. 70, fig. 60.

<sup>7</sup> MURRAY, l.c., pl. ii.    <sup>8</sup> *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, 1900, p. 213.

found at Enkómi,<sup>1</sup> and previously at Mycenae and at Spata in Attica.<sup>2</sup> These men are rather to be connected with Lycia, Caria, and the people who made the Phaistos disk. I would regard all these carvings as not Minoan, not even Cypriote Minoan, but the products of some culture on the south coast of Asia Minor, between Caria and Cilicia, perhaps in Cilicia, quite different from that of the Hittites, influenced by that of Syria, strongly influenced by and influencing that of Crete and the Aegean, perhaps related to this last, but distinct from it. It is to this hypothetical culture-centre that I would refer the carving of Sarobina. The draught-box with its man in the feather head-dress may be a later product of the same art, under the influence of the later Aramaean-Assyrian art of Sinjirli and Sakjegözü. It may be the art of Asi or of Alashiya, if Alashiya is not Cyprus, but Cilicia, and if, as has been supposed, Asi and Alashiya were identical.<sup>3</sup>

We do not, therefore, get anything in Egypt that is distinctly Cyprian. But we seem to have in the archives of the time constant mention of Cyprus, if the land of Alashiya (the Biblical Elishah) really is that country. This is usually taken for granted, since in the Bilingual of Tamassos a mention of a cult of Apollo Alasiotas or Alahiotas has been found. But, though I would not decidedly reject the identification of Alashiya with Cyprus as I would that of Asi, I would like to note that there are certain facts that at any rate do not favour the identification.

In one of the Tell-el-Amarna letters<sup>4</sup> Ribadda, the king of Gebal, writes to Akhenaten requesting him to ask Aman-masha, an Egyptian official, if he, Ribadda, had not sent him *from* Alashiya.<sup>5</sup> This can hardly be Cyprus, since we have no reason to suppose that the king of Byblos had any authority

<sup>1</sup> MURRAY, l.c. pl. ii., 1340. <sup>2</sup> TSOUNTAS-MANATT, *Mycenæan Age*, fig. 85.

<sup>3</sup> I hope to treat this matter more fully elsewhere shortly.

<sup>4</sup> KNUDTZON, II4.

<sup>5</sup> The translation is uncertain, but this seems the most probable meaning. Mr. L. W. King agrees.

there, where no Phœnicians were to be for five hundred years yet, and he certainly did not go to Cyprus while the revolt was in progress. Previously also, the king of Alashiya had warned either Akhenaten or his father to be wary in his dealings with the kings of the Kheta and of Babylon (Shan-khar, Sin<sup>c</sup>ear), of whom the Alashiyan evidently stood in some dread.<sup>1</sup> A king of Cyprus would have had little to fear from either. Later on, in the time of Rameses III., when the Philistines and their allies marched into Palestine by sea and land, they overthrew first Kheta and then Alashiya before they camped in Syria. As they had ships, this may mean that they occupied Cyprus on their way. We find, however, no other historical or any archaeological evidence of swamping of Cyprus by foreign invasion at this date, comparable to the known evidence of the disappearance at this time of the Khatti power at Boghâz Kyöi and the establishment of the Philistine sub-Mycenaean culture in Palestine; and the shipmen can hardly have done much more than raid Cyprus. It seems to me much more probable that Alashiya was on the mainland, between Khatti and Syria. Copper is mentioned, it is true, in letters from Alashiya to Egypt, but not in such a way as would necessitate the identification with Cyprus. It is only spoken of as smelted or worked there, not mined,<sup>2</sup> and copper was smelted everywhere. It would come as ore to Cilicia from Cyprus or from the extensive mines which existed in ancient times along the south coast of the Black Sea from Europe to Trebizond and further east in the district of Diarbekr.<sup>3</sup> Further, there is the fact that the Alashiyans used the cuneiform script and the language of Canaan in which to correspond with Egypt. I think it unlikely that a people whose dominant culture was Minoan, as was that of Cyprus now, would have used cuneiform, any more than the Cretans probably did. We should

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<sup>1</sup> KNUDTZON, 35, l. 49.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, l. 14.

<sup>3</sup> GOWLAND, *The Metals in Antiquity* (Huxley Memorial Lecture, 1912) *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, 1912, p. 235 ff.

have found cuneiform records at Knossos if they had. Of course their proximity to the Semitic world *may* have caused the Cypriote Minoans to use the eastern language of diplomacy, as the Egyptians did, in dealing with foreign powers. Still, I doubt, and I doubt still more if a Minoan king would have talked, as the Alashiyan did,<sup>1</sup> of the hand of his "lord," the Babylonian god Nergal, having slain his people by plague. Babylonian influence in Cyprus seems always to have been small. Mr. L. W. King has finally shown that the supposed expedition of Sargon of Agade thither never took place,<sup>2</sup> and that the supposed cylinder of him, found in Cyprus, really is considerably later than his time.<sup>3</sup> Whatever Babylonian culture-influences may have come into the island by the sixteenth century B.C. would hardly have survived the Minoan invasion of the fifteenth. We certainly see absolutely nothing betraying the slightest trace of Babylonian influence in the Cyprian culture of Enkómi: a few cylinders are the only Babylonian objects found.

If, however, Alashiya were on the coast north of Phœnicia or in Cilicia, the use of cuneiform and the mention of Nergal would be more explicable. On the other hand, a Cilician king would hardly beg the Pharaoh for silver, as the Alashiyan does.<sup>4</sup> A Cyprian might well do so. The chief argument in favour of the identification with Cyprus is the name of Apollo Alasiotas, but I doubt if this is so crucial an argument as has been supposed. Since the other evidence is doubtful, the name may be that of a transferred cult, or it may have nothing to do with the old name Alashiya at all. It has been supposed<sup>5</sup> that Alashiya or Alasa is the same as Asi: the latter, pronounced something like "Aseyá," being the word Alashiya as the Egyptians understood it before

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<sup>1</sup> KNUDTZON, 35, l.l. 13, 37.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Sumer and Akkad*, p. 234 ff: cf. my *Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 113.

<sup>3</sup> KING, l.c., pp. 343, 344.

<sup>4</sup> KNUDTZON, 35, l.l. 19, 43.

<sup>5</sup> W. M. MÜLLER, *Z. Assy.* (1895), p. 262.

they came into close contact with the country and learnt the cuneiform spelling of the name. This may well be<sup>1</sup> if Alashiya is not Cyprus. But if it is decided that it must be Cyprus, I think the supposed identity must fall to the ground, as I cannot see how Asi, with its ivory, its lead and its lapis-lazuli, can possibly be Cyprus. Alashiya can hardly be Cyprus, if, as W. M. Müller supposed,<sup>2</sup> it is identical with the Arzawa or Arzaya of the el-Amarna letters<sup>3</sup>; the kings of Arzawa bore Hittite-Anatolian names, Tarkhundaraba and Alakshandu,<sup>4</sup> and the Arzawa language of the letters is said to be closely akin to the Hittite of the Bogház Kyöi letters discovered by Winckler.<sup>5</sup> We have no reason to suppose that the Cyprians were so directly related racially to the Hittites as this would imply, and Cyprian kings at this time, being presumably Minoans, would not have Hittite names.

The difficulty is that we have Cyprus evidently closely connected with Egypt at this time, and yet, if Alashiya is not Cyprus, we have no mention of the island except the Antinai or Tinai record of a century before. Nevertheless, the difficulties in the way of an acceptance of the current identification seem to me important enough to justify the question being raised once more. At any rate I should like to see the identification stated with a query, and not so positively as it usually is.

To conclude, we find the Cretan connection with Egypt continuing through the disturbed period of the raids of the Peoples of the Sea, whereas all connection between Egypt and Crete and the Aegean was cut off. The short sea route from Phœnician ports could be kept open. We find archaeological evidence of connexion at least as late as the time of Rameses III., even if we omit the doubtful evidence of the

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<sup>1</sup> It is noticeable that the word Asi is no longer met with at this time, after the word Alesa (Alashiya) comes into use in Egypt.

<sup>2</sup> Loc. cit. p. 263. <sup>3</sup> Knudtzon, 31, 32.

<sup>4</sup> Winckler, *M.D.O.G.*, Dec., 1907.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

supposed Cyprian names in a Karnak list.<sup>1</sup> The settlement of the Philistines in Palestine having brought the period of acute maritime disturbance to an end, at any rate outside the Aegean, sea-borne commerce revived, as we know from the Golenishev Papyrus<sup>2</sup>, and the later connexion may have been maintained directly from the Nile ports.

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<sup>1</sup> These names, to which I have referred in *O.C.G.*, p. 169, n. 2, (where the origin of the form of name Salameski was, I believe, first explained) may be merely copied from an older list of Thothmes III. Their coincidence with Cyprian place-names is certainly striking, as the most divergent of them, Salameski, can be easily explained as I proposed, as Salamis + the cuneiform city-sign *ki*: the list which the Egyptian scribe copied was in cuneiform (as it probably would have been), and he, being not very conversant with the script, unwittingly transcribed the determinate sign "*ki*" of the name Salameski, and gave the word as "Salameski" instead of "Salames" as it ought to have been.

<sup>2</sup> The Report of Unamon; date about 1117 B.C. His shipwreck on the coast of Alashiya throws no light on the question, as he might just as well have been wrecked off Cilicia as off Cyprus.



## KUMMUKH AND COMMAGENE

A STUDY IN NORTH SYRIAN AND MESOPOTAMIAN  
GEOGRAPHY

BY L. W. KING, M.A., F.S.A.

THE North Syrian district of Commagene, which with the decline of the Seleucid Empire attained the status of an independent kingdom and later was incorporated in the Roman province of Syria Euphratensis, appears never to have extended to the east of the Euphrates. Beyond the river lay the province of Mesopotamia, which for the Greeks included the whole country between Euphrates and Tigris to the north of Babylonia; hence Strabo regards the Euphrates as the natural eastern boundary of Commagene.<sup>1</sup> It is true that its capital, Samosata, lay upon this river-frontier, at the point where the Euphrates breaks away from the foothills of the Taurus, but this does not imply any extension of the province on the left bank: its chief centres of population naturally gravitated to the river at the points where traffic crossed. Thus, though it may be difficult to trace out the exact limits of the districts into which Northern Syria was divided for administrative purposes under the earlier Seleucidae,<sup>2</sup> the eastern limit of Commagene may be regarded as fixed. From the period of Seleucus onward the term connoted a district of Syria; it was never employed to include Mesopotamian territory.

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<sup>1</sup> XI., 521; cf. *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie*, II., 561.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, I. 208.

The name Κομμαγήνη undoubtedly represents, under a Greek form, an earlier geographical term, and its derivation from *Kummukh* or *Kummukhi* of the Assyrian inscriptions has long been regarded as certain. The earliest occurrence of the latter term is in the Cylinder-inscription of Tiglath-pileser I., and later we find it reappearing in the Annals of Ashur-našir-pal, Shalmaneser II. and Tiglath-pileser IV. The two earliest of these kings invariably write the name as *Kummukhi* (or *Kummukhi*)<sup>1</sup> which is closely parallel to the Greek form. Later variants of the word, such as *Kumukhi*,<sup>2</sup> *Kumukhkhu*,<sup>3</sup> *Kumukhkhi*,<sup>4</sup> occur side by side with *Kummukhi* (or *Kummukhi*),<sup>5</sup> and merely suggest a shifting of the accent, without any consonantal change. The Assyrian word itself was a transliteration of a foreign place-name, and it could not be more closely represented in Greek than by Κομμαγήνη. The identity of the two names cannot be called in question, though this does not necessarily imply that the term was employed by the Assyrians of the eleventh or ninth century for precisely the same region as it suggested to the Greeks of the Seleucid era.

<sup>1</sup> Tigl.-pil., *Cyl.*, I., 69, 75, 89, 91, II., 2, 18, 20, 56, 60, III., 8, 30, and A.-n.-p., *Annals*, I., 74, II., 87, III., 96, *Kurkh Mon.*, Obv., 35f., 38; cf. *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, *passim*. The first syllable of the name, as written in these inscriptions, can be read either as *Kum* or *Kum*; the adoption of the latter reading is based on the passage cited in note 4. But the Assyrians tended to blur the distinction, both in writing and pronunciation, between *k* and *k* when followed by the vowel *u*.

<sup>2</sup> Rm. 171 (Bezold, *Catalogue*, p. 1589), a contract-tablet dated in 668 B.C., in the eponymy of Mar-larimmi, described as a governor of Kumukhi, (*alu*) *Ku-mu-khi*; cp. also the date on the contract K. 321 (III. R., 2, No. xxiv.). In the geographical list K. 4384 (II. R., 53, l. 47b) the name is also written (*alu*) *Ku-mu-[khi]*, and the same form occurs in Tigl.-pil. IV., Pl. I., 21 (Rost, I., 44, II., 20); cf. also the gentilic forms in Shalm. II., *Mon.* II., 83, and Tigl.-pil. IV., *Tabl. inscr.* Obv. 46, Rev. 7, cited on p. 54, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> The inventory K. 954 (*Cat.*, 199) gives the form (*mātu*) *Ku-mu-ukh-khu*.

<sup>4</sup> On the Eponym-fragment K. 4446 (II. R., 69, No. 6), l. 2., the expedition for the year 708 B.C. is *a-na* (*alu*) *Ku-mukh-khi*.

<sup>5</sup> For the form (*alu*) *Ku-um-mu-khi*, cf. Tigl.-pil. IV., Pl. I., 33 (Rost, I. 46, II., 20), Pl. II., 32 (*op. cit.*, I., 52, II., 18), and the gentilic forms cited on p. 54, n. 3; the form (*alu*) *Kum-mu-khi* is found on a late Assyrian letter, addressed to the king, K. 9811 (*Cat.*, 1040).

But there can be no doubt that its later use has influenced modern geographers in their interpretation of the earlier term, and has not been without its effect upon some of the historical views put forward with regard to the western limits of the First Assyrian Empire. It was natural, in the absence of definite evidence to the contrary, to regard the Assyrian and the Seleucid areas as largely coinciding: hence all historians have placed the land of Kummukh on the Upper Euphrates, a great part, if not all of it, to the west of the river. Meyer describes it simply as on both sides of the Euphrates<sup>1</sup>; Schrader<sup>2</sup> and Winckler,<sup>3</sup> and in a less degree Maspero,<sup>4</sup> suggest an extension on the left bank, but others confine the term entirely to Syrian territory.<sup>5</sup> It was a surprise, therefore, to find, in some recently published rock-inscriptions of Sennacherib, the term Kummukh employed for a Mesopotamian region extending as far east as the Tigris in the neighbourhood of Jezireh.

The inscriptions in question were engraved by Sennacherib on the main peak of the Jûdî Dâgh or Jebel Jûdî, which lies on the east of the Tigris and to the north-east of the town of Jezireh on the right bank of the river.<sup>6</sup> They were executed to commemorate the first half of Sennacherib's Fifth Campaign, and incidentally they enable us to identify Mt. Nipur of the Assyrian inscriptions, which was generally thought to be in Cappadocia, with the Jûdî Dâgh. The fortified towns which Sennacherib captured and sacked on that occasion are described in the texts engraved upon the mountain, not only as "set like eagles' nests upon the peaks of Mt. Nipur," but also as lying "on the border of the land of Kummukhi."<sup>7</sup> It follows from this passage that the land of Kummukh, instead

<sup>1</sup> "Am Fuss des Taurus zu beiden Seiten des Euphratdurchbruchs;" *Geschichte des Altertums*, I., ii., p. 601.

<sup>2</sup> *Keilins. Bibl.*, I., p. 218; II., p. 294.

<sup>3</sup> In Helmolt's *World's History*, III., 54, 86.

<sup>4</sup> *Histoire ancienne*, III., p. 195.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. e.g., *Encycl. Bibl.*, I., 352f., and Hall, *Anc. Hist. of the Near East*, p. 504.

<sup>6</sup> King, *P.S.B.A.*, xxxv. (1913), pp. 66ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 88, ll. 15-18.

of being confined like Commagene to the west of the Euphrates, must have extended at least to the Tigris. It is the object of the present paper to re-examine briefly the other references to the country in the light of this new record, and to ascertain the extent to which it renders necessary a revision of current views.

Turning first to the account which Tiglath-pileser I. has given us of his conquest of Kummukh, it is at once noticeable that throughout his military operations he hugs the Tigris, and that the allied cities and districts he captures are all on one or other bank of the river. There is no question of the Euphrates, which is never once mentioned from beginning to end of the narrative. Tiglath-pileser tells us that at the beginning of his reign twenty thousand men of the land of Mushki, and their five kings who, fifty years before, had encroached on the sphere of Assyrian influence by occupying the districts of Alzi and Purukuzzu, now seized the land of Kummukh. Tiglath-pileser, accompanied by chariots and troops, traversed the mountain of Kashiari, and having defeated the kings of Mushki in the land of Kummukh, he deported six thousand of their warriors to Assyria. He then proceeded to punish the land of Kummukh itself for withholding its tribute by sacking and burning its towns and laying waste the cultivation.<sup>1</sup> Then occurs the following passage: "The rest of the people of the land of Kummukh, who had fled from before my weapons, crossed over to the city of Shereshe which is on the further bank of the Tigris, and they made that city their stronghold."<sup>2</sup> Tiglath-pileser crossed the Tigris after them and captured Shereshe. There is no suggestion in the text that Shereshe was not a city of Kummukh, which in that case must have included the left bank of the river. But even if Shereshe was merely an allied city, the passage proves that the operations were in the neighbourhood of the Tigris, not the Euphrates. Tiglath-pileser then describes his defeat of the Kurkhê, who had

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<sup>1</sup> I., 62—II., 1.

<sup>2</sup> II., 1—5.

come to the support of Kummukh, introducing the narrative with the words "at that time."<sup>1</sup> The defeat apparently took place in the land of Kummukh, but in any case it is into the Tigris, not the Euphrates, that the dead bodies of the men of Kummukh and their allies are carried by the river Nâme: the Assyrian army is still in the Tigris-basin and has not crossed the watershed. In order to capture Urratinash, the stronghold of the Kurkhê, (apparently starting from Kummukhian territory) it is again the Tigris that Tiglath-pileser crosses.<sup>2</sup>

We find precisely the same connexion between the land of Kummukh and the Tigris in the *Annals* of Ashur-naşir-pal, two passages of which are even more explicit on this point than Tiglath-pileser's inscription. The first passage runs: "From the cities at the foot of the mountains of Nipur and Paşate I departed, I crossed the Tigris, I drew near to the land of Kummukh."<sup>3</sup> The formula "I drew near to" is constantly used by Ashur-naşir-pal, and implies that he came to Kummukh immediately on crossing the Tigris. This is made quite clear by the second passage, which records that Kummukh was the first place the king came to when he set out on his expedition of 881 B.C. After stating the date of the expedition he says: "I summoned my chariots and my troops, I crossed the Tigris, I entered the land of Kummukh."<sup>4</sup> It is interesting to note from the first of these two passages, that for Ashur-naşir-pal, as for Sennacherib, the land of Kummukh extended eastwards to the Tigris, opposite Mt. Nipur or the Jûdî Dâgh. We may conclude that during the whole Assyrian period the eastern boundary of the land of Kummukh was the Tigris.

Fortunately, by means of an inscription of the eighth century B.C., we are enabled to fix with equal certainty the western boundary of the land of Kummukh at that period.

<sup>1</sup> *I-na u-mi-shu-ma*, II., 16ff.

<sup>2</sup> II., 36ff. No details are given of Tiglath-pileser's second expedition against Kummukh, in III., 7ff.; its devastation is merely recorded in general terms.

<sup>3</sup> I., 73f. <sup>4</sup> II., 86f.

The text in question was engraved in the reign of Tiglath-pileser IV., in the year 728 B.C., and was set up at Calah to record the conquests of his reign.<sup>1</sup> The passage we are concerned with occurs towards the close of the account of Tiglath-pileser's defeat of the Vannic king, Sarduris III. The Assyrian king tells us that after defeating Sarduris "in Kishtan and Khalpi, districts of the land of Kummukh," and capturing his entire camp, he drove him back to Armenia and into Turushpâ, his capital on Lake Van. There he besieged him, and though he could not take the place he set up an image of himself in front of the city, and made a triumphant march through Urartu (Armenia), adding its cities to Assyrian territory. Then he says: "The cities of Kûta, Urra, Arana, Taba, Uallia, up to the Euphrates, the boundary of Kummukh, the cities Kilissa, Izzida, Diuabli, Abbissa, Kharbisinna, Tasa, the land of Enzi, the cities Anganu, Binzu, fortresses of Urartu, and Kallama, its river, I conquered, I added to Assyria . . ."<sup>2</sup>

I have quoted the whole passage to show its context, but we are here mainly concerned with three words only, "the Euphrates, the boundary of Kummukh." It is natural to take the first five names (from Kûta to Uallia) as places in Kummukh, and the rest as places in Urartu, but for our purpose that point may be left out of consideration. It is enough for us that the Euphrates was one of the boundaries of Kummukh. Now since in 881 B.C., and also between the years 698—695 B.C., the Tigris formed the eastern boundary of Kummukh, it is extremely improbable that in the year 728 B.C., in the interval between the other two dates, the land should have been regarded as extending as far east only as the Euphrates. It is obvious that we must take Tiglath-pileser's expression to mean that the Euphrates was the western boundary of Kummukh. And this conclusion fully accords with the context of the passage under discussion. The conquests

<sup>1</sup> Pl. I., Rost, I., 42ff., II., 19f.

<sup>2</sup> Ll. 30—35.

there referred to are enumerated from the standpoint of Urartu (Armenia): the text records the conquest of Urartu and the land of Kummukh (in the latter of which Sarduris' defeat took place) up to the furthest, that is to say the western, limit of Kummukh.

We may conclude therefore that for the Assyrians, at any rate from the latter half of the eighth century onwards, the land of Kummukh extended across the upper and mountainous region of Mesopotamia from river to river. This does not conflict with the view already expressed that the Kummukh of Tiglath-pileser I. lay mainly in the basin of the Tigris. It is true this earlier king tells us that he conquered the land of Kummukh "in its length and breadth." And no doubt this seemed to him to be the case, especially after the return from his expedition. But even for Tiglath-pileser I. Kummukh was a "broad land,"<sup>1</sup> — and it was broader than he knew, a fact that was realised by his successors on the throne two centuries and a half later. The western expeditions of Ashur-naṣir-pal and of his son Shalmaneser II. must have considerably widened the geographical horizon of Assyria, and it is in accordance with this gradual increase in the Assyrian knowledge of the district that Tiglath-pileser IV. should refer to the Euphrates as the extreme western limit of the country. Tiglath-pileser I.'s conquest was confined to Eastern Kummukh: Kishtan and Khalpi, which were captured by Tiglath-pileser IV., lay in the western half of the country.

We come now to two other passages, also in the records of Shalmaneser II. and Tiglath-pileser IV., which at first sight appear to conflict with the conclusion just arrived at. In the earlier part of his account of the expedition of 854 B.C., the year of the Battle of Karkar, Shalmaneser II. tells us that after crossing the Euphrates he received tribute from various kings on that side of the river. The second name in this list of trans-Euphratean<sup>2</sup> rulers, which follows that of Sangar of

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<sup>1</sup> Cyl. Inscr., II., 56.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.*, trans-Euphratean from the Assyrian standpoint.

Carchemish, is Kundashpi of Kummukh,<sup>1</sup> and the whole tenour of the passage forces us to regard him as ruling a district west of the river. Similarly a list of kings who were tributary to Tiglath-pileser IV., which is headed with the name of a certain Kushtashpi of Kummukh, goes on with the names of Rezin of Damascus, Menahem of Samaria, Hiram of Tyre, and of kings of Gebal, Cilicia, Carchemish, Hamath, etc.,<sup>2</sup> all cities or countries west of the Euphrates. Kushtashpi, the contemporary of Tiglath-pileser IV., like Kundashpi, Shalmaneser's tributary, clearly ruled a district in the north of Syria. How then are these passages to be reconciled with Tiglath-pileser IV.'s reference to the Euphrates as forming the western boundary of Kummukh? As a matter of fact, so far from being at variance with that reference, these two passages in themselves explain the circumstances which led to the gradual transference of the geographical term Kummukh from a district entirely east of the Euphrates to one entirely west of the river.

It is to be noticed that neither Kundashpi nor Kushtashpi is referred to as a ruler of Kummukh. The name is merely applied to them in a gentile sense: they are "Kummukhians," not "kings of Kummukh."<sup>3</sup> In fact, while their titles imply that by race they were rulers from Kummukh, there is nothing to suggest that the district they governed lay strictly within the land of that name. On the contrary, we may picture their kingdom as having been founded in consequence of the westward expansion, probably under Assyrian pressure, of one of the racial elements which made up the population of that broad tract of country between the rivers. The names of the two rulers leave no doubt as to their racial character, and they furnish the reason for the survival in Syria during the

<sup>1</sup> Shalm. II., *Mon. Inscr.* II., 83 (III. R., 8).

<sup>2</sup> Tigl.-pil. IV., *Ann.* 150 (Rost, I., 26).

<sup>3</sup> The names and titles read: (m) *Ku-un-da-ash-pi (alu) Ku-mu-kha-a-a*, Shalm. II., *Mon.* II., 83; (m) *Ku-ush-ta-ash-pi (alu) Ku-um-mu-kha-a-a*, varr. (mātu) *Ku-um-mukh-[a-a]*, (mātu) *Ku-mukh-a-a*, Tigl.-pil. IV., *Annals*, 61f., 86, 150, *Tabl. inscr.* Obv. 46, Rev. 7 (Rost, I., 12, 14, 26, 66, 70). Cf. also *Ann.* 61, 86.

Akhaemenian and Seleucid eras of the place-name they brought with them from beyond Euphrates. For Kundashpi and Kushtashpi are both Aryan (Iranian) names, the latter corresponding to the Old Persian *Vishtâspa*, Gr. *Ῥασάσπης*, and we may conclude that the dynasty they represent was Aryan in character, and was established in Syria before the ninth century B.C.<sup>1</sup> They formed a later ripple of the wave of Aryan migration which seems to have flooded the Mesopotamian region of Mitanni in the seventeenth century and to have checked the early expansion of Assyrian power. Already in the time of Tiglath-pileser IV. the Syrian district, ruled by this Aryan dynasty of kings from Kummukh, had evidently acquired greater importance than any single part of the more mountainous and rugged Mesopotamian region of that name; and it would not be surprising if the Akhaemenian kings of Persia had encouraged the prosperity and importance of such a district, peopled as it had been by men of their own kindred. We thus obtain a sufficient reason for the gradual transference of the place-name from the east to the west of the Euphrates.

The gradual changes we have traced in the use of the place-name Kummukh are bound to have an effect on our conceptions of some of the historical events in which a region of that name has borne an active or a passive part, particularly during the earlier period of Assyrian expansion. If Tiglath-pileser I.'s conquest of Kummukh, so far from extending beyond Euphrates, was confined to the Tigris-basin, it will be necessary to re-examine our other geographical identifications bearing on that campaign. The Kashiari mountain, for example, can hardly be identified with the Karaja Dagħ, as is sometimes confidently assumed, but must probably be transferred to the Tûr 'Abdîn, particularly its south-eastern slopes where the higher ground continues to rise abruptly from the plain, almost like a cliff above the sea. But still more drastic must be our revision of some of the theories as to Assyrian expansion westwards at this period, which have lately become fashionable. Our new

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, I., ii., 601f.

information cannot help causing a certain shrinkage of the horizon. Tiglath-pileser's passage of the Euphrates at Carchemish becomes a great event, and his cruise at Arvad marks his furthest advance westward. It is difficult to stretch his record to cover the conquest of Anatolia and the capture of Iconium.

But I have already exceeded the limits of this paper and must pursue elsewhere the discussion of this side of the subject. Meanwhile, our re-examination of the Assyrian evidence as to the use of the name Kummukh has resulted in suggesting a gradual growth in Assyrian geographical knowledge; and incidentally the texts have furnished an adequate reason for the survival into the Seleucid era of the name, under the form *Κομμαγενή*, for a region in which the Euphrates has become the eastern, in place of the western, boundary.

## A POLITICAL CRIME IN ANCIENT EGYPT.

BY ALAN H. GARDINER, D. LITT.

ONE of the latest contributions to Egyptian philology is an essay by Professor Erman on some hieratic papyri recently acquired by the Berlin Museum.<sup>1</sup> In the condition in which these were purchased from a Luxor antiquity dealer they formed a single roll enveloped in a linen wrapper, the latter being securely fastened by means of a clay seal stamped upon it. When opened in Berlin the roll was found to comprise three perfectly preserved letters on separate sheets, written in one and the same very cursive script. The handwriting immediately recalled that of a well-known series of letters that must have been found together at Thebes in the first half of last century, and are now dispersed among several of the great European collections. Professor Spiegelberg was the first to recognize the homogeneity and common origin of these papyri, which formed the subject of a memoir by him entitled *Correspondances du temps des rois-prêtres* and published in 1895. Closer study of the new Berlin papyri soon revealed the fact that their resemblance to those edited by Spiegelberg was more than superficial; the names of the same persons occurred in both. The recognition of this fact raised a curious problem, but one that is not without parallels in the history

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<sup>1</sup> ADOLF ERMAN. *Ein Fall abgekürzter Justiz in Aegypten* extracted from *Abhandlungen der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften. Jahrgang 1913. Phil.-Hist. Classe. Nr. I.*

of Egyptology; how came it that antiquities evidently emanating from a *cache* discovered eighty years ago should be offered for sale for the first time in 1912? Various answers, all equally unverifiable, may be given: perhaps the ruins were but imperfectly explored at the time of their first discovery, so that something remained over until quite recently, when the site may have been searched anew; or perhaps it is simpler to suppose that a forgotten cupboard in some dark corner of a fellah's house is at the bottom of the mystery.

The principal person named in both the old and the new letters is a historical personage, none other than Pai-onkh, the son of Hrihor, the founder of the 21st Dynasty (11th century B.C.). In order to render this account of the Berlin papyri comprehensible, the political situation at the time when they were written must be described in a few words. The last kings of the Ramesside line had proved themselves incompetent weaklings, unable to keep order even in their own Theban capital. As their power waned, so that of the Priesthood of Amon waxed. At length a High-priest named Hrihor judged the moment suitable for taking matters into his own hands, ordered his name henceforth to be enclosed in the Royal cartouche, and ascended the throne of the Pharaohs. Soon after these events Hrihor appears to have moved his own residence from Thebes to some more central city farther north, leaving his son Pai-onkh in charge of his former offices. The full titulary of Pai-onkh, as recorded on the monuments, reads thus:—"Fan-bearer on the right hand of the King; Royal scribe and General; Royal son of Kush and governor of the Southern lands: High-priest of Amonrasothes; Superintendent of the Granaries of Pharaoh; Captain of the troops of Pharaoh." One might have expected Pai-onkh to have regarded the High-priesthood of Amon as his proudest dignity, but such was not the case; as his shorter designation he preferred to adopt the title "General of Pharaoh," and it is thus that he is referred to in our papyri. Two reasons for this may be tentatively conjectured. In the

first place it is probable that the actual supervision of the Priesthood of Amon fell, after Hrihor's departure northwards, upon Nozme, the mother of Pai-onkh, who as wife of Hrihor already enjoyed the title of "Chief of the Harim of Amon." In the second place, it must not be lost from view that those were troublous times, when Pai-onkh's military charge was probably of far more practical importance than his other functions, civil and religious.

All three Berlin letters are from Pai-onkh himself and are addressed to different persons in Thebes, from which he himself, accordingly, must have been absent. The first letter, which with Erman I shall call A, is to an official often named in the correspondence published by Spiegelberg; this is the Scribe of the Necropolis Zaroi, who seems to have enjoyed the special favour of Pai-onkh, for whom he was wont to execute the most multifarious commissions. The addressee of letter B is one Pai-shu-uben, Pai-onkh's own agent or bailiff at Thebes.<sup>1</sup> Letter C is to Hrihor's mother Nozme, with whom we have become already acquainted. The principal portion of all three letters is worded in practically identical terms, so that it will suffice to translate one of them only (A). The deviations of B and C are full of significance, so that they must not be passed over altogether; the minor ones will be given in footnotes, and of the more important ones more will be said later.<sup>2</sup>

"The General of Pharaoh to the scribe of the necropolis Zaroi.<sup>3</sup> To this effect: I have noted all the matters concerning which thou hast written. Now as to this matter of the two Mazoi (*i.e.*, armed policemen) of whom thou hast said that they have spoken of my affairs,<sup>4</sup> make common cause with Nozme

<sup>1</sup> See the address on letter A, misunderstood by Erman.

<sup>2</sup> My renderings differ from those proposed by Erman in several places; the more important of these will be mentioned in the footnotes.

<sup>3</sup> Variants: B "to the agent Pai-shu-uben"; C "to the chief of the Harim of Amonrasonther Nozme."

<sup>4</sup> So too B; if we admit a very slight error or mis-spelling in C this will run "of whom thou hast said that they have spoken." It is not possible to interpret the word for "my" as "these," as Erman suggests.

and Pai-shu-uben,<sup>1</sup> and let them send<sup>2</sup> and have these two Mazoi brought to this<sup>3</sup> house, and let them put a stop to their words<sup>4</sup> altogether.<sup>5</sup> If they perceive that it is true, they shall put them in two sacks (?),<sup>6</sup> and throw them into the water by night, without letting anyone in the land know about it.”<sup>7</sup>

The circumstance referred to in these words needs but little commentary. Two Theban policemen who knew more than was good for them have “blabbed” and must in consequence be suppressed silently and secretly. Information about the matter had evidently reached Pai-onkh’s ears from three different sources, namely the three persons to whom he now replies. Them he bids to lay their heads together, and to see that the offenders are made away with without further ado.

The differences that the three letters present are highly significant; some of them have been indicated already in the footnotes. The letter to Pai-shu-uben (B) contains no additional matter, and it is evident that he was regarded as far the least important of the informers. To him, however, falls the dirty work of assassination; whereas Zaroi has merely to see that the others do not shirk the task, Pai-shu-uben is directly ordered to kill the unfortunate Mazoi, and to throw

<sup>1</sup> B “with Nozme and Zaroi”; C “with Pai-shu-uben and Zaroi, the scribe.”

<sup>2</sup> B and C “and send thou”; so too subsequently B and C give the second person singular where A has the third plural.

<sup>3</sup> B and C “to my house.”

<sup>4</sup> This interpretation of the phrase *in ph* also suits the passages in the Abbott papyrus quoted by Erman.

<sup>5</sup> B continues “and thou shalt kill and throw them into the water by night,” omitting the intervening sentence in A; C differs only from B by having “thou shalt cause them to be killed and thrown” instead of “thou shalt kill and throw them.”

<sup>6</sup> Read *mš-t* for Erman’s *st*, and after *msy* change the determinative to that conveying the notion of furniture, etc. The group after *iw* is perhaps not to be interpreted as the suffix of the second person plural, but as a peculiar writing of the third person plural, *n-w* for merely *-w*. It is tempting to read *mst* for *msy*, though palæographically this is difficult. Anyhow the sentence should be transcribed *iw-w [r] dī-t sē (=sn) [r] msy (? mst)*. Sethe informs me that Spiegelberg had independently noticed the two mistakes in Erman’s transcription above-noted.

<sup>7</sup> C omits the words “without—it.”

their corpses into the river. Nozme receives directions to see that the deed is done, probably for the reason that her authority was greater than that of Zaroi, and because she was therefore able to give orders to the assassin without fear of being disobeyed. Of the three conspirators, Nozme is the only one who was in any way Pai-onkh's equal; to her, therefore, the usual salutations are addressed:—

"In life, health and wealth! In the favour of Amen-re, King of the Gods! I speak to every god and goddess by whom (*i.e.*, by whose temple) I pass by, that they may give thee life and health, and that they may grant me to see thee on my return, and to fill<sup>1</sup> my eye with seeing thee every day!"

These greetings may not seem very personal from a son to his mother, but in order that we may not charge Pai-onkh with any lack of filial devotion, we find added in a rapid scrawl at the bottom of the letter

" . . . . . and write to me how thou art. Farewell!"

With Zaroi, as we know from Spiegelberg's book, Pai-onkh was in constant correspondence, and accordingly, after the passage that has been already quoted, we find a further paragraph referring to a different matter. Here there is some little philological difficulty, and I am not quite sure that I have caught the exact sense of the Egyptian text.

"Another<sup>2</sup> matter. As to Pharaoh, how shall he reach<sup>3</sup> this land again? As to Pharaoh, who is indeed the master? Now all these three months I have sent a boat, yet thou hast not caused to be brought to me any sum<sup>4</sup> of gold or silver. It is all right, do not concern thy heart about what he is doing! But when this letter reaches thee, thou shalt get together a sum of gold and silver, and shalt cause it to be brought to me by boat."<sup>5</sup>

It is more than likely that this paragraph would be found to allude to important historical facts, if only we could be sure of the logical connection between the sentences. It is hardly possible to doubt that the references to Pharaoh stand in some relation to the clauses speaking of Zaroi's duties. It

<sup>1</sup> Read *mh irt-(tw)i [n] ptri-[t] r<sup>c</sup> nb*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *kti*, not as Erman *ky*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ph* is wrongly determined, as in *in ph* above.

<sup>4</sup> Here and below the Egyptian word means literally "pound," not "sum."

<sup>5</sup> Read *in-f (=in-twf)ni m wsh-t*, the last word being written in the same contracted way as before.

seems inevitable to conclude, therefore, that Zaroi's function was to supply money for Pharaoh's use. Pai-onkh evidently acted as an intermediary, for he has been sending a vessel for the money for three whole months. These premisses being admitted, a very definite sense emerges from the words without forcing their meaning. Pharaoh is abroad, and Pai-onkh expresses the doubt whether he will ever be able to reach Egypt again. But this, he hints, matters little, for the real ruler of the land is someone else.<sup>1</sup> Zaroi has failed to send any money, though Pai-onkh, for his part, has perfunctorily done what was required of him. It is all right, says Pai-onkh reassuringly, you need not worry about what Pharaoh is doing!<sup>2</sup> None the less, Zaroi is bidden, on receipt of the letter, to send a certain sum of money; this may have been just to keep up some appearance of loyalty!

Who is the Pharaoh to whom these sentences refer? Can it possibly be Hrihor, and was Pai-onkh a traitor to his own father? The only alternative, assuming that I have rightly diagnosed the meaning of this tantalizing passage, is to assume that Pharaoh is here the last of the Ramessides, who is at present in exile or warring abroad, while Hrihor and Pai-onkh, the real masters of the situation, are still pretending to be his loyal servants. More evidence is needed to settle this knotty point; there is fortunately still hope of light from other sources, for the British Museum possesses several papyri belonging to the series that are still unpublished and have hitherto been inaccessible to students.

It may have occurred to some reader to ask himself; if the letters to Pai-onkh were sent to three different persons, how comes it that they were found sealed up together in the same roll? To this question the addresses written on the letters give a decisive answer.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> It is in this clause that the only real grammatical uncertainty lies.

<sup>2</sup> The suffix in *ir-f* has nothing to refer to if not to Pharaoh.

<sup>3</sup> Erman has curiously failed to see the import of these addresses. The explanation here given was independently noticed by Professor Sethe, of Göttingen.

The address on letter C, written in an upright hand quite distinct from that of the letter itself, runs as follows:—

“The chief of the *harim* of Amen-rasonther, Nozme to Ken-khenem, scribe of the General.”

From this it is quite plain that Nozme, having read the letter with its compromising instructions, had it returned to the sender, or rather to his secretary, who must clearly also have been in the secret. Letter B has no address, but the address which we should now expect to find upon it is found on letter A. Here we read:—

“The agent of the General Pai-shu-uben to the scribe of the General Ken-khenem.”

Zaroi therefore has handed his letter over to Pai-shu-uben, and the latter has returned it together with his own to the General’s secretary, just as Nozme had done. The seal that was found intact upon the roll containing the three letters unfortunately gives no name; according to Professor Sethe’s clever and convincing interpretation of the hieroglyphs, communicated to me in a private letter, these are to be read:—

“I belong to Amon, the Breath of Life.”

This may be either the private motto of Pai-onkh, or else (and perhaps more probably) an indication that the roll belonged to the High Priest of Amon—a title which, as we have seen, Pai-onkh bore.

The general interest of the papyri that have here been studied does not lie solely in the sordid incident that they relate, nor yet in their philological details. Their principal interest, as it seems to me, is that they belong to a type of historical evidence that is extremely uncommon in our Egyptian texts. If we were credulous enough to trust the monumental records left by the Egyptians for our edification, their great men and Pharaohs would have to be believed paragons of virtue, wholly incapable of error, not to speak of crime. The Egyptians were born braggarts, and their annals unfold a vista too radiant to carry conviction. It is not with-

out a sense of relief, therefore, that we come upon documents that bring us face to face with a historical personage as he really was and lived ; despite the sinister nature of the events unfolded, we are grateful that for once we should be spared the stiff hieratic pose so dear to the Egyptian, no less in his literature than in his art.

RELIGION OF THE ACHÆMENID  
KINGS.\*

BY L. C. CASARTELLI, BISHOP OF SALFORD.

PROFESSOR TOLMAN, of the Vanderbilt University, in a note contributed to the *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. XXXI., No. 1, 1910, discusses a phrase recently restored by means of a photograph from the Darius inscription at Naks-i-Rustam, communicated by Professor Weissbach,<sup>1</sup> of which he says that he firmly believes it "is in absolute agreement with the theologic phraseology of the Avesta, and consequently has a very important bearing on the religion of the Achaemenidan kings." Nay, more, he concludes his note with the emphatic words: "The mooted question as to the religion of the Achaemenidan kings I regard as now settled. *Darius was a Zoroastrian* and in almost Scriptural terms bears witness to that fact on his sepulchre." In his subsequent work, *Cuneiform Supplement to the Author's Ancient Persian Lexicon and Texts* (Nashville, published by Vanderbilt University, 1910), Tolman repeats and emphasises his opinion of the decisive nature of his discovery, which he declares to be of "supreme importance."

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\*A paper read before the Manchester Oriental Society in 1912.

<sup>1</sup> Who, however, says rather piquantly: "Der von Tolman a. a. O. 59 f. gebotene Text geht auf Mitteilung von mir zurück, die zu diesem Zweck weder erbeten noch bestimmt waren." (*Der Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, Leipzig, 1911, p. xviii.).

What then is this all-important phrase?—for if the long disputed question as to whether the religion of the Achæmenids and that of the Avesta be identical or not has been finally solved, then certainly one of the obscurest and most debateable problems in the history of religions has been set at rest. This would be indeed an amazing result to flow from the reading of half-a-dozen words; yet of itself by no means impossible. The words then are (lines 36-37): vain-ām(i)y utā usaibi(y)ā utā framānāyā.

Tolman first corrects the third word into usib(y)ā (accepted by Weissbach, *op. cit.*) and equivalates with the Avestic *us*,—an exceedingly probable reading, as it seems to me. He translates “I see both with a capacity to perceive [lit., with two ears] and [with understanding] of the divine precept.” This he compares with the Avestic use of the “two ears” to indicate earnestness or intensity, *e.g.*, *Yasna* LXII. 4: dāyā mē . . . . xsviwrēm hizvām urune usi; “grant me . . . . a ready tongue and to the soul ears.” And that is all!

It is no doubt correct to say that in the Avesta “*usi*, two ears, is sometimes used as a metaphor to express vividly the power of appreciating and the ability of understanding divine wisdom.” But from this to citing the term as a strictly characteristic technical theological term, sufficient to decide the religious system of a passage in which it occurs, is indeed a far cry. As a matter of fact, one might ask in what language the identical metaphor does not occur. One need not go further than French. Littré in his great dictionary, under “entendre des deux oreilles,” says “se dit par pléonasme emphatique pour affirmer qu’ on a bien entendu: ‘rien n’est plus vrai, Madame; je l’ai entendu de mes deux oreilles’, Zanotti, *Talisman*, sc. 12.” There is a Walloon proverb—

1 “Conté toudi, nos deux oreies

Pou vou outer sont toutes deux grandes ouvreies.”

In our own language we use a still stronger expression and

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1 *i.e.*, Contez toujours, *nos deux oreilles* pour vous écouter sont deux grands trous.

speak of listening "with all our ears."<sup>1</sup> And again in French this use of the dual is common quite pleonastically to indicate intensity, thus "applaudir à deux mains"—(it would surely be impossible to applaud in any other way);—still more quaintly, "dormir sur les deux oreilles" (a truly difficult operation!). In the O. T. the construction is quite familiar: "We have heard with both our ears (בְּאָזְנֵינוּ)," 2 Sam., 7, 22, 1 Chron., 17, 20; "ruin and death have said: We have heard her fame with both our ears (בְּאָזְנֵינוּ)," Job 28, 22; "O God we have heard with both our ears (בְּאָזְנֵינוּ)," Ps. 44, 2. It is, however, unnecessary to multiply quotations. The use of the dual of the word for ear to indicate intensity and earnestness of listening or paying attention, is so obvious and universal that I fear Professor Tolman, in building upon this isolated phrase to determine so vast a problem, is endeavouring to poise an inverted pyramid upon its apex: and I, for one at least, must regretfully admit that the vexed question of the exact relation of the religion of the Great Kings to that of the Avesta is as far from solution as ever.<sup>2</sup>

It will probably appear unnecessary to labour so obvious a conclusion; but the authority of a scholar like Tolman might very easily secure a place in manuals of popular information for his *ipse dixit*, reared on so slender a basis, as a fact definitely secured to science.

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<sup>1</sup> So Fr. "*de toutes ses oreilles* : avec grande attention. 'Vous, M. le Baron, écoutez de toutes vos oreilles.'" [Littré, s.v.].

<sup>2</sup> Since the above was written, however, the solution of the problem has been advanced by the remarkably able *Hibbert Lectures* (1913) of our colleague, Prof. J. H. Moulton, which will necessitate a very careful revision of views on the whole question of Zoroastrian origins.



## THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE NEAR EAST.<sup>1</sup>

### A REVIEW

BY THE REV. C. L. BEDALE, M.A.

THE task which Mr. Hall has undertaken demands not only wide knowledge, but also considerable resolution and courage. Any day a new archæological discovery may be made, or a fresh inscription be read, which will make an important addition to our knowledge, and may even necessitate the modification of some hitherto generally accepted and apparently well-established theory. With such a possibility in mind a writer is tempted to put off publication from day to day lest he should have to regret that he had not "delayed a little longer in order to register this or that new fact of importance." Unfortunately, however, although the student of ancient history cannot rest content as long as so many sites remain unexamined and so many inscriptions unread, yet the completion of the work of the explorer and of the decipherer belongs to the still distant future, and it is not possible for the historian to wait until so happy a result has been attained. Indeed, exploration and decipherment, on the one hand, and the writing of history based on the results of these, on the other, are parallel and closely related processes. The explorer and the decipherer provide the historian with many of his facts, and the historian in his turn is ever spurring them on to fresh efforts to fill those gaps in his

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<sup>1</sup> *The Ancient History of the Near East*, by H. R. HALL, M.A., F.S.A., Methuen & Co., 1913. 15s. net.

knowledge of which he becomes often so painfully conscious in the course of his endeavour to construct his history.

It is only necessary to turn to the first section of Mr. Hall's book, in which he deals with the early civilization of Greece, to see how great the above mentioned difficulty is. This section covers a wide period—from the fourth millennium B.C. to the beginning of the classical Greek civilization so long and so well known to us. Thanks to the results of Aegean exploration, our knowledge of the ancient history of this part of the Near East has been revolutionised. It has become evident that there was an early Greek civilization contemporaneous with, and just as important as, the civilizations of Egypt and Babylonia. The value of the Aegean archæology for the correction of erroneous ideas concerning this portion of the ancient world can scarcely be exaggerated. Unfortunately, however, archæology cannot do everything. Its evidence has to be supplemented by that of inscriptions, and this is at present wanting as far as the Aegean is concerned. Not that the inscriptions themselves are lacking, but—and this is the tantalising element in the situation—they cannot be read. So the historian has to be content with a bare outline of early Greek history, based on the "Minoan" periods and sub-periods of Sir Arthur Evans' chronological scheme. To have drawn even the outline of the picture is a great achievement; but we look forward eagerly to the day when the decipherment of the inscriptions will make it possible to fill in details, and when the early history of Greece will be able to command a larger share of space in such a work as this than it can at present fairly claim.

The next two sections of the book are occupied with the early history of Egypt and Babylonia respectively. The story of Egypt is traced from its beginnings in the obscurity of the Stone Age right on to the coming of the Hyksos (c. 1800 B.C.) when the people of the Nile were brought into sudden and violent contact with Asia. And that of Babylonia, where, in the earliest times of which we have any knowledge (4th millennium B.C.), there already existed a highly

developed civilization, is carried as far as the fall of the Khammurabi Dynasty and the establishment of the six hundred years long régime of the Kassites (c. 1750 B.C.) From this point onwards the history of the Near East becomes more complicated. The coming of the Hyksos broke down the barrier between Egypt and Asia, while the advance of the Hittites, the rise of the Syrian and Palestinian kingdoms, the growth of the Assyrian and, later, of the Persian empires, all cause in turn a shifting of the centre of interests. Accordingly, Mr. Hall has sought to tell the story of each period more or less from the standpoint of the chief actor in it.

We turn, therefore, in the fourth section of the book from Babylonia back again to Egypt, and read how she freed herself from the domination of the Hyksos, and, under the great kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty, carried out her Asiatic conquests. Then comes the story of the rise and development of the Hittites and of their long struggle with Egypt, followed by the overthrow of the Hittite power by Assyria, and Egypt's loss of her Asiatic possessions. At this point the centre of interest moves to Syria and Palestine, where, taking advantage of the weakness of Egypt, the Hittites, Babylonia and Assyria, new peoples established themselves—first the Aramaeans, then the Israelites, and, finally, the Philistines. During the centuries which followed their coming there grew up the Syrian and Palestinian kingdoms. But early in the ninth century the freedom from attack from outside which they had enjoyed came to an end. A revival took place in Assyria, which now became the dominant power in the Near East, and her campaigns against Syria and Palestine brought to an end the kingdoms of Damascus and Samaria, and prepared the way for the fall of Judah before the Chaldaeans.

The record of Assyria's history from her revival at the beginning of the ninth century to her sudden and disastrous overthrow in 606 B.C. occupies the seventh section of the book. Finally we come to the story of the Persian Empire and the gradual extension of its power until Greece, where a

new national spirit had developed, checked its westward advance at Salamis and Plataeae and so brought to a close the first period in the history of the Near East.

The above outline will perhaps give some idea of the ground covered in this volume. It is a mine of interesting suggestions, and many of the footnotes contain most valuable discussions of difficult and disputed questions. To give an account of these within the present limits is impossible, but, in closing, mention may be made of one or two of them. Mr. Hall argues strongly in favour of the non-Aryan origin of early Greek culture. In connection with the vexed question of Egyptian chronology previous to the XVIIIth Dynasty, while rejecting unhesitatingly Professor Petrie's date, he prefers to await further evidence before committing himself to any fixed scheme. For the present he is content to assume c. 2000 B.C. as the central point of the XIIth Dynasty, and c. 3600—3500 B.C. for the beginning of the Ist Dynasty. He rejects the suggestion that the "Armenoid" race is represented among the early Egyptians, and prefers to regard that element of the population which has been so classed as Mediterranean and connected with the ancient Cretans. The two useful tables which Mr. Hall provides on pages 262 and 263 will help the student to a better understanding of the obscure and complicated Kassite period of Babylonian history. The Hittites, he suggests, were indigenous to Anatolia and non-Aryan; he identifies the Khabiri with the Hebrews, placing the exodus before the Tell-el-Amarna period; and he rejects the Musri theory of which Professor Winckler made so much. The chief criticism that one would pass on the work is connected with the amount of space allotted to the different peoples. Egypt, surely, has more than her share, and while the importance of the Greeks is rightly insisted upon, that of Israel hardly receives its due recognition. But the book as a whole is a thoroughly scholarly piece of work, and especially valuable to the student because it incorporates the latest results of research, and because it gives, in comparatively small compass, a clear account of the peoples of this part of the ancient world.

## NOTES ON PHILOLOGY, ETC.

## THE WORD 'ABNĒṬ IN HEBREW.

I.—By MAURICE H. FARBRIDGE.

IN the Oxford Hebrew Lexicon it is assumed that the Hebrew word 'Abnet is connected with a root *b-n-t*. But the Lexicon does not explain the meaning of the root, nor does it pursue the investigation further. Again, the root *b-n-t* occurs neither in Hebrew nor in any other Semitic language.

To me it seems likely that the word *b-n-t* is connected with the word *beten* (belly, womb). I would suggest that originally there were two words for "belly," *beten* and *benet* (cp. *kesebh* and *kebhes*, "a lamb") and that from *benet* was formed 'abnet with 'Aleph prosthetic. Thus 'abnet would be connected with *beten*. This suggestion seems to me to be supported by the following three considerations: (1) The 'abnet seems to have been a sash (rather than a girdle), which was wound under the breast (*Encyclopædia Biblica*, art. "Girdle"). It would be appropriate, therefore, to connect the name of such an article with the word *beten*; (2) The *beten* is mentioned often in Hebrew as the seat of intellectual faculties (cp. Oxf. Lex., p. 105, and see, e.g., Job xv. 2, 35), and the 'abnēt was the mark of intellectual superiority, since it was worn by high officials (Isa. xxii. 21); (3) Sometimes the *beten* is used also as the seat of spiritual emotions (Hab. iii. 16). It is natural, therefore, that such a person as a priest should wear an 'abnet as one of the robes of office.

## II.—By M. A. CANNEY, M.A.

THE above note by Mr. M. H. Farbridge is interesting. It is possible, I think, that there is some connection between *'abnet* and *beten*. But this connection may be explained in a somewhat different way. That the word *beten* should suggest a derivative with the meaning "sash" would be natural. We ourselves employ such words as "stomacher" and "legging." Nor is it strange that the derivative, by transposition of two letters, should take the form *'abnet* instead of *'abten*. But from the fact that the form is *'abnet* it does not follow that there must have been in use two words for "belly." It is even possible that *'abnet* is miswritten for *'abten*. In Arabic *batn* means "belly," as in Hebrew. The verb *batan* in Form II. is found with the meaning "to strap a beast," and the noun *bitān* with the meaning "strap" or "girth" (of an animal). This noun has a plural (*Broken Plural*) *'abtīnat*, which bears a striking resemblance to *'abten*. There can hardly be any real connection between *'abtīnat* and *'abten* = *'abnet*. But Arabic usage does seem to suggest that a derivative of *b-t-n* may have been used at first of a strap for animals, and then of a sash for men. The form *'abnet* or *'abten* was perhaps chosen specially to distinguish the official sash, which seems to have been wound twice round the body, from an ordinary strap. Considerations of sound and pronunciation would suggest the transposition of the two consonants.

## THE RITE OF CIRCUMCISION.

BY G. ELLIOT SMITH, M.A., M.D., F.R.S.

IN his *Religion of the Semites* (2nd ed., 1894, p. 328) Robertson Smith expressed the opinion that the rite of circumcision was regarded originally as a preparation for marriage, and that its transfer to infancy may have been made at some subsequent time.

So far as I am aware, the Egyptian evidence in support of this suggestion—and this evidence is important, because it goes back many centuries earlier than that relating to any other peoples—has never been set forth fully.

In the earliest pre-dynastic Egyptian bodies that have ever been brought to light I found that the adult males were circumcised, and the age of these bodies must be assigned to at least 4000 B.C. In the tomb of Ankh-ma-Hor at Sakkara (c. 2600 B.C.) the operation is represented in a picture (see Capart, *Une Rue de Tombeaux*, 1907, Pl. lxvi.) in which the patients are tall youths.

Among the mummies found in the tomb of Amenhotep II. there is one of a boy about eleven years of age, still wearing the "Horus lock," whom I found to be uncircumcised (see my volume on "The Royal Mummies," *General Catalogue of the Cairo Museum*, 1912, p. 40). These facts seem to suggest that originally circumcision must have been regarded by the Egyptians as a preparation for marriage, as among the Israelites (Josh. 5, 2ff.; cp. Exod. 4, 25, and see the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, s.v. "Circumcision." § 6), or at least as an initiation rite. Amongst the Egyptians, as also among the Jews, the custom became transferred from the age of puberty to early infancy.

## THE ORIGIN AND MEANING OF THE DOLMEN.

BY G. ELLIOT SMITH, M.A., M.D., F.R.S.

IN a memoir, now in course of publication, I have collected evidence which seems to show that the dolmen—the crudest and most widely spread of the prehistoric “rude stone monuments”—is derived from the Egyptian stone *mastaba* of the Old Kingdom by a process of degradation.

When this characteristically Egyptian superstructure of the tomb came to be imitated by unskilled craftsmen in foreign lands, one by one its unessential features were omitted, until eventually there remained, stripped of all its surroundings, the small chamber for which the European archæologist has borrowed the term “*serdab*” from his Arabic-speaking workmen. The imagination of a superstitious people exalted this into the most essential part of the tomb. For it was looked upon as the dwelling of the disembodied spirit of the dead man buried in the grave (Breasted); and its preservation was considered to be necessary to keep this spirit from wandering abroad and worrying the living. This magnified importance of the *serdab* found expression in an increase in size, which occurred as its surroundings were discarded one by one, until nothing else was left but the *serdab* itself, often crudely made of large blocks of stone. Such is the dolmen.

THE EARLIEST EVIDENCE OF ATTEMPTS AT  
MUMMIFICATION IN EGYPT.

BY G. ELLIOT SMITH, M.A., M.D., F.R.S.

IN previous notes<sup>1</sup> the earliest evidence of mummification in Egypt that I was prepared to accept as unquestionable was that supplied by the mummy said to be that of Ra-nefer, found by Flinders Petrie at Medûm in 1892, and now in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons in London. The earliest date to which this mummy can be assigned is the age of Snefru, the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty. I believe, however, that there are reasons for thinking it may belong to the period of the Fifth Dynasty.

During a visit to Egypt in January 1912, I was permitted by Mr. J. E. Quibell to examine the human remains that he had found in a series of mastabas at Sakkara, which belong to the period of the end of the Second and the beginning of the Third Dynasties. In the burial chamber of one of these mastabas (No. 2262 in Mr. Quibell's notes) the skeleton of a woman about thirty-five years of age was found. This was completely invested in a large series of bandages (more than sixteen layers still intact, and probably at least as many more destroyed), ten layers of fine bandage (warp seventeen and woof forty-eight threads to the centimetre), then six layers of coarser cloth, and next to the body a series of badly corroded, very irregularly woven cloth, much coarser (warp six and woof

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<sup>1</sup> "Notes on Mummies," *Cairo Scientific Journal*, February, 1908; *Nature*, 78, p. 342; "The History of Mummification," *Proc. Roy. Phil. Soc. of Glasgow*, 1910.

fourteen per centimetre) than that of the intermediate and outer layers. Each leg was wrapped separately, and there was a large pad on the perineum. The bandages were broad sheets of linen rather than the usual narrow bandages. As was usual at this period, the body was flexed.

In the wide interval between the bandages and the bones there was a large mass of extremely corroded linen, whereas the intermediate and superficial layers of cloth were quite well preserved and free from corrosion.

The corrosion is presumptive evidence that some material (probably crude natron) was applied to the surface of the body in order to preserve it. If so, this is the earliest body with unequivocal evidence of an attempt artificially to prevent decomposition in the soft tissues.

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BY THE REV. C. H. W. JOHNS, M.A., LITT.D.,

*Master of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, and Canon Residentiary of Norwich.*

PART I. Cambridge: A. P. DIXON, 9 Market St. 1911. PRICE 3/6.

This is the first part of Studies in the Date Lists of the First Dynasty of Babylon. The Babylonians gave to each year a separate name commemorating the most important event of that year from their own point of view. The scribes drew up lists of such year-names in their proper chronological sequence for their convenience in reference to the dates. Beside being our most valuable evidence for the chronology of the period, the events recorded serve as Annals. These date lists accordingly have been much discussed by scholars. The author having had exceptional facilities for consulting a great many hitherto unpublished dated documents, including the valuable collections acquired by the late lamented Professor H. W. Hogg for the Rylands Library and the Victoria University, has here made accessible a complete summary of the work done on the Date Lists by himself and others.

Part II. will contain the English translation of the Sumerian year-names, so as to render the material available for general students of the history of this most important period, marked by the illustrious reign of the great King Hammurabi, author of the famous Oldest Code of Laws. Other parts will contain technical discussions for experts; with bearing on many problems of History and Religion.

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## THE RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE OF SEMITIC PROPER NAMES.

THE JOHN BOHLEN LECTURES FOR 1910,

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*Master of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, and Canon Residentiary of Norwich.*

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In 1910 the Master of St Catharine's was invited to deliver the lectures on the John Bohlen Foundation to the University of Pennsylvania, which has so distinguished itself by its marvellous explorations of the ancient city of Nippur in Babylonia. The subject selected was the Religious Significance of Semitic Proper Names, with especial bearing on the Bible and its illustration from cuneiform sources. Semitic names are for the most part really sentences condensing religious beliefs and form a most valuable indication of the popular views of God and His relations to men, apart from the systematic theology of religious teachers. The subject is of the deepest interest for students of Religion and throws great light upon Old Testament studies. The treatment is of a popular character and demands no special study to follow; but the author has laid under contribution the most recent scholarship. The reader of the Bible will here find help to understand the background of religious thought on which the prophets had to throw their portrait of the good man and evidence of the previous growth of religion which alone rendered their appeal cogent. The subject is a fascinating one, full of deep thoughts and high moral teaching.

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7

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## OBJECTS OF THE SOCIETY

---

- (i.) To discuss questions of interest with regard to the languages, literatures, history and archæology of Egypt and the Orient.
- (ii.) To help the work of the excavating societies in any way possible.
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# REPORT

OF THE

MANCHESTER EGYPTIAN & ORIENTAL SOCIETY

1914

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## POSITION OF THE SOCIETY

AT END OF SESSION 1913-14

TEN meetings were held between October and May, of which details are given under "Proceedings" (p. 5). The number of members is 105. Five members have resigned, while four have joined. We have to deplore the death of Mr. Henry Kirkpatrick, of Tyldesley, and of Sir William Bailey (see p. 15). Members received with great regret the news of the resignation by Dr. A. H. Gardiner of his post of Reader in Egyptology in the University of Manchester (see p. 19). Mr. T. Eric Peet, B.A., of Oxford, best known as author of *The Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy and Sicily*, and for several years a worker for the Egypt Exploration Fund, has accepted the post of Lecturer in Egyptology, and will give courses of lectures on Egyptian History and another on Egyptian Language in the Michaelmas and Summer terms. Mr. Peet has already shown a great interest in the Egyptian Collection of the

Manchester Museum, and a pamphlet by him on the important stele of Sebek-khu in our Museum has just been published by the Museum Committee.

Those members who were present at the lecture he kindly delivered before our Society last January will certainly be glad to know that he is to be so closely connected with Manchester.

The number of books and pamphlets in our collection is 150, an increase of 30 since last year. A catalogue of 120 of these books is given on p. 11 of our *List of Books on Egyptology*, 1913. Members can obtain from the Secretary this list, price 6d., and, in addition, if they desire it, a typed list of the recent acquisitions. These include Mr. A. H. Gardiner's recent "Catalogue of the Private Tombs at Thebes," presented by Mr. Robert Mond, and many reprints of the contributions of Dr. Alfred Wiedemann and of Mr. A. H. Gardiner to various Journals, the former presented by the Bishop of Salford, the latter by the Author. At various meetings of the Society thanks have been returned to donors of these acceptable gifts.

To this it may be added that the sale of the Journal of the Society has been just sufficient to recoup the University Publications Committee for the expenses incurred in its publication over and above the £25 contributed by the Society. But in order that this £25 may be forthcoming yearly without trespassing on the liberality of one or two members an increase in the number of Journal subscribers of one guinea is much needed. The fact that the Journal is appreciated is shown by the number of applications for an exchange of publications that have been received. Exchanges have been arranged with the Université St. Joseph, Beyrouth; the University of Rome (Oriental School); the Society of Biblical Archæology; the University of Upsala; the Editor of *Memnon*. We continue to receive the Journal of the Liverpool School of Archæology, and the Oriental publications of the Musée Guimet, Paris, which are both important and numerous.

The attention of members is drawn to the very full account of the Society in the July number of the *Journal of Egyptian Archæology*. This includes portraits of the first President of the Manchester Egyptian Association, Mr. Jesse Haworth, LL.D., and of

the founder and first President of The Manchester Oriental Society, Professor Hope W. Hogg. A short account of the Society is also given in the first number (January 1914) of the journal of the British School of Archæology in Egypt, known as *Ancient Egypt*.

A statement of accounts appears on p. 29.

M. A. C.

W. M. C.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE SESSION

1913—1914.

**THE First Meeting** of the Session was held on October 6th, 1913. The Chair was taken temporarily by Prof. W. Boyd Dawkins, and then by the President, Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids. Statements as to the position of the Society and as to the Journal were read by Miss Crompton and Prof. Canney. The Council and Officers of the Society were re-elected. The names of Mrs. Hope W. Hogg and Dr. W. M. Tattersall were added to the list of members of the Council, Mrs. Hogg being elected to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Miss Monica Heywood.

The President, after making some announcements as to the next meeting, called upon Prof. W. Boyd Dawkins to move the following resolution:

“That this Meeting desires to express the regret of the Egyptian and Oriental Society at the resignation by Sir Alfred Hopkinson of his position as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Manchester. It desires at the same time to express its satisfaction that he has expressed the wish to renew his connexion with the Society on his return from the East, and its hope that he will long enjoy his well-earned rest.”

The resolution, on being put to the Meeting, was carried unanimously.

The chairman then explained that Mrs. Flinders Petrie had kindly undertaken to give the address on “Early Scarabs,” which was to have been given by her husband, Prof. W. M. Flinders Petrie. He had pleasure, therefore, in calling upon Mrs. Flinders

Petrie to proceed. The paper, which was illustrated by many excellent lantern-slides, may be summarised as follows:

"Many kinds of beetles were venerated in Egypt from prehistoric times onward, and, long before the images of them became common, the actual beetles themselves were preserved in jars in pre-dynastic graves. In the earlier part of the second pre-dynastic civilisation (Sequence Date 53) two graves at Diospolis Parva contained numerous dried beetles. Rather later on, in Sequence Date 66, we find scarabaeus beetles, and, in another grave, large desert beetles, and a great quantity of a smaller variety; in another such grave, thirty-six were found preserved in a jar.

"Not only are the dried animals thus found, but the intention with which they were buried is vouched for by the models of beetles pierced to be worn as amulets. At Naqadeh two beetles of green serpentine were found, of prehistoric age, copied from the long bright green beetle now found living in the Sudan; others of the same kind cut in sard, and one in crystal, have been found in graves at Tarkhan,<sup>1</sup> about s.d. 77-8. In another grave of s.d. 77 was a group of amulets with two desert beetles cut in opaque green serpentine. Of s.d. 77 also, was a translucent green serpentine beetle found in the lowest level of the town of Abydos. Slightly later, but before the Ist Dynasty, was another long beetle found in the temple of Abydos. Of s.d. 78, just before Mena, there is the most striking instance of a reliquary case, to be worn as a charm, made of alabaster in the form of the true *scarabaeus sacer*. About the time of King Den (s.d. 81) in a grave at Tarkhan, was a jar containing many large desert beetles. What then must we conclude as to the Egyptian view of the beetle, before the engraving of designs upon it? It was certainly sacred or venerated, as shown by the many amulets, and especially the reliquary. We have no right to dissociate it from the very primitive idea which we find connected with it in later times, that the sun is the big ball rolled across the heaven by the Creator, and hence the scarab is an emblem of the Creator, Khepera. The scarab is figured with the disc of Ra in its claws from the XIIth Dynasty onward. Khepera is called 'the father of the gods,'

---

<sup>1</sup> One, of sard, now in Manchester Museum.

and this symbolism of the beetle is a part of the primeval animal worship of Egypt. The idea of the word *Kheper* is Being, existence, creation, becoming, and the god Khepera is the self-existent creator-god. On turning from the material remains to the inscriptions, we find that the importance of the scarab emblem was transferred from the Creator to the soul which is to be united to him. In the Pyramid texts it is said: 'This Unas flieth like a bird and alighteth like a beetle upon the throne which is empty in thy boat, O Ra.' Teta is said to 'live like the scarab.' The popularity of the scarab was very great all through historic times. We need not suppose that the original amuletic purpose and theologic allusion ruled entirely; mere habit of association was perhaps all that was commonly thought of. After the scarab had become too familiar in common use, it was resanctified in the XVIIIth Dynasty, by being carved in a very large size, with a purely religious text upon it, and placed in a frame upon the breast of the dead. On this frame it is often shown as adored by Isis and Nebhat. It is said to be the heart of Isis, who was the mother of the dead person thus identified with Horus—to be the heart which belonged to the transformations or becomings of his future life—and to be the charm which should ensure his justification in the judgment. Such were the high religious aspects of the scarab in the later times, removing it from the almost contemptuous familiarity which it had borne as the vehicle of seals and petty ornament. On passing to the XXIIIrd Dynasty and later, we see the winged scarab placed on the breast of the mummy, as the emblem of the creator who should transform the dead, and associated always with the four sons of Horus as guardians of special parts of the body. From this time, and specially from the XXVIth to the XXXth Dynasties, many scarabs were placed on the mummy, usually a row of half-a-dozen or more, along with figures of the gods.<sup>1</sup> Such scarabs are almost always carved with the legs beneath, and are never inscribed. On reaching Gnostic times, we see on amulets three scarabs in a row, as emblems of the Trinity, with three hawks as souls of the just before them, and three crocodiles, three snakes, etc., as souls of the wicked driven away behind them.

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<sup>1</sup> See the amulets of Horuta in Manchester Museum.

“Turning to the documents of that age, there are descriptions which throw light on the way in which it was venerated. Pliny says of the scarabaeus—‘The people of a great part of Egypt worship those insects as divinities, an usage for which Apion gives a curious reason, asserting as he does, by way of justifying the rites of his nation, that the insect in its operations pictures the revolution of the sun.’ Horapollon explains this allusion, saying that the scarab ‘rolls the ball from east to west, looking himself toward the east. Having dug a hole, he buries it in it for 28 days; on the 29th day he opens the ball, and throws it into the water, and from it the scarabaei come forth.’ This description applies to the most usual place for scarabaei, the western desert edge. There the scarab rolls its ball toward the rise of sand to bury it, and holding it between the hind legs, pushes backward with its face to the east. The same description is given by Plutarch.

“There were various kinds of beetles regarded in Roman times. Pliny writes—‘There is also another kind of scarabaeus which the magicians recommend to be worn as an amulet—the one which has small horns thrown backward. A third kind also, covered with white spots, they recommend to be cut asunder and attached to either arm.’ This method of use is described in the Demotic Magical Papyrus—‘You divide it down the middle with a bronze knife . . . take its left half . . . and bind them to your left arm.’

“Horapollon states—‘There are three species of beetles. One has the form of a cat, and is radiated, which is called a symbol of the sun . . . the second species is two-horned and has the form of a bull, which is consecrated to the moon. The third species is unicorn, and has a peculiar form which is referred to Hermes like the Ibis.’ This third species is evidently the *Hypselogenia*, which has a long beak in front; this seems to have been compared to the long beak of the ibis, and hence was referred to Tahuti. Of the two-horned scarab, there is a bronze figure in the British Museum; it may be that known to us as the stag beetle.<sup>1</sup> To the cat-shaped beetle we have no clue; from being

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. J. Ray Hardy, Keeper of Entomology in Manchester Museum, suggests that this must be the beetle *Onthophagus taurus*, L., a two-horned beetle, rare in Britain but fairly common in Africa.

put first, it may be supposed to be the Scarabaeus. Whatever may be the modern equivalents of the various descriptions, it is certainly evident that five or six different kinds of beetles were all venerated, and used for their magical properties.

"We have seen that the scarab and other beetles were regarded as sacred or magical from the earlier part of the second prehistoric age down to the Christian period. The religious texts which we have, of the Vth, VIth, XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties all refer to it as an emblem of the creator-god, as a symbol and guarantee of his assistance to the deceased, or as an emblem of the apotheosis of the deceased. In the XIIth Dynasty, this emblem came into common use as a form of seal, doubtless owing to the name of the person being placed on it to ensure that its powers should be given to him. The personal scarab became treated commonly as the seal for everyday use. This did not, however, prevent the symbol being most generally employed with a religious significance.

"The purely utilitarian view of the scarab as a seal was true enough in some instances; but the facts of its actual use show that this was not the main purpose, even if we had not the use of it as a sacred amulet vouched for in the earliest as in the latest times. In the first place, the scarabs were originally nearly all coated with glaze, which has since perished from the majority, leaving the lines clear. But when the glaze remains, we see that a large part of the lines were so filled with glaze that no impression could be taken from them. As to the actual use for sealing, we know of very few instances of such except in the XIIth Dynasty; hardly any scarab sealings of the XVIIIth-XXVIth Dynasties are known, although scarabs were commonest at that age. For signets it would be required that the name and title of the person should appear, as on many that are known. Yet such name scarabs of private persons are very rare, except in the Middle Kingdom, and even then are but a small minority of all that were made. Further, those with Kings' names are in many cases later than the rulers whom they name, and could not therefore be used for official seals, but must refer to the claim on the protection afforded by the deceased king to the wearer."

At the conclusion of the reading of the paper, a vote of thanks to Prof. Petrie and Mrs. Petrie was proposed by Dr. W. M. Tattersall and seconded by the Rev. J. A. Meeson.

THE **Second Meeting** of the Society was held on October 27th, 1913, the President in the Chair. Prof. G. Elliot Smith gave a lecture on "The Funerary Monuments of Ancient Egypt and their Foreign Influence." The lecture was illustrated by lantern-slides. The lecturer gave an account of the evolution of the funerary monuments during the time of the Old Kingdom, and of the influence exercised beyond the limits of Egypt by the peculiar burial customs and methods of tomb-construction adopted by the Egyptians for themselves. The materials used for the purpose of the lecture have been set forth in some detail in an article entitled "The Evolution of the Rock-Cut Tomb and the Dolmen," contributed to *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway* (Cambridge, 1913), and in a summary in *Man* (December, 1913) under the heading "The Origin of the Dolmen."

The lecturer explained that the *mastaba*-type of superstructure was developed in Egypt to meet special demands made by the physical conditions of the country and the peculiar religious beliefs of the people. Evidence was then adduced to show that in foreign countries in touch directly or indirectly with Egypt many varieties of megalithic monuments obviously were inspired by attempts to imitate the Egyptian types of funerary monuments and temples. Prof. Elliot Smith took the opportunity to elucidate certain points in his argument in reference to which some of his friends had found a difficulty in understanding the precise point of view. He said that, although the claim is made that the *mastaba*-type of stone superstructure was evolved in Egypt, it is not suggested that the Egyptians themselves were wholly responsible for the development of this type of edifice. The fact indeed is now well recognised that certain of the most striking innovations in the builder's art coincide with the coming of alien people into Egypt. And, although there is no evidence to prove, or even to suggest, that such foreigners introduced any of the new features, it is

probable that the coming of strangers with new ideas was not without influence in stimulating the development of the local Egyptian arts and crafts.

The influence of Egypt was exerted not only at one period: in other words, it was not merely one phase of Egyptian culture that was diffused abroad. On the other hand it is certain that the middle Pre-dynastic culture—the earliest known Æneolithic phase—wherever it arose, was diffused East and West from India to Spain. The Proto-dynastic phase of culture spread southward in the Nile Valley, throughout the whole North African littoral and elsewhere in the Mediterranean area. The crafts of the Pyramid Age exerted their influence, step by step, until this was felt throughout the whole globe. Similarly, in the Middle and New Kingdoms and later, Egypt's example directly and indirectly was followed in many instances by the whole of the then civilised world.

At the conclusion of the lecture, Dr. Alan Gardiner remarked that Prof. Petrie in his book *Researches in Sinai* states that there are no traces of very early mining for copper in the Sinai peninsula. The traces are only of mining for turquoise. Where then, Dr. Gardiner asked the lecturer, did the Pre-dynastic Egyptians obtain their copper? The lecturer replied that within the last few years the government Geological Surveyors had found traces of extremely ancient copper workings in Lower Nubia. The graves of the Pre-dynastic Egyptians often contained small quantities of malachite; those of the Nubians of the same period contained frequently large lumps of this substance, which indicated that copper was more abundant in Nubia than in Egypt.

THE **Third Meeting** of the Session was held on November 14th, 1913, the President in the Chair. A paper on "Zoroastrian and other Ethnic Religious Material in the *Acta Sanctorum*," written by Dr. Louis H. Gray, who was present, was read at the meeting. The paper is printed in full elsewhere (p. 37). At the conclusion of the reading a Note written by Prof. Moulton was read by the Rev. C. L. Bedale.

Prof. Moulton wrote as follows:

"It is a great disappointment to me that I cannot be present at this meeting, to which I have looked forward with very special pleasure. Dr. Gray has kindly sent me his paper, and perhaps I may be allowed to speak by deputy to the very hearty vote of thanks which the Society will be giving him. I know Dr. Gray's work better perhaps than all here except Dr. Casartelli, and I can therefore speak with all the more emphasis of the great gain that our country secures even by the temporary possession of so sound and comprehensive a scholar. The field which Dr. Gray has traversed is one which I have often felt should be capable of yielding valuable material for our study of Zoroastrianism. Indeed, I remember once tackling one or two of these documents myself for that purpose; but whether it was my imperfect reading or the fact that the particular Acts that I started on were not specially remarkable, I did not find anything that would merit mentioning on this occasion. I altogether agree with Dr. Gray's conclusions in this paper. Perhaps I might venture one or two stray notes.

"I am much interested in what is said about holy mountains as among the objects which the Parsees bade Christians to worship, for in Plutarch and in the *Bundahish* we are told that at the Regeneration all the mountains are to be flattened out, since they are, according to the Magi, creatures of the evil spirit. But even the *Bundahish* retains some signs of the older reverence for mountains. I have argued in my Hibbert Lectures—which unhappily had just gone to the binders for immediate publication when I received Dr. Gray's paper—that this treatment of mountains, like the treatment of planets as malign, is really a special tenet of the Magi, which they never succeeded in inducing the Parsees to accept. The sharp distinction between the Magi as foreign Shamans and the Parsees proper is the thesis to which I have devoted a large part of my book.

"The 366 fires are very interesting. The suggestion of leap year raises a difficulty in my mind, in that the Parsee calendar seems to have provided for 365 days only, ever since 505 B.C., according to West. But this is a subject Dr. Gray knows much

better than I do. Is it possible that we should understand this as one fire for a day and then one extra, especially dedicated to Âtar himself?

“There is very little else that I would comment on. The three tortures, for two of which Dr. Gray mentions parallels, might be supplemented by the fact that flaying, the first of them, is grimly prominent on the Inscription of Darius. Dr. Gray’s explanation of the burning of Christians is very suggestive, and, I think, evidently true. The fire festival of which he tells us, in which cattle and birds were driven into the flame, is a nice little piece of universal folk practice, observed in our own country, I believe, within living memory. It is paralleled largely in Frazer’s *Golden Bough*. I have an impression that there is something to parallel the passage of the queen between the severed halves of the victims. Anyhow, one may compare Genesis xv. 17. On the question of the religion of Darius I am afraid I have come down on the other side of the fence from that which Dr. Gray occupies, even after studying very carefully and making large use of his invaluable article in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* and his later work in the encyclopædia. This, however, is a big question, and I must leave my reasons for the printed page. I will only therefore say how sorry I am to miss not only the actual reading of the paper, but the discussion of it, which, in the case of a paper so interesting, is sure to be full of instructive material. I earnestly hope that Dr. Gray will give us his paper in print. Nothing could be more proper than our own *Journal*.”

The Bishop of Salford then expressed his appreciation of the paper, and made the following interesting comments:

“I have for many years thought that the Acts of the Christian Martyrs under the Sassanian Kings of Persia must contain a large amount of material of interest to Iranian studies, and for this reason were well worthy of working over by competent scholars. I am very glad that Dr. Gray, in the admirable paper just read, has done this fully and efficiently. He rightly reminded us of the great differences which we must expect to find between the folk-religion of various nations and the ‘orthodox’ presentment of the

particular religious system in their sacred books, so well exemplified in the religions of ancient Greece. For Zoroastrianism, we have this 'orthodox' presentment in the Avesta and in the beliefs and practices of the modern Parsis. Dr. Gray's researches have added very much to our knowledge of the folk-religion, which co-existed with the official state cult in its palmiest days. He rightly referred also to the varying systems and schools, theological and philosophical, which also co-existed at the same epoch. This is fully borne out in the writings of Paul the Persian, the Syriac writer who flourished at the court of the great King Khosrav Anosharevan (A.D. 531-578). He details at length the various theological schools of belief which held sway in the very heart of 'orthodoxy' itself—if such a term could be used. The Arabic writer Shahrastāni gives similar evidence of the Zoroastrian sects, and the same is confirmed by the famous edict of Mihr Nerseh, under Yezdegerd II. (A.D. 440).

"It is quite true, as Dr. Gray remarks, that at present investigation is almost limited to the Greek and Latin Acts and Fathers, and that a great amount of material, so far inedited and untranslated, probably lies buried in many Oriental writings, chiefly Armenian. I may perhaps call the attention of the Society to the very important *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, begun by Chabot in 1903 and now being continued by the combined Universities of Louvain and Washington. The great series will contain all the Coptic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Syriac and Arabic Christian writers, and no doubt will contain a great amount of material similar to that treated in Dr. Gray's paper.

"I was particularly interested in Dr. Gray's remarks on the various tortures recorded in the *Acta* as inflicted on Christian Martyrs, and his comparison of several of them to those gruesome punishments described in the Inferno of the *Artā-ī Virāf Nāmak*. A few years ago in a paper read before the Manchester Dante Society, I ventured, partly following J. J. Modi, to compare the tortures in Dante's Inferno with those seen by Artā-ī-Virāf, and to suggest that in all probability they were in both cases, not the effects of a morbid imagination, but actually represented the awful cruelties practised at the Persian court, not only in ancient and

mediaeval days, but even down to modern times, and that Dante may very well have had some information concerning them brought over by the Italian merchants and travellers who so largely visited Eastern countries both during and after his time ("The Persian Dante," since published in the *Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume*, Bombay).

"Before leaving the subject I should very much like to call the Society's attention to an extremely interesting passage in the latest issue of the *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie* (Bd. III., Heft 6), by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, on the Minor Religious Systems of India. The writer gives a most interesting account of a sect styled 'Maga' in Northern India during the early centuries of the Christian Era, who were actual worshippers of the Sun-God, of whom they had temples and images. The legend is that one Sāmba brought over the 'Maga priests' from a foreign land and erected a temple. The Magas were descendants of one Zaratāsta (evidently Zarathushtra), whose mother was a daughter of the Sun-God. They wore a girdle round their waist called a *avyanga* (clearly the Avestic *aiwiyāonhāna*). It is also interesting to know that the image of the Sun-God was represented with boots reaching to the knees and a girdle round the waist, clearly Persian features. Of course these evidences of a form of Iranism, contaminated with Hindu mythology and idolatry, existing in India at so early a period, are quite independent of the much later coming of the Parsis who fled from Mohammedan persecution as late as A.D. 716."

The Bishop then moved a vote of thanks to Dr. Louis Gray for his most interesting paper. This was seconded by the President from the chair.<sup>1</sup>

**THE Fourth Meeting** of the Society was held on December 8th, 1913, the Bishop of Salford in the Chair. At the opening of the Meeting, the chairman said that before passing to ordinary business reference must be made to the sad loss sustained by the Society through the death of Sir William Bailey. Sir William Bailey,

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<sup>1</sup> In preparing his paper for publication, Dr. Gray has made a number of additions to it.

though he was not able to attend regularly the meetings of the Society, had shown in times past his interest in its affairs in a very generous and practical way. It was then proposed by Prof. Canney and seconded by Prof. Peake, that an expression of the regret of the Society at the death of Sir William Bailey, and of sympathy with his family should be forwarded to his relatives.

The Rev. J. A. Meeson then delivered an address on "The Wisdom Literature of Israel."

His address, he said, was an attempt to stimulate a more general interest in an important subject. The wise men ranked, as teachers, with prophets and priests (Jer. xviii. 18). Attracted by the study of moral truths they taught rules for life and conduct. With no claim to inspiration or revelation, they were guided by good sense, clear insight and sound reason. Like the Juris consults of Rome in the days of the Republic, they were the recognised if not the authoritative teachers of the people. With many of them, wisdom was identified with the Law. Seeking their maxims everywhere, they dealt with truths and principles at the basis of morality; again reminding us of the Jus Gentium of Roman Lawyers. Their ethical theory was simple: men are divided into good and bad, the wise man and the fool. Man may do right if he will; if he does wrong he suffers, if right he is rewarded.

Wisdom is twofold—human and divine. It embraces all things in heaven and on earth. The world is an orderly whole (κόσμος), is the expression of the mind of God (Prov. viii. 23-31). Though occupied with creation, Wisdom rejoiced in the habitable earth, her delight was with the sons of men. Man is capable of understanding this divine Wisdom, can appreciate the wonders of the world-plan, the beauty, order and government of the κόσμος. He is invited to contemplate. He can also realise something of this Wisdom in his own intellectual and moral life. The Wisdom Literature is supremely concerned with human conduct, character and life. The fear of the Lord is the beginning of Wisdom.

One great topic of this literature is Judgment—the sifting (κρίσις) between the evil and the good. On this theme there is a marked development.

(1) Book of Proverbs represents the first stage. The theory is that

right-doing is always rewarded, and penalty always follows wrongdoing. (2) But the wicked are found to prosper and the upright to suffer misfortune. In some of the Psalms (37, 49, 73) this is felt, and an explanation sought. "The Hebrew Pascal" who wrote Psalm 73 found solution in the belief in the future life. (3) But it is the Book of Job that really grapples with the problem. It has been called: The Book of the Trial of the Righteous Man and of the Justification of God. (4) But the appeal and answer of Job is soon felt to be no solution of the problem. And "the sphinx of Hebrew literature," Ecclesiastes, takes up the difficulty at a later stage. "All is vanity;" there is no explanation of life's perplexing ways. Yet man finds his duty in the fear of God, and obedience to His commands.

The Wisdom Literature goes beyond the ordinary Canon of Old Testament; and in the Apocrypha we have some real and helpful contributions, notably the conviction of an individual life beyond the grave. In the light of this hope men could better understand the sufferings of the innocent and the prosperity of the wicked.

As we follow our studies in this Wisdom Literature, we are often reminded of and brought into touch with the great teachers of the nations that surrounded and at different times and in different ways influenced the people of Israel. To settle the question of indebtedness and affinities is a fascinating but a delicate and a difficult task. There is one source of influence that should be named. The teaching of the Wisdom Literature is helped by the views of Zoroastrianism. There stress is laid on two kinds of Wisdom, heavenly and earthly. The hope of immortality may be compared with the expression of the same hope in the early Zoroastrian Hymns. The moral code of Zoroastrianism is summed up in: Good Thoughts, Good Words, Good Deeds. The high moral tone of the best Persian literature and religion could not but attract the Jews. The Persians were invited to join the service of the good spirit, and do good; to fight against the evil spirit and destroy his noxious creatures; to subdue the earth, and cultivate the ground—to fight on in the faith that victory will ultimately lie with the spirit of good. We are reminded of the early chapters of Genesis, as well as of the Wisdom Literature.

We have a powerful and tenacious foe to face. But Light will conquer Darkness. "The proportion of good and evil may be very sensibly affected by human action." So far as we possess the power of bettering things, it is our duty, it is the path of Wisdom, to use that power; to train our intellect and energy for this supreme service of our kind.

The address was followed by a discussion in which Prof. Peake, the Rev. D. P. Buckle, the Rev. W. L. Wardle, and the Bishop of Salford took part. The Bishop said that in the Zoroastrian writings there were many passages which strikingly resembled passages in the Old Testament Apocrypha, but he thought it was clear that the latter had influenced the former.

**THE Fifth Meeting** of the Society was held on December 15th, 1913, Prof. G. Elliot Smith in the Chair. Dr. Alan H. Gardiner gave a lecture on "The Nature of the Egyptian Hieroglyphic Writing."

The lecturer pointed out that even the earliest Egyptian monuments exhibit no exclusively pictorial script, and therefore the evolution of hieroglyphic writing is to some extent a matter of hypothetical deduction; none the less the hieroglyphs mostly bear their history written on their face, and certain old monuments, as the great slate-palette of Nar-mer from Hierakonpolis, point clearly to the sequence of events. Pictorial representation was quickly found to be insufficient, and some means of depicting words to eke out the meaning had to be found. The principle of the *rebus* was then discovered, by which words for things that could not be represented pictorially were indicated by pictures of things the names of which sounded similarly. At the beginning such *rebus*-signs were incorporated into the composition, the whole of which soon however came to be interpreted orally, *i.e.*, in terms of language, and no longer merely visually, *i.e.*, immediately by the eye. This step having been taken, the picture soon disintegrated into a number of single picture-signs or hieroglyphs, each of which henceforth stood (whether pictorially or phonetically) for a word or part of a word. In the developed hieroglyphic writing three main classes of sign can be distinguished: 1.

Ideograms or pictorial signs; 2. phonograms or sound-signs, and 3. determinatives, which are pictorial signs having a merely supplementary or connotative function at the end of words. The lecturer showed how the second and third classes of sign may have arisen from the first. It was pointed out that an important part in the process was played by abstraction, which gave a wider use to any given sign by only part of its connotation being understood when the sign was applied to new purposes; thus the picture of the old man leaning on his staff was used to convey the meaning "old," whether the word referred to men, women, animals, or things. In exactly the same way phonetic signs, which are simply pictorial signs used after the manner of the *rebus* (cf. too our charades) had a wide application owing to the vowels being ignored, thus a sign representing an object the name of which was *mōn* could be used in the writing of any word in which the sequence of consonants *m+n* occurs, as in *mane*, *semni*, *mūn*, *Amun*, *Mont*, and so forth. In this way not only trilateral and biliteral signs were evolved, but also, out of certain short words, a complete alphabet of uniliteral signs. English could not have developed a similar hieroglyphic system, as the genius of the language, or more precisely the relation of its vowels to its consonants, is against it. The determinatives for the most part are generic, that is to say, they indicate the *kind* of meaning (as man, woman, violent action, evil sense, etc.) to be attributed to the words they follow. To sum up, the Egyptian hieroglyphic system of writing may be defined as a combination of pure pictorial writing with *rebus*-writing.

At the conclusion of the lecture, the chairman said that although it was not usual to propose a formal vote of thanks to a lecturer when he was a member of the Society or a Lecturer of the University or both, he was sure that members of the Society would agree with him that this was an occasion for breaking that rule. They would feel this to be the case especially when he told them that pressure of other work compelled Dr. Gardiner to resign his post of Reader in Egyptology in the University of Manchester. He knew that they would all agree with him in deploring this grievous loss to the University and to the cause of Egyptology in Manchester.

The Chairman then called upon the Bishop of Salford to voice the feeling of the Society. The Bishop said that the name of so eminent a scholar as Dr. Gardiner had added lustre to the University and, quite apart from the advantage derived by those who had been privileged to attend his courses of lectures, he had shown a very generous and genuine interest in the progress of Egyptology in Manchester. This had been demonstrated by the kind loan of the fine series of copies of portions of the paintings in the Theban tombs, which so greatly adorned the walls of the Manchester Museum and were indeed one of its chief ornaments. In addition to this, Dr. Gardiner had, out of his extremely busy life, contrived to spare several days in which to help forward the work of arranging the Egyptian collection in our Museum, preparatory to its opening. The Bishop said he wished to move very heartily that a vote of thanks be accorded to Dr. Gardiner for his most interesting and suggestive address, and that an expression of the deep regret of members at his resignation be placed on record. He desired also to express their hope that Dr. Gardiner would not lose altogether his interest in the affairs of the Society but would give them opportunities for hearing him on future occasions. The vote of thanks was seconded by Prof. W. Boyd Dawkins. Dr. Gardiner, in replying, expressed his gratitude to the Society for its expression of appreciation of his work, and his great regret at having to sever his close connexion with Manchester. He said that he hoped still to contribute to the *Journal of the Society* and would certainly continue to take an interest in its affairs. He would be glad also to give a lecture from time to time.

**THE Sixth Meeting** of the Society was held on January 14th, 1914, Prof. G. Elliot Smith in the Chair. Mr. T. Eric Peet gave a lecture on "Sinai as known to the Egyptians." The lecture was illustrated by lantern slides.

The lecturer pointed out that the interest of the Egyptians in Sinai was apparently limited to two of the valleys on the west coast of the peninsula, the Wadi Maghara and the Serabit el Khadim. These had been explored by Prof. Flinders Petrie for the Egypt Exploration Fund, and a great part of our knowledge of the

subject is derived from the results of his work.<sup>1</sup> The purpose of their visits was undoubtedly to obtain the stone or substance known to them as *mefkat*. This has sometimes been taken to be a salt of copper, possibly the carbonate (malachite), but the examination of the mines in the valleys themselves has shown that what was extracted from them was not copper in any form but turquoise, though for the most part of an inferior quality apt to disintegrate on exposure to the air. This substance seems not to have been used by the Egyptians as a precious stone but to have been ground down to make the greenish pigment used in the wall paintings.

The route taken by the expeditions probably varied from time to time. Expeditions starting out from Upper Egypt seem in early times to have marched across the desert and crossed the Red Sea by boat, whence naval officers played an important part in them. In later days the route from the Delta *via* the Wadi Tumilat, re-opened by Rameses II., was probably used. The time of the expedition was fixed so as to avoid the heat of summer. An interesting inscription of one Herurra, who was sent out to Sinai too late in the season, gives a vivid account of the sufferings of the party from the heat, which burned them like fire. The number of the expedition varied considerably. In one case, under King Amenemhet III., a force of 734 soldiers is recorded. After the earlier days when the forces were generally under the command of an admiral or general, the officials most usually named are the Divine Chancellors, under whom were the various Directors (*kherp*). Miners of several kinds naturally formed the bulk of the force, though there were often numbers of soldiers. Among the other persons mentioned are boatmen, peasants for driving the asses, scribes, a doctor, a cook and the brother of the prince of Retenu.

In the Maghara valley remains of the workmen's huts still exist. The pots and other utensils were often buried under the floors, probably to preserve them for use in the next expedition. The

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<sup>1</sup> The copies of the ancient inscriptions taken by this Expedition will be published shortly, with translations and discussion by Dr. Alan Gardiner and Mr. Eric Peet.

mines consist of galleries driven into the turquoise-bearing strata. Copper chisels were used for the work. On the rocks above the entrances to the galleries were inscribed tablets recording the various expeditions. Some of these are of the Old Kingdom. The earliest is that of Semerkhet of the Ist Dynasty. On this, as on others of the earlier tablets, the king is seen smiting a Bedawi, perhaps an inhabitant of the peninsula. Most of the great kings of the early dynasties set up tablets in this valley, among them Sneferu and Khufu, two of the most famous of the pyramid builders. During the XIIth Dynasty the valley was still frequently visited, as the numerous inscriptions of this period attest. In or after the XVIIIth Dynasty it appears to have become worked out and interest is transferred to the Serabit el Khadim.

This valley, a little to the north of the last, was probably known to the Egyptians as early as the IVth Dynasty, for the name of Sneferu seems to have been closely associated with the place in the minds of later Egyptians. A temple had been erected there in the XIIth Dynasty, if not earlier, to Hathor, goddess of the place, known as Mistress of the Turquoise. In this temple almost every Egyptian king of note from the Middle Kingdom onward has left some record in building. Some of the chambers are filled with offerings made to Hathor, consisting generally of cups, sistra, wands, bracelets etc., made of fine blue glaze. These offerings are most frequent during the XIXth Dynasty and cease altogether after the XXth.

Perhaps the chief interest of the temple lies in the dozens of large record stelæ set up in its vicinity by commanders of expeditions. These, in spite of their battered condition in many cases, are of immense historical importance. A few of them are surrounded by rings of great stones, which it has been suggested were rough chambers for the practice of "incubation," *i.e.*, sleeping in the vicinity of a sacred place in hopes of dreams from the deity explaining the method of curing a disease, or perhaps, in this case, of lighting upon rich veins of turquoise.

Among the gods mentioned in the inscriptions the most important is Hathor, who may perhaps be an Egyptianized form of

a local Sinaitic goddess. Next in order of importance is Sopdu, Lord of the East. The other gods, such as Ptah, Amon and Osiris, play a very subordinate part. Under the XIIth Dynasty Sneferu is twice referred to as a deity along with Hathor and Sopdu.

At the conclusion of the lecture a vote of thanks was proposed by the Bishop of Salford and seconded by Prof. Boyd Dawkins.

**THE Seventh Meeting** of the Session was held on February 20th, 1914, at the Manchester Grammar School, the High Master, Mr. J. L. Paton, in the Chair. This was a Joint Meeting with the Manchester Branch of the Classical Association. Prof. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt gave a lecture on "Tigranokerta re-discovered." He gave a most interesting account of his "rediscovery" of Tigranokerta, the site of the great victory of Lucullus over Tigranes in the Mithridatic War in 69 B.C.—which he places at Maiafarikin, close to the Bat-man-su, a tributary of the Tigris. He gave also a vivid reconstruction of the battle itself. Several difficulties in Tacitus's account of Corbulo's subsequent campaign in the same region were cleared up. The lecture was richly illustrated by lantern-slides of the city itself as it appears to-day, the routes by which the armies had travelled, and many of the inscriptions in Greek and Arabic by which the course of events could be traced.

At the conclusion of the lecture a vote of thanks to the lecturer was moved by Prof. Canney (for the Egyptian and Oriental Society) and seconded by Prof. Calder (for the Classical Association).

**THE Eighth Meeting** of the Session was held on March 10th, 1914, Prof. Canney in the Chair. Prof. Dickie read a paper on "The Jews as Builders." The subject was illustrated by lantern-slides. The paper is printed in full on pp. 57-65 of the Journal. After the reading of the paper, Prof. Dickie replied to questions put by Prof. Canney, Prof. Unwin, and others.

**THE Ninth Meeting** of the Session was held on March 24th, 1914, Prof. Canney in the Chair. Mr. H. R. Hall, M.A., F.S.A., lectured

on "Greek Monasteries." The lecture was illustrated by lantern-slides. At the conclusion of the lecture a vote of thanks was proposed by Prof. Dickie and seconded by the Rev. D. P. Buckle.

THE **Tenth Meeting** of the Session was held on April 28th, 1914, the President, Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids, in the Chair. Mr. A. M. Blackman, M.A., gave a lecture on "The Painted Tombs at Meir, Upper Egypt," which was illustrated by lantern-slides.

Prof Elliot Smith, in moving a vote of thanks to the lecturer, said that this work of Mr. Blackman for the Egypt Exploration Fund was an example of the most important kind of archæological work that had to be done in Egypt at the present time. Most archæologists want to bring away something new. But a more urgent need was to obtain a record of important historical monuments which were now lying exposed. Prof. Boyd Dawkins, in seconding the vote of thanks, emphasised the same need. He said that a very great addition will be made to our knowledge of the ancient history of Egypt by making a careful record of what has already been discovered. The exposed remains will not keep; others will. The vote of thanks was adopted heartily.\*

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\* All the Meetings of the Session, except the Seventh (Feb. 20, 1914; see above, p. 23), were held at the University.

## THE EGYPTIAN COLLECTION IN MANCHESTER MUSEUM

THIS collection has been obtained almost entirely through scientific excavations, so that the provenance of almost every article is known and also the excavator's data for the period to which it should be assigned; for these reasons it is particularly useful to the student of archæology. Its special feature is its richness in small domestic articles, particularly in those in actual use in Dynasty XII.

To take the collection as it is arranged, that is, in chronological order, we must note that it is rich above the average in Pre-dynastic objects,—the splendid flints presented by Mr. Haworth, the Tomb group from El Mahasna and the series of copper tools so well illustrating their evolution may be specially noted, also the bed frame from Tarkhan (Cases I and II and Wall Cases adjacent).

As to Dynasty XII, the chief source for our knowledge of the everyday life of that period is the town near the Fayoum excavated by Petrie in 1888-90 and called by him Kahun. Of the many articles found in the houses of this buried town, the Manchester Museum received two-thirds one season and one-third another (Cases VII-XII): amongst them are two wooden sickles with the cutting edge of serrated flints, a brick-mould, plasterers' floats, a copper mirror still bright, with handle in form of the goddess Hathor, old leather sandals, tops, tipcats, dolls, balls and

pottery, to mention only a few of the articles. We owe them to the generosity of Mr. Jesse Haworth and Mr. Martyn Kennard, and to the first is entirely due our possession of the beautiful pectoral and other ornaments dated to Senusert II and III, discovered at Riqqeh in 1913 by the British School of Archæology in Egypt. These were the only specimens of such ancient cloisonné work in Europe until Prof. Petrie brought back the still finer pectoral from Lahun this summer. They are shown on request.

Of the Middle Kingdom also, is the remarkable complete burial found in "The Tomb of Two Brothers," at Rifeh. This occupies an entire Case in the centre of the First Egyptian Room.

A fine series of domestic articles of Dynasty XVIII, from Gurob, presented by Mr. Haworth, deserves mention (Cases XV and XVI).

"There are but four Museums in the world which contain an appreciable number of examples of the art of Tell-el-Amarna," writes Miss M. A. Murray in the Guide to the Ashmolean Museum. These are "the Ashmolean, Cairo, Manchester, and University College, London." Possibly the German excavations now in progress on the site will make it necessary to revise that statement, but still Manchester contains a goodly number of scarabs, seals, rings, moulds, specimens of glass beads and pigments from this famous capital of Akhenaten, together with fragments of inscribed stones (Cases XVI and XVII, and pillars adjacent).

The most important objects of the Roman Period are the portraits painted in hot coloured wax on wood panels. Nine of these hang on the end wall of the Second Egyptian Room, whilst two remain in position on two mummies in Case XXIII, adjacent.

An interesting collection of Roman glass and household articles of the Roman Period, chiefly from Oxyrhynchus, has just been increased by a handsome donation from the Egypt Exploration Fund, of articles found by Mr. J. de M. Johnson at Antinoë.

In the gallery is exhibited a series of spinning and weaving implements from Pre-dynastic to Coptic times and also specimens of linen, from a fine series of Dynasty I from Tarkhan to the large

and interesting collection of Coptic embroidered cloths lately presented by Mr. Haworth, and the fine examples given by the late Mr. M. E. Robinow. Mention must be made of the nine facsimile paintings of portions of frescoes in the Tombs of the nobles of the New Kingdom at Thebes. These were the work of Mrs. de Garis Davies and are most kindly lent by Dr. Alan Gardiner.

It may be remarked that though there is no official guide attached to the Manchester Museum the Assistants in Charge conduct parties round the departments by arrangement. The leaders of such parties should write beforehand to the Keeper of the Museum in order to ensure a date when the Assistant Keeper of the department they wish to visit is able to receive them. The Assistants are always glad to give information to any person who requires more than is afforded by the labels or who wishes to study the reserve collections, which in the case of the Egyptian, as of every other department, are very large.

WINIFRED M. CROMPTON.



# MANCHESTER EGYPTIAN AND ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

ACCOUNTS FROM 18TH SEPTEMBER, 1913, TO 11TH SEPTEMBER, 1914.

RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.	EXPENDITURE.	£	s.	d.
Brought forward from last year .....	4	15	10	Lecturers' Expenses .....	6	18	9
Subscriptions .....	18	15	0	Advertising .....	5	2	3
Bank Interest, less commission, etc.....	0	1	6	Printing List of Books .....	6	12	6
*Balance due to Bank .....	1	3	2	Petty Cash .....	4	0	0
*Oct. 12—The receipt of overdue subscriptions has reduced this deficit to 8s. (Signed) W. M. CROMPTON.				Subscription to British School of Archæology in Egypt .....	2	2	0
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11th September, 1914.

Audited and found correct, E. MELLAND.



SPECIAL PAPERS  
& ARTICLES



## SAMUEL ROLLES DRIVER

## AN APPRECIATION

BY ARTHUR S. PEAKE, M.A., D.D.

WHEN Prof. Driver was taken from us at the comparatively early age of sixty-seven, we lost our most eminent Hebraist and our most representative Old Testament scholar. He had achieved a great work, yet he was far from having completed the programme to which he was committed, and we have to lament that several volumes which would have enriched our literature on the philology, the criticism, and the exegesis of the Old Testament will now never be written.

The field in which he first won eminence was that of Hebrew Philology, and it was here that to the end his mastery was most conspicuous. Apart from editions of Rabbinical commentaries, which had no very wide appeal, his linguistic work found at once an audience both large and appreciative. First came his *Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew*, which in its enlarged and improved third edition still maintains its authoritative place. His *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel* falls into the same class; it was primarily designed to aid the student in grasping the idiomatic usages of the language. But it contained also a very valuable introduction dealing with palæography and the Ancient Versions. His third outstanding contribution to this department of scholarship was contained in his notable articles

in *The Oxford Hebrew Lexicon*. No doubt in other respects the Lexicon owes much to him. But it need hardly be said that his commentaries rest on a firm foundation of accurate philology, and that on Deuteronomy in particular in *The International Critical Commentary* is distinguished not simply by sound exegesis and criticism, but by valuable philological notes.

Dr. Driver, however, was known to the world at large chiefly as an Old Testament critic. This is hardly what his earlier work would have led one to expect. Preoccupied with grammar and kindred subjects, he only slowly advanced to a consideration of the critical problems; and even then it was somewhat late in his career that he definitely took sides with the critical as opposed to the traditional view. This slow ripening was in the main an advantage. When his *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* was published in 1891, it took its place as our standard work, a place it has through its nine editions continued to hold. It displayed, of course, massive learning, intimate familiarity with the text, a wide acquaintance with the literature of the subject, a faculty of condensed, lucid, and weighty statement, a judicial temper, a sobriety of judgment, which entitled it to this position. What specially appealed to English readers was its moderation, its distrust and avoidance of extremes. The book was an exposition of modern criticism, but it was criticism stated in its most moderate and least outspoken form, with a leaning to the most conservative position that the author's critical conscience would permit him to accept. This was due to no timidity on his part; it was the set of his mind which determined his attitude. He trusted very little to impressions as compared with facts, and if he moved away from the traditional view it was because he felt that the weight of the evidence compelled him. He thus secured, as probably no one else could have done, such triumph as the critical cause has won in England. Not that he had led the way or that among students of the Old Testament the critical view was not widely held. But the learning, sobriety, and moderation of Dr. Driver probably won a large number of

adherents who would have been too distrustful of his more advanced and adventurous colleagues.

His literary output was very considerable, when we remember what finished work he produced, and what elaborate investigation often lay behind quite unpretending discussions. Several commentaries, some translations, numerous articles, much labour lavished on the perfecting of other men's work, all stand to his credit. Not a few of our younger scholars owe much to his personal training, on which he often spent the greatest pains. Our loss is irreparable, but his character, his eminence, and his work remain our abiding possession.



## ZOROASTRIAN AND OTHER ETHNIC RELIGIOUS MATERIAL IN THE ACTA SANCTORUM<sup>1</sup>

BY LOUIS H. GRAY, A.M., PH.D.

IN the study of any religion the surest guide is naturally its own sacred texts, when it possesses them, and—failing these, or supplementing them, as the case may be—next in importance come the dicta and the practices of its most representative followers. On the other hand, we must not forget that sacred texts are prone to ignore the lower aspects of the religion which they inculcate, so that we run the risk of gaining from them alone a somewhat one-sided knowledge, particularly in regard to the folk-religion as distinct from the higher, officially recognised creed. A valuable check to excessive idealisation is furnished by the polemics of opponents of the religion in question; and while these are not invariably fair, I believe that they reveal the actual weaknesses and many of the practices of the religion which they attack. Especially is this the case when the polemicists are converts, who know, even though they may detest, the leading principles of the faith which they have left. I do not believe, for instance, that the Christian apologists, in assailing the pagan myths, were fighting windmills. These myths were, indeed, abandoned by the philosophers; but I am sure that they were held by the multitude, even as the Greek peasant to-day

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<sup>1</sup> A paper read at a meeting of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society on November 14th, 1913.

still fears the Nereids.<sup>1</sup> Neither is it safe to build hypotheses on the *argumentum e silentio*; witness the wide divergence between the "Homeric" religion and that revealed by Miss Harrison's *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*.<sup>2</sup> With regard to Zoroastrianism we are in a particularly fortunate position, for we have much of its own sacred text in Avesta and Pahlavi, and also many polemics by converts from it, notably in the *Acts of the Saints*. It is true that the extant Avesta and Pahlavi books contain relatively few of the elements of primitive religion; yet it is my belief that in much of the Avesta we have even now distinct traces of a far lower religious level than is generally attributed to what is popularly called Zoroastrianism. Unless I am greatly mistaken, Zoroaster—in whose historical existence we may firmly believe—merely reformed a polytheistic and rather primitive cult which may be designated Iranism, for want of a better name. This Iranism was so primitive that—like Vedism—it had not even developed beyond the aniconic stage in the representation of its divinities. This is the meaning of the statement of Herodotus that the Persians had "neither images, nor temples, nor altars, but attributed folly to those who had them."<sup>3</sup> Upon this primitive Iranism, however, I may not touch. One of the members of this Society, in his admirable volume on "Early Zoroastrianism," has more than fulfilled our most exacting requirements by his researches on a problem which had, it seems to me, hitherto been scarcely touched, still less profoundly studied. Mine is a lesser task—to portray the Zoroastrian religion as seen by its deadly foes in the period of its revival under the Sasanian dynasty (224-651 A.D.). I shall thus attempt to supplement, from the *Acts of the Saints*,<sup>4</sup> the accounts of Iranism given by Greek and Latin pagan writers which have been made

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<sup>1</sup> Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*, Cambridge, 1910, p. 130ff.

<sup>2</sup> Second edition, Cambridge, 1908.

<sup>3</sup> I. 131; cf. also Strabo, p. 732; for the Veda see Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, V. (1872), p. 453f.

<sup>4</sup> My thanks are due to the Rev. Dr. James Hastings for his generosity in placing at my disposal his set of the volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum*.

generally accessible by Kleuker<sup>1</sup> and by Rapp;<sup>2</sup> and I hope that at least one or two of the older passages which have thus far been regarded with suspicion will be seen to rest upon a foundation of truth. Moreover, the writings which I am about to consider possess one great advantage over the pagan classical sources. They record, in many cases, the experiences and the words of converts to Christianity from Zoroastrianism. These converts knew by their early lives and training the main tenets of their original belief, at least in the form in which it was held by the great mass of Zoroastrians. What we here read will scarcely coincide with the Pahlavi treatises which date, at least in conception, from this same Sasanid period; but this is only a superficial objection. Let me illustrate by an example which is not mentioned in the Greek and Latin *Acts of the Saints*. From the Avesta and Pahlavi texts we infer, at least in general outline, a strictly dualistic principle;<sup>3</sup> yet from the Perso-Arab al-Shahristānī (1086-1153) and from other sources, notably the Armenian polemist Eznik (fifth century), and the Greeks Theodore of Mopsuestia and Damascius (sixth century), we learn that the predominant view in the Sasanian period was Zarvanite; *i.e.*, that an attempt was made—doubtless among more advanced thinkers only—to derive both Ormazd and Ahriman (the principles of good and evil respectively) from Zrvan akarana, “Boundless Time,” an abstraction mentioned among minor godlings a few times in the Avesta.<sup>4</sup> This, however, is the philosophical side—the metaphysics of Zoroastrianism. Our concern is with the religion of the masses, on which a valuable side-light is cast by the Christian *Acts of the Saints*.

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<sup>1</sup> *Anhang zum Zend-Avesta*, II., iii., Leipzig and Riga, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> *Z.D.M.G.* XIX. (1865), pp. 1-89; XX. (1866), pp. 49-204.

<sup>3</sup> See Jackson, in *Grundriss der iran. Philologie*, II. (1904), pp. 627-628, Casartelli, art. “Dualism (Iranian),” in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, V. (1912), p. 111f. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, London, 1913, pp. 201, 220, 322, very pertinently argues that Zoroastrian dualism is Magian, not Iranian, in origin.

<sup>4</sup> See Jackson, p. 630, and the references there given, to which may be added Eznik, tr. Schmid, Vienna, 1900; Nöldeke, “Syrische Polemik gegen die persische Religion,” in *Festgruss an Roth*, Stuttgart, 1893, pp. 34-38. The Avesta passages are *Nyāyish* I. 8; *Yasna* LXII. 10; *Vidēvdāt* XIX. 13.

The *Acts* which here come under consideration are in Greek, Latin, Syriac, and Armenian; but the brief time which I have had for the preparation of this study compels me to restrict myself almost entirely to those in the classical languages. The Syriac *Acts* are practically untranslated, except for a few given by Assemani and by Hoffman;<sup>1</sup> and there are still no less than twenty-four lives of martyrs and other saints in Persia written in Syriac which are as yet accessible only to Semitic scholars. The Armenian *Acts*, almost none of which have been studied, so far as I am aware,<sup>2</sup> number about twenty; and their investigation might prove of even more value in this connexion than the Syriac *Acts*, as casting additional light upon religious conditions in Armenia as well as in Persia.<sup>3</sup>

The only reference of value to the Magi as a class in the Greek and Latin *Acts* is found in the account of St. Sira, who was martyred in 559 in Pars, then a centre of orthodoxy.<sup>4</sup> She, while still a Zoroastrian, was entrusted, for her religious education, to the Magi "to perform the mystic worship termed that of the Yast."<sup>5</sup> She falls ill, however, and is convinced that she cannot recover her health through the help of fire, water, or any other Magian objects

<sup>1</sup> Assemani, *Acta martyrum orient.*, Rome, 1748 (inaccessible to me at present); Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, Leipzig, 1880; to which may be added Chabot, *La Légende de Mar Bassus, martyr persan*, Paris, 1893, and "Histoire de Jésus-Sabran," in *Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires*, VII. (1897), pp. 503-584 (inaccessible at present); Winstedt, "Coptic Saints and Sinners," in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1908, pp. 234-237, 276-278 (for a Persian martyr, Abraham) (inaccessible at present); Abbeloos, "Acta Mar Kardaghi Assyriæ præfecti," in *Analecta Bollandiana*, IX. (1890), pp. 11-103; Hilgenfeld, *Ausgewählte Gesänge des Gîwargis Warda von Arbel*, Leipzig, 1904 (inaccessible at present). For a Georgian work see *Life of St. Nino*, tr. M. and J. D. Wardrop, Oxford, 1900.

<sup>2</sup> For a translation of one see Peeters, "Une Passion arménienne des ss. Abdas, Hormisdas, Šâhîn (Suenes) et Benjamin," in *Analecta Bollandiana*, XXVIII. (1909), pp. 399-415 (cf. *A.S.* II. Sept. 528).

<sup>3</sup> For a full bibliography see the Bollandists' *Bibliotheca hagiographica orientalis*, Brussels, 1910.

<sup>4</sup> IV. Mai, 177ff.

<sup>5</sup> ὡς καὶ τὴν μυστικὴν λατρίαν ἐκτελέσαι τῆς Ἰαθὸς λεγομένην, καθ' ἣν ὡς ἐπὶ σεμνοῖς κατορθώσασιν, ἐναβρύνονται.

of reverence (σεβάσματα). Accordingly, after having been escorted by the Magians to the presence of the fire, she "took the sticks by which they acted the Magian in conformity with the devilish tradition of Zoroaster . . . Putting forth her strength, she crushed the sticks and scattered the sacrifice, and spat upon the fire and quenched it."<sup>1</sup> We are also told that the chief Magian was called Μανιπτᾶς, which closely represents the Pahlavi *magūpat*, *manpat*, "chief of the Magi," familiar in its Modern Persian form *mōbād*.<sup>2</sup>

The allusion to the barsom sticks employed in the Zoroastrian ritual of sacrifice is not without interest, though it adds nothing to what is known from the Iranian sources, except that they are here said to have been carried by a woman and not by a Magian.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, it is certainly surprising to find a woman in the very presence of the sacred fire, so near that she can spit upon it—an act of extremest blasphemy from an Iranian point of view, which enjoins the penalty of death for heinous pollution of the flame,<sup>4</sup> this being the punishment to be inflicted on every *asəmaoya*, or teacher of heresy.<sup>5</sup> The Avesta prescribes that he who has carried a corpse alone, a woman delivered of a still-born child, the corpse of a man or dog, and those purifying themselves from the defilement of death may not be nearer to fire, water, or barsom than thirty paces; while a menstruous woman may not approach within fifteen

<sup>1</sup> λαβοῦσα τὰ ξύλα, δι' ὧν ἐμάγευεν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Ζωροάστρου δαιμονιώδη παράδοσιν . . . ῥωθείσα τὰ ξύλα συνέθλασεν καὶ τὴν θυσίαν ἐσκέδασεν, καὶ τῷ πυρὶ ἐπέπτυσέν τε καὶ ἔσβεσεν.

<sup>2</sup> Salemann, *Grundriss der iran. Philologie*, I. (1901), p. 260; Horn, *ib.* I. b, pp. 37, 50, 188; cf. also the Armenian and Syriac loan-forms given by Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1895, I. p. 195. The abstract term is given as Μανιπτουθά in A.S. IV. Mai, 171, which looks like a Syriac formation. The mention of a high official designated Δάρ is also of interest (*ib.* p. 176).

<sup>3</sup> On the barsom cf. Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta*, Paris, 1892-1893, index, s.v. "Baresman"; Mills and Gray, art. "Barsom," in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, II. (1909), p. 424f.; the earliest classical mention is by Strabo, p. 733; for a Syriac reference see Hoffmann, pp. 94, III.

<sup>4</sup> Strabo, *loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> *Vd.* IX. 51-57; cf. also Darmesteter, I. p. 91.

paces.<sup>1</sup> It is true that at least the first category is polluted by the worst of all demons—Death (*druj̄ nasu*); but it is difficult to see how St. Sira, afflicted by a disease, of whose character we are not informed, but which was at all events of demoniac origin, could be taken by the Magians into very close proximity to the fire. How, indeed, could she have been in the presence of the fire even had she been in perfect health? To-day only the priests have this right,<sup>2</sup> but at the period under discussion this seems not to have been the case, for Sapor conducted St. Acyndinus and his companion martyrs into a temple to offer sacrifice.<sup>3</sup> Strange as this account of St. Sira may appear to us, I do not believe that we are warranted in summarily rejecting it; and I suggest that in the Sasanid period access to the actual presence of the sacred fire was far less restricted than is the case at present.<sup>4</sup>

To continue with the very typical *Acts* of St. Sira, after profaning and quenching the fire, she accuses the Zoroastrians of being polytheists, and, in particular, of adoring, instead of God, “fire, water, sun, moon, and other stars.”<sup>5</sup> This charge would be rejected with horror and regarded as an absurd and ignorant slander by a modern Zoroastrian; it would also be baseless as regards the teachings of Zoroaster himself. Yet if anything is certain in the history of religion, it is certain that primitive Iranism was polytheistic, and in the Younger Avesta—younger only in language, but, I believe, immeasurably older in religious outlook than the Zoroastrian *Gāthās*—we have the plainest survivals of an original paganism.<sup>6</sup> The Amshaspands, for instance, as I have endeavoured to show elsewhere,<sup>7</sup> were originally mere nature-divinities. Accord-

<sup>1</sup> *Vd.* III. 13-17, V. 45-48, VIII. 4-7, IX. 1-5, XVI. 1-4.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Jackson, *Persia, Past and Present*, New York, 1906, p. 367; the best description of a modern temple is given by Darmesteter, I. p. lix. ff. (for India), and by Jackson, pp. 366-372 (for Persia).

<sup>3</sup> *A.S.* I. Nov. 469; for the king approaching the fire see also Socrates, *Historia ecclesiastica*, VII. 8.

<sup>4</sup> In one of the Syriac *Acts* a menstruous woman tramples the fire under foot and extinguishes it (Hoffmann, p. 99).

<sup>5</sup> *A.S.* IV. Mai, 179.

<sup>6</sup> Cf., for instance, Reichelt, *Awestisches Elementarbuch*, Heidelberg, 1909, pp. 22f., 26.

<sup>7</sup> *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, VII. (1904), pp. 345-372.

ing to Herodotus,<sup>1</sup> the chief Iranian deities were the sky (Zeus, Ahura Mazda), the sun (Miθra), the moon, the fire, the earth, the winds, and the water; to which Strabo<sup>2</sup> adds Aphrodite (Anahita), though he states that fire and water were the special objects of sacrifice. In the Sasanian period the crucial test was to endeavour to compel the Christians to worship the sun;<sup>3</sup> adoration of fire alone is mentioned but once.<sup>4</sup> Saints Simeon, Isaac, and Bachtisoe, like St. Acepsumus, are commanded to sacrifice to sun and fire;<sup>5</sup> others to sun, moon, and fire;<sup>6</sup> St. Jonas and his companions to sun, fire, and water,<sup>7</sup> to which earth is added in the case of other martyrs,<sup>8</sup> or even sun, moon, stars, fire, and water.<sup>9</sup> During the great persecution which began in 342 under Sapor II. (309-379), St. Ias is offered her life if she will "adore the gods, and honour the sun, and the fire, and the water." She refuses and is scourged, after which she is bidden "to sacrifice to the gods, and to reverence (σέβεσθαι) the king, and the fire, and the sun."<sup>10</sup>

A remarkably interesting series of gods is that to which St. Anastasius was commanded to pay reverence—"sun and moon and fire and sea, mountains and hills, and all other elements, and metals."<sup>11</sup> As regards metals, we need only recall that the

<sup>1</sup> I. 131; for the classical references to the gods of the elements see especially Rapp, *Z.D.M.G.* XIX. (1865), pp. 71-77.

<sup>2</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> A.S. I. Feb. 473, III. Feb. 179 (where St. Sadoth gratuitously adds that he will not adore the sun either; according to another version [*ib.* p. 180], he refuses to worship sun, moon, water, or fire), I. Apr. 822, and p. iii., II. Apr. 843, III. Apr. 21, II. Jun. 171.

<sup>4</sup> A.S. I. Apr. p. ii.; on the other hand, in his polemic St. Gīwargīs makes his chief attack on fire-worship (Hoffmann, p. 109).

<sup>5</sup> A.S. III. Mai, 464f., III. Apr. 24.

<sup>6</sup> Hoffmann, p. 24.

<sup>7</sup> A.S. III. Mar. 569, 768; see also Hoffmann, p. 53.

<sup>8</sup> A.S. III. Aug. 287f.

<sup>9</sup> Hoffmann, p. 88.

<sup>10</sup> A.S. I. Aug. 332f. On this implied equality of the king with the principal divinities see Wilhelm, *Z.D.M.G.* XL. (1886), p. 108; Rapp, *ib.* XX. (1866), p. 118f.

<sup>11</sup> A.S. III. Jan. 42.

Amshasband Xsaθra Vairya ("Desirable Kingdom") was the godling of those elements,<sup>1</sup> while mountains receive their meed of honour in the nineteenth Yast of the Avesta.<sup>2</sup> For the other objects of worship we find an admirable commentary in the forty-second Hā of the Yasna, a section which, though written in Gāθic Avesta, is a later addition.<sup>3</sup> It runs thus: "And the water-springs we worship, and the water-fords we worship, and the divergings of the roads we worship, and the converging of the roads we worship. And the water-coursèd mountains we worship, and the water-holding lakes we worship, and the weal-bringing fields of grain we worship, and the protector and the shaper we worship, and Mazda and Zaraθustra we worship. And the earth and the heaven we worship, and the bold wind, Mazda-created, we worship, and the pinnacle of Haraiti Bərəz we worship, and the ground and all things good we worship . . . . The sea Vourukasa we worship . . . . And the forward flowing of the waters we worship, and the forward flying of the birds we worship."

Occasionally in the *Acts* we find equations of Iranian with Greek gods. When Sapor enters the fire-temple with St. Acindynus and his companions, he cries, "Great is the power of Zeus whom we reverence!"<sup>4</sup> and he swears not only "by the gods," but, in particular, "by the sun exceeding bright, and by Asclepius most great."<sup>5</sup> Zeus is obviously Ahura Mazda. Asclepius, as the Greek god of healing is, perhaps, Θρίτα, who first practised the art of medicine among the Iranians.<sup>6</sup> After Chosroes II. had captured Jerusalem in June, 614—the memorable year in which he took the Holy Cross to Persia—he commanded the Christians to adore "Jupiter, Apollo, and Diana."<sup>7</sup> This triad is of peculiar

<sup>1</sup> Gray, p. 359ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Yt.* XIX. 0-7; cf. also Herodotus I. 131, Moulton, p. 214.

<sup>3</sup> Baunack, *Studien auf dem Gebiete des Griechischen und der arischen Sprachen*, Leipzig, 1886, I. p. 424.

<sup>4</sup> *A.S.* I. Nov. 469: μεγάλη ἡ δύναμις τοῦ παρ' ἡμῖν σεβομένου Διός.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.* 483: νῆ τοὺς θεούς . . . μὰ τὸν ὑπέρλαμπρον ἡλίον καὶ τὸν μέγιστον Ἀσκληπίον; a Magian swears "by the life of Ahura Mazda and his Fortune, and the great, strong throne of Yazdagird" (Hoffmann, p. 63).

<sup>6</sup> *Vd.* XX. 2ff.; cf. Casartelli, art. "Disease and Medicine," in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, IV. (1911), p. 758. <sup>7</sup> *A.S.* V. Jun. 166.

interest, for, translated, it is "Ahura Mazda, Miθra, and Anahita," and this is the very group which is named in the Old Persian inscriptions of Artaxerxes II. (Mnemon).<sup>1</sup> Mention is also made of a "temple of Mars" at Jerusalem at this same time. This sounds puzzling at first, but it may mean simply a temporary fire shrine which Chosroes had either erected or had installed in some building. Religious syncretism comes to the fore when, during Sapor's persecution, Mār Mu'ain is commanded to worship, "besides sun, moon, and fire, the great god Zeus; Nanāi (Anahita), the great goddess of the whole earth; the mighty gods Bēl and Nabhō;"<sup>2</sup> but, on the other hand, Bahram Gōr (420-438) declares, in argument with the martyr Pērōz, that "he also acknowledges only one god; the rest are merely like the 'great ones of the king.'"<sup>3</sup> In a Syriac *Act* a mōbaḏ speaks of "our gods Zeus, Kronus, Apollo, Bēdōx, and the rest," *i.e.*, probably Ahura Mazda, Zrvan, Miθra, and Anahita;<sup>4</sup> and Anahita also seems intended by the goddess Mamai ("Mamma?").<sup>5</sup>

Did the Sasanian Zoroastrians have idols?<sup>6</sup> There are indications of images of the gods in the Avesta descriptions of Anahita and Vohu Manah,<sup>7</sup> and we learn from Berosus<sup>8</sup> that it was Artaxerxes Ochus "who first set up the statue of Aphrodite Anahita in Babylon and Susa and Ecbatana, Persepolis<sup>9</sup> and Bactria, and Damascus and Sardis, and commanded to reverence it;" while

<sup>1</sup> Art. Susa a, 4f., Ham. 5f.

<sup>2</sup> Hoffmann, p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* p. 42.

<sup>4</sup> Hoffmann, p. 72; on the identification of Bēdōx see *ib.*, pp. 128-130; on Bēlti as the Aramaic name of the planet Venus see Zimmern and Winckler, *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3d ed., Berlin, 1903, pp. 425, 432.

<sup>5</sup> Hoffmann, p. 74 and note 678.

<sup>6</sup> This subject will be fully discussed by Jackson in his article "Images and Idols (Persian)" in the seventh volume of the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* (read in manuscript) and in a study to appear in the forthcoming *Jubilee Volume of the Sir Jamshetjee Jejeebhoy Zarthoshti Madressa*; see also Rapp, *Z.D.M.G.* XX. (1866), p. 81.

<sup>7</sup> *Yast* V. 126-129; *Vd.* XIX. 20-25; cf. Darmesteter, II. p. 364f.

<sup>8</sup> *Apud* Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* 5.

<sup>9</sup> On Πέρσαι = Persepolis see Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, London, 1892, II. p. 132, note 3.

Julius Firmicius Maternus writes<sup>1</sup> that the Persians "deputed the substance of fire to images (*simulacra*) of man and woman." To the feminine aspect of fire we shall have occasion to animadvert a little later on. We need not linger over the vague statement that, during Sapor's persecution, many lapsed and sacrificed to idols;<sup>2</sup> but a passage in the account of St. Acindynus does demand attention. In the fire-temple to which he was conducted by Sapor was an image (ξόανον), which a parallel text says was "an idol of Zeus,"<sup>3</sup> that fell to the ground and was broken. This may, it is true, have been simply the conventional representation of Ahura Mazda, of Assyro-Babylonian *provenance*, which occurs frequently in Iranian sculpture, as over Darius and the rebel leaders at Behistān; but the general context may also be taken as implying that it was a free-standing image of Ormazd.

I have just alluded to a possible feminine aspect of fire. In the Avesta this element is represented as masculine, as "the son of Ahura Mazda."<sup>4</sup> Yet in one of the Syriac *Acts* the martyr Hašū declares that "fire is no daughter of God, but a serving woman for kings and men of low estate, for poor folk and beggars."<sup>5</sup> Such a concept of the fire is supported only by Julius Firmicius, and seems doubtful; although, from the general accuracy of the *Acts of the Saints*, it would be, I feel, unwise to reject summarily even so surprising a statement as this.

Unlike most polytheists, the Iranians were intolerant. In the Persian invasion of Greece, the wooden images (βρέτη) and the

<sup>1</sup> *De errore profan. relig.* I. 5: ignem in duas diuidunt potestates, naturam eius ad utrumque sexum transferentes et uiri et feminae simulacro ignis substantiam deputantes.

<sup>2</sup> A.S. VIII. Sept. 129; cf. also Hoffmann, p. 98. The dance of men and women in connexion with a feast in honour of idols in the province of Rād-hān (*ib.*, p. 71) may not have been Iranian, or it may have been connected with some such orgiastic cult as that against which the Gāthās polemise (*Ys.* XXXII. 10, XLVIII. 10; see Bartholomae, *Gāthā's des Awesta*, Strassburg, 1905, p. 33f., Moulton, pp. 72, 129).

<sup>3</sup> A.S. I. Nov. 470: εἰδωλον τοῦ ἀνδριάντος, *v.l.* Διός. The *Life of St. Nino* also mentions (p. 19) an idol of Armaz, and refers (p. 57f.) to Iranian idolatry as though it were common.

<sup>4</sup> *Ys.* LXV. 12f., *Sih rōcak* I. 9, *Gāh* I. 9. <sup>5</sup> Hoffmann, p. 35.

shrines of the Greeks were burned;<sup>1</sup> but though Xerxes thus destroyed the temple on the Acropolis, he carried off a statue of Artemis from Attica and of Apollo from Branchidæ.<sup>2</sup> Centuries later, Chosroes violated a Roman temple at Dara;<sup>3</sup> and according to the Armenian historians,<sup>4</sup> Ardasīr Pāpakān, while ruling over Armenia, destroyed all the idols of the Parthian gods, together with the images of the sun and moon, but commanded that the sacred fire be kept constantly burning at Bagavan.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, the Persian bishop Abdaates burned down a fire-temple, and thus brought on the five years of persecution which began in 415.<sup>6</sup> Yet, in some cases at least, the Zoroastrians were not over-hasty in wrath. When the priest Narsai put out a sacred fire and destroyed its altar, he was at first simply required to rebuild the altar. On his refusal to do so, he was imprisoned, but was released on bail; and later was bidden to collect 366 fires, put them in the temple, and worship the resultant flame. Only after scorning this command was he put to death.<sup>7</sup> Concerning the number 366 I have no suggestion to offer; the number is not mentioned in the extant Avesta.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Æschylus, *Persæ*, 809f.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus, VIII. 50-54, Pausanias, VIII. xlvi. 3, I. xvi. 3; cf. also Maximus of Tyre, *Dissertationes*, VIII. 4, and see Quackenbos, *Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1913, p. 299f. At the same time it must be borne in mind that this temple-burning was not necessarily inspired by religious zeal, and that the Achæmenians were most latitudinarian in their complacency toward the faiths of other peoples (see Gray, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XXI. [1900], pp. 178-184, and art. "Achæmenians," in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, I. [1908], pp. 69-73).

<sup>3</sup> A.S. I. Jan. 620.

<sup>4</sup> Patkanian, "Essai d'une histoire de la dynastie des Sassanides d'après les renseignements fournis par les historiens arméniens," tr. Prud'homme, *Journal asiatique*, VI. vii. (1866), p. 144.

<sup>5</sup> On Bagavan see Hübschmann, "Altarmenische Ortsnamen," *Indogermanische Forschungen*, XVI. (1904), p. 411; and on Armenian idols carried to Armenia from Asia Minor, Greece, and Mesopotamia, see Carrière, *Les huit Sanctuaires de l'Arménie payenne*, Paris, 1899.

<sup>6</sup> A.S. I. Jan. 479. <sup>7</sup> Hoffmann, p. 37f.

<sup>8</sup> Prof. Moulton verbally suggests one fire for each of the 365 days of the year and another for Ātar. This seems highly probable. At the same time, one is tempted to query whether, as Mrs. Gray suggests to me, he was not in reality bidden to make the *Ātas Bahrām*, the preparation of which took a year, though this fire, taken from fifteen sorts of flame, was composed of 1001, instead of 366, fires (Darmesteter, I., pp. lix., 157.)

From idols we naturally pass to sacrifice; and here we note that a certain Paul marked his lapse by drinking the blood of sacrificed animals and eating their meat,<sup>1</sup> while a similar test was proposed to the more faithful St. Æithalas,<sup>2</sup> who was also commanded to perform the act of generation<sup>3</sup>—a requirement which finds its very simple explanation in the fact that in Zoroastrianism celibacy is a grievous sin.<sup>4</sup> Again, St. Tarbula (or Pherboutha) and her companions were offered their lives by a Magian if she would yield herself to him, or, according to another version, become his wife.<sup>5</sup> But she scorned to purchase earthly life at the price of life eternal; and she was but one of countless martyrs in Persia. Dire was the penalty, but I do not propose to detail the list of tortures, and shall mention merely those which may have a bearing on Zoroastrianism.

A favourite preliminary torture was scourging;<sup>6</sup> and while I am aware that this is a most natural mode of exhorting to a change of ways, I cannot but think first, in this connexion, of the long passages in the *Videvdāt* which enjoin scourging with the *aspāhe āstra* ("horse-whip") and *sraōsō-carana* ("obedience-worker").<sup>7</sup> When martyrs were cast into pits filled with serpents,<sup>8</sup> we can readily understand it, in view of the well-known Zoroastrian conviction that reptiles are the creation of Ahriman. Although at first glance heat, as being produced by fire, might seem ill-adapted

<sup>1</sup> A.S. II. Jun. 171.

<sup>2</sup> A.S. III. Apr. 25, 28. On bloody sacrifices in the Avesta see *Yast* V., IX., *Vd.* XVIII. 70; cf. also Herodotus, I. 132, Darmesteter, III. p. lxxviii. f. I see no reason to suppose that the account is coloured by any reference to Acts xv. 29, xxi. 25, Revelation ii. 14, 20.

<sup>3</sup> A.S. III. Apr. 25.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. on this whole subject, Casartelli, art. "Celibacy (Iranian)," in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, III. (1910), p. 276; on marriage with non-Zoroastrians see Gray, art. "Family (Persian)," *ib.* V. (1912), p. 745.

<sup>5</sup> A.S. III. Apr. 21, 22.

<sup>6</sup> A.S. III. Feb. 180, II. Mar. 258, III. Apr. 21, III. Mai, 464f., I. Aug. 332, Hoffmann, p. 25.

<sup>7</sup> *Vd.* IV. 11-44, 55, V. 44, VI. 5, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, 19, 21, 23, 25, VII. 72, VIII. 23-26, 105f., XIII. 4, 12-15, 24-27, XIV. 2, XV. 51, XVI. 13, 15f., XVIII. 74; cf. Darmesteter, II. pp. xvi.-xxi.

<sup>8</sup> A.S. I. Nov. 478.

religiously to be brought into contact with unbelievers or with any other human being, yet the use of heated awls, styluses, and brass, molten lead, and boiling pitch and sulphur, or hot ovens,<sup>1</sup> as instruments of conversion is not inexplicable. When we remember that, at the Last Day, "the fire and halo melt the metal of Shatvairō, in the hills and mountains, and it remains on this earth like a river. Then all men will pass into that melted metal and will become pure; when one is righteous, then it seems to him just as though he walks continually in warm milk; but when wicked, then it seems to him in such manner as though, in the world, he walks continually in melted metal,"<sup>2</sup> the question may even be raised whether these agencies of pain were really intended altogether as torture. May it be that they were in part a form of ordeal? This question possibly receives at least a partial answer in the test applied to Ātarōpāt, son of Māraspand and primate of Sapor II.: "the melted metal, when they drop it upon the region of his pure heart, becomes as pleasant to him as though they were milking milk upon it. When they drop it upon the region of the heart of the wicked and the sinners, it burns, and they die."<sup>3</sup> I do not, of course, deny that the motive of sheer cruelty was also present; I fully recognise that there is a brutal joy in witnessing the agony of one's bitter foes. But the psychology which underlies all attempts of one form of faith to crush another by force is, I believe, far too complex to be condemned off-hand as sprung only from cruelty and hate. All this, however, raises too vast a problem for us now. I do not press the point; I do not profess myself willing to subscribe to a theory that Zoroastrian torture of Christians was merely a form of ordeal; but perhaps I may remark that ordeals by fire and water are to be found in the Pahlavi texts.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A.S. VIII. Sept. 130, III. Feb. 180, III. Mar. 769f., I. Nov. 463, VIII. Sept. 132.

<sup>2</sup> *Bundahisn*, XXX. 19f.

<sup>3</sup> *Šāyast lā-Šāyast* XV. 16f.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Dīnkart* VIII. xx. 40-42, xxi. 24f., xlii. 6, IX. xl. 12. On molten brass and hot cauldron as punishments in hell see *Artā-ī-Vīrāf Nāmak* LXIV., LXXVI., and LX. An interesting statement of the preliminary proceeding in Persian torture is given in A.S. Propyl. Nov. 569 = *Synax. Constantinopol.* 29 March: οἱ γὰρ Πέρσαι ὃν τύψαι μέλλουσιν εἰς γῆν καθίσαντες ἐν ἐνὶ ξύλῳ χεῖρας καὶ πόδας ἀποδεσμοῦσιν αὐτῶ. ὁ δὲ ὥσπερ τις λίθος ἀδάμας ἀκίνητος δέχεται τὰς πληγὰς

Torture by flaying alive,<sup>1</sup> combing off the flesh with metal combs,<sup>2</sup> and sawing asunder<sup>3</sup> need not detain us longer than to remark that the second is mentioned by Artā-ī-Vīrāf as one of the punishments in hell,<sup>4</sup> and that, according to Zoroastrianism,<sup>5</sup> Yima was sawn asunder by Spityura. When, however, we find that the Sasanians kindled fire under Christians, or burned them to death, or cast portions of their corpses into the fire, or threw their dead bodies into the water,<sup>6</sup> we may be pardoned for feeling surprise. This is quite contrary to the ordinary idea of Zoroastrian reverence for the elements. According to the Avesta,<sup>7</sup> he who burns a corpse is beyond all purification, both in this world and in the next, and must be killed forthwith. Herodotus tells us<sup>8</sup> that Cambyses acted contrary to his religion when he commanded that the dead body of Amasis be burnt; Strabo repeats<sup>9</sup> the statement of the *Vidēvdāt* that the burner of a corpse was killed; a poem in the Greek *Ānthology*<sup>10</sup> makes the Persian slave Euphrates implore his master not to burn his body or cast it into the water, but to wrap it round and commit it to the earth; and Diogenes Laertius<sup>11</sup> echoes the same idea. Yet there is a passage in the *Vidēvdāt*<sup>12</sup> which declares that so long as the wicked man or the heretic lives, he both directly and indirectly exerts a malignant influence on all creatures of the good creation—water, fire, cattle, and pious men—but not when he is dead; and in one of the Pahlavi texts this concept is elaborately developed.<sup>13</sup> This makes the burning of Christians entirely explicable. By their death—so the Persians believed—the kingdom of evil was weakened, and that of good was strengthened. When a Zoroastrian is seemingly burned or drowned, it is not the

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<sup>1</sup> A.S. III. Feb. 180. <sup>2</sup> Hoffmann, p. 53; *Acts of Mar Qardagh*, LII. (*Analecta Bollandiana*, IX. [1890], p. 79). <sup>3</sup> A.S. III. Mar. 770, III. Apr. 21, V. Jun. 163; Hoffmann, p. 33. <sup>4</sup> *Artā-ī-Vīrāf Nāmak*, LI., LXII. <sup>5</sup> Darmesteter, II. p. 299, note 76.

<sup>6</sup> A.S. I. Nov. 463, 466, 489, I. Apr. p. ii., III. Mai, 464f., V. Jun. 163, Hoffmann, pp. 54f., 63, 33, A.S. III. Mar. 770.

<sup>7</sup> *Vd.* VII. 25-27, VIII. 73f. <sup>8</sup> III. 16 (cf. Moulton, pp. 44, 215).

<sup>9</sup> P. 732. <sup>10</sup> III. xiii. 4 (ed. Jacobs, Leipzig, 1794-1814, I. p. 254: περίστειλάς με δίδου χθονί). <sup>11</sup> *De Vit. Philos. proæm.* VI. 7. <sup>12</sup> V. 35-38.

<sup>13</sup> *Gujastak Abālīs* VII. 10-19, ed. and tr. Barthélemy, Paris, 1887.

fire or the water that kills, but a demon.<sup>1</sup> We are not told what was the belief concerning the source of such a death when it befell an evil being, such as a Christian was supposed to be; but analogy leads us to believe that in such a case the fire or the water of Ahura Mazda triumphed over the demon of unbelief.

In this connexion we must not forget a remarkable story in the *Thousand Nights and One Night*,<sup>2</sup> which tells how the Muhammadan As'ad was made captive by the Zoroastrian Bahrām that he might be carried by ship across the Blue Sea and be sacrificed on the Mountain of Fire. "When the day of the festival of the Fire cometh," said Bahrām, "we will sacrifice him on the mountain, as a propitiatory offering whereby we shall pleasure the Fire." This sacrifice took place but once a year, the time being, I suggest, on the fire-festival of Šab šaḍaq, five days before the middle of winter, when, even in the Islāmic period, cattle and birds, fettered with dry herbs that they might readily escape, were driven into the flame. This festival, though ignored in Avesta and Pahlavi, is repeatedly mentioned in the *Šāh-nāmah* on the same plane as Naurūz, or New Year's Day, and it was obviously of great antiquity and popularity.<sup>3</sup> It is possible that we may go even further, and identify the Blue Sea with Lake Urumiah, the Bahīra Kabūḍān of al-Mas'ūdī and Ibn Hauqal,<sup>4</sup> while the Mountain of Fire seems to be the famous fire-temple of Ādargusnasp at Ganjak, on the summit of Mount Zindan.<sup>5</sup> It may also be observed that the Armenian historians declare that Kavāḍ I. (488-531), while in Mesopotamia, sacrificed four hundred

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<sup>1</sup> *Vd.* V. 8f.

<sup>2</sup> *Nights* 227-236; for two probable instances of human sacrifice (by burying alive) in the Achæmenian period see Herodotus VII. 114, and cf. Moulton, pp. 57, 128f., and Edwards, art. "Human Sacrifice (Iranian)," in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, VI. (1913), pp. 853-855.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Gray, art. "Festivals and Fasts (Iranian)," in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, V. (1912), p. 873f.

<sup>4</sup> See Marquart, *Ērānsahr*, Berlin, 1901, p. 143, Jackson, *Persia*, p. 74.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Hoffmann, pp. 250-253, and especially Jackson, pp. 124-143. At the same time we must remember that the "Blue Sea" (Bahr al-Azraq) generally means the Mediterranean (Burton, *Supplementary Nights*, London, n.d., VII. p. 256, note).

maidens to an idol named Kouzis or Kovz.<sup>1</sup> I know at present of no other mention of this deity, unless it be a name for Vərəθrayna, the god of victory.<sup>2</sup> In similar fashion one of the versions of the Georgian *Life of St. Nino* says<sup>3</sup> that a thousand first-born had been sacrificed to Armaz and Zaden, while a prince had been a burnt-offering to the Georgian deities Gatzi and Ga.

The act of throwing the corpses of the martyrs into the water is based on the same principle as burning them; whereas the *Videvdāt*<sup>4</sup> describes at length the impurity with which the dead body of the Zoroastrian pollutes the fluid element. In this connexion we must note that Fr. Dhorme,<sup>5</sup> in arguing that the Achæmenians were not Zoroastrians—a point of view wherein I have been for many years heartily and wholly in accord with him<sup>6</sup>—calls attention to the statement of Darius<sup>7</sup> that in his battle with Nidintu-Bel “the enemy fled into the water; the water carried them away.” In this the learned Dominican sees an indication that the Achæmenian Persians had less religious awe of the water than those whom Herodotus describes<sup>8</sup> as unwilling even to wash their hands in it. May it not be, however, that Darius indeed shared this view, but that, since the corpses of his foes were regarded by him as unclean, he did not consider the Euphrates to be polluted by them?

<sup>1</sup> Patkanian, p. 179.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Armenian *koz*, “boar,” the incarnation of Vərəθrayna in the form of a boar (*Yt.* XIV. 15), and the boar engraved on the ring which constituted the seal of Persia (on this seal see Patkanian, pp. 113, 221)?

<sup>3</sup> P. 26, note 1; on Gatzi (cf. Georgian *catzi*, “man”) and Ga (or Gaim) see *ib.* pp. 19, 34, 74.

<sup>4</sup> VI. 26-41; cf. also Moulton, p. 215f.

<sup>5</sup> *Revue biblique*, new series, X. (1913), p. 21.

<sup>6</sup> Gray, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XXI. (1900), pp. 177-184. I thought that I had made my position clear in my art. “Achæmenians” in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, I. (1908), pp. 69-73, but Fr. Dhorme (p. 24) appears to think that I suppose the Achæmenians to have been Zoroastrians. This is the very reverse of my real attitude, in which I am glad to have the support of Fr. Lagrange (*Revue biblique*, new series, I. [1904], p. 198). My view is courteously and ably criticised by Moulton, p. 39ff., who makes a strong plea for the Zoroastrianism of the Achæmenians.

<sup>7</sup> *Behistān Inscription*, § 19. <sup>8</sup> I. 138.

After the martyrs had been slain, their bodies were normally exposed in accordance with Iranian custom. Thus, after St. Ias had been beheaded, "they commanded the watchers that her remains be guarded [carefully] that no one might entomb her until the birds of heaven came and devoured her body, since it was not the custom for the Persians to bury the dead, in order that the earth might not be, as they say, defiled."<sup>1</sup> The corpse of St. Sira was thrown out to the dogs;<sup>2</sup> and after the bodies of St. Barsabias and his companions had been cast to the dogs and the birds, their heads were hung up "in the temple of Anahita, the goddess of the Persians, as a terror to the populace."<sup>3</sup> The defilement brought upon the earth by burial is too well known to require emphasis;<sup>4</sup> but though the ground where a corpse lies is unclean for a year,<sup>5</sup> this is not the case with the body of a misbeliever, who does not, for reasons already noted, pollute the soil.<sup>6</sup> The exposure of corpses is also described by the Greek writers,<sup>7</sup> and the devouring of dead bodies by "corpse-eating dogs and corpse-eating birds" is repeatedly mentioned both by them<sup>8</sup> and by the Avesta.<sup>9</sup> So far was this abhorrence to burial carried that, at the instance of the chief Magian, Bahram Gōr exhumed all bodies buried since his father's reign and exposed them to the sun.<sup>10</sup>

Besides Zoroastrianism, the *Acta Sanctorum* touch also upon

<sup>1</sup> A.S. I. Aug. 334: παρήγγειλαν δὲ τοῖς τηροῦσι φυλαχθῆναι [ἐπιμελῶς] τὸ λείψανον αὐτῆς, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἐνταφιάσῃ αὐτὴν ἕως οὐ τὰ πετηνὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατέλθωσι, καὶ τὸ σῶμα αὐτῆς καταφάγωσιν· ἐπειδὴ περ οὐκ ἦν ἔθος Πέρσαις θάπτειν νεκροὺς, ἵνα μὴ μολύνηται, φησιν, ἡ γῆ.

<sup>2</sup> A.S. IV. Mai, 181; cf. also III. Apr. 26.

<sup>3</sup> A.S. VIII. Oct. 846: in delubro Nahatidis deæ Persarum ad populi terrorem.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Vd.* III. 8f., 36-39; cf., further, Moulton, pp. 163f., 202f., 217, 350, n. 4, for the earlier practice of burial.

<sup>5</sup> *Vd.* VI. 1ff., VII. 45f. <sup>6</sup> *Ib.* V. 35-38.

<sup>7</sup> Agathias, II. 23; similarly, in the fifth century the Sasanian Kavād unsuccessfully urged the Christian Iberian Gurgenes to expose the dead to dogs and birds instead of burying them (Procopius, *De bello Persico*, I. 2).

<sup>8</sup> Herodotus, I. 140, Theodoret, *Græcarum affectionum curatio*, IX. p. 935, ed. Schulze (ed. Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, LXXXIII. col. 1045), Strabo and Agathias, *loc. cit.*

<sup>9</sup> *Vd.* VI. 45-47, VII. 29f., 33f.; cf. also III. 20. <sup>10</sup> Hoffmann, p. 39.

Slavic and Celtic paganism;<sup>1</sup> and while these may be regarded as coming within our purview, the data in question have been fully considered by others, and may be passed over here. The same statement holds of the scanty Germanic material;<sup>2</sup> the few Armenian references are chiefly Iranian, and the most important of these has been fully treated by Carrière;<sup>3</sup> while the one description of a Tatar tribe<sup>4</sup> adds nothing to our knowledge of that people. I need only add, therefore, a few mentions, mostly of a brief and unilluminating character, which the *Acts* make regarding some divinities of little-known religions.

In Sardinia there were two idols Arpa (or Arphan) and Ariana. Of their cult we are told only that a bull with gilded horns was offered to them, in company with Apollo and Jupiter, for the healing of a daughter.<sup>5</sup>

In Tauromenium, the modern Taormina in Sicily, mention is made, with no further details, of two deities named Φάλκων and Λύσων.<sup>6</sup>

A goddess Adrastes (or Arestes or Arastes) is noted as having been worshipped at Antioch in the third century of our era, but it is suggested by the Bollandists that her appellation may be a corruption of the name of the Greek Ares.<sup>7</sup> Equally vague is the allusion to the deities Baki—mentioned in company with Dionysus—and Nibarax, who were honoured at Ægæ in Cilicia.<sup>8</sup>

Finally, mention must be made of a bit of folk-medicine which, evidently Jewish, may go back, as Prof. Moulton suggests to me, to some such principle as that which underlies Genesis xv. 17 and Jeremiah xxxiv. 18f., where a covenant is ratified by passing

<sup>1</sup> A.S. I. Mai, 575, IV. Jun. 135, I. Jul. 353, 357, 361f., 386, 388f., II. Sept. p. ix., V. Sept. 346; III. Jan. 380, II. Mar. 549, I. Apr. 21, IV. Sept. 73, I. Oct. 146, III. Oct. 47f., 50, IX. Oct. 572, I. Nov. 667f., II. Nov. 277f. (cf. II. Jan. 94?). <sup>2</sup> A.S. I. Jun. 190, 490, I. Oct. 230, 237, 243.

<sup>3</sup> *Les huit Sanctuaires de l'Arménie payenne*, Paris, 1899; cf. A.S. VIII. Sept. 331ff., 378-380, 384. <sup>4</sup> A.S. V. Jun. 507.

<sup>5</sup> A.S. II. Jan. 36ff.: Deum esse Iovem et Arpam et Minervam . . . Deus Arpa dicatur aut Ariana aut Minerva.

<sup>6</sup> A.S. Propyl. Nov. 809 = *Synax. Constantinopol.* 9 July.

<sup>7</sup> A.S. III. Jan. 188. <sup>8</sup> A.S. XIII. Oct. 271f.: magno deo Baci et Dionyso.

between the halves of a sacrifice cut in twain.<sup>1</sup> So few examples of this rite are known that one described in the *Acta Sanctorum*<sup>2</sup> may well be added to the list. When the Queen of Persia fell ill, the Jews, who play in the *Acts* a maleficent rôle as regards their Christian opponents, declared that St. Tarbula and her two companions had prepared poison for her. Thereupon the Magi condemned the three to death, and after they had been sawn asunder, and the pieces impaled on either side of the way, the queen was conducted between the severed halves that her illness might be cured.\*

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<sup>1</sup> See on the rite Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 2d ed., London, 1894, p. 480f., Schmidt, art. "Covenant," in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, I. (1899), col. 931f.

<sup>2</sup> A.S. III. Apr. 21 (= Sozomen, *Historia ecclesiastica*, II. 12) and p. i. ff.

\* Some remarks on this paper made or communicated by Bishop Casartelli and Dr. Moulton will be found in the Proceedings of the Egyptian and Oriental Society, pp. 11-15.



THE JEWS AS BUILDERS<sup>1</sup>

BY ARCHIBALD C. DICKIE, M.A., F.S.A.

It appears to be true that, although some early Hebrew buildings may have been of a nature justifying the title of Architecture, exploration has revealed evidence of little more than mere crude building as a general characteristic. At the same time, fragments of early works show a degree of skill in mason-craft, which forces one to consider present evidence as inconclusive.

In Palestine, the work of the excavator has been confined to the sites west of the Jordan, and out of the many cities enumerated in the Old Testament, only about twelve have been excavated. These are Jerusalem, Gezer, Beth Shemesh, Lachish, Tell Sandahannah, Tell es-Safi, and Tell Zakariah by the Palestine Exploration Fund, and Samaria, Megiddo, Jericho, and Taanach by German and American Exploration Societies. In these sites, complete investigation was impossible for various reasons. Plans of the boundary fortifications have, however, been recovered, and it is now possible to judge of their modest proportions. An area of anything from six to twenty-five acres would appear to have been commonly considered sufficient to contain an important city. Leaving out of the question, for the moment, the extended Jerusalem of Solomon and his successors, it is within these closely packed areas that we must search. At the outset, they stand self-convicted of a condition precluding the development of building and this conclusion is strengthened by an examination within the walls.

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<sup>1</sup> A paper read at a meeting of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society on March 11th, 1914.

For some years, I have tried to gather together available evidence, in the hope of finding some continuation of a type such as one may reasonably assume, was expressed by the buildings of Solomon, our understanding of which is based upon descriptions. Up to the present, however, only negative results are on record.

It is necessary to commence our examination with the earliest evidence of occupation by the races preceding the Hebrew invasion, for the reason that housing conditions then established appear to have continued, with only slight alterations, up to Hellenistic times. Prof. Macalister's work at Gezer shows that the Neolithic races of Palestine had established themselves in extensive cave communities of considerable strength as early as 3000 B.C. These races chose sites on rocky hills or spurs of hills, wherein they burrowed through the soft limestone. In some cases, their abodes were extended in the manner of rabbit burrows having many compartments connected by passages and provided with various entrances and exits. Entrances were usually in the form of manholes cut through the roofs, with two or three rudely cut steps, rising from the floor of each cave so entered. Some regard for internal convenience is shown in the various niches, recessed in the walls, used in all probability, as cupboards or wardrobes. Small triangular lamp niches, much smoked, set about 3 or 4 ft. high explain the system of artificial lighting. Except in those compartments having manholes, the caves were altogether dark. Evidence of an attempt at something akin to the "Grand Manner" in Cave Architecture is seen in one of the systems explored at Beit Jibrîn. Here is a large rectangular hall measuring 47 ft.  $\times$  18 ft. having recessed chambers from its sides and approached by a regular rock-cut staircase; included in the system are several rounded chambers. The only evidence of decoration to be found in these caves are the graffiti scratched on the walls, but as it is impossible to tell when these were cut, too much importance need not be put upon them. Special caves were set aside for burial purposes.

The geographical distribution of Palestine is such that limited

tribal boundaries became inevitable,<sup>1</sup> and the first real building effort is displayed in the earth ramparts, cased in stone, by which these cave cities were protected against neighbouring enemies. Semitic invaders drove out the Troglodytes and established themselves on the vacated sites *c.* 2500 B.C. Although the caves appear to have remained in use, they were overlaid by buildings and the low fortifications were replaced by high stone walls. One may therefore assume that the site then yielded accommodation both above and below the surface. The remains of buildings of this and later periods, show them to have been of the rudest possible character, laid out without system and packed together haphazard, having regard to nothing indicating a knowledge of even the most primitive town-planning. The huts themselves were small and irregular in shape, showing no geometrical knowledge. Narrow approach-alleys, unpaved and bounded by plain mud-plastered walls, meandered through the maze to the various entrances; in fact, plans of that period are so confused and fragmentary that the existence of alleys can only be assumed. Fortifications appear to have occupied the chief attention of the new tenants and these, in conjunction with the more important water engineering works, provide the strongest evidence of engineering ability.

The Semitic races (which for simplicity's sake may be grouped under one name "Canaanite") now established, made little or no progress in the arts of building and, except in the way of adding towers and otherwise strengthening the fortifications, they appear to have had little opportunity to improve. These cities then, such as they were, became the scenes of the triumphs of the invading Hebrews, and the spies, who told of high and strong walls, "fenced up to heaven" were reporting on 6 to 25 acre forts, within which the refugees from the outer villages joined their chief for protection. The rivalry and jealousy of the marauding clans of Canaan, to which the high walls bear ample testimony, were the Hebrews' strongest allies in their piece-meal conquests.

After the occupation of Palestine by the Hebrews, the conditions of cities varied only slightly. Fortifications were, from time to

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<sup>1</sup> G. Adam Smith, *Historical Geography*.

time, strengthened. Successive layers of superimposed foundations, found in every mound excavated and frequently accompanied by regular layers of ashes, quantities of charred grain, etc., tell of demolition and hurried rebuilding in confirmation of written history. Some little improvement is seen in house-planning. The single hut, which had previously more often been extended by the addition of rooms to its sides, gradually disappears and more methodical plans appear, consisting of outer open court, living chamber entering off the court and inner chambers, covered by flat roofs with protecting parapets (according to the Law). Walls were built of mud bricks or stone, in the case of the latter, the stones were usually rough blocks laid in mud; squared stones appear rarely and as if from the hand of imported workmen. Internally, the walls were plastered and small fragments of painted plaster discovered show some attempts at colour decoration. Roofs were formed of rough joists covered with brushwood and mud, unusually wide spans were carried on beams with intermediate supports of wooden posts in stone base sockets introduced to prevent the post sinking into the clay floor.

An interesting if gruesome custom practised by the Canaanites, and continued apparently for some time by the Hebrews, was that of human sacrifice in the foundation dedication rites of their buildings, to which there is allusion in the Old Testament. Bodies buried diagonally, under the return angle of the foundations have been found, indicating an importance put upon stability, scarcely borne out by the insufficiency of the building itself. It was, however, just that want of constructional skill, which made it possible for the winter rains, penetrating the heart of loosely built and badly founded walls, to effect a complete collapse. In this connection, reference may be made to a custom in vogue to-day, among native builders, viz., that of building the walls of a house and leaving them uncovered for a winter, in order to put them to the water test.<sup>1</sup> A position also reserved for dedication rites

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<sup>1</sup> The parallel is made more complete by an examination of the present system of building in Palestine which is equally loose but rendered slightly more homogeneous by the substitution of lime mortar for the mud invariably used by the ancient builders.

was underneath the threshold, and in later Hebrew times the rite was observed by the more humane burial of a lamp between two bowls as symbolic of the life. In these and in many other references, there is evidence of a demand for durability, akin to what has been ever present in all great national building achievements. The decorated granite of Egypt was a consummation of the same ideal, but the Jew never reached the stage of even making the most of his own soft limestone. Distraigned and distressed, in his building infancy, he sought refuge in sacrifice, from calamity to which his experience lent many parallels. "What man is there that hath built a new house and hath not dedicated it? Let him return lest he die in battle" (Deut.).

Solomon's imported work at Jerusalem 400 or 500 years after the conquest, was a great advance. In spite of much promise, however, it appears to have had little after-effect, and there are little or no signs of improvement in the buildings of other cities with which his reign is credited. At Lachish, Prof. Flinders Petrie discovered a few fragments of the Solomonic period, showing the Egyptian lintel cavetto and bead mouldings used over doorways in conjunction with jamb slab decoration in the form of low relief pilasters with rudely carved volutes. The latter discovery is one of particular interest illustrating, as it does, the stone cutters' primitive attempt to imitate a feature in which the volute occurs, as early as *c.* 1000 B.C. The scantiness of such fragments, however, point to chance importation, the lintel was undoubtedly borrowed from Egypt, and the volute may possibly be traced to some remote Ionic prototype.

The main features considered in the "lay out" of a normal Jewish city were: the Stronghold or inner fort, the High Place, the Broad Place by the Gate, and the Market Place. The stronghold had the obvious and most important function of a last defence. The High Place was prominent in both Canaanite and Jewish cities and consisted of an open area in which a row of monoliths was placed, accompanied by an altar, laver and cave for refuse. All about the area and around the bases of the standing stones at Gezer, bodies of sacrificed infants in earthenware jars were buried

in Canaanite and early Jewish periods. It is the alignment of standing stones,<sup>1</sup> however, which is chiefly interesting in our present quest. These sacred boulders express a condition of building barbarity which could not have existed contemporaneously with architecture as an expression of the higher building sense; they were borrowed and remained, for the time being, as monuments of Jewish inability to erect a more fitting offering.

Hellenistic influence brought with it, the first real improvement in building and planning. The toleration of Alexander the Great marks a new period of semi-national building, and a greater development is shown in the 200 or 300 years following his conquest, than during the whole preceding period of over 1000 years. Although this term of comparative prosperity was broken by the viciousness of Antiochus Epiphanes and the consequent revolt of the Jews, it was renewed in even greater degree, during their independence under the princely family of the Maccabees. Fashions in Greek manners and architecture became popular. Regard for formality and order in the lay-out of city-plans is seen, streets became wider, and buildings show the temper of fitness to their sites and purpose. The main features of Greek architecture were borrowed and incorporated with such strong local feeling that there seemed hopes of a national type as the eventual result of Greek tutoring. Before this could be accomplished, however, Rome stepped in with overpowering influence.

The painted Tombs of Marissa, discovered by Drs. Peters and Thierch, show a type of architecture of this Græco-Syrian character in which the parapet is incorporated in the facade, over triangular-headed openings flanked by quasi-Greek details of a peculiarly local character. The remains of the Temple of Onias at Leontopolis excavated by Dr. Flinders Petrie, appear to show the same illogical use of classic entablature in conjunction with parapets of the same wavy outline as those illustrated at Marissa. The stern Greek treatment of the eaves was not observed. The parapet, which was legally demanded, maintained its place as the crowning feature and below it the cornice appears only as an intermediate horizontal band. If

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<sup>1</sup> There are eight stones standing in a line of about 100 ft., the largest stone being 10 ft. 6 in. high.

it were possible, it would be interesting to discuss the battle between the architecture of the local flat roof and parapet here illustrated, and that of the sloping roof and cornice of alien Greece. In spite of the architectural impetus of the latter, everything points to the retention of the parapet as an all-important detail which, in the natural course of development, must have quickly ousted the classic eave and gable and so have established a definite constructional form, arising out of the flat roof, to which beauty could be partnered.

Such a paper as this would not be complete without further reference to the Temples of Jerusalem. The description of Solomon's Temple and Courts are so full that many restorations have been attempted. As, however, no single portion of the remains of any of the Temples has been yet identified, it will be well, in the light of recent discoveries of contemporary buildings elsewhere, to confine oneself only to generalities. The temple proper was comparatively small, covering an area of about  $90 \times 30$  ft., and having a height to the ceiling of 45 ft., the ceiling presumably being flat. Externally, the building seems to have been plain and it would appear that the "Coping" indicates merely the existence of a parapet as a crowning feature, enclosing a flat roof. Masonry was smooth-dressed and close-jointed, and in this respect it differs from most of the masonry of the period elsewhere. Stones occurring in the walls of Jerusalem which may, with some certainty, be assigned to the period, show similar advanced masoncraft. The two external columns had richly decorated "chapiters." Internally, cedar boarding was largely used as wall covering and "there was no stone seen," woodwork was in parts richly carved, and gilding was freely applied in the decoration. Undoubtedly, the Temple of Solomon, with its surrounding courts, cloisters and gates, platforms and steps, was by far the greatest building of the Jews. Its character was Phœnician, since it was the work of Phœnicians, but there speculation ends. The enthusiasm shown at the completion of such an offering to God, can well be imagined. The Jews themselves knew no building but their own rude huts and fortifications, so that Solomon was forced

to borrow Hiram's skilled craftsmen. That the group of buildings was laid out with considerable architectural skill is evident, although it must also be borne in mind that, by comparison, it loomed large and rich in the eyes of the Jews, who saw in it, the centre of national aspirations under divine favour. After the Captivity, the Temple and Courts which had been destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, were re-built by Zerubbabel, *c.* 520 B.C. The work was not up to the standard of the original buildings (Hag. ii. 3), and this is not surprising when we compare the social and political conditions of the Jews.

A great portion of Herod's extended Temple area still remains. It is the power and dignity of these fortifications with their huge internal vaulted substructure transforming the irregular hill into a great level platform, which tell something of the story. Such a setting warranted a fitting jewel, and it is unlikely that here the finest period of Imperial Rome should have failed. This great effort was of course entirely alien and dominating, generously applied to Jewish service but only lent for an imperial purpose. In no other light can it be considered in Jewish History.

Comparison is here strongly marked. Great building is begotten of great expansion, but the greatness of the Jews lay in their heroic but unsuccessful struggles for the preservation of national integrity. They had forsaken their tents for the unlovely walled shelters of the Canaanites, and within these they strove against internal sedition and external enemies. No better instance of this can be quoted than that of Simon and John, who, having common cause against Titus, found opportunity, in the breathing spaces of Roman attacks, to wage war against each other; this at a time when the sufferings of a protracted siege, in defence of their most sacred possession, had all but reached their limit.

The references to building greatness in the Old Testament, indicate a pride out of all scale with actuality. Ideals were not lacking, "Behold, I will lay thy stones with fair colours and thy foundations with sapphires . . . and I will make thy windows with agates and thy gates of carbuncles and thy borders of pleasant stones." So wrote Isaiah with the true imagination of a great builder. The

desire to build in strength and beauty is abundantly evident. Had history been different, Solomon's great example might have laid the foundation of a national style of architecture; the disruption which followed his death, however, left his reign the only period in which development on these lines was possible. The arts of peace died in the seed and the greatest works of the Jews are to be found in their water-supplies and fortifications. These show engineering power of no mean standard, forced out of them by the sheer necessity for self-preservation.



## SOME BABYLONIAN TABLETS IN THE MANCHESTER MUSEUM.

BY C. H. W. JOHNS, M.A., LITT.D.

IN 1903, a London dealer in antiquities offered me a small collection of Babylonian tablets, about 40, supposed by him to have been found at Babylon. The price asked was prohibitive; but I was able to make some hurried notes of the contents of about 30 of them. I denoted them as collection G and informed the dealer that they were certainly from Kish. Six months or so later another lot was offered me from Marseilles, through a London agent, who, of course, knew nothing but what he was told by his Bagdad principal. These also proved to have come from Kish, but were accompanied by a number of poor specimens from Telloh. The price was somewhat reduced, but the agent had no power to sell separately. Of these, I copied about a dozen of the most interesting. So far as I then knew, these two lots were the first tablets to come from Kish. Quite lately, I discovered that some of those called G and some of the later lot were either duplicates or else my hasty copies had not recorded the differences. Either they had been offered to me again or they were accidentally very similar.

What I noted at these times may here be placed on record as a catalogue, for the reliability of which I advance no claim. But I do not know exactly how to account for the close resemblances between my notes made then and my careful copies made in 1910 of another lot of tablets sent me from a Paris dealer. These were

120 in number. Many of them seemed to me of great interest and well worth publication. I suggested to the late Professor H. W. Hogg, that he should buy them for the Manchester University. He seemed very willing to do so, but had no funds available. At his suggestion I made a rough catalogue of them, while he applied to the University and to generous friends for funds. Meantime, I made such copies as I could and when finally, by the generosity of Professor Arthur Schuster, the University was in a position to purchase, it acquired 55 tablets, and I was able to deposit with them fair copies of about 40 tablets. Bye and bye, it struck me that this collection G contained several texts which I had copied in 1903 or noted in 1902. Subsequent visits to the University of Manchester have confirmed this view and it is morally certain that either the original discovery, probably made by native diggers, embraced a good many duplicates now dispersed among different Museums, or else the same tablets were by a curious chance offered to me again and again by different dealers. Before the negotiations were quite complete, another lot denoted by me as H was offered to me. Out of these Professor Hogg purchased 46. These were not long enough in my possession for me to copy more than 20, but it was possible to make notes of a few more and a rough catalogue.

It seems of interest now to publish all the material known to me, for the following reasons. (i) The original collection found at Kish, like many others, probably formed a family deed-chest, so to speak, including the records of business transactions of a group of closely related persons rather than of a temple or city archive. The tablets, and they were many, sold with them were, consciously or not, mixed with them by the many dealers through whose hands they had passed; or by the scholars who saw them before me. The publication of all the material in my possession may lead to the recognition of the whereabouts of other tablets once forming part of the same collection and so to its more or less complete reconstruction. This material will help to assign the scattered items to their true connection and provenance. I have no doubt, for example, that the tablet published by DR. A. UNGNAD, in *Babyloniaca* II. pp. 257-274, was once part of this collection; compare

G 15 and G 33. (ii) Several of the tablets bought for Manchester in 1910 have since perished from the presence of earthy salts in the clay, which have absorbed water from the humid atmosphere and become mere heaps of disintegrated clay. It is clear that none have been completely lost, but it is not certain to which of my copies they really correspond. Hence some of my copies appear to preserve a text which I am unable to collate. Duplicates may exist elsewhere, or I may have copied some tablet now elsewhere preserved. But my copies probably preserve a fairly accurate account of some important items. I trust that their publication now will not be regarded as an infringement of the rights of their present possessors, if it should be the case that they were not eventually purchased by the Manchester University. (iii) As I only copied, from time to time, what took my fancy, some tablets which were purchased in 1910 or later by Professor Hogg may since have perished without leaving any record at all. Many of those which are still recognisable with reasonable certainty no longer afford a text nearly so complete as when I copied them. I believe these copies were fairly accurate, but it must be remembered that as I may have made them from a duplicate, which may still exist somewhere, I have found it impossible to decide in some cases whether the original ever was at Manchester.

On the whole collections G and H, it may be said that their nucleus came from Kish, the modern Oheimer. These tablets were most of them in perfect condition when found; even though they consisted of unburnt clay, the characters were as sharp and clear as the first day on which they were written, and the surface admitted of receiving a high polish by gentle brushing. Such tablets will keep indefinitely in dry air. They largely concern the business undertakings of one Bashti-il-abi, who bought and sold lands, let or hired houses and slaves, between the 3rd year of Ammiditana and the 25th of Ammizaduga. With him occur a fairly constant set of neighbours who act as witnesses and parties with him to the undertakings in which he engaged. Many of these bear names of the peculiar Amorite type which also characterised the ruling monarchs of the First Dynasty. But genuine Babylonian names also occur which must represent the

descendants of the early Semitic immigrations, perhaps that of the period of Sargon of Akkad. For example, Naram-Sin, which was the name of the son of Sargon, here occurs as the name of a witness, while others are here still in vogue which first made their appearance in that time as the very early tablets preserved in the Rylands Library show. But it was a time of transition. We read of Kassites, a few scattered immigrants from the folk who ultimately rose to power and ruled Babylonia for an unbroken succession of 576 years. Here in the last three reigns of the First Dynasty they were in employ as harvesters, etc., and even were in position to purchase estates.

The state of society revealed by these texts is that well known for the time of the First Dynasty as described in my *Assyrian and Babylonian Laws, Letters and Contracts*, and particularly in the Code of Hammurabi. There are, however, many additional pieces of information. The consecrated women of the Hammurabi Code, votaries of the god or vestal virgins, are mentioned often. Here they are devoted to Zamama, the city god of Kish. The *shatam* of Kish, a man "over the storehouse" or granary of the temple and practically so important an official as to be in a position very like that of a Mayor, is often named. A still higher official, the *sakkanak* of Kish, also occurs. Certain amounts of corn were lent and specified as being part of the corn stored in Kish. H. DE GENOUILLAC has recently been excavating in Oheimir and much may be expected from his results which will throw light on these tablets.

The Babylonian while usually loyal to his city-god was tolerant enough to admit the divinity of the gods worshipped in other cities by other men. It is clear that he also paid due respect to the great god Marduk, who had been raised to supremacy in Babylonia by the rise of Babylon, of which he was the local city-god, to be metropolis of the First Empire. But previous conquests from the south had made Šamaš the Sun-god of Sippara, Sin the Moon-god of Ur, Istar the evening-star of Erech, revered and worshipped perhaps by the descendants of former conquerors. Nabû, the prophet-god of Borsippa, a sort of Mercury among the gods and patron of arts and writing, was much affected, especially by scribes.

But these have long been known. A god Ratarak appears to be new, perhaps Elamite; *Kanišur*, already known from syllabaries or lists of gods is here first found in real life as worshipped in Kish. The temple Ê-Ibianu, which Zabum restored, is mentioned.

As is well known, the Babylonians named each year after some prominent event which had recently occurred. The names so given were used to date documents, as for example, "the 10th day of the month Nisan, in the year in which Hammurabi, the king, by the help of Anu and Bêl established his good fortune and overthrew with his own hand the land of Emutbalum and its king, Rîm-Sin." This was the full name given to his 31st year, to commemorate his "crowning mercy," the expulsion of Elamite power from Babylonia and the founding of the First Empire. If we could collect the full names of all the years and arrange them in chronological order we should have what might well be called The Chronicles of Babylonia. What can be done in this way may be seen from my *List of the Year-Names used to date the years of the First Dynasty of Babylon*. When these tablets were bought, a few fragmentary lists were known, drawn up by the ancient scribes, which were singularly defective for the reigns of Abêshu, Ammiditana and Ammizaduga. They would have completed the two latter reigns had they been at once published. This has since been done by UNGNAD and SCHEIL. The lists on which these scholars possibly relied belonged to the same lot. The lists and dated documents give abbreviated forms of the full year-names. Thus the above year-name is quoted as "the year Emutbalum." From such a short formula we could learn nothing of historical interest. Hence, while the lists fix the chronological order, the full names alone give us historical information. At places near the metropolis the events were so well known that short names would do. In the outlying provinces the fuller forms most often occur. These tablets are, therefore, still of value for the history and chronology.

There are many unusual phrases and terms of expression, not all of which can yet be explained. This might be expected in a provincial town, and the study of such phrases, often elliptical and conventional, can only be advanced by their future discovery in

new contexts. Everything which adds to this store of local usage is a gain. At the time the tablets were bought, although it was certain from the Letters of Hammurabi that the Babylonians kept great herds of cattle and flocks of sheep, very little was known about their customs with respect to agriculture. The great collections of tablets found by DE SARZEC at Telloh had yielded ample information on these matters for the time of the Second Dynasty of Ur. But the First Dynasty Tablets found at Sippara, Babylon, Larsa, and elsewhere were curiously silent. The tablets from Kish would have largely filled the gap in our knowledge and they are still of great value for this purpose. Most interesting facts are recorded as to the provenance of the slaves bought and sold. Tablets relating to the manufacture and delivery of bricks have interest for their rarity. Many of the seals are remarkable for fresh scenes or emblems. They were little cylinders engraved with the owner's device and served the purpose of a signature. They were mounted on a wire, between two metal plates in a frame and were impressed on the clay while still wet and soft. Not infrequently the little machine, not unlike a garden roller, was run all over the tablet, and sometimes the frame overlapped the cylinder itself, so that much of the writing has been rendered illegible. Nevertheless, the devices ought to be published as their use is dateable in nearly every case. A few school-boy's exercise tablets are in the collections, showing how the youthful scribe learned to write his cuneiform, but there is nothing to show that these came from Kish. There are also a few letters.

In fact each tablet was once selected for some feature of unusual interest or novelty, and the collections are still well deserving of publication.

## THE PRESERVATION, AMONG THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS AND IRANIANS, OF PARTS OF THE BODY FOR RESURRECTION.

BY JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI

THE Papers and Notes by various scholars, in the Journal of 1911 of the Manchester Oriental Society on the subject of "Heart and Reins in Mummification and in the Literatures of the Near and Farther East" have suggested to me the subject of this Note.

In the matter of the belief about the future of the soul there is a good deal that is common between the ancient Egyptians and the ancient Irânians. I have dwelt at some length on this subject in my paper entitled "The Belief about the Future of the Soul among the ancient Egyptians and Irânians."<sup>1</sup> I have there shown the similarity under the following heads and sub-heads:

1. The soul was not a simple entity, but a composite one. The spiritual constituents of the soul among the Egyptians were the Ka, Ab, Ba, Sakhem, Sâhû, Khaib, Khu and Osiris.<sup>2</sup>

The spiritual constituents among the ancient Irânians were Anghu, Daêna, Baôdhangh, Urvâna and Fravashi. Out of these two sets, the following resembled one another:

(a) The Egyptian Ka, which was an indispensable constituent "similar to man and yet not a man," corresponded to the Iranian Fravashi. (b) The Egyptian Ab (heart) corresponded to the Iranian

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the B.B.R.A. Society*, Vol. XIX., pp. 365-74. Vide my *Asiatic Papers*, pp. 137-146.

<sup>2</sup> *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, by Alfred Wiedemann, p. 240.

Daëna. (c) The Egyptian Ba, which according to Prof. Wiedemann corresponded to our idea of the soul, corresponded to the Iranian Urvana. (d) The Egyptian Sekhem, "the personified power of the strength of the deceased," corresponded to the Iranian Anghu which is replaced in some parts of the Avesta by Tevishi (strength).

2. The Egyptian belief about the judgment of the soul agreed to a great extent with the Iranian belief.

(a) Osiris, the Egyptian Judge, whose ancient name was Hysiris, *i.e.*, "many eyed," resembled Mithra, the Iranian Judge, who also was "a thousand-eyed." (b) Osiris and Mithra were both the Divinities of the Sun or Light. (c) Osiris and Mithra both held a club-like instrument in their hands as a symbol of authority (d) Both had a weighing scale with them. (e) Both had others to assist them in the work of justice. The Egyptian Osiris was helped by Anubis, Horus, and Thoth. The Iranian Mithra was helped by Rashnu, Astad and Ram Khvâstra. (f) When the souls went before the Judgment seat, they went reciting some holy words expressive of their feelings.

3. The Egyptians and the Iranians both believed in Resurrection.

Now the other important point of similarity, which strikes one on the perusal of the papers in the above Journal of the Manchester Oriental Society, is the dedication of some parts of the body after death to different gods or spiritual beings. The idea of some kind of dedication for the purpose of some kind of preservation is common, while the details differ a great deal.

With the idea of preserving the body for the Resurrection the Egyptians embalmed and preserved not only the body (the Kha or the Xa) but also the intestines, heart, lungs and liver. These four were given in charge of four gods.<sup>1</sup>

The ancient Iranians, who also believed in a Resurrection, also wanted to preserve the body from which the dead could be re-suscitated, but they resorted to the preservation, not in the *letter*, but in the *spirit*. In the *Bundehesh*, we read the following passage:<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wiedemann's *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, pp. 234-35.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. XXX., 6., *S.B.E.*, Vol. V., pp. 122-23. Vide my *Gujarati Bundehesh*, pp. 154-55. Justi's Text, p. 72.

"At that time (of Resurrection) will be demanded bones from the spirit of the earth, blood from water, hair from plant, and life from fire, as they were accepted by them in the creation." The spirit (*minô*), referred to here, is the Yazata presiding over the objects. Spendarmad is the Yazata, presiding over earth, Aban over water, Ameretat over plants and Atar over fire. So, what we learn from this paragraph is this: On the death of a man, the different constituents that go to make up a body, viz., bones, blood, hair and life, pass into the possession or the spiritual protection of some Yazatas who are believed to preside over the different objects of Nature with which the elements were believed to mix.

Thus we see that here also we have a point of similarity. The Iranians also entrusted some of the constituents of the body—not the four members of the body as among the Egyptians, viz., the intestines, heart, lung and liver—to four spirits (*mino*) or Yazatas. But here, the entrusting or dedication, or preservation was not real but imaginary, not physical but spiritual, not actual but symbolic. There was nothing like embalming or mummifying the body or its members.

There was, however, one constituent of the body which the ancient Iranians actually and really did preserve in jars or boxes known in the later Pahlavi and Persian books as Astodans or ossuaries. The *Vendidad* enjoins this custom and the *Dadestan-i-Dini* speaks at some length about it. For the details I would refer readers to my previous papers on the subject.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Vide my undermentioned Papers:

- (a) "A Persian coffin, said to be 3000 years old, sent to the Museum of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, by Mr. Malcolm, of Bushire" (*Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. I., No. 7, pp. 426-41).

"Quelques observations sur les Ossuaires rapportées de Perse par M. Dieulafoy et déposées au Musée du Louvre" (*L'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*. Séance du 30 October, 1889).

- (b) Vide Dr. L. C. Casartelli's Paper on "Astodans and the Avestic Funeral Prescriptions" (*The Babylonian and Oriental Record* of June, 1890, Vol. IV., No. 7).

- (c) Vide Mr. K. Enostranzav's Russian Paper on "The Ossuaries and Astodans of Turkestan"; and for Mr. Polovtsoff's translation of this paper, my paper entitled "Mr. K. Enostranzav's Paper on the Ossuaries and Astodans of Turkestan, with a few further observations on the Astodan" (*Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. VIII., No. 5, pp. 331-42.)

See also my *Asiatic Papers* and *Anthropological Papers*.

The Iranians believed that one Saoshyant, who will appear at the end of the present cycle of time, will raise the dead from their bones (*Ast*; Lat. *os*). He is therefore called Astavat Ereta, *i.e.*, one who makes the possessors of bones rise up. Hence arose the custom of preserving the bones. But the Iranians did not resort to a costly system like that of the Egyptians. It was enjoined that the Astodans need not be very elaborate or costly. They might be prepared of stone, of clay, or even of coarse cloth. These Astodans, which were of the form of cylindrical jars or boxes, were, for further security, placed in underground structures. It was very rare for a person—for a royal personage like King Cyrus—to have a separate super-structure over his astodan. The modern Zoroastrians have given up their custom of even preserving the bones in separate astodans. Their Towers of Silence contain the astodans or bone receptacles by themselves.

## AN OSTRACON FROM ESNEH

BY J. G. MILNE, M.A.

THERE is in the Manchester Museum a potsherd [reg. no. 5487], found during Professor John Garstang's excavations in the "fish cemetery" of Esneh in 1905, which is inscribed with a somewhat interesting complaint. The author of the complaint was clearly an almost illiterate person; the writing is a rude and unformed hand, and the grammar and spelling are eccentric—so much so that towards the end the sense becomes very obscure. It is difficult to date the handwriting; it may be either first or second century A.D.

Below are given, in parallel columns, a transcript of the text, with division of words, and an attempt at a corrected reading, followed by a translation.

Αμμωνιος Πετεσις  
κατα Ταμεναυς Ερμιου  
και Ταχαντεσμανυς θυγα-  
τηρ κυριε μοι πεπιστευκα  
αυτην τον ιερον αιιν θυγα-  
τηρ του εμου επιστατης και γν-  
νη αυτου και καταβεληκε μοι  
εκ του εμου ιερον εκω παρα-  
τετωκα αυτη τας κλιτας  
και πεποκα αυτη ως πατερ  
αν και τα καμοις  
αυτη πεποικα και λε-  
υηταν πατερ  
εμμου

Ἀμμώνιος Πετεήσιος  
κατὰ Ταμεναῦτος Ἑρμίου  
καὶ Ταχαντεσμαῦτος θυγα-  
τρός. Κύριέ μου, πεπίστευκα  
αὐτῇ τὸ ἱερόν. ἦν θυγά-  
τηρ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἐπιστάτου καὶ γν-  
νὴ αὐτοῦ, καὶ καταβέβληκέ με  
ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἱεροῦ. ἐγὼ παρα-  
δίδωκα αὐτῇ τὰς κλεῖδας  
καὶ πεποίηκα αὐτῇ ὡς πατὴρ  
ἂν, καὶ τοὺς γάμους (or τὰ γάμοις)  
αὐτῇ πεποίηκα, καὶ λέ-  
γοιτ' ἂν πᾶτερ  
ἐμον.

"Ammonios son of Peteesis against Tamenaus daughter of Her-  
mias and Tachantesmaus her daughter. My lord, I entrusted to her  
my shrine. She was the daughter of my overseer and (Tamenaus  
was) his wife, and she has cast me out of my shrine. I gave her

the keys, and behaved to her as a father would, and provided her wedding-feast, and she would address me as 'My father.'"

The general complaint is clear enough: Ammonios, having entrusted the keys of a private shrine to the wife and daughter of his overseer, had been locked out by them. The complaint is made against both, but in the latter part of the document the writer refers to only one of the ladies: this is most likely to be the daughter, whom Ammonios claims to have treated with special kindness and who showed so little gratitude for his favours. In the last five lines his emotion seems to have overcome him, so that rather violent emendations are necessary to obtain any satisfactory meaning: the elucidation of the last four words, which baffled me, is due to a suggestion by Professor A. S. Hunt, with whom I have had the advantage of discussing the text.

It does not appear to what god the shrine which was the subject of dispute was dedicated: but this was immaterial to the argument. The Egyptian villages of the Græco-Roman period had numerous small shrines: for instance, in 115 B.C. an official return relating to the village of Kerkeosiris in the Fayûm, which was probably quite a little place, mentions thirteen shrines (P. Tebt. 88). These shrines could be privately owned: in three cases out of the thirteen the "prophets" in charge of the shrines held a fifth part, either by inheritance or by purchase from the government: and there are other instances of the transfer of ownership in a shrine. But they were not very valuable properties, apparently: five of the thirteen had a little land attached to them, which the "prophets" cultivated, the rest were returned as having no revenue—that is, presumably, no revenue from endowments: the priests might get some income from the offerings of worshippers. At the same date and in the same village the value of one-sixth share of a shrine owned by a certain individual is stated as one talent of copper (P. Tebt. 14): a wages list of a few years later from this district gives the daily wages of labourers as 120 drachmas, so that the capital value of the sixth share of the shrine in question was only 50 days' wages of a labourer.

EARLY ZOROASTRIANISM <sup>1</sup>

## A REVIEW

BY L. C. CASARTELLI, M.A., D.LITT.OR.

THIS important and deeply interesting volume does honour both to our University and to our Society. I am not exaggerating when I say that it is one of the most considerable contributions to Avestic studies which have appeared for several years either at home or abroad. As such, it will go a long way to remove the not unmerited reproach of the neglect of Avestan research and Iranian scholarship in general in our British Universities, which one would imagine ought, of all others, to be foremost in this department of learning.

It would not be easy to mention a more complete or a more satisfactory presentment of the many obscure and difficult problems surrounding the religion and scriptures of Early Zoroastrianism, especially of the Gāthās, than these Hibbert Lectures of our distinguished colleague. With reference to the Gāthās themselves, let me note at once that, in the appendix, Professor Moulton has given us an entirely new English translation of all those ancient hymns. His version is indeed based upon that of Bartholomae, as well as upon that scholar's great lexicon, but our author is quite justified in saying that he has not followed his German guide slavishly, for evidently he has keenly examined the texts word by word and exercised a wise discretion in his choice. This new

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<sup>1</sup> *Early Zoroastrianism* (The Hibbert Lectures, 1912), by James Hope Moulton, D.Litt., D.D., etc., Greenwood Professor of Hellenistic Greek and Indo-European Philology, Manchester University; London: Williams & Norgate 1913, pp. xix.+468.

English translation forms in some sense the most useful portion of the volume, and on the whole I feel that it may be commended as a reliable and correct rendering of the often obscure, sometimes almost unintelligible, texts which form the original.

But the most striking portion of this scholarly work is the study of the position and influence of what Dr. Moulton specifically calls Magianism in the evolution of the Zoroastrian system. It has long been admitted by Iranian scholars that the Avesta itself contains very much non-Aryan, probably Iranian, material. No critic has insisted more upon this than my revered master, C. de Harlez, who long ago pointed out that much of this material can only be traced to the influence of Central Asian tribes. To Professor Moulton all these influences and the heterogeneous elements which they produced in the Later Avesta seem to be summed up in the word Magianism. For him the Magi were an essentially Turanian race, a tribe of Central Asian *shamans*, with all the stock of sorcery, incantations, and strange and repugnant practices as regards marriage and the disposal of the dead and other un-Aryan characteristics which even to the present day cling to the term Magic. Long after the lifetime of the great Reformer, whose clear, simple and highly spiritual doctrine we have preserved to us almost complete and unaltered in the Gāthās, these Turanian Magi, in some manner which we do not exactly know, appear, so to speak, to have taken over the Zoroastrian system, absorbing it into, or rather leavening it with, their own peculiar doctrines and practices, whilst still retaining the name of Zarathushtra as the founder and prophet of the faith, together with those of the chief spirits and heroes of his cult and the greater part of his religious terminology, only, for the most part, strangely disfigured and distorted. The prophet himself, instead of the real, intensely human, man of the Gāthās, has become mythical, supernatural, legendary. Moreover, "one can hardly question the responsibility of the Magi for the ritual, or very nearly all of it. Zarathushtra, if we are to judge from the Gāthās, resembled the rest of the world's great prophets in his indifference to anything of the kind; and native Aryan religion had only a simple system, which would easily yield to the elaborate under stress of the tendency which everywhere

stimulates the growth of the externals of religion. Much of the ritual is of a kind which Eastern priests take pleasure in devising" (p. 221). I do not follow the writer further in his curious parallels with usages of the Baganda in Central Africa.

Speaking generally, Dr. Moulton's theory of Magianism and Magian influences in Mazdeism commend themselves strongly to me. But it must not be thought that this is the only problem treated of in this interesting volume. The date of Zarathushtra, to which the writer is disposed to assign a much greater antiquity than has been common among recent scholars; the locality of his birth and career, which, reverting to the opinion of Spiegel, he places in Bactria—"It only spread westwards when adapted by the Magi, and in the form they gave it," p. ix.); the character and origin of the Fravashis; the relations of Mazdeism with Semitic religions,—are all topics of prime importance discussed with profound scholarship and judgment, whether one agree with all the conclusions or not. The most difficult problem, as it has always appeared to me, of the relation between the Zoroastrian religion and that of the Achaemenid Kings of Persia, as preserved to us in their Rock Inscriptions, is solved by Dr. Moulton practically in favour of identity. I will not profess myself convinced; but one at least of the difficulties which has always weighed very much with me—I mean the absence in the Inscriptions of any reference to the Evil Spirit of the Zoroastrian creed, *Angro Mainyus*—receives at least a plausible solution in the suggestion that he may possibly be found under the title of *Drauga*, or the *Lie*, which often occurs in the Inscriptions, if we treat those words as proper names and write them with a capital letter. Etymologically, of course, the word is to be identified with the Avestan *druj*, commonly used for "demon," just as we speak of the "Devil" *par excellence* in reference to Satan. The suggestion is certainly ingenious.

Space does not allow me even to refer to a number of other most interesting points which the reading of these Lectures raises. But I think I shall have said enough to recommend this scholarly volume not only to specialists in Iranian studies, but also to all who are interested in the religions and literatures of the East and in the history of human thought.



PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM <sup>1</sup>

## A REVIEW

BY W. H. BENNETT, M.A., D.D., LITT.D.

IN his book *Pentateuchal Criticism* Mr. Simpson gives a brief but admirable sketch of the history and results of modern Pentateuchal criticism, and of the evidence and reasoning by which those results are established. The book derives special interest from its treatment of recent attacks on modern views. Looking back for many years, one can remember a long procession of champions of tradition, each of whom proclaimed that he had overthrown criticism; and criticism has gone serenely on its way, not one penny the worse, and its position to-day is stronger than ever. The procession continues, and the new champions are as ineffective as their predecessors. But they make large claims, and there is much blowing of trumpets as to their supposed achievements; such titles as "The Bankruptcy of the Higher Criticism" are advertised broadcast, regardless of expense. Necessarily a certain impression is made on those who have little leisure for the critical study of the Bible. Experts might afford to neglect these attacks, but something needs to be said from time to time to reassure the ordinary readers of the Bible. We specially welcome Mr. Simpson's book, because it will serve this purpose. It was written at the late Dr. Driver's suggestion; he attached great importance to it, and intended to write an introduction. His place has been taken by the Dean of Westminster.

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<sup>1</sup> *Pentateuchal Criticism*, by the Rev. D. C. Simpson, M.A., with an introduction by the Right Rev. H. E. Ryle, C.V.O., D.D., Dean of Westminster; pp. xiv., 207; Hodder & Stoughton, 1914; 2s. 6d. net.

Recent assaults on modern criticism of the Pentateuch have been various and manifold; Mr. Simpson refers to the more important; references to literature enable his readers to follow up the subject if they desire to do so. For instance, the statement is often made that Archæology, or the Monuments and Inscriptions, the discoveries in Assyria, Babylonia, Egypt, etc., have "upset criticism." Such statements are, of course, absurd; but they sometimes mislead those who have no opportunity of testing them. Mr. Simpson shows that archæology is the "handmaid of criticism" (p. 93) as regards the Elephantine Papyri, the Hammurabi Code, the Amarna tablets, and generally. It might have been useful to have given a page or two to Naville's theory that the earlier portions of the Old Testament were originally written in Cuneiform and that the existing Hebrew is only a translation; a theory which meets with little support amongst Assyriologists.

Special interest attaches to the reference to Dahse's theory as to the Divine Names and the Pentateuch. Dahse attempts to show that the text is so uncertain that we never can be sure what Divine Name was originally written; that therefore we cannot use the names as criteria for the discrimination of sources; and that therefore the modern view of the Pentateuch collapses. Dahse does not state the matter quite so crudely, but that is what it amounts to.

The supposed uncertainty of the text is a deduction from the fact that in a number of instances where the Hebrew Text has, say, Yahweh, some MS. or MSS. of the LXX, mostly few and unimportant, have Elohim; and that sometimes some modicum of support for the various reading can be found elsewhere. Now if Dahse's reasoning were conclusive, it would not affect the general results of modern Pentateuchal criticism; the distribution of Divine Names is only an item in an immense mass of evidence, and the position would not be affected if these Names were no longer used as criteria. But if Dahse could prove his contention, it would be the most serious blow ever struck at the reliability of the text of the Old Testament, and therefore at the Old Testament as an authority on the history and religion of Israel. We know the importance attached by the Jews to the Divine Names; if these were varied

freely by the Scribes they can hardly have been more careful about other matters.

Doubtless, when once the question is raised, a student of textual criticism may say to himself, "Can I really be certain, even apart from Dahse's special pleading, that in any given passage, Yahweh stood in the text of the original completed Pentateuch?" He may possibly, in a pessimistic mood, go on to say, "Can I be certain of the wording or even of the substance of any particular passage in the Pentateuch?" Such scepticism is easy and obvious, and many have been carried away by it. Only a careful study of much cumulative evidence and of converging lines of argument teaches the student that he may be sure of the general accuracy of the text, in spite of a margin of uncertainty as to individual passages. We may thus be sure as to the general distribution of the Divine Names, on the principles of the mathematical theory of probabilities.

The work of Dahse and his supporters confuses the issues and promotes a crude scepticism. We are therefore grateful to Mr. Simpson for reminding us of the masterly criticism by which Dr. Skinner has shown the inconclusiveness of Dahse's reasoning. We entirely agree that: "Wiener and Dahse, then, have entirely failed in their attempt to demonstrate that, so far as the Divine Names are concerned, the Massoretic text is less reliable than the Septuagint; and [have failed to demonstrate] that these names are to so great an extent a variable element in the textual tradition that no inferences can be drawn from them as to the composite character and sources of the Pentateuch."



## NOTES ON PHILOLOGY, ETC.

## "HIP AND THIGH"

BY M. A. CANNEY, M.A.

IN Judges XV. 8 it is said with reference to Samson and the Philistines, that he smote them *shōk al-yārēk makkah gedōlah*. This the Revised Version translates "hip and thigh with a great slaughter," and the phrase "hip and thigh" is explained by commentators to be apparently a proverbial expression for a great slaughter or a complete overthrow. In that case, the writer first uses a proverbial expression and then adds a prosaic explanation, or, as seems more likely, from force of habit adds, unnecessarily, to a rarer phrase, an expression (*makkah gedōlah*) which had become almost stereotyped.

The literal translation of the first phrase, if we take *shōk* in its common meaning, is "leg upon thigh." Prof. G. A. Cooke (*Judges*, in "Cambr. Bible," 1913) interprets this to mean "so that the limbs of the slain fall one upon another." Others have supposed that the phrase was a wrestler's expression, meaning "to trip up" (see G. F. Moore, *Judges*, in "Internat. Crit. Comm."). But if this kind of interpretation is correct, it seems to me more likely that the phrase "leg upon thigh" means with one leg drawn up and resting on the opposite thigh. This attitude may have been supposed to denote that an enemy was mortally smitten. The meaning will then be "and he smote them mortally with a great slaughter."

But the purpose of this Note is to urge that probably all attempts to take *shōk* in the ordinary way are mistaken, and that in this passage the form may be not nominal but verbal. It may be the

Infinitive Absolute of a verb *shūk*. Hebrew *shūk* would be equivalent to Arabic *sāka*. As a verb, it does not occur elsewhere in Biblical Hebrew, unless the form in Psalm lxxv. 10 belongs to the same root (which seems to me possible). The Arabic root, however, is used of "driving" cattle (*Qur'an*, Sur. xix. 89), clouds or rain (vii. 55; xxxii. 27), and persons (xix. 89; compare, in the traditional saying given by Lane, "driving the people with his staff"). It is used also of sheep or goats "pressing" one upon another. Often it may be translated "urge" or "impel."

Such root-meanings suit three Hebrew nouns, which may be regarded as derivatives (in spite of BDB's assumption of several different roots). *Shōk* is the member that drives the body along ("the leg"); *shūk* is the place to which men and cattle are driven ("the street"), just as *midbar* is the place to which cattle are driven away ("the desert"); *teshūkah* is a strong natural or brute "impulse" (Gen. iii. 16, iv. 7; Cant. vii. 11). There is thus a strong presumption in favour of the use of a Hebrew verb *shūk*. In Post-Biblical Hebrew indeed a verb is used in the Hithpōlēl with the meaning "to long for." In M. Jastrow's Dictionary this is explained as a Denominative from *teshūkah*. But this explanation is not necessary. The verb may well be primary. The Hithpōlēl would mean "to be impelled" or "to feel an impulse." We have found that in Arabic the root means sometimes "to press upon." This meaning might easily pass over into "to attack" or "to strike." In the phrase *shōk ʿal-yāreḳ*, therefore, taking *shōk* as the Infinitive Absolute of a verb *shūk*, the meaning may be "striking (upon) the thigh." The Semites regarded the thigh as a seat of life and especially of procreative power (Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 1894, p. 380, N. 1). The phrase would therefore denote ruthless extirpation of the enemy. This would give us as the literal translation of Judges xv. 8, "and he smote them, striking upon the thigh, a great slaughter." For this kind of use of the Infinitive Absolute, where we have a root different from that of the finite form but with kindred meaning, we may compare Deut. ix. 21 (*wa-ekkōth 'otho tāhōn hētēb*, "and I beat it to atoms, grinding it thoroughly;" see R. H. Kennett, *A Short Account of the Hebrew Tenses*, p. 90).

## NAHUM II. 8

By M. A. CANNEY, M.A.

THIS verse has been found very difficult to translate, owing to the obscurity of the first words. The first three words read in MT *we-hussab gullethah ho'alāthah*. RV translates "and Huzzab is uncovered, she is carried away," which seems to assume that Huzzab is the name of the queen of Nineveh (see Driver in the "Century Bible"). But, as the International Critical Commentary (1912) points out, a person of this name is entirely unknown, and the form is one that is not found elsewhere in feminine proper names. It has been urged that a reference to the goddess of Nineveh would be more likely than a reference to the queen. "The latter plays no conspicuous part in Assyrian history, while the goddess occupied a very large place in the minds of the Assyrian monarchs" (ICC). Accordingly, some commentators have sought to find in *h-ss-b* or in the following word the name of an Assyrian goddess.

The conjecture that the goddess of Nineveh is referred to seems to me very plausible. But we need not seek for the name of the goddess. A word *sāb* occurs in Numb. vii. 3 and Isa. lxvi. 20 (Plural), apparently in the sense of a covered wagon. With this word has been compared the Assyrian *sumbu*=*subbu* "wagon, cart" (see on Numb. vii. 3 in *SBOT* Heb.). In both Old Testament passages the word may be a gloss; but in any case the word has been preserved. It seems to me that this is perhaps the word which best explains Nah. iii. 8. *Hussab* should be pointed *hassāb*. And *hassāb* is "the car" of the goddess. The two verbs that follow are feminine because the car is identified with the goddess herself. The fourth word of the verse (*mēnahgōth*) I would take in the sense "guide" (cp. LXX) a sense which it often has. After *mēnahgōth* I would read with Nowack (in Kittel) *hōgōth* (cp. Isa. xxxviii. 14, lix. 11). The translation will then be: "and the car (of the goddess) is uncovered (and) taken off, her maids guiding (it), making a moaning (sound) like the sound of doves, beating upon their breasts."



## ISAIAH LIII. 7

## I.

BY W. L. WARDLE, M.A., B.D.

THE words at the beginning are difficult—*niggas wěhû na'āneh*. The last word is generally taken as Tolerative Niphal=he suffered himself to be oppressed, he submitted. But even so, the *wěhû* does not seem quite natural. Grætz, Gunning, Cheyne, and Box accordingly transpose the conjunction to precede *na'āneh*. Neither Duhm nor Marti regards the transposition as satisfactory. Probably the original text was *niggas wělô na'āneh*, but the latter word should be derived from *'anāh*=he answered, the Niphal of which verb is used in Ezekiel xiv. 4 and 7 in the sense "make answer." This would give the excellent meaning: "He was oppressed, but he made no answer for himself." Since, however, this conjugation of *'anāh*=he answered, is rare, and since the idea of oppression is prominent in the context, a scribe would naturally suppose the verb to be *'anāh*=he was bowed down. The change from *wělô* to *wěhû* would then be inevitable, as unconscious or deliberate correction. The following words, *wělô yiphtah pîv*, are repeated at the end of the verse. The repetition is most awkward, and commonly the remedy suggested is to cut out the words on their reappearance as an accidental duplication. If the theory of the text suggested above be true, the words on their first occurrence might well be omitted as a gloss giving the correct explanation of the two words *wělô na'āneh* which preceded in the original text. We should thus have as our translation:

"He was oppressed, but made no answer for himself,

Like a lamb that is led to the slaughter:

And, like a sheep dumb before its shearers,

He did not open his mouth."

The fact that apparently LXX has only one verb for *niggas* and *na'āneh* supports the suggestion.

If only *'ālam* could be taken in its primitive meaning (to bind) instead of in its derived meaning (Niphal, to be dumb), we could, reading *ne'ēlam*, obtain a text even more symmetrical.

“He was oppressed, but he made no answer for himself,  
Like a lamb that is led to the slaughter:  
And like a sheep in the presence of its shearers,  
He was bound, but he opened not his mouth.”

But the only use of *'ālam* in the required primitive meaning is in the Piel conjugation (Gen. xxxvii. 7).

The presence of the Article in *kas-seh* and its absence in *kē-rāhēl* seems to distress Marti. But surely it is quite explicable on grounds of euphony! Nor can we see why he should regard “before his shearers” as dubious on the ground that shearing is an anticlimax after slaughtering. It is the silence, not the degree of suffering, that forms the point of emphasis.

## ISAIAH LIII. 7

## II.

BY M. A. CANNEY, M.A.

MR. WARDLE's suggestion "He was oppressed, but made no answer for himself" seems to me a happy one. His more tentative hint, that possibly *ne'ēlam* would mean "he was bound" here, does not seem to me so likely. The verb *'ālam*="to bind" is used only of binding sheaves (Gen. xxxvii. 7). It may be formed from the noun for "sheaf." In any case, in spite of the Lexicons, I doubt whether "to bind" is the primitive meaning of the verb *'ālam* which means "to be dumb" (cp. Ges.-Buhl, ed. 15, 1910, where for *'ālam* "to bind" the Arabic *lamma* is compared). If we accept Mr. Wardle's *ne'ēlam* for *ne'ēlāmāh*, it would be better perhaps to assume a third verb *'ālam*—Arab. *'alima* "to suffer pain." This would give us, "He suffered pain, but he opened not his mouth."



ANCIENT EGYPT AND THE PERSISTENCE  
OF ANCIENT BURIAL CUSTOMS  
IN NIGERIA

BY G. ELLIOT SMITH, M.A., M.D., F.R.S.

A MOST remarkable instance has just been brought to light of the persistence in West Africa at the present time of burial customs such as were practised in Egypt nearly forty centuries ago.

Last year Mr. P. Amaury Talbot, a District Commissioner in the Nigerian Political Service, had occasion to visit a strange and very ancient people, the Ibibio, a Southern Nigerian tribe living near the Gulf of Guinea. He found that both the Ibibios and a neighbouring tribe, the Ibos, had burial rites which "recall those of ancient Egypt." For instance, "among Ibos embalming is still practised." For the grave "a wide-mouthed pit" was dug and "from the bottom of this an underground passage, sometimes thirty feet long, led into a square chamber with no other outlet. In this the dead body was laid, and, after the bearers had returned to the light of day, stones were set over the pit mouth and earth strewn over all." Further, in the case of the Ibibios, "in some prominent spot near the town arbour-like erections are raised as memorials, and furnished with the favourite property of the dead man. At the back or side of these is placed what we always called a little 'Ka' house, with window or door into the central chamber, provided, as in ancient Egypt, for the abode of the dead man's Ka or double. Figures of the Chief, with favourite wives and slaves, may also be seen—counterparts of the Ushabtiu."

From the photographs illustrating Mr. Talbot's remarkable article in the *Journal of the African Society* (Vol. xiii., No. li, April, 1914, pp. 241-258), from which the above extracts are taken, many other remarkable points of resemblance to ancient Egyptian practices are to be noted.



## MUMMIFICATION AND BRITISH FOLKLORE

BY G. ELLIOT SMITH, M.A., M.D., F.R.S.

IN the *British Medical Journal* for January 27th, 1912, a correspondent called attention (p. 224) to a common practice among the humbler folk in this country of placing on the breast of a corpse a heap of salt in a platter, and asked for information as to the origin of so curious a custom. On March 9th in the same journal (p. 588) Dr. Cecil Worster-Drought answered this query with the quotation from J. C. Wall's *Devils*: "The devil, Moresinus says, abhors salt for the very sufficient reason that it is the emblem of eternity and immortality." He added the comment: "the salt is placed on the dead body with the idea of keeping off the devil and his evil spirits."

In the reports of my investigations upon Egyptian mummies I have emphasised the fact that the essential procedure in the process of embalming in Egypt at any period when that practice was in vogue was the treatment of the body with common salt, either in the form of a saturated solution used as a bath, or in the dry condition placed upon the corpse. In early Christian times, when the latter method of embalming continued to be practised, in spite of the denunciation of so pagan a practice by the Christian teachers, large quantities of salt were placed around and upon the body. It may have happened that this use of common salt for the purpose of attaining what the Ancient Egyptians no doubt regarded as the essential factor in the continuance of some sort of existence after death was the reason for the belief which made salt "the emblem of eternity and immortality." If this is so, in the curious custom of placing salt upon the corpse we may have in modern England the persistence of a superstition born in Ancient Egypt.



# A LIST *of* THE YEAR NAMES

used to date the years of the FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON, compiled from the Date Lists and from the dated documents of the period and arranged in their most probable chronological order.

BY THE REV. C. H. W. JOHNS, M.A., LITT.D.,

*Master of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, and Canon Residentiary of Norwich.*

Part I. Cambridge: A. P. DIXON, 9 Market St. 1911. PRICE 3/6.

This is the first part of Studies in the Date Lists of the First Dynasty of Babylon. The Babylonians gave to each year a separate name commemorating the most important event of that year from their own point of view. The scribes drew up lists of such year names in their proper chronological sequence for their convenience in reference to the dates. Besides being our most valuable evidence for the chronology of the period, the events recorded serve as Annals. These Date Lists accordingly have been much discussed by scholars. The author, having had exceptional facilities for consulting a great many hitherto unpublished dated documents, including the valuable collections acquired by the late lamented Professor H. W. Hogg for the Rylands Library and the Victoria University, has here made accessible a complete summary of the work done on the Date Lists by himself and others.

Part II. will contain the English translation of the Sumerian year names, so as to render the material available for general students of the history of this most important period, marked by the illustrious reign of the great King Hammurabi, author of the famous Oldest Code of Laws. Other parts will contain technical discussions for experts, with bearing on many problems of history and religion.

---

## THE RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE OF SEMITIC PROPER NAMES

THE JOHN BOHLEN LECTURES FOR 1910.

BY THE REV. C. H. W. JOHNS, M.A., LITT.D.

*Master of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, and Canon Residentiary of Norwich.*

A. P. DIXON, 9 Market Street, Cambridge. 1912. 5/-.

In 1910 the Master of St. Catharine's was invited to deliver the lectures on the John Bohlen Foundation to the University of Pennsylvania, which has so distinguished itself by its marvellous explorations of the ancient city of Nippur in Babylonia. The subject selected was the Religious Significance of Semitic Proper Names, with especial bearing on the Bible and its illustration from cuneiform sources. Semitic names are for the most part really sentences condensing religious beliefs and form a most valuable indication of the popular views of God and His relations to men, apart from the systematic theology of religious teachers. The subject is of the deepest interest for students of religion and throws great light upon Old Testament studies. The treatment is of a popular character and demands no special study to follow; but the author has laid under contribution the most recent scholarship. The reader of the Bible will here find help to understand the background of religious thought on which the prophets had to throw their portrait of the good man and evidence of the previous growth of religion which alone rendered their appeal cogent. The subject is a fascinating one, full of deep thoughts and high moral teaching.

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## EDITORIAL NOTE

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THE new number of the Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society has been reduced in bulk, in consequence of the war. We are printing fewer Articles and no Notes. The omission of the latter does not mean that there is any intention to drop them in future. It has always been hoped that they would become an important feature of the Journal.

In a number of ways the great war has been a check to the progress of undertakings such as ours. For the time being more practical and vital problems than those relating to Archæology and Ancient History press for solution. But all this is temporary and transitional. In the readjustment and reconstruction that are inevitable in the realm of ideas and ideals, Egypt and the Orient will not lose in importance, and the usefulness of an Egyptian and Oriental Journal will hardly diminish. If we look far enough ahead, the prospect is one of increased activity.

MAURICE A. CANNEY.

The University, Manchester,  
*September, 1915.*

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### 1915

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#### POSITION OF THE SOCIETY AT END OF SESSION 1914-15

Six meetings were held between October and March, it being thought better to reduce the number during this time of war; details are given under "Proceedings," p. 10—21.

The number of members is 101, 14 having resigned, chiefly owing to the war, and 10 joined, during the year.

The number of books and pamphlets added to our collection is 21, making a total of 171. The most important addition is *The Tomb of Amenemhēt*, the recently published first volume of the series on Theban Tombs planned and undertaken by Mrs. de Garis Davies and Dr. Alan Gardiner. This was presented by the authors.

Dr. Elliot Smith and Dr. Alan Gardiner continue most kindly to send us reprints of papers contributed to various Journals. Our thanks are rendered to the donors of these most acceptable gifts. A list of the additions to our collection received since our catalogue was published in 1913 will be found on p. 22.

Members who have joined since 1913 can obtain copies of the catalogue at a charge of 6d., on applying to the Secretaries. We have received in exchange for our Journal the *Bulletin of the*

*John Rylands Library*, the *Journal of the Liverpool School of Archæology*, the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, *Le Monde Oriental* of the University of Upsala, the *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* of the University of Rome and the suitable publications of the Manchester Museum. Owing doubtless to the war, we have received no publications this year from the Musée Guimet, Paris, or the College at Beyrouth.

The European war has naturally had a very bad effect on the sale of our Journal published October, 1914. As a result, the sum available for the present number was extremely small and had it not been for a timely donation by a member of the Council it would have been impossible to publish even in this much reduced form. It appears that if only this time of war can be tidied over there is a future before the Journal; it is making a reputation and has been quoted in various important publications. To this end more subscribers of a guinea or upwards are needed; but perhaps this is too much to expect just now and in the meantime small donations towards the next issue will be welcomed. It may be remarked that the University of Louvain is continuing to issue publications (from Cambridge). The moral is obvious!

W. M. C.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE SESSION

1914—1915

THE **First Meeting** of the Session was held on October 5th, 1914, the President in the Chair. Prof. W. M. Flinders Petrie gave an address on "The Metals in Ancient Egypt."

The lecturer remarked that a statement of what is known as to the introduction and use of metals in Egypt was badly needed, and was attempted in this address, but it must be remembered that for drawing conclusions our material was imperfect and doubtless whole classes of products had dropped out of knowledge. A summary of the facts given by the lecturer here follows:

COPPER the earliest metal known in Egypt. Pins of copper found fastening goatskins on bodies buried without linen, belonging to the oldest pre-dynastic period. Sinai nearest source, later

N. Syria, as seen in tribute from Alashiya or Asi,<sup>1</sup> probably still later, Cyprus. Harpoons and small chisels also found in First pre-dynastic age. Metal continuously commoner in the Second pre-dynastic age, the adzes and lastly axes reaching full weight of later times at close of pre-Dynastic period.<sup>2</sup> Largest copper tools found in Dynasty I. Largest knife\* and adze\* known are from Tarkhan; this adze is of Cypriote form, so it seems Cypriote copper had reached Egypt by Dynasty I.

In Old Kingdom, casting and beating of copper fully developed, as in great statue of Pepy and his son, of beaten plates (see analysis in *Denderah*, p. 61, showing it to be almost pure copper). The analysis of some fine tools of Middle Kingdom, from Kahun, proves them to be of almost pure copper. Heavy metal chisels were cast in open moulds\* of pottery.

GOLD is not found in earliest pre-dynastic graves but that may be due to ransacking by robbers. Eastern desert and Nubia earliest sources. Whether metal named *nub* from Nubia, or country from metal, uncertain.

Electrum was used in Old Kingdom and was called *usm* or *zom*. Source probably Asia Minor. Pre-dynastic gold beads were found at Nagada. Gold is found in most excavations of sites of later ages, except of course where the excavator's workmen are not properly rewarded!

SILVER. Is found at the beginning of the 2nd pre-dynastic period with other Asiatic products. Quite as rare as gold in cemeteries and towns. Source, N. Syria.

LEAD. Found almost as early as silver. Used for sacred figures. Sulphide of lead (galena) found as eye paint in pre-dynastic and I Dynasty times. Very common in Dynasty XVIII and used regularly for net sinkers.\* At Memphis in 6th century B.C. a tank of lead. In Roman Egypt much used for tokens.\*

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<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, 1912-13, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Manchester Museum possesses a series of tools well illustrating this evolution (Case II). An asterisk (\*) after the mention of a tool indicates that the specimen referred to is in Manchester Museum.

**TIN AND BRONZE.** The source of the former is the important question. In Egypt it was probably Hungary. First examples of pure tin in Dynasty XVIII.

Arsenic and bismuth earliest hardening materials for copper. Earliest true bronze a rod found at Meydum in foundations of tomb of Dynasty III, but it only appears sporadically till XVIII Dynasty, when it becomes the standard material in Egypt.

**IRON.** Earliest example beads of Middle pre-dynastic date, of hammered iron threaded alternately with gold beads. A mass of iron rust found stuck together with copper adzes of VI Dynasty type at level of temple of that age at Abydos. A spearhead found by MacIver in tomb of Dynasty XIII in Nubia.

These three certain examples allow us to accept certain other less absolutely dated specimens, but even then the cases are so sporadic that the source must have been either native iron or the result of accidental production as might well have occurred during eruptions in Sinai. The developed Iron Age begins in Egypt about 1200 B.C. with the halbert from the foundations of Rameses III at Abydos. An iron sword with cartouches of Sety II, 1214-1210 B.C., is in Berlin Museum. Though much rusted it appears to be of same type as those of Hungary or the Balkans, which occur also in Cretan tombs. This type more common in bronze than iron, hence 1200 B.C. must be about starting point of free use of iron, otherwise such swords found in Europe would all have been of iron.

Next stage is free use of iron in Assyria. In 881 B.C. iron came as tribute from Chalybes region and from Carchemish about same time. About 700 B.C. there was an immense storehouse of iron.

In Egypt a group of iron tools\* found at Thebes in an Assyrian bronze helmet\* is dated by the helmet to the invasions of Esarhaddon, 668 or 666 B.C. These are the parents of many more modern forms and most of them are of mild steel.

**SOURCES.** No ground for supposing any of the slag heaps in Ethiopia earlier than Dynasty XXV. The sources of the European and Euphratean iron would account for the iron found in Egypt. Yet in Greek times iron ore was certainly reduced in Egypt, from whatever source it came; iron slag is found in crucibles at Memphis,

Defennch and Naukratis. For Western Europe Styria was the chief source, for Assyria the Chalybes region and the mountains N.E. of Nineveh. It was almost certainly through the Chalybes that the Greeks first knew this iron.

ANTIMONY worked in Mesopotamia. In Egypt beads are found of XXII Dynasty. KOHL eye paint often described as sulphide of antimony, but that the rarest material in ancient Egypt, galena being much commoner.

ZINC has only been reported once, as  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. in a piece of pre-Dynastic copper.

The lecturer concluded by remarking that a number of analyses of exactly dated examples might still be most usefully made. A spectroscopic examination for detecting rare elements might give the clue to the origin of the various ancient supplies of metals.<sup>1</sup>

At the conclusion of the address, the Society proceeded to other business, which included the election or re-election of officers. The Bishop of Salford, after expressing the thanks of the Society to the retiring President, Professor Rhys Davids, for his valuable services during the two years he had held office, said that he wished to propose as the new President the Rev. Professor J. Hope Moulton. The recent publication of Dr. Moulton's admirable Hibbert Lectures on Early Zoroastrianism made the present moment particularly appropriate for the appointment, in any case highly desirable, of this distinguished scholar. The proposal was seconded by Mr. Evan Roberts, and carried unanimously. Dr. Moulton, in replying, said that he had come to the meeting that afternoon with the intention of making the far more appropriate proposal that the Bishop of Salford should himself be elected President; but the Bishop had forestalled him and he bowed to fate. He thanked the members of the Society for their good opinion, which he would do his best to retain as their President.

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<sup>1</sup> For further details see Petrie, "The Metals in Egypt," *Ancient Egypt*, part I, 1915.

The other officers of the Society were re-elected. Prof. Rhys Davids, the retiring President, said that he resigned his position with regret. He felt, however, that he was leaving the Society in very good hands.

**THE Second Meeting** of the Session was held on October 31st, 1914. It was a Joint Meeting with the Classical Association, and Professor R. S. Conway, President of this body, was in the Chair. Dr. Ronald M. Burrows, Principal of King's College, London, gave an address on "Recent Excavations in Crete," the address being illustrated by many lantern slides.

At the conclusion of the address a vote of thanks was proposed by Professor J. Hope Moulton, President of the Egyptian and Oriental Society, and seconded by the Rev. D. P. Buckle, a member of both bodies.

**THE Third Meeting** of the Session was held on December 1st, 1914, the President in the Chair. The Rev. D. P. Buckle delivered an address on "The Book of the Wisdom of Solomon, with special reference to the Coptic Version."

The address dealt particularly with the literature of the subject.

The Book of Wisdom may now be studied in recent editions adapted to the needs of all classes of students. The English reader will find useful assistance in the handy little books by Stevenson and R. G. Moulton. The first of these gives a popular account of the theory of composite authorship, while the second explains the apparent differences between various parts of the book by the principles of the digression and the footnote. Readers who know Greek will derive great help from Gregg and Holmes (in Charles's Apocrypha); while the serious student, who seeks full discussion of questions of introduction and interpretation, will turn his attention to Cornely, Heinisch and Goodrick. Cornely is most useful for the history of interpretation and for his presentation of the Greek and Latin in parallel columns; Heinisch gives an interesting

German version with excellent critical notes and valuable discussions on Persian and Greek philosophical influences, while Goodrick provides quite the best English edition.

Margoliouth's view of a Hebrew original has been controverted by Freudenthal. Focke holds that chapters 1—5 were originally composed in Hebrew and a little later translated into Greek by the author of chapters 6—19. As there does not seem to be any tradition of a 'Hebrew' text, the general view is that the author wrote in 'Greek.

Feldmann's textual discussion gives much useful information about readings in the Sahidic, Syriac and Armenian versions; but the Coptic section of this work needs to be corrected and supplemented by a collation of Thompson's edition and the Bohairic fragments.

Gärtner's vocabulary of the book is extremely valuable. An examination of the words commencing with the first four letters of the Greek alphabet gives the following result:

	$\alpha$	$\beta$	$\gamma$	$\delta$	Total
1. Words not in N.T. ...	26	5	10	20	61
2. Words in Apocrypha only	30	3	0	5	38
3. Words in rest of LXX only	11	0	0	1	12
4. Words in N.T. only ...	7	1	0	1	9
5. Words in Wisdom only ...	51	2	4	14	71

Illustrations from papyri, inscriptions and later Greek authors are also given.

Patristic citations and lexical references add to the value of Gärtner's elaborate treatment of the language of wisdom.

Goodrick gives a valuable and discriminating account of the versions in the 10th section of his introduction.

The Coptic version in Lagarde's text is now difficult to procure, but a translation of it was made for the R.V. Apocrypha Committee at the request of Dr. W. F. Moulton. A copy of this translation was presented to the Rylands Library by Prof. J. H. Moulton. The original can, however, be seen in a slightly different text edited by Sir H. Thompson for the Clarendon Press from a British Museum papyrus. Fragments have been published by Erman, Ciasca, Bouriant and Amélineau. Information about these will be found in Heinisch.

The Rylands Library also possesses a Lectionary which gives selections from chapters 1, 2, 5 and 7. The 9th chapter is reprinted in Steindorff's Coptic Grammar and is particularly interesting for its reminiscences of Platonic teaching about the corruptible body and the soul. The 17th chapter is remarkable for its peculiar vocabulary, which has been the subject of special discussion in the "International Journal of Apocrypha" (No. 39, p. 70, October, 1914).

The student who wishes to investigate non-Jewish philosophical influences in Wisdom will find for Persian questions useful references and criticisms in the commentary of Heinisch; for Greek influences he will turn to the special treatise by the same author, who incorporates a summary of the conclusions of that earlier work in his commentary, and he will also refer to the additional notes at the end of Goodrick's edition. Egyptian influence is discussed by Reitzenstein.

The philological and philosophical questions raised by the Book of Wisdom have been the occasion of the most contrary judgments, but both in regard to vocabulary and non-Jewish influence the middle view would seem to be the most reasonable verdict. In language we need neither consider the author as being absolutely classical nor quite ignorant of Greek; in philosophy we do not feel obliged to regard his knowledge as either very profound or extremely shallow. This view is well expressed in the words of Swete (*Introduction to O. T. in Greek*, p. 268):

"Wisdom clearly belongs to a period when the Jewish scholars of Alexandria were abreast of the philosophic doctrines and the literary standards of their Greek contemporaries."

At the conclusion of the address a vote of thanks was proposed by the Rev. J. M. McLachlan and seconded by the Rev. W. L. Wardle.

**THE Fourth Meeting** of the Session was held on January 15th, 1915, Professor G. Elliot Smith in the Chair. Miss M. A. Murray, Lecturer in Egyptology at University College, London, read a paper on "Ancient Egyptian Literature and Legends."

The lecturer pointed out that the Egyptian literature which has survived to our days is fairly varied. It includes religious, biographical, and poetical writings and also some fiction. Of the latter, however, probably not much, because, as in other Eastern countries, stories were told orally. There is no drama in the modern sense of the word—only mystery-plays. The chief examples of religious literature are the "Book of the Dead," the prayers for the dead in funerary inscriptions, and various hymns to the gods.

In didactic literature we have the maxims of Ani, of Ptah-hetep and of Kagemni. This style is mainly of the early period and may be compared with the proverbs of the book of "Proverbs" in the Old Testament, though those of course are of later date.

The poetry comprises: 1. Songs to the harp, always sad and mournful; 2. Folk songs, sung by workmen; 3. Love songs, very few and not very impassioned; 4. Triumph songs (compare the Song of Deborah) to commemorate victories. Poems dating to the V Dynasty are known. They are interesting as showing that they were written to strict rules, gradually becoming freer in later times. One of the finest is the Triumph Song of Thothmes III.

As to fiction—portions of ancient legends of the gods are often preserved in magical texts. Sometimes these are fairly coherent but oftener they are little more than tantalising allusions. A few complete stories are preserved on papyri, none earlier than the XII Dynasty. The voyage of Wen-Amon in the Eastern Mediterranean is a later composition and shows a finer literary style than the early attempts at fiction.

At the conclusion of the paper a vote of thanks was proposed by Miss W. M. Crompton. She said she was very glad of this opportunity not only for thanking Miss Murray for her delightful paper, but also for calling to remembrance all the important work done by her for Egyptology in Manchester in past years. She it was who had catalogued systematically the greater part of the Egyptian collection in the Museum, the accumulation of twenty

years. The work had been begun by Miss Griffith, now Mrs. Johns, who had kindly volunteered. When she left the district she recommended the appointment of Miss Murray to continue the work. This was accomplished by Miss Murray by very strenuous work in two visits, 1906 and 1908, which brought the catalogue up from No. 868 to No. 4935. She also wrote an introduction to the catalogue, explanatory of the collection. Miss Griffith's portion of the catalogue was published by the Museum a few years ago. Unfortunately, through lack of funds, it had not yet been possible to issue that of Miss Murray. Miss Murray's work had made the arrangement of the Egyptian collection in the new building, opened in 1912, a comparatively easy task. Miss Crompton felt that others had laboured and she had entered into their labours. The vote of thanks was seconded by the Rev. D. P. Buckle, who spoke of the great help afforded to students by Miss Murray's "Elementary Coptic Grammar."

**THE Fifth Meeting** of the Session was held on February 17th, 1915, the President in the Chair. Before proceeding to the ordinary business of the meeting, the President referred to the death of Professor T. K. Cheyne, which had taken place at Oxford the day before. Professor Cheyne, he said, belonged to a group of Oriental scholars whose work marked a new epoch. His passing away was an event that affected closely a Society such as ours, which concerned itself with Egyptology and Oriental Studies. However much one might disagree with some of Prof. Cheyne's theories, one recognized gladly the ingenuity of his mind and the greatness of his learning.

After the minutes of the previous meeting had been read and approved, Dr. Moulton called on Prof. G. Elliot Smith to give his promised address on "Oriental Tombs and Temples." A discussion followed, in which the President, the Rev. D. P. Buckle, and others took part. A summary of the address will be found on p. 55 of the Journal.

THE **Sixth Meeting** of the Session was held on March 19th, 1915, the President in the Chair. Dr. W. H. Bennett, Principal of Lancashire Independent College, read a paper on "Archæology and Criticism."

The paper dealt briefly with the idea which is still current in some circles that Archæology has upset the results of the modern criticism of the Old Testament. It controverted an article by Principal Thomas, of Toronto, in vol. viii. of the *Fundamentals* of Old Testament Criticism. What impression would this article make on the lay reader, especially if he is not acquainted with Archæology or Criticism, and if moreover his sympathies and presuppositions are conservative? The impression would be that Archæology has broken down the arguments on which Criticism relies; has convinced many important critics of the error of their ways; and has produced conclusive evidence in favour of the traditional views; and that there is a consensus of opinion to this effect amongst archæologists. This is not indeed said in so many words, but it is the impression conveyed. Dr. Thomas's line of reasoning is apparently this: some of the arguments once used by some critics in support of the earlier form of the modern position have been shown to be unsound; some of the conclusions to which they came were mistaken; therefore the whole modern view of the Old Testament is upset. But, if these principles are accepted, what becomes of Christianity? Some of Isaac Newton's arguments and theories were erroneous. Does that upset the whole of modern astronomy? Dr. Bennett showed that even where Dr. Thomas quotes an authority for a statement, he has misunderstood or misinterpreted his authority. If he is so loose when he gives a reference, how can we be sure that he is careful and accurate when he gives no reference? Dr. Thomas refers to the fact that during the last sixty years a vast number of archæological discoveries have been made in Egypt, Palestine, Babylonia, and Assyria. He claims that not one of these discoveries during the whole of this time has given any support to the distinctive features and principles of the higher critical position. The claim is surprising. Assyriology and

Egyptology both demonstrate that the chronology of the Pentateuch is hopelessly wrong. To take another example, the critical position on the Book of Daniel is strongly supported by the fact that many of the statements of that book are shown to be mistaken by the evidence of the monuments. This is admitted by Professor Sayce. The truth about the monuments may be put briefly thus. A large proportion of these discoveries are irrelevant; they afford no express evidence one way or another on the points at issue between tradition and criticism. But as regards the points of contact between archæology and Old Testament problems: the critical position as it stands to-day, as it was held for instance by Dr. Driver, has been built up in the light of, with full knowledge and consideration of, Archæology. Various discoveries, as they have been made, have enabled scholars to correct and improve in some details the views of their predecessors; but the progress of criticism on the whole has been a steady advance on definite lines. Nothing has been discovered which has upset any outstanding important features of the principles, practices and results of criticism. The most obvious proof of this is the attitude of archæologists. There are many of their works which do not touch upon criticism. Here and there an archæologist attacks some detail of criticism, or expresses his vague general dislike of critics and criticism. But, on the other hand, many leading archæologists accept the critical position. There is Prof. Sayce. He objects to some points in the modern view of the Pentateuch; and for some mysterious reason likes to gird at higher critics; but really he is an advanced higher critic himself (*e.g.*, as to Daniel, Jonah, and Chronicles). The great manuals of Assyriology have been compiled by men who accepted the critical position. The original edition of the *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament* was compiled by Schrader and translated into English and supplemented by Professor Whitehouse of Cheshunt College. The new edition was compiled by Zimmern and Winckler. There is a similar work by Jeremias. All these distinguished archæologists accept the general critical position; and many other names might be added,

*e.g.*, Paul Haupt, C. J. Ball, Principal Thatcher. Thus, as far as archæology has any bearing on critical problems, it does not upset criticism on any important matter but rather confirms it.

At the conclusion of the paper a vote of thanks was proposed by Professor Maurice A. Canney and seconded by the Rev. J. T. Meeson. There was an interesting discussion.\*

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\*All the Meetings of the Session were held at the University.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS ADDED TO  
THE COLLECTION OF THE SOCIETY  
SINCE SEPTEMBER 1913

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*Books may be borrowed (by members only) by applying  
to the Treasurer-Secretary at the  
Manchester Museum*

"Annals of Archæology and Anthropology" to date (Liverpool University Press).<sup>1</sup>

Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology, to date.<sup>1</sup>

Archæological Survey of Nubia. 1909-10. By C. M. Firth. Cairo, 1915.<sup>1</sup>

British School of Archæology in Egypt, "Tarkhan II," by W. M. Flinders Petrie; "Riqqeh and Memphis VI," by W. M. Flinders Petrie and F. Engelbach.

Journal of Egyptian Archæology, vol. I, no. I, 1914.

Bliss, F. J., and Dickie, A. C.—

Excavations in Jerusalem, 1894-7.<sup>2</sup>

Gardiner, A. H.—

Egyptian Ethics and Morality (reprint).

"The Golden Bough: Adonis, Altis and Osiris," by J. G. Frazer (Review) 1915.

"Life and Death" (reprint).

"The Map of the Gold Mines in a Ramesside Papyrus at Turin" (reprint).

"Notes on the Story of the Eloquent Peasant" (reprint), 1914.

"The Nature and Development of the Egyptian Hieroglyphic Writing" (reprint).

"New Literary Works from Ancient Egypt" (reprint), 1914.

Gardiner, A. H., and Davies, Nina de G.—

"The Tomb of Amenemhêt." 1915.<sup>3</sup>

Gardiner, A. H., and Weigall—

A Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs at Thebes, 1913.<sup>4</sup>

Guimet, Musée—

Bibliothèque de vulgarisation, vols. XXIX and XL (Conferènces faites au Musée Guimet).<sup>1</sup>

Guide illustré du Musée Guimet de Lyon, 1913.<sup>1</sup>

Hebbelynck, A.—

"Fragments inédits de la Version Copte Sahidique d'Isaie," 1913.<sup>6</sup>

Lichtenberg, Prof. von—

"Die Stellung und Bedeutung der Ägäischen Kultur in der europäischen Vorgeschichte" (Mannus, band V).<sup>6</sup>

"Memnon," band VII, 1—3, 1914.<sup>1</sup>

"Mitra," band I, heft 1, 1914. (Monatschrift für vergleichende Mythenforschung).<sup>1</sup>

Milne, J. G.—

"Leaden Tokens from Memphis."<sup>1</sup>

"Le Monde Oriental," 1909 to date (Upsala).<sup>1</sup>

"Le Muséon," Mai, 1915 (usually published at Louvain, temporarily at Cambridge).

Peet, T. E.—

"The Stela of Sebek-khu, the earliest record of an Egyptian Campaign in Asia." Manchester, 1915.<sup>1</sup>

Perrot, F., and Chipiez, C.—

History of Art in Phrygia, Lydia, Caria and Lycia. 1892.

History of Art in Sardinia, Judæa, Syria and Asia Minor." 1890.<sup>5</sup>

Rivista degli Studi Orientali, nella R. Università di Roma.<sup>1</sup> Anno V, fasc. 1, anno VI, fasc. 1—2. 1913.

Ronzevalle, S. J.—

Notes et Etudes d'Archéologie Orientale, tome III, fasc. 2, 1909, et extrait du tome IV, 1910.<sup>1</sup>

Smith, G. Elliot—

"Early Racial Migrations" (single sheet). 1914.

"Egyptian Mummies" (reprint). 1914.

"Physical Characters of the Ancient Egyptians" (Brit. Assoc.) 1914.<sup>3</sup>

Wiedemann, A.—

"Incarnation" (reprint). 1913.

"Index der Goetter and Daemonennamen zu Lepsius Denkmäler." V—VIII. Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft, Sonderdruck I. Alterthum. § Aegypten. 1911.

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1 Exchange. 2 Donor, Prof. A. C. Dickie. 3 All presented by the author.

4 Donor, Mr. Alfred Mond. 5 Donor, Mrs. Hope W. Hogg.

6 Donor, The Bishop of Salford.

# MANCHESTER EGYPTIAN AND ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

ACCOUNTS FROM 11TH SEPTEMBER, 1914, TO 6TH AUGUST, 1915.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
By Subscriptions .....	18 12 6	Balance due Bank .....	1 3 2
" Bank Interest, less commission .....	0 2 3	Advertising .....	3 5 9
		Subs., British School in Egypt.....	2 2 0
		" Assoc. Committee of Educational Societies ..	0 5 0
		Lecturers' Travelling Expenses .....	2 12 0
		Petty Cash .....	2 0 0
		Circulars and Stationery .....	0 9 6
		Balance .....	6 17 4
	<u>£18 14 9</u>		<u>24</u>
			£18 14 9

## SPECIAL PUBLICATIONS FUND.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
By Balance from last year .....	22 8 3	University Publications Committee, towards cost of publishing Journal issued in 1914 .....	25 0 0
" Sale of List of Books on Egyptology (2 copies)...	0 1 0	Balance in Bank .....	19 11 9
" Subscriptions .....	17 2 6		
" Donation: Mr. Jesse Howarth .....	5 0 0		
	<u>£44 11 9</u>		<u>£44 11 9</u>

6th August, 1915.

Audited and found correct, E. MELLAND.

SPECIAL PAPERS  
& ARTICLES



## THE EARLY RELATIONS OF EGYPT AND ASIA

BY T. ERIC PEET, B.A.

UP to a few years ago the invasion of Egypt by an Asiatic people, the so-called Hyksos, between the XII and XVIII Dynasties was almost our sole piece of evidence for contact on any large scale between Egypt and Asia previous to the campaigns in Syria of Thothmes III. Recent discoveries, however, have made it clear that this invasion was no isolated phenomenon but merely one of a series, Egypt and its neighbour Nearer Asia having been engaged since the dawn of history in an almost perpetual warfare in which the victory inclined now to one side and now to the other. The aim of this essay is to collect the existing evidence with regard to this long conflict.

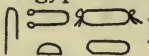
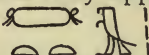
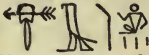

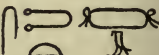
### NEARER ASIA AND ITS INHABITANTS

By the term Nearer Asia we mean Syria, Palestine,<sup>1</sup> the Sinai Peninsula, and that piece of desert north of the peninsula itself which forms the land bridge between Asia and Africa and is bounded on the north by the Mediterranean Sea. The importance of this stretch of desert to the Egyptians was immense, for it was a natural barrier which, in ancient as in modern times, protected the Delta against attack from the east. An enemy who succeeded in solving the problem of transporting an army across this sandy waste would find himself confronted by a further natural obstacle, the almost continuous and easily defensible chain of lakes through which the Suez Canal now runs. The importance of this frontier was not underestimated by the Egyptians, who seem to have

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<sup>1</sup> Syria is often taken to include Palestine (Syria Palæstina). We shall here keep the two quite distinct.

strengthened it by artificial defences. In the XVIII Dynasty the famous frontier fortress of Zaru (Tharu), which almost certainly lay near the modern El Qantara,<sup>1</sup> formed the centre of its defensive system.

Nearer Asia was known to the Egyptians as early as the XII Dynasty<sup>2</sup> by the name of Setet (*Stt* ). Curiously enough this is also the name of the region round the first cataract of the Nile and it has been suggested by Max Müller that this last was its original meaning and that it was only applied to Asia through a false analogy, the word *Šttyw*  "people of the First Cataract" being confused with *štyw*  "shooters, hunters," which was used for certain, if not all, peoples of Asia as early as the XII Dynasty.<sup>3</sup> This confusion, according to Müller, took place not earlier than the XVIII Dynasty, after which *Štt* is quite commonly used for Asia. Since Müller propounded this theory evidence has accrued which renders it in part at least untenable. On the stela of Sebek-khu,<sup>4</sup> which is dated under the XII Dynasty, the Mentu, known to be an Asiatic people, are referred to as "The Mentu of Setet," which must therefore already stand for Asia at this date.<sup>5</sup> Moreover in a relief of the XI Dynasty from a temple of a king Mentuhetep at Gebelen,<sup>6</sup> the king is represented as smiting enemies clearly representative of the various parts of the world then known to the Egyptians. Over one is written *Tḥnyw* (Libyans), over another *Štyw*  (Nubians) and over the third, who almost beyond doubt represents Asia, *Šttyw* .

<sup>1</sup> See Küthmann, *Die Ostgrenze Aegyptens*.

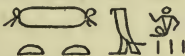
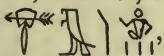
<sup>2</sup> If not earlier. See below, on the ivory "gaming reed" of King Qa.

<sup>3</sup> Müller, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 19-20, 125-128.

<sup>4</sup> Garstang, *El Arabah*, pl. v.; *Stela of Sebek-khu, Manchester Museum Handbook*, 1914.

<sup>5</sup> On a Sinaitic inscription dated in the 45th year of Amenemhat III (Weill *Recueil des inscr. du Sinai* No. 64) Setet is used for Asia. This is clear from the context, though Weill is wrong in saying that the Mentu are mentioned in this inscription, the word which he reads *Mntw* being clearly a careless writing of *drw* "boundaries."

<sup>6</sup> von Bissing-Bruckmann, *Taf. 33 A*.

"People of Setet." If further proof be needed we may add the fact that the name *Šttyw* is given to the vanquished, who from their appearance and costume are clearly Asiatics, on the pectoral of Amenemhet III.<sup>1</sup> Setet then was a name of Nearer Asia as early as the XI Dynasty. What connection this had with Setet as a name for the region of the first cataract is a point which does not concern us here. *Šttyw*  would stand for men of Setet, i.e., Asiatics, and is probably in origin entirely distinct from *Štyw* , literally "shooters" or "hunters," a term which seems to have been applied by the Egyptians to some Asiatics (perhaps the nomads) as early as the XII Dynasty.<sup>2</sup>

Setet then we take to be in all probability a general name for Nearer Asia, and we can trace it back to the XI Dynasty. The other country name known to us in Asia is *Rtnw* (Retenu). There are at least three references to Retenu in the XII Dynasty, none of which enables us to determine its exact position. On the stela of Sebek-khu we find the people of Retenu allying themselves with the district of Sekmem to resist an Egyptian attack. In several of the Egyptian inscriptions of the Serâbît el Khâdim in Sinai a certain Khebbed, brother of the Prince of Retenu, *śn n hk}Rtnw*, is named among those who took part in the expedition.<sup>3</sup> Finally,

<sup>1</sup> They seem also to bear the name *Mnt* (*Mntw* ?). De Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, 1894, Pl. xxi.

<sup>2</sup> *Štyw* is not a very common word at any period, *štyw* and *šmw* being the terms most frequently used in the sense of Asiatics.

<sup>3</sup> Weill, *Sphinx*, IX, pp. 7-10 and 66-69. In the inscription on p. 8 Weill wishes to see once again in lines 3 and 4 the fabulous Binikai. From the British Museum squeeze it seems clear that the sentence in question runs *hrp šs3t m 3w kywy* "Controller of many in foreign (? literally 'other') lands." In l. 6, as we pointed out in a previous note, *drw* "boundaries" and not *Mntw* is the correct reading. In the inscription on p. 9, more correctly given on p. 66 (=Weill, *Recueil*, No. 75), Weill finds a sentence which he thinks proves that the king of Retenu was a native chief of the Sinaitic region. His first translation (p. 9) of this sentence is *Officiers venus pour faire . . . . au Roi du Lotanou (Retenu) . . . .*, "which would indeed suggest an Egyptian delegation to the Prince of Retenu, but the translation is sadly inaccurate, nor is it much improved upon in the revised version of p. 66. The "sentence" in question is in reality nothing more than two personal names with their titles "The butler (*wḏpw*) Iyni son of [Si-] Hathor" and "The brother of the

in the Sinuhe story the hero during his wanderings is taken in and cared for by the Prince of Upper Retenu. The references in the XVIII Dynasty are a little more precise and Max Müller feels justified in drawing from them the following conclusions.<sup>1</sup> Lower Retenu denoted in the XII Dynasty the Upper Syrian plain stretching away to the Euphrates, a country known in the New Kingdom as Naharin. Upper Retenu—often called Retenu simply—is in the early New Kingdom used in two senses, either generally for Syria-Palestine, meaning those parts of the Syrian hinterland for which there was no special name, or in the narrower sense of the highlands of Palestine together with the more distant hinterland of Phœnicia including Coelesyria. Müller adds that this more general sense of Syria-Palestine probably existed in the Middle Kingdom. This has been denied by Lévy<sup>2</sup> who accuses Müller, perhaps rightly, of pushing back into the Middle Kingdom the later meanings of the word Retenu. According to Lévy Retenu is applied in the XII Dynasty only to the desert country north of Sinai, in fact to that very land-bridge of which we spoke at the outset, which separates Egypt from Southern Palestine. In the New Kingdom the signification of the name was altered and it became a general term for Syria, Lower Retenu being the valley of the Orontes and the region of Aleppo, Upper Retenu (or Retenu alone) the interior of Central and South Syria, including Palestine.

This limitation of the Middle Kingdom meaning of the word seems to me little more than hypothesis. I cannot see that the presence of a brother of the Prince of Retenu with an Egyptian mining expedition in Sinai *proves* either that Retenu was immediately adjacent to the Sinai peninsula or that it did not extend into Palestine or Syria, nor does it seem wise to rely on the descriptions of Sinuhe's travels as serious geographical evidence.

In the present state of our knowledge it seems impossible to pronounce definitely upon the position of the country known to the

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Prince of Retenu, Khebbeded." Thus the evidence that Sinai was part of Retenu reduces itself to the mere fact that a brother of the Prince of Retenu Khebbed by name, accompanied the Egyptian expedition. This does not amount to proof. This same Khebbed is mentioned in one or two other Sinaitic inscriptions as yet unpublished.

<sup>1</sup> *Asien und Europa*, pp. 143-7.    <sup>2</sup> *Sphinx*, IX, 70 ff.



separated by Müller from Mentiu,<sup>1</sup> which is simply a later writing, are probably the Asiatics who inhabit those portions of Asia immediately adjacent to Egypt, namely Sinai, the desert north of Sinai, and perhaps southern Palestine.

Having cleared out of the way these preliminary difficulties or, to be more correct, having stated the problems involved by them, we can now proceed to our main concern.

### THE ARCHAIC PERIOD

We have no evidence for any direct connection between Egypt and Asia in the predynastic period. Arguments based on the presence in Egyptian predynastic tombs of substances supposed to have an Asiatic origin, such as lapis lazuli, should be accepted with extreme caution. It is true that no deposits of lapis are at present known in Egypt, but the fact that a mineral or stone is not now known to occur in a certain district is no proof either that it never occurred there or that it will not be discovered in the future.<sup>2</sup> The reference to Byblos in the Osiris legend, which is without doubt of very primitive origin, is a much better argument for early connection with the Syrian coast, though of exactly what nature it is impossible to say. In any case it is well to remember that we know nothing of the early history of the Delta, and for any evidence we have to the contrary the Eastern Delta may have had in remote times a population much more closely allied to that of Asia than to that of Egypt.


Coming to possible documentary evidence of connection with Asia in the Archaic Period we have first of all to deal with the ivory plaque of King Den of the I Dynasty, now in the Macgregor collection. On this the king is seen smiting a bearded enemy, a scene destined to play a great role in Egyptian art of the archaic and indeed of all periods.<sup>3</sup> The Egyptian monarch stands upright

<sup>1</sup> *Asien und Europa*, p. 23. This distinction is forced on him by his refusal to admit the use of Setet for Asia in the Middle Kingdom.

<sup>2</sup> A good example of this fallacy is to be seen in the case of the jadeite and chloromelanite of the neolithic celts in Italy, believed until 1900 to have been imported. In that year both materials were found to occur in the Alps and Apennines, and chemical examination showed that these were the actual sources used. *Atti del Congr. Int. di Sc. Stor.*, Roma, 1903, vol. V, pp. 357-71.

<sup>3</sup> Amélineau, *Nouvelles Fouilles d'Abydos*, I, pl. xxxiii.

with his left foot advanced and his club in the uplifted right hand; his left hand holds a long staff and also grasps by a lock of hair his enemy, who is on one knee imploring mercy. Behind the foe is the standard of the god Upwawet and beyond this again four hieroglyphs. Of these the first three are to be transcribed *sp tpy sk* "the first occasion of smiting." The fourth resembles quite closely the sign *i3bt* "the east."<sup>1</sup> If this reading is correct we have here the first evidence for a campaign against easterners, presumably Asiatics. Unfortunately the face of the vanquished foe is far too indistinct to enable us to determine his type exactly, and the short skirt which he wears is by no means decisive. We cannot therefore consider this plaque as quite decisive evidence for the existence of warfare between Egypt and Asia in the reign of Den.

Undecisive, too, is another piece of evidence often cited in support of the same contention, the so-called ivory gaming reed<sup>2</sup> from the tomb of King Qa at Abydos. Here we see represented a bearded captive with arms bound behind him, wearing a short skirt. Over his head is written the place name  Setet. Petrie declared that the figure was that of a Libyan, and has been roundly abused by subsequent writers for doing so. Thus Bates<sup>3</sup> thrusts on one side Petrie's explanation with the remark that the object bears an Asiatic ethnic (*sic*) and therefore the figure represents an Asiatic and not a Libyan. But here he makes an assumption for which he gives no justification, since Setet may, for all we know at present, just as well stand for the region of the First Cataract as for Asia in these early times. Moreover the figure itself seems to have remarkably close affinities to many of the Libyan types which figure on the plates of Bates' own book,<sup>4</sup> and should the objection be made that we do not expect to find Libyans in the region of the First Cataract it may be replied that it is still too early to dogmatize about the peoples who inhabited that district

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Beni Hasan*, III, fig. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, I, pl. xii and xvii, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> *The Eastern Libyans*, p. 118.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* pl. i and ii. I am not convinced, however, that Petrie is right in stating that the figure wears the side lock.

in the I Dynasty. At the same time, while we maintain that Bates has not proved his point, the same may be said of the opposite theory, that of Petrie.<sup>1</sup> It is wiser to leave the question open until earlier evidence as to the use of the name Setet comes to our rescue.<sup>2</sup> In the meantime we must be content to consider this evidence of an Asiatic war in the reign of Qa as indecisive.

This concludes our evidence from Egypt itself for the archaic period.<sup>3</sup> The inscription on a granite vase of Khasekhem,<sup>4</sup> sometimes mentioned as possible proof of an early war with Asia, in all probability refers to a rebellion of the Delta against the Kings of Upper Egypt.

Outside Egypt we have a certain amount of evidence in Sinai. It is well known that from an early date the Egyptians were wont to visit the peninsula for the sake of the *mfkꜣt*<sup>5</sup> found in its western valleys, notably the Wadi Maghâra and those in the vicinity of

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<sup>1</sup> Note that the figure does not show the pudendal sheath, which is seldom omitted in representations of Libyans. It might, however, be concealed by the skirt. A serious difficulty in all these discussions is that we have no early figures of Nubians, or if we have, we have not recognized them as such.

<sup>2</sup> von Bissing and E. Meyer declare themselves in favour of the Asiatic theory. See *von Bissing-Bruckmann* text to pl. 33a.

<sup>3</sup> I have omitted all reference to the supposed mentions of Asiatics (Aamu) in the inscription of Methen and in that of Neterkhet in Sinai because they do not amount to serious evidence. In the Methen inscription (Sethe *Urkunden*, I, 2, l. 7) the title is certainly to be read *hrp cꜣ* . . . . Controller of the gate of . . . . " and not *hrp cꜣ mt* or *cꜣmw* "Chief of the Asiatics." In the Neterkhet inscription from Sinai (No. 2 in the forthcoming publication of the Egypt Exploration Fund), the signs are too worn and the copy too uncertain to allow of our transcribing as Weill would do *iry cꜣ mt* "préposé aux Asiatiques" (*Sphinx*, IX, p. 65). The British Museum squeeze does not cover this part of the inscription. Foreign captives of perhaps more than one type appear on very early tablets (*Royal Tombs* II, pl. iv), but I see no evidence for considering them to be Asiatic.

<sup>4</sup> Quibell, *Hieraconpolis*, I, pl. xxxvii and xxxviii. That some very serious disturbance took place in Egypt about this time may be inferred perhaps from the fact that Perabsen places the Set animal over the *srekh* containing his name, in contradistinction to his predecessors, who used the Horus bird, while Khasekhem (Khasekhemui) unites the two.

<sup>5</sup> *Mfkꜣt* is apparently turquoise, but may also include other minerals of a light blue colour. See Weill in *Sphinx* VIII, p. 181, n. 2, Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, pp. 36, 41.

the Serâbît el Khâdim. The first record of these expeditions is the rock tablet left in the Wadi Maghâra by Semerkhet of the I Dynasty.<sup>1</sup> The king is shown smiting a bearded foreigner, who can hardly be other than a native of the peninsula itself or of some district through which the Egyptian expedition had to pass on its way to the mining valleys. We are not in a position to say whether this opening up of Sinai necessitated any military operations on a large scale. The naval officers mentioned in some of the early inscriptions may have been merely responsible for the transport arrangements; as for the *imyw rj ms<sup>c</sup>* usually rendered "generals" it should be remembered that the word *ms<sup>c</sup>* means the component members of an expedition, whether they be soldiers or civilians,<sup>2</sup> so that *imy rj ms<sup>c</sup>* means not necessarily "a general" but simply "a commander of an expedition." Under these circumstances the scenes of the Pharaoh striking down a foe may simply represent the occupation of certain portions of Sinai for the purposes of mining, rather than the undertaking of definite campaigns of conquest. Unfortunately the foe, whom we should expect to be a native of Sinai, is not named on the relief of Semerkhet nor yet on those of Sanekht of the II Dynasty and Neterkhet of the III. For light on this point we shall have to examine the inscriptions of the Old Kingdom in Sinai (see below).

### THE OLD KINGDOM

With the beginning of the IV Dynasty we find ourselves on firmer ground. Evidence from Sinai becomes much more frequent, though we have seen that there are strict limits to what can safely be inferred from it. The two tablets of Sneferu show us the king striking a bearded foe, but give us no name for the latter. On the finer tablet the king is merely said to "subdue the foreign lands." On the rock tablet of Khufu a similar scene is accompanied by the words "Smiting the Inu." After Inu some signs are lost and the British Museum squeeze preserves no

<sup>1</sup> Weill, *Recueil du Sinai*, No. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Petrie (*Researches in Sinai*, p. 117) has overlooked this when he speaks of the "734 soldiers" named in the inscription of the second year of Amenemhat III. All the Egyptian says is "Total of his personnel, 734" (Weill, *Recueil*, No. 20).

trace of their form. Inu (more correctly Iunut) is a word which has not entirely been cleared up. It would seem to be a generic name which covers a large number of the foreign tribes on various frontiers of Egypt, though on what grounds these are all included under the term we do not know.<sup>1</sup> It is therefore no surprise to find it in this inscription, especially as the name is frequently associated, in the compound Inu-Mentu, with that of the Mentu, who occur in other Sinaitic inscriptions, as, for example, in the next in chronological order, that of Sahura, who smites "the Mentu and<sup>2</sup> all countries and subdues all countries," and that of Neusera, who is said to smite "the Mentu<sup>2</sup> and all countries."<sup>3</sup> The same scene occurs on a tablet of Dadkara<sup>4</sup> with an uncertain inscription, and finally on that of Meryra Pepi who "smites and subdues the Mentu and<sup>2</sup> all lands." These facts make it quite clear that throughout the Old Kingdom Egypt's enterprises in the Sinai peninsula brought her into collision, on however small a scale, with Asiatic tribes, among whom were the Inu<sup>5</sup> (perhaps Inu Mentu was what originally stood on the Khufu tablet) and the Mentu.

Turning to Egypt itself we find some very definite evidence awaiting us. In the tomb of Anta at Deshasheh,<sup>6</sup> probably dating from the V Dynasty, is represented the siege by Egyptians of a town, the inhabitants of which are of the type identified on

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<sup>1</sup> See Naville's comprehensive article *Recueil de Travaux* XXXII, pp. 52 ff. Also Sethe's remarks in Borchardt, *Grabdenkmal des Sahure*, II Text, pp. 80—81.

<sup>2</sup> We might also translate "the Mentu of all countries."

<sup>3</sup> Weill, *Recueil* No. 9. His copy is incorrect at this point. See the forthcoming E. E. Fund publication.

<sup>4</sup> Weill, *Recueil* No. 14; incomplete and not quite accurate.

<sup>5</sup> Sethe points out that Inu used without qualification usually refers to Semites in early times. An earlier suggestion of mine to the effect that the smiting of the Inu might have no local reference here but merely be a scene descriptive of the wide power of the king in general now seems to me rather unlikely.

<sup>6</sup> Petrie, *Deshasheh*, pl. iv.

Egyptian monuments as Asiatic.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately the inscription which accompanied the scene is so destroyed that nothing can be gathered from it except the name of one of a list of captured(?) towns, which does not help us, for it has not been identified.

More satisfactory evidence has been discovered in the excavations at Abusir. On the walls of the covered passage which leads up from the valley temple of Neuserre to his pyramid temple are scenes showing the king in the form of a lion trampling on fallen enemies.<sup>2</sup> These foes are of at least three types, Libyans, Puntites and Asiatics. The inscriptions which accompanied the scenes have not survived. Similarly in the pyramid temple of Sahura we see various gods, including Nubty (Set) and the "Lord of the Foreign Lands" leading up prisoners before the king.<sup>3</sup> Here again we recognise clearly the three types Libyans, Puntites and Asiatics. With them are two other types closely resembling the bearded Asiatics but not quite identical with them. These may possibly represent some less known type of Asiatic.<sup>1</sup> Part of the accompanying inscription remains. It reads as follows, recording the words of the gods. "I have given thee all the *Sntw* together with all foods . . . and all good things that belong to me." "I have given thee all lands west and east, together with all the Inu and all the Mentu who are in every land." *Sntw* is a general word for "foreigners" or "rebels" and need not detain us here. The Mentu are doubtless the Asiatics shown

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<sup>1</sup> I do not know that anyone has ever specified the characteristics which enable one to pick out the Asiatics among foreigners on Egyptian monuments. Until the photographs of foreigners have been carefully worked out we have not the proper criteria, and in the meantime it is possible that some of our supposed Asiatics are not Asiatics at all. Still more hazardous does it seem to call them Semites, especially when they do not exhibit the very marked Semitic features. Unfortunately there is a great dearth of early representations of foreigners accompanied by their racial names. Moreover, though the Egyptians could, when they wished, represent the detail of foreign dress and type excellently, they did not always do so, as for example in the Mentuhetep relief, where no attempt is made to depict national characteristics and the three figures are virtually alike, except for the omission in one case of the feather in the hair.

<sup>2</sup> Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Neuserre*, pp. 46-49, pl. 8-12.

<sup>3</sup> Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahure*, pp. 18-21, pl. 5-8.

in the scene. The Inu may be either these or the unidentified figures; the term could hardly refer to the Libyans<sup>1</sup> or Puntites.

Another scene from the same temple<sup>2</sup> shows a number of boats returning to Egypt laden with Asiatic prisoners. In the centre of each boat is an Egyptian over whom is written the word (probably equivalent to the later *ḫꜣ* "an interpreter")<sup>3</sup>

The inscriptions of the great nobles of the VI Dynasty throw more detailed light on the question, though at the same time they raise some difficult problems. That of Weni<sup>4</sup> clearly records a series of important campaigns directed against the "Aamu who are upon the sand" (*ḫꜣmw ḥryw sꜣ*). It is very difficult to discover the exact whereabouts of these people. Weni collects a large army of many tens of thousands in various parts of Egypt, including Nubia. He then despatches it from the Northern Isle (*iw mḥty*), the Gate of Iyhotep (*šbꜣ 'Iyhtp*) and the district of the Horus Nebmaat (*wꜣrt nt Hr nb mꜣt*).<sup>5</sup> Judging from the first of these place names we are safe in placing them all in the Delta, but further than this we cannot go. The army returned victorious from this, as also from four (possibly five) subsequent campaigns against the same enemy. Finally a more serious rebellion seems to have necessitated a campaign on a grander scale. Weni took his old army across in boats and landed at the "highland end of the mountain ridge (*phw kꜣww n tst*) on the north of the country of the Sand-dwellers." This undertaking, like its predecessors, ended in a complete success for the Egyptian arms. The details

<sup>1</sup> Naville, however, speaks of Inu of Libya (*Inw Thnw*) who seem to be mentioned in an inscription *Der el Bahari, XVIII Dyn. Temple*, plate 160. Sethe does not include the Libyans under the head of Inu, whom he takes to be the nomads of Sinai, of the region between the Nile and the Red Sea, and of Nubia. The passage quoted by Naville is certainly not decisive since instead of translating as he would, "The Inu of *Thnw* (Libya) have fallen," we might take *hrn 'Inw* as a complete sentence and *Thnw* as the subject of a following nominal clause the rest of which is lost. "The Inu have fallen and Libya . . ." For *Thnw* see Newberry's article in *Ancient Egypt*, 1915, pp. 97 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Borchardt, *op. cit.*, pl. 12. <sup>3</sup> Gardiner, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1915, pp. 117, ff.

<sup>4</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden I*, 101-4.

<sup>5</sup> Weill, *Sphinx VIII*, pp. 185 ff. and Breasted, *Ancient Records I*, p. 143, note d, identify this with the Island of Sneferu of the Sinuhe story. This must be regarded as a pure conjecture.

of these campaigns are doubtful, but the general sense is clear. The "Asiatics who dwell on the sand" must be placed somewhere on the desert land north of the Sinai peninsula. The land campaigns against them set out from some unknown point in the Delta. These having failed to subdue them Weni conceived the idea of transporting his army by sea<sup>1</sup> and effecting a landing in their rear. Maspero places the point of disembarkation somewhere between Gaza and Lake Serbonis, to which Breasted makes the objection, perhaps justified, that there is no mountain ridge (*tst*) in that region, and himself supposes that the landing was made further north, on the coast of Southern Palestine, where the highlands begin. However this may be there is little doubt as to the rough position of the land of the Sand-dwellers and we may infer that in the VI Dynasty Egypt was still at war with the Asiatics on her very frontiers, showing that, whatever was the nature of the campaigns so boastfully commemorated in the temple reliefs of the preceding dynasty, they did not amount to a lasting conquest of any part of Asia.

Further information as to the whereabouts of the Sand-dwellers is given by another inscription of the VI Dynasty, that of Pepinekht, from his tomb at Elephantine.<sup>2</sup> Pepinekht says "Now the majesty of my lord sent me to the land of the Aamu to bring away for him (the body of) the unique friend, overseer of interpreters Anankhta, who had been building a boat there for Punt when the Aamu of the Sand-dwellers slew him together with the troop of soldiers which was with him." The phrase *ꜥ3mw nw hryw sꜥ* "Aamu consisting of" or "belonging to the sand-dwellers" is manifestly identical with the *ꜥ3mw hryw sꜥ* of the Weni inscription, and as a boat destined for Punt could not have been built elsewhere than on the Red Sea these people must at this time have extended as far south as the north end of the Red Sea if not further.

Here ends our evidence for the Old Kingdom, at the conclusion of which period Egypt seems to have had no footing in Asia proper and even to have been far from mistress of the land immediately beyond her own frontiers.

<sup>1</sup> It is hardly likely that the water crossed by Weni was merely one of the lakes of the north eastern Delta. <sup>2</sup> Sethe *Urkunden I*, 131-5.

## THE VII TO X DYNASTIES

A few years ago it would have been mere folly to venture on any statement as to the relations of Egypt and Asia during this first obscure intermediate period, of which so little is known even in Egypt itself. Of late, however, evidence has come to light which enables us to state with comparative certainty that this period, like the Later Intermediate Period (XIII to XVII Dynasties), was marked by considerable Asiatic incursions into the Delta. The real clue, as Gardiner has shown,<sup>1</sup> lies in the newly published St. Petersburg papyrus 1116 b, the recto of which contains a prophecy in literary form. The prophet Neferrohu describes a lamentable state of things which shall exist in Egypt. He adds "For foes are in the east, and Asiatics (*c3mw, styw*) shall descend into Egypt." After much further description of the horrors of this time a saviour is foretold "There is a king shall come from the south whose name is Ameny . . . . The Asiatics (*c3mw*) shall fall by his sword . . . . There shall be built the Wall of the Prince so as not to allow the Asiatics (*c3mw*) to go down into Egypt." Now fortunately we can identify this saviour, for in the first place Ameny is a common abbreviation for Amenemhat, and in the second this "Wall of the Prince" is stated in the Story of Sinuhe<sup>2</sup> to have been built by Amenemhat I, the first king of the XII Dynasty, to keep off the Asiatics (*styw*) and to crush the Sand-farers (*nmyw-s<sup>c</sup>*). The exact position of the wall is unknown, though Kùthmann gives some reason for believing that it lay somewhere near Tell el Retabeh near the mouth of the Wadi Tumilat.<sup>3</sup> The importance of the facts revealed by this papyrus cannot be overestimated. We may quote Gardiner's own words on the point. "This fact demonstrates beyond all possibility of contradiction the thesis that I have now frequently upheld, namely that the period between the Old and Middle Kingdoms<sup>4</sup> witnessed considerable and historical Asiatic

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* I, pp. 105-6.

<sup>2</sup> Sinuhe B. 17 (=R. 42) and the variants of G. and C. Also B. 72-3 and Gardiner's notes to these passages. <sup>3</sup> *Die Ostgrenze Aegyptens*, p. 34.

<sup>4</sup> By an unfortunate *lapsus calami* Gardiner has written "between the Middle and New Kingdoms." The correction is obvious.

incursions into the fertile and therefore much coveted Valley of the Nile. At the same time it should be remembered that Neferrohu speaks avowedly only in reference to the eastern Delta, so that the Asiatic aggressions might, so far as the evidence of this papyrus goes, have been confined to that region."

This is strongly confirmed by a passage in the other new St. Petersburg papyrus 1116 a.<sup>1</sup> In this papyrus a king whose name is lost is giving advice to his son, Merykara, who is a known ruler of the Herakleopolitan house (IX and X Dynasties). In a long and obscure passage<sup>2</sup> he deals with the character of the Aamu, describes how he himself defeated them "I caused the North-land to smite them, I carried captive their inhabitants, I plundered their cattle." This is followed by a paragraph of instructions as to the fortification of the north-eastern frontier of Egypt, and from the whole we gather that even if the Aamu were not at the time in possession of any part of the Delta they were a foe to be feared and provided against.

Our evidence does not even end here. The Leiden papyrus 344 contains on the recto a remarkable literary production now known as the Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage. The whole reminds us very much of the former of the two St. Petersburg papyri just described. The beginning, which is lost, apparently related how a certain wise man, Ipuwer by name, was brought before the king. He proceeds to unfold a dismal story of the state of Egypt at some period not actually specified. The chief indications given are that there are foreigners (*h3styw*) in the Delta and civil war throughout Egypt. The papyrus itself was written in the beginning of the XIX Dynasty, but Gardiner shows good reason for supposing it to have been copied from an earlier papyrus dating not later than the beginning of the XVIII Dynasty. More than this, the work links up very closely with certain others known to date from the XII Dynasty, such as the *Lebensmüde* and the writing board 5645 in the British Museum,<sup>3</sup> and, had it not been that six years ago we knew of no earlier Asiatic invasion than those of the Hyksos in the XIII to XVII Dynasties, we are inclined

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of Eg. Arch.* I. pp. 20 ff.    <sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 30-32.

<sup>3</sup> Gardiner, *Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, pp. 17-18.

to think that Gardiner would have boldly declared himself for the earlier date of composition.<sup>1</sup> In any case now that we have evidence from other quarters as to an earlier invasion of Asiatics (VII—X Dynasties) we need have no hesitation in taking the Admonitions to be a work of the XII Dynasty referring to that event, still fresh in the memory of the Egyptians.

We thus see the reasons which caused the obscurity in which this Earlier Intermediate Period (VII to X Dynasties) has always been wrapped. Not only was it a period of internal confusion but it was also a period of foreign invasion. It thus forms quite a close parallel to the Later Intermediate Period (XIII to XVII Dynasties) though it is impossible for us at present to say whether the Asiatics of the earlier period managed to establish themselves so thoroughly in Egypt or to set up so firm a government as did their Hyksos descendants.

### THE MIDDLE KINGDOM

Just as in the Later Intermediate Period it needed a long series of campaigns under Sekenenra, Kames and Aahmes to drive out the Hyksos, so too in the Earlier Intermediate Period the work of expulsion was doubtless gradual, even though the enemy may have had a lighter hold on the country. Thus according to the St. Petersburg papyrus the saviour of Egypt is Amenemhat I; yet we know that under the XI Dynasty the process of expulsion had already begun. The beginning of the XI Dynasty is marked by the rise of a strong line of rulers in Thebes who gradually succeeded in asserting their lordship over the rival kinglets of other towns. As far as we can ascertain they had little power in the delta, owing doubtless to the presence there of the Asiatics,<sup>2</sup> and for the same reason they have left no records of mining enterprise in Sinai, such signs in fact having ceased with Pepi II of the VI Dynasty.<sup>3</sup> One of these kings, a Mentuhetep, has left

<sup>1</sup> In his concluding notes on the writing board he shows the strong probability of earlier invasions having taken place, *op. cit.*, pp. III-12.

<sup>2</sup> And doubtless, in the earlier part of the dynasty at least, to the strength of the Heracleopolitan chiefs whose sphere of power lay between Thebes and the Delta.

<sup>3</sup> A quadruple statue found in the temple of the Serâbît el Khâdim in Sinai

some fragments of a temple near Gebelen on which he is represented as striking down an Egyptian captive, the reference being doubtless to his victories over his Egyptian rivals.<sup>1</sup> Behind the Egyptian are other foes whom he has conquered, Nubians, Libyans and Asiatics (*Šttyw*). The short inscription refers to the conquest of Egypt itself and of the foreign lands in precisely the same terms. Here then we have indisputable reference to war with the Asiatics, though whether it took place in Asia or in the Delta we are not told.

Other evidence from this dynasty is to be found in the temple of Mentuhetep Nebhepetra at Der el Bahri. In several fragments of the painted reliefs from the temple walls foreigners of the bearded type generally taken to be Asiatic are represented, though they are mostly too mutilated to admit of certain identification.<sup>2</sup> The legends accompanying these scenes have not survived, but a fragment of an inscription recording a war makes mention both of the Aamu and of the Mentu.<sup>3</sup> This war may, like that recorded at Gebelen, be a part of the fight which regained for Egypt full possession of the Delta.

That the expulsion of the Asiatics was complete at the beginning of the XII Dynasty is clear from the building by Amenemhat I of the Prince's wall referred to above. This wall, out on the extreme frontier, could only be built after the enemy had been entirely expelled, and its purpose was to prevent a repetition of the incursions, a purpose in which, as we know from later history, it was not altogether successful.

The war of expulsion of the Hyksos in the XVII Dynasty was followed by a war of aggression and conquest by the Egyptians in Syria and Palestine. Can we find a parallel punitive expedition after the war which drove out the Asiatics in the XI Dynasty?

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and dedicated by Senusret I represents the dedicator, his father Amenemhat I, Nebhepetra of the XI Dynasty and Sneferu. It is doubtful whether we can infer from this that Nebhepetra was ever active in Sinai, though the inclusion of Sneferu in the group was certainly due to his mining activities in this region.

<sup>1</sup> von Bissing-Bruckmann, pl. 33a.

<sup>2</sup> Naville and Hall, *Der el Bahari, XI Dyn. Temple*, Vol. I, pl. xiv, xv.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 5.

Probably not. Evidence is not wanting to show that collision with the Asiatic peoples occurred during the XII Dynasty, but we have no proof that the attitude of Egypt was much more than actively defensive or that she meditated serious conquest in Asia.<sup>1</sup> It is evident that the road to Sinai was now cleared, for the XII Dynasty kings have left there a long series of stelai recording successful expeditions in quest of *mefkat*.<sup>2</sup> The inscriptions are all concerned purely with the mining work of the expeditions, and do not mention any military exploits, even if such were necessary, as is very unlikely.

The most definite piece of evidence for a XII Dynasty campaign against Asia is the stela of Sebek-khu found by Garstang at El Arabah some years ago.<sup>3</sup> The career of this warrior extended over the reigns of three successive kings, Amenemhat II, Senusret III and Amenemhat III, in whose ninth year he was still living.<sup>4</sup> The passage dealing with the war in Asia is as follows: "His majesty went down the Nile to overthrow the Mentu of Setet. His majesty arrived at a region whose name is Sekmem. His majesty made a prosperous beginning of returning to the Residence of Life, Prosperity and Health (*i.e.*, his palace in Egypt). Then Sekmem fell (upon him?) together with the vile land of Retenu, while I was acting as rearguard. Then the soldiers of the army came to close quarters to fight with the Asiatics (Aamu). I smote an Asiatic and caused his arms to be taken by two soldiers of the army without ceasing from combat, my face pressed on, and I did not turn my back before an Asiatic." There are serious difficulties of translation, but they do not affect the main facts, which are that the king led an army against the Mentu and penetrated as far as Sekmem. This place (it is not called a city) was joined by the land of Retenu, and the people of the two together are described under the common name of Aamu. The

<sup>1</sup> The passage Sinuhe B. 72 is a distinct corroboration of this if Gardiner's excellent rendering of it is adopted. At the same time we are not justified in taking the conversation of which it forms a part too seriously.

<sup>2</sup> Weill, *Recueil du Sinai*, Nos. 20-41, 49-83.

<sup>3</sup> Garstang, *El Arabah*, pl. iv. and v; *The Stela of Sebek-khu. Manchester Museum Handbooks*.

<sup>4</sup> This is clear from the Semneh inscription, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 139b.

whereabouts of this combat are unknown to us. Of the position of Retenu we have already spoken. Max Müller has attempted to identify Sekmem with Shechem,<sup>1</sup> alleging that it is a plural *Nisbe*-form, Sik(e)miyim, "men of Sikem," the Egyptians having mistaken the name of the inhabitants for the name of the place itself and further contracted it into Sik(e)mîm. If this were correct we should have evidence here for an Egyptian campaign as far into Asia as Middle Palestine, but unfortunately Müller's derivation of Sekmem is nothing more than a mere hypothesis, and not a very likely one. It is far more probable that Sekmem is to be sought in Southern Palestine or even nearer to the Egyptian frontier.

The famous pectoral of Amenemhat III confirms the evidence afforded by this stela of warfare with Asia.<sup>2</sup> On it the king strikes down two bearded foreigners each of whom holds in his hand a short dagger.<sup>3</sup> Over and under each figure is written "The striking of the Mentu, the smiting of the Asiatics (*Sttyw*)." Here we have an instance of the general use of Setetiu to comprise all Asiatics including the Mentu.

An inscription in the tomb of a certain Khnumhetep at Beni Hasan preserves a further trace of these events.<sup>4</sup> Unluckily it is badly damaged and difficult to read. "I embarked with his majesty in 20 ships of cedar wood. He came . . . ; he had driven him out from the Two Lands (Egypt) . . . The Setetiu fell; . . ."

An equally tantalising reference occurs in the stela of Nesumentu now in the Louvre.<sup>5</sup> This stela dates in all probability from the 24th year of Amenemhat I. Nesumentu says "I overthrew (?) the Inu Mentu . . . Sand-dwellers." Unfortunately a word is damaged after Mentu and this makes it impossible to seize the connection of the whole. Inu and Mentu may be separate or they may be the compound Inu-Mentu. The damaged word may have

<sup>1</sup> *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*, vi, 1903, pp. 448-9.

<sup>2</sup> De Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, 1894, pl. xxi.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. a similar short dagger in the hand of a figure used to determine the word Mentu (*Mntyw*) in an inscription from Der el Bahri (*Rec. de Travaux*, xxxii, p. 58). <sup>4</sup> *Beni Hasan*, I, pl. xlv.

<sup>5</sup> Louvre C. I. See *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*, 1900, 47-8; *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, xxi, 153 ff.

been Setiu, Setetiu or Aamu. Conjecture is worth little, but the reference to fighting against Asiatics is certain.

Besides these direct references there are several allusions which, though less definite, point in the same direction. In a well known tomb at Beni Hasan<sup>1</sup> is seen a procession of Aamu "brought by the prince (*h3ty-c*) on account of green eye paint." They are described as Aamu of Shu and they are led by a certain Ibsha, who bears the title of "Ruler of the Deserts" or "Foreign Lands," a title borne later, it will be remembered, by several of the Hyksos kings. These men wear a slight beard; they are armed with clubs, axes and spears, and wear highly ornamental coloured garments consisting either of a short kilt or of a long cloak reaching from the shoulders almost to the ankles. This scene is not to be taken as a proof of warfare between Egypt and Syria; it may be simply a sign of trade relations, the Egyptians exchanging their own products for the green eye paint of Asia. In other Beni Hasan tombs<sup>2</sup> bearded foreigners, possibly Asiatics, are shown in scenes of fighting, but the types are not clear and we can hardly draw any conclusion from them.

Another possible indirect reference to an Asian campaign has been pointed out by Blackman.<sup>3</sup> In the tomb of Tahutihetep at El Bersheh 'is a scene representing cattle being led to the numbering. Over it is a partly damaged inscription which Blackman very plausibly translates as follows "Utterance of . . . the cattle of Retenu during the counting(?). Ye (once) trod the sand, (now) ye walk on herbage," the point of the remark being to bring out the contrast between the hard life of these captured cattle in their old home in Asia, which the Egyptians often regarded as a sandy desert country, and their present happy lot on the fertile black lands of Egypt. If the reading "cattle of Retenu" is correct<sup>4</sup> we

<sup>1</sup> *Beni Hasan*, I, pl. xxviii, xxxi. <sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* I, pl. xvi, xlvii; II, pl. v, xv.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* II, 13 ff. <sup>4</sup> *El Bersheh*, I, pl. xviii.

<sup>5</sup> It is difficult to see how this translation could be avoided, though owing to the preceding lacuna it cannot be regarded as absolutely certain, and the omission of the country determinative after *Rtnw* is curious. After the introductory *dd mdw in* "utterance of" the words on the right, *smšw kšw*, "the herdsman," are of course to be read. It is perhaps a little bold to ascribe the campaign which produced these cattle to the reign of Senusret

almost certainly have here a reference to booty carried off in some campaign in Asia. We may date this campaign in all probability not later than the reign of Senusret III, in or shortly after whose reign Tahutihetep died, according to Newberry's calculation.

To these indirect allusions we may add a point noted by Gardiner, namely that under the XII Dynasty the title Aam is used for a particular kind of servant, especially in the temples.<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to believe that large numbers of Asiatics voluntarily came to Egypt and filled positions of this sort, and it may well be that we have here an allusion to the slaves brought into the country as a result of the successful warfare against Asia.

We have reached the end of our task and all that remains is shortly to sum up our results. We have seen that our quest has at many points been hampered by uncertainty as to the exact meaning of place and people names, due, doubtless, partly to a want of clearness in the minds of the Egyptians themselves and partly to gradual extensions and changes of meaning. Despite these difficulties we have been able to establish certain broad facts. The Egyptians could hardly be called a warlike people, especially in the early stages of their history. They inhabited a fertile and easily defended country, and their chief concern was and always must be agriculture. They had, however, the misfortune to lie directly on the land-bridge which unites Asia to Africa, and as a consequence they had to defend themselves against those expansions of Semites from Arabia<sup>2</sup> which from time to time completely altered the history of Nearer Asia and the Euphrates

III without reserve. It is true that the military career of Sebek-khu probably fell entirely into that reign, for in the biographical portion of his stela we can hardly avoid reading the 5 horizontal lines after the 12 vertical lines below them, despite the extraordinary nature of this arrangement, in which case the Asiatic war must have been his last military exploit. Since at the accession of Amenemhat III he was, though still alive, probably too old to fight, his age being about 65, we may with comparative safety place this campaign in the reign of Senusret III. But there may well have been other campaigns in the XII Dynasty and it may be to one of these that the cattle represented in Tahutihetep's tomb were due. If Retenu yielded cattle in any numbers it could hardly be the desert north of Sinai, and is more likely to have been the southern part of Palestine. If we speak of a Syrian campaign we should understand Syria in the widest sense, in which it includes Palestine.

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *Admonitions*, p. 112, note 4. <sup>2</sup> See Myres, *Dawn of History*, Ch. V.

valley. Fortunately the main force of these movements seems to have spent itself in Asia, and what the Egyptians had to meet was probably a mere side current. However this may be, one of the chief duties of every Egyptian monarch from the earliest times seems to have been the adequate defence of the eastern frontier of the Delta. Whenever internal dissension caused that duty to be neglected, as in the periods which followed the VI and the XII Dynasties respectively, the Asiatics automatically broke through at the weak point and flooded the eastern Delta, if not more considerable portions of Egypt.

Thus the early policy of Egypt with regard to Asia was probably one of active defence. Her early campaigns were no doubt directed against the nomadic tribes who threatened to invade her eastern frontier or who barred her way to the turquoise mines of Sinai. We cannot fix the scene of the fighting which took place in the V Dynasty, though we should hardly expect to find fortified towns among the nomads of the desert north of Sinai, and it may be that the kings of this dynasty penetrated as far as Southern Palestine. The VI Dynasty finds Egypt still engaged in repelling the nomads, and possibly landing men as far away as the coast of Palestine in order to achieve that end. After this the defence fails and Asia breaks into Africa. The rise of a strong government in Egypt under the rulers of the Middle Kingdom brings about a clearance of the Asiatics from the Delta and the building of the Prince's Wall, still, be it noted, a measure of defence rather than of attack. The occasional references to fighting with the Asiatics in the XII Dynasty need refer to nothing more than frontier affairs, with the exception of the account given on the stela of Sebek-khu, which records an offensive, but not necessarily further north than southern Palestine. In all this there is no sign of conquest for conquest sake.

At the end of the XII Dynasty the internal constitution of Egypt once more broke down. Once more the penalty was paid, and the Asiatic hordes broke through the eastern frontier and established the so-called Hyksos domination in Egypt, a domination only ended, like its forerunner of the VII to X Dynasties, by the rise of a strong line of rulers in Thebes.

## THE BEGINNINGS OF RELIGION

BY T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, D.Sc., F.B.A.

A CONSIDERABLE number of books have appeared in the last few years discussing in one way or another either the beginnings of religion generally, or the beginnings of one or other of those conceptions held by the writers to be part and parcel of primitive religion.

The main argument in these discussions follows usually one of two lines. The first of these takes the beliefs and practices of modern savages as its basis. The second takes some one of the ancient religions—most often the Greek—as its basis; uses the beliefs and practices of modern savages as a kind of commentary to explain the ancient faith in question and then draws conclusions as to priority among beliefs.

It is comparatively easy to decide which of these two methods is to be preferred. The former method lays itself open to several objections. Primitive men were doubtless savage. But the term is both vague and obscure. There are as many degrees and kinds of savagery as there are of civilisation. It has been maintained—and there is much to be said in favour of the proposition—that modern civilisation (by which we mean, of course, European civilisation), is often only barbarism with a veneer of culture. And even that culture is found to rhyme sometimes with vulture. Is the possession of electric cars and tall hats and eighty-ton guns, not to mention other similar signs of artistic and spiritual pre-eminence, evidence of a high grade of civilisation? No one would maintain that any particular belief or practice proved to exist among any one of the numerous tribes of savages to-day was therefore necessarily to be found also among primitive men. How can we take for granted that even the general mental attitude of

modern savages bears any close resemblance to that of men half a million years ago? It is no answer at all to dispute as to the number of years we have to consider. That is certainly very large. The anthropologists and geologists who discuss the point speak by preference not of centuries, nor even of millenniums, but of æons of periods indeterminate indeed, but in any case immense. And the mental attitude of savages is neither permanent nor stable. The more we know of the beliefs of any group or nationality among them the more clear is the evidence that there has been a constant change, slow but very sure, both in their beliefs and in their customs. That is now known of certain groups in Australia, in North America, in the South Seas, in India, and among the Malays. How difficult it is for us to understand this constantly varying mentality of the savages now living! We do not even understand the mental attitude of the peoples most nearly allied to ourselves in race, in education, in customs and in inherited culture.

Lord Bryce, in the last presidential address to the British Academy, very rightly says:

“How ignorant modern peoples, with all the abundant means of information at their disposal may nevertheless remain of one another’s character and purposes! Each of the nations now at war has evidently had a false notion of its adversaries, and has been therefore misled. It has not known their inner thoughts, it has misread their policy.”

How much more unlikely that we should be able to read the hearts and predicate the actions of peoples so remote, so different from ourselves! And how inexpugnable the self-confidence which would go further still, and deduce from our imperfect and doubtful knowledge of the savages now living conclusions about the inner feelings of those who lived under divers conditions many hundreds of centuries ago!

But surely (it may be objected) human nature is always and everywhere the same! Not at all (would be the rejoinder). The other half of that half-truth is the more important of the two. The main ingredients of human nature—hunger, and fear, and the cravings of sex, and the endless bondage to the influence of

environment and many more—are no doubt always there. But they are mingled in different proportions, they obsess the mind in different degrees. The compound of them—and it is the compound that is human nature—is never the same. Is it scientific to lay so much stress on the likenesses as to forget the differences?

This method may be called the psychological method; the method of determining from our supposed knowledge of human nature, and especially of human nature among modern savages, what men in early times *must have* felt and thought. Untrammelled by consideration of time and space it affords scope for the imagination, and has produced some most attractive writing. The conclusions reached are strikingly diverse, and even contradictory—a fact of much significance, and calmly acknowledged by each new wanderer on this desert road.

The other method may be called rather the historical method. By it the endeavour is made to ascertain, not what early men must have thought, but what the earliest men whose records we possess *did, as a matter of fact, actually think*. Perhaps the most useful and suggestive, certainly the shortest and clearest book, illustrative of this method, is Foucart's history of religions as exemplified by the history of religion in Egypt. The very ancient beliefs and practices recorded on the Egyptian tombs are utilised to throw light on those of modern savages. The reverse process is seldom employed. The psychological method is ignored. Data from other ancient religions are referred to in support of the conclusions reached. It is unfortunate that though the secret mysteries of the later Egyptian faith have often been extravagantly praised, little or no precise evidence of what these mysterious doctrines really were is extant. For the higher forms of religious faith not much help therefore is to be hoped for from Egypt. And as the extant records are almost entirely confined to those found upon tombs, they are only partial even as regards religious beliefs in the early periods. That is, of course, the case with all our ancient records in China, India, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Asia Minor and Europe. There is not even any attempt at completeness. But that is surely no reason for the neglect of the evidence we have. M. Foucart has shown, with admirable lucidity

and saneness of judgment, how excellent are the results to be gathered from his own department. And when we call to mind that we have independent evidence, expressed for us in their own language by the peoples themselves, not only of beliefs held and practices carried out, but of the developments and changes that have occurred over great periods of time, we can realise that by this method real and permanent progress may be reasonably expected in many of the most important problems now awaiting solution.

Considerations of space alone prevent us from giving here examples of the kind of steps which can already be taken towards this end. One or two remarks may however be allowed. A great deal has been written on the question whether religion or magic be the older and to which of them we should ascribe the beginnings of religion. That depends on what is meant by "religion" and what by "magic." Each of these is a European word with a long history; and the connotations, the under- and over-tones, involved in each, are as numerous as their history is long. The consequence is a very remarkable diversity in the numerous attempts that have been made to define them. There are at least a score of definitions of each, contradictory to each other, and often contradictory to the very usage of the distinguished scholars who have made them. Under these circumstances the controversy tends to lapse into an endless logomachy, leading to no accepted result. This is a pity, for the point is in some respects of the first importance. Can we not, so to speak, turn its flank, so as to arrive at some definite conclusion?

I think we can if we follow the historical method. In the oldest documents discovered in the oldest seats of civilisation we find expression of two hypotheses used to explain the mysteries of life. The one is the hypothesis of a soul—a semi-material minute being supposed to dwell within the body, and at the death of the body to continue a life of its own. There is no need to enlarge upon this theme. The hypothesis and its corollaries have been summed up in the word Animism now so well known. The other conception is that of a power or efficacy necessarily adherent in certain

things (sometimes in humans), and entirely independent of the souls, and of their corollaries, the gods.

These two ideas are really contradictory; and bear a relation, one to the other, akin in many ways to our terms "subjective" and "objective." For the second we have no word in English. I have called it, in my lectures at Manchester on Comparative Religion, Normalism. Its importance may be realised from the fact that (just as Animism is the basis of all the old polytheisms and mythologies, and has led up to some of the noblest ideas in the higher religions) so Normalism is at the basis in China of Taoism, in India of Karma and Dhammata, and therefore of Buddhism; and in both of these centres of ancient thought, and in other centres further west, of a multitude of details and ideas not explicable by Animism.

Now we have no evidence in these ancient documents of any priority as between these two hypotheses. We have no evidence that the two were kept distinct in the minds of those who composed the documents. Both are constantly found in the same ceremonies. Both are concerned with what we should now deem supernatural, but what the composers of the documents looked upon as quite natural. It is as necessary for the progress of our studies to have some scientific term, undisturbed by modern popular usage, for the one as for the other. The term Normalism, suggesting the action of a law independent of a personality covers the facts, and would answer our purpose. An objection to it is that we are of opinion there was no such law. Quite so. But the ancients held the opposite view, and the term proposed has the advantage of emphasising the fact that they did.

Now Normalism and Animism are not the same as Magic and Religion, but the two together cover very nearly the same phenomena. Of Normalism and Animism we can say for certain, on the historical evidence, that they are inseparable as far back as our evidence carries us.<sup>1</sup> Ought we to desire any further answer? I venture to think not. We know how many theologies have come to grief in their attempts to determine, on

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<sup>1</sup> This is exactly what Mr. Hartland (*Ritual and Belief*, 94) says of Magic and Religion.

insufficient evidence, the beginnings and ends of things. And the only hope for a steady progress in our young science is to abandon, for the present at least, a similar attempt; and to be content to trace, with due reference always to place and time, the relationships, and the never ceasing gradual change, of the phenomena we can ascertain by evidence on which reliance can be placed.

## ORIENTAL TOMBS AND TEMPLES

By G. ELLIOT SMITH, M.A., M.D., F.R.S.

THE above was the title of an address given to the Egyptian and Oriental Society. When the title was chosen it was my intention to examine certain features of the tombs and temples of Babylonia, India, Eastern Asia, Oceania and America for the purpose of calling attention to the identity of the conception underlying their construction with that of Ancient Egyptian architecture, which certainly was developed upon the banks of the Nile, and to use these data as a demonstration of the fact that the primary inspiration to erect such monuments must have been derived from Egypt. But in the course of my investigations so much information came to light not merely in confirmation of my general thesis but also defining with remarkable exactness the times and the circumstances of the spread of culture that it became necessary to devote three lectures to the exposition of my views. In my address to our own Society I dealt chiefly with the features of the monuments which are scattered along the track of the great wanderers who set out from the Eastern Mediterranean some time perhaps in the eighth century B.C. The second of the series of addresses took the form of a communication to the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society and dealt especially with the evidence supplied by the custom of embalming. This has now been published under the title "The Migrations of Early Culture."<sup>1</sup> In the third address, which was delivered at the Rylands Library and is now being published in the Bulletin of that institution, I gathered together the threads of the arguments set forth in the earlier lectures and dealt

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<sup>1</sup> Manchester University Press, 1915.

with certain general aspects of the problems of the easterly spread of culture and the origin of the Pre-Columbian civilization of America.

It was hardly necessary for me to explain to the Society my hypothesis concerning the origin and development of the Egyptian types of tombs and temples, and how these monuments became the prototypes of that remarkable series of widespread memorials of the past which are commonly designated "megalithic." For during the last four years I had annually expounded my heterodox ideas on this subject and attempted to justify them to members of our Society.

In the introductory part of my address I called attention to the enormous complexity and artificiality of the culture-complex of which megalith-building was merely one item. An enumeration of most of the remarkable collection of strange practices, customs and beliefs, which were thus linked together in a purely arbitrary fashion to form a very complicated structure, will be found in my communication to the Literary and Philosophical Society, *op. cit. supra*, and need not be repeated here. The mass of corroborative detail which all these other items provide not only establishes the unquestionable reality of the migrations, which explain the similarities of the monuments discussed in the present lecture, but also enables us to determine the times at which the influence spread from one country to the other.

Last year I discussed the origin of the dolmen (see *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, 1913-14, p. 10) from the Egyptian *mastaba* of the Old Kingdom, and explained that there was no feature of these much-discussed and enigmatical monuments which did not become intelligible. Even such hitherto cryptic details as the "holed-stone" and the "cup-markings" become explicable when the dolmen is compared with the *mastaba*, as I have explained elsewhere. The "holed-stone" represents the wall (often provided with an aperture) which separates the *serdab* from the temple of offerings, the hole affording the means by which the deceased dwelling within the statue in the *serdab*

can magically pass into the temple-chamber and enjoy the food provided there, as well as the society of his friends. The "cup-markings" are symbolic of the food which the friends supply. They occur only in those places in the dolmen which are strictly homologous to the parts of the *mastaba* where food-offerings or pictures of such offerings (magically equivalent to the real food) are found. The people who made the dolmens, not being sufficiently skilled to make realistic representations of the food, such as the Egyptians were able to do, adopted another Egyptian convention that small saucer-like pots might also represent food, and made the so-called cup-marks in the places where the Egyptians depicted food-offerings. The occurrence of such arbitrary conventions as the "holed-stone" and "cup-markings" in dolmens ranging from the British Islands in the west as far as India in the east is proof of the most positive kind that these curious monuments throughout this extensive area were inspired by one idea, and the much greater antiquity and completeness of the Egyptian prototypes point conclusively to Egypt as the source of the inspiration to build them.

Those which are found in the Mediterranean area and western Europe are on the whole much cruder than some of those which are found in the Caucasus and India. There are reasons for believing that the Old Kingdom type of *mastaba* must have continued to be built, perhaps in some outlying part of the Egyptian dominions, for many centuries after it had given place in Egypt itself to other types of tomb-constructions; and that these survivals of the Pyramid Age were imitated by the people who dwelt in the Colchian region of the Black Sea littoral (see the writings of Chantre and De Morgan). It is a most remarkable and, in the light of the facts to which I have just called attention, most suggestive coincidence that in the Euterpe (Book II) of Herodotus the Colchians are said to be Egyptian in origin—to be in fact "the descendants of some of the troops of Sesostris." Moreover the excellent reasons given by Herodotus fully substantiate his statements.

It seems, then, that this Egyptian colony was responsible for

the construction of these dolmens of the Caucasus, which are among the most finished examples of such monuments. This is a most welcome confirmation of the hypothesis of their Egyptian origin. The essential identity of conception of the Indian and the western European dolmens, the striking resemblances between the two oriental series and the ruder construction of the western, all combine to suggest that in the seclusion of Colchis the practice of building this type of funerary monument persisted for many centuries after the Egyptian prototype ceased to be made, and that as trade-relations with the Black Sea developed the merchants of the Levant carried these Colchian practices to India on the one hand, as well as to the ruder peoples in the west on the other.

But by the time these events came to pass Egyptian architecture had developed out of all recognition, and perhaps the same merchant adventurers who spread the knowledge of these survivals of Old Kingdom types also took with them the more recent ideas which had grown up in Egypt in the times of the Middle Kingdom and the New Empire. For dolmens were not built in India until the commencement of the Iron Age or at the earliest immediately before then. But about the same time—in any case only a few years later—Dravidian temples, obviously imitations of the great Theban models, and rock-cut temples, equally certainly copies of New Empire Egyptian examples, began to make their appearance in India. It is altogether inconceivable that elaborate constructions, so essentially identical in general plan and in details of motive as, say, the Pagoda of Tiruvalar and any New Empire Theban temple or, again, the Indian rock-cut temples and, for example, the earlier (XIX Dynasty) Egyptian temple at Abu Simbel, could possibly have been invented independently the one of the other. Yet another type of Egyptian monument—the Pyramid—makes its appearance in India in the pre-Buddhist *Āgābas* or *topes*. This, however, like the dolmen, is not a case of direct transference of an Egyptian idea, but only after modification elsewhere, possibly in the *Ægean*.

But the Egyptian Pyramid exerted an influence in the east in other ways. Without entering into a discussion of the genetic

relationship between the Egyptian Pyramid and the Chaldean Ziggurat, I might refer to the facts that (1) the former was usually made of stone and the latter of brick, (2) that the temporary spiral causeway made for constructional purposes in the former often remained a permanent feature in the latter, and (3) that the Babylonian Pyramid was truncated and had a temple on its top.

The two-fold influence of Egypt and Babylonia is seen in the ancient buildings of India and Ceylon (for instance the *Sat-mahal-prasada*) and especially in the truncated Pyramids of Eastern Asia, Oceania and of the Pacific Coast and Isthmus of America.

The curious *mastaba*-like superstructure of the Betsileo tombs of Madagascar is very instructive as collateral evidence that in the Indian Ocean Egyptian influence played a considerable part in determining the plan of these Pyramid-like monuments.

But it was not only the latter type of Egyptian monument which spread further east than India. The Theban temple was imitated not only in India, but also, though much more crudely, in Fiji; and some of its most characteristic details, such as the complex symbolism of the sun's disc in association with the serpent and the hawk's wings, carved on the lintel of a temple-door, are found in Central America as well as in Egypt, Persia and elsewhere.

The dolmen and the stone circle occur widely distributed in Eastern Asia, Oceania and America.

The greater part of my address to the Egyptian and Oriental Society was taken up with demonstrating how certain features of temple construction were gradually emphasised in the course of time in Egypt until they became its most obtrusive and distinctive characters. Thus the conception of the door between the chamber of offerings and the *serdab* as the means of communication between the living and the dead led to the exaggeration of this part of the *mastaba* until eventually the temple of the New Empire period became converted mainly into a series of colossally overgrown gateways or pylons. Other features, such as the causeway

leading up to the temple and the series of statues flanking it on each side, the obelisks, the colossal statues, the temple-platform and the enclosing wall were in turn considered, and it was shown how each of these exaggerations in turn made its appearance in Oriental temple architecture (Indian, Chinese, Japanese and American) until the cumulative evidence of Egyptian influence was overwhelming.

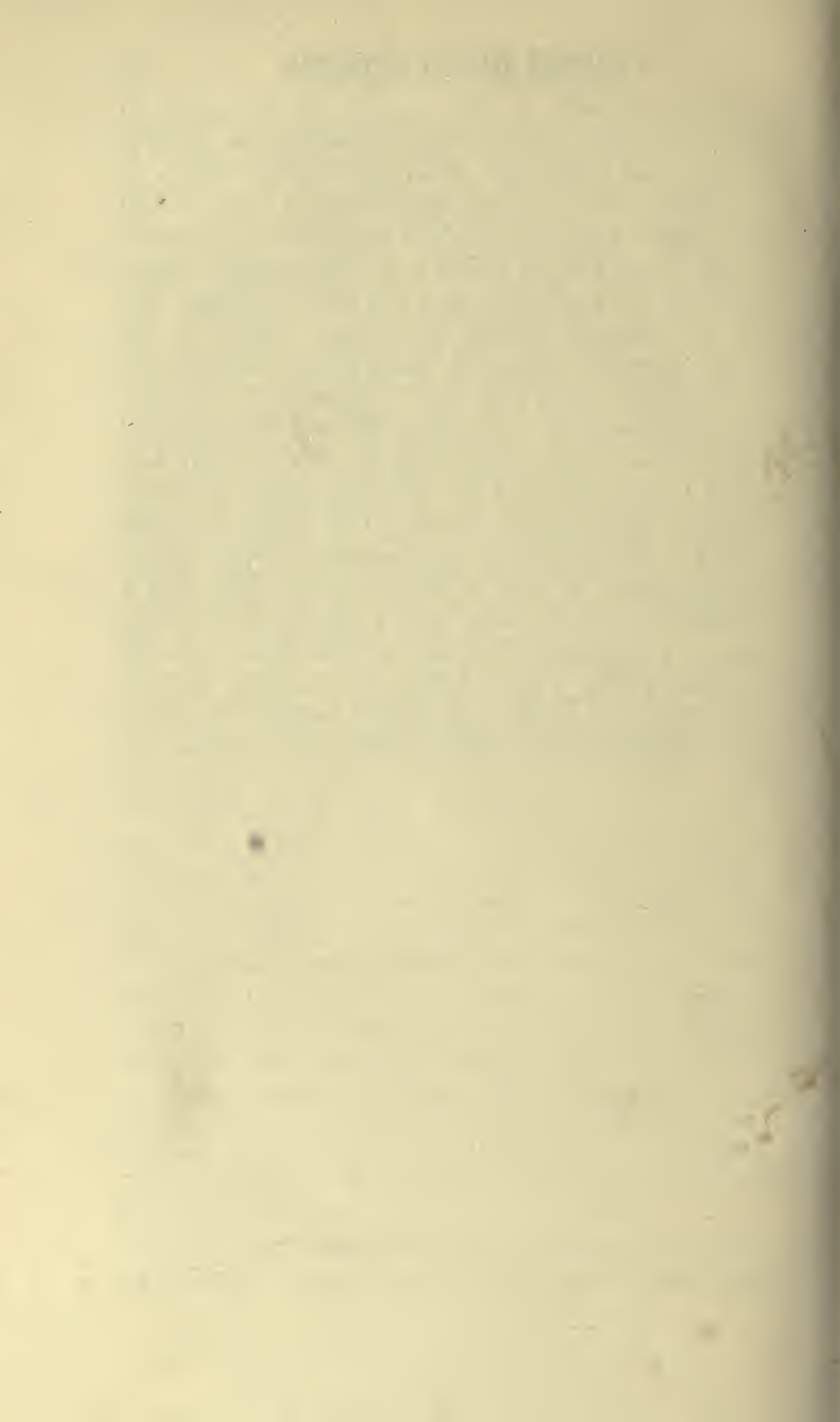
## THOMAS KELLY CHEYNE

BY MAURICE A. CANNEY, M.A.

MUCH has been written about Professor Cheyne since his death, and the present writer has already published some words of appreciation elsewhere. The Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society happened to meet on the day following his death and took sorrowful note of the event. But, in spite of all that has been said and written, we need offer no excuse for returning to the subject.

The original and pioneer work that Cheyne did marks him out as one of the most eminent Biblical scholars that this country has produced. He had that greatness which no mere learning can give; for to his ripe scholarship were added a breadth of mind, a range of outlook, and a courage of no ordinary character. He had, moreover, a large measure of that kind of fervour, enthusiasm and inspiration that characterise a prophet. As the *Modern Churchman* has expressed it (March, 1915): "Not knowledge for the sake of knowledge, but knowledge for the sake of truth was what he sought. He was a prophet as well as a scholar, for the truth when won was not to be whispered into the ear or concealed in ambiguous and non-committal phrases in learned treatises, it was to be proclaimed from the house-tops—in other words, from Cathedral pulpits and in popular volumes."

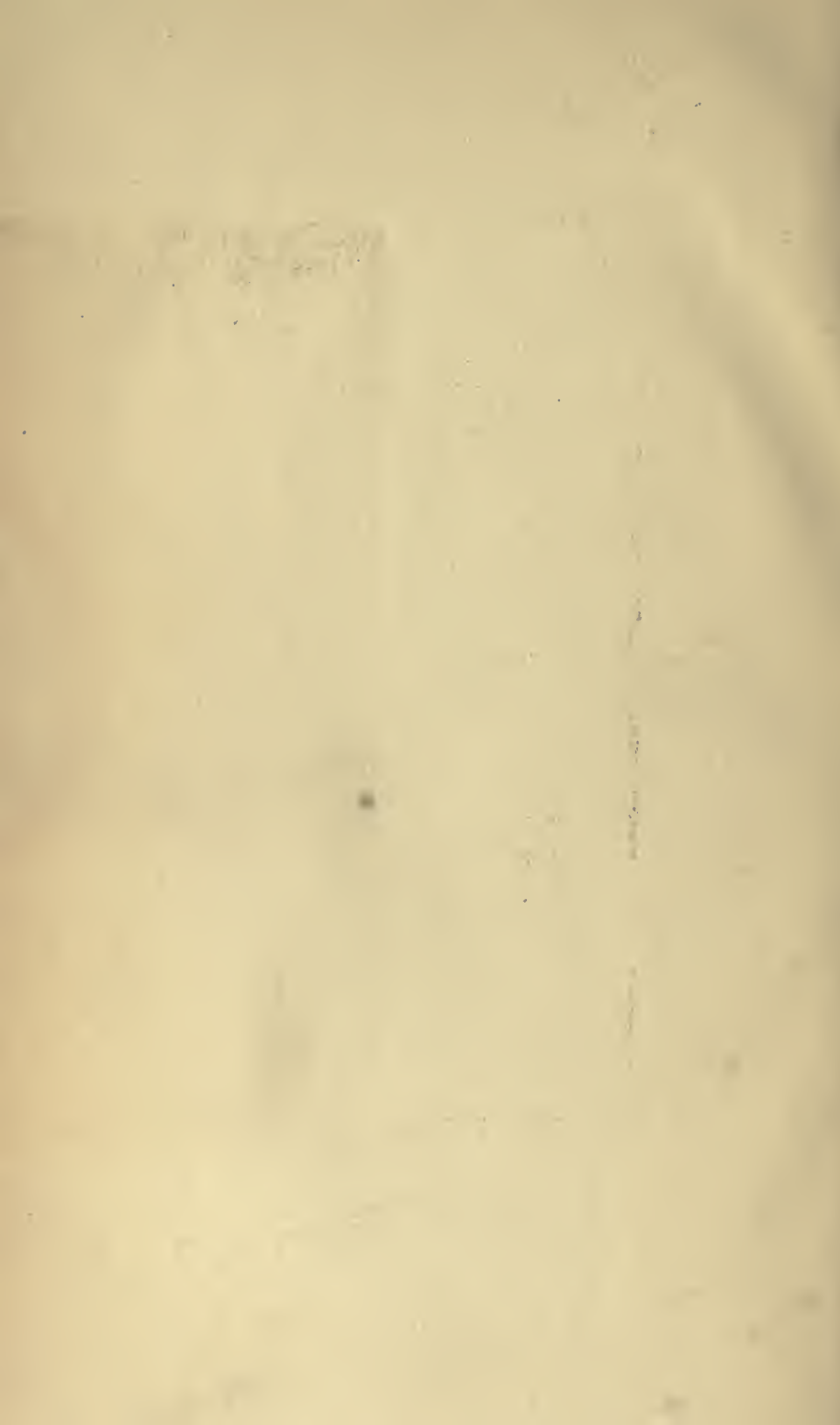
Cheyne's courage was the more remarkable because such courage is rare. The Old Testament is considered safe ground, but Cheyne was not afraid to invade the sacred soil of the New Testament. He did not hesitate to apply the same critical methods to all Biblical narratives. He gave a hearing to the most radical New Testament critics. He was not afraid of Comparative Religion. Indeed, he











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