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NOVEMBER, 1886,

TO

JUNE, 1887.

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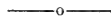
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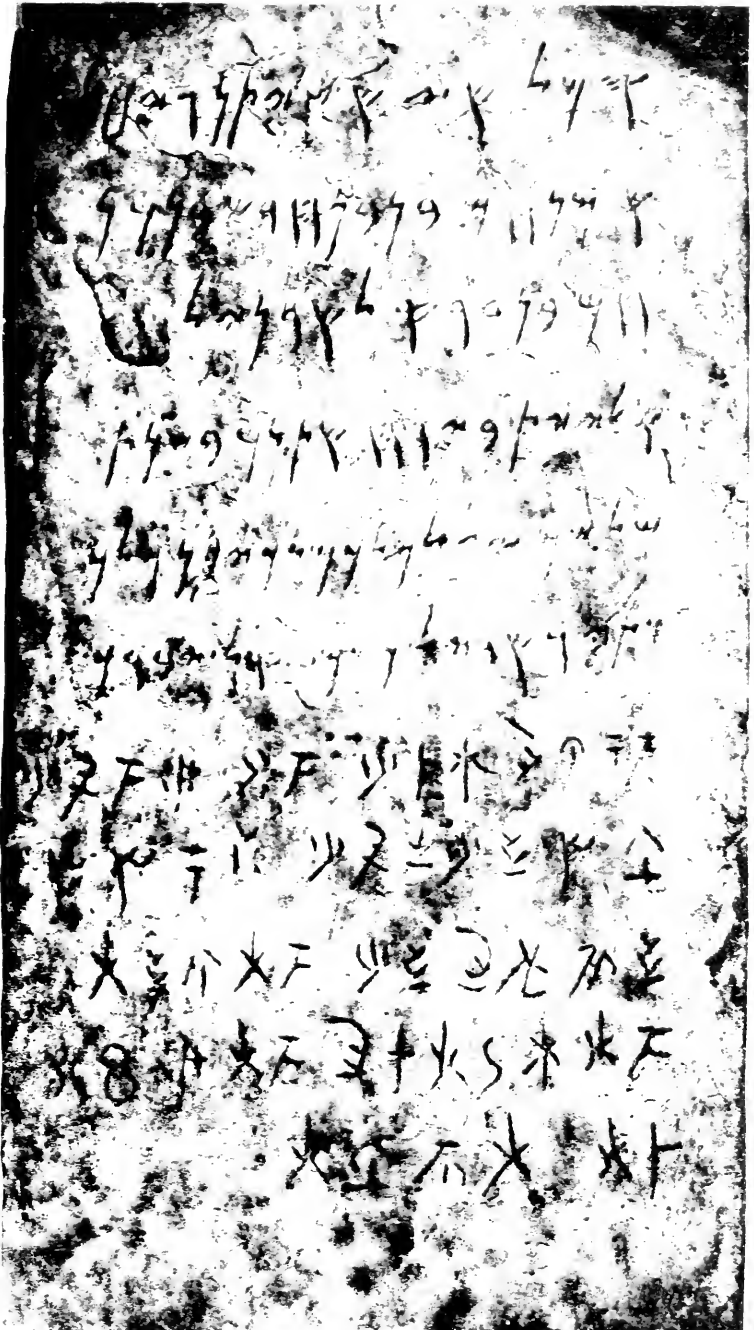
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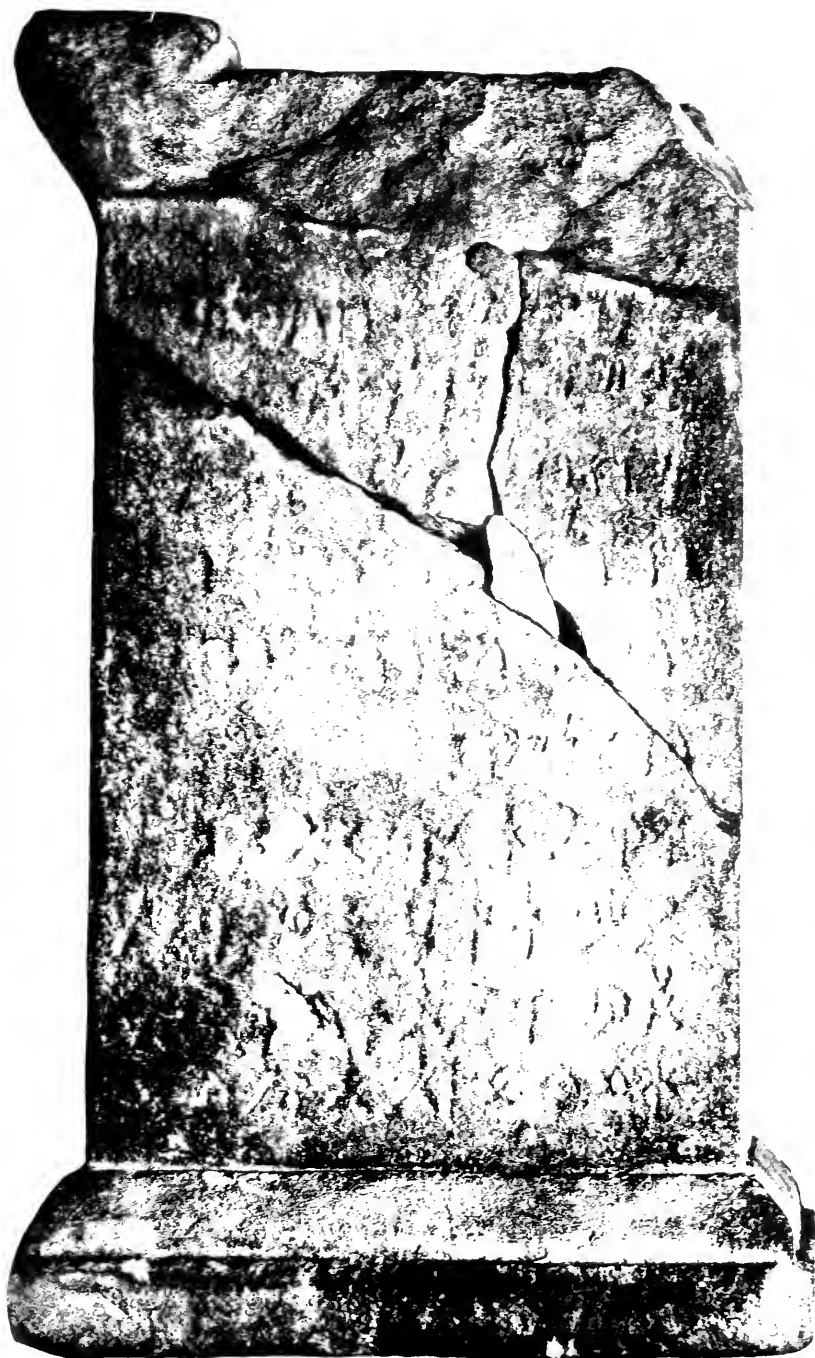
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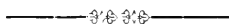


PROCEEDINGS
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SEVENTEENTH SESSION, 1886-87.

First Meeting, 2nd November, 1886.

WALTER MORRISON, ESQ., PRESIDENT,
IN THE CHAIR.



The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors. A special vote of thanks was awarded to M. de Clercq for his donation to the Library :—

From the Royal Society :—The Proceedings. Vol. XL. Nos. 243, 244, 245, 246. 8vo. London, 1886.

From the Society of Antiquaries :—The Proceedings. Vol. XI. Parts 1 and 2, and List of Fellows on August 1st, 1886. 8vo. London

From the Geological Society :—The Quarterly Journal. Vol. XLII. No. 167. 8vo. London.

From the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland :—Vol. XVIII. Part 3. July, 1886. 8vo. London.

From the Royal Institute of British Architects :—The Journal of Proceedings. Vol. II. New Series. No. 17, and Vol. III. No. 1. 8vo. London. 1886.

[No. LXIII.]

From the Royal Geographical Society:—The Proceedings.
Vol. VIII. Nos. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. 8vo. London.

From the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and
Ireland:—The Archæological Journal. Vol. LXIII. No. 170.
8vo. London. 1886.

From the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland:—
The Journal. August, 1886. Vol. XVI. No. 1. 8vo. London.

From the Palestine Exploration Fund:—The Quarterly Statement.
July, 1886. 8vo. London.

From the Victoria Institute:—The Journal of Transactions.
Vol. XIX. 1885-1886. 8vo. London.

From the Philosophical Society of Glasgow:—The Proceedings.
Vol. XVII. 1885-1886. 8vo. Glasgow.

From the Royal Dublin Society:—The Scientific Proceedings.
Vol. IV. Parts 7, 8, 9, and 10. Vol. V, Parts 1 and 2. The
Scientific Transactions. October, November, March, April,
1885. Vol. III. Series 2. 4to. Dublin.

From the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres:—Comptes
Rendus des Séances de l'année 1886. Quatrième série.
Tome XIV. Jan.-Fev.-Mars. 8vo. Paris. 1886.

From the Royal Asiatic Society, China Branch:—The Journal.
Vol. XX. Nos. 5 and 6. Vol. XXI. Nos. 1 and 2. 8vo.
Shanghai. 1885.

From the Secretary of State in Council of India:—

The Sacred Books of the East. Vols. XVI, XVII, XVIII.
8vo. Oxford.

Surveys of Ancient Babylon, with part of Rivers Tigris
and Euphrates, and the Hindiyeh canal, the sea of Nejf and
the Shatatshar, made by order of the Government of India in
1860 to 1865, by Commander W. Beaumont Selby, and Lieut.
W. Collingwood and Lieut. J. B. Bewsher.

The Nahrwan Yusifyeh are added from surveys by Captain
J. Felix Jones, I.N., compiled by order of H.M. Secretary of
State for India in Council, by Trelawney Saunders, F.R.G.S.,
Geographical Assistant, India Office, London.

From the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis:—The
Journal. June to December, 1884. 8vo. Boston. Mass.

From the American Philological Association. The Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Session held in New Haven, Conn. July, 1885; and the Transactions. Vol. XVI. 1885. Cambridge, U.S.A.

From the Editor:—The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal. Vol. VIII. Nos. 4 and 5. July and September, 1886.

From the Editor:—The American Journal of Archaeology and of the History of the Fine Arts. 8vo. June, 1886. Baltimore.

From the Editor:—The American Journal of Philology. Vol. VII. Parts 1 and 2. April, 1886. Baltimore.

From the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Di Firenze, Bollettino delle Pubblicazioni Italiane. Nos. 1 to 13, 15 to 19. 4to. Firenze. 1886.

From the Smithsonian Institution:—The Smithsonian Report. 8vo. Washington. 1884.

From the Johns Hopkins University:—The Johns Hopkins University Studies. Fourth Series. VI, VII, VIII and IX. A Puritan Colony in Maryland. D. R. Randall, A.B. 8vo. Baltimore. A History of the Land Question in the United States. By Shoshuke Sato, Ph.D., 8vo. Baltimore. 1886.

From the American Oriental Society:—The Proceedings at Boston. May, 1886. 8vo. Boston, U.S.A.

From M. de Clercq:—Collection de Clercq. Catalogue méthodique et raisonné. Antiquités Assyriennes, &c. Publiés par M. de Clercq, avec la collaboration de M. J. Menant (3 parts). Folio. Paris. 1885.

From Dr. L. Stern:—Das Aegyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII bis XX Dynastie. . . . von Edouard Naville. Einleitung. 4to. Berlin. 1886.

From the Author:—Memorie di Monsr. Domenico Turano Vescovo di Girgenti. Pel Sac Giovanni Bellomo, C.S. Folio. Palermo. 1886.

From the Author:—"What I Believe." By Leon Tolstoi. Translated from the Russian by Constantine Popoff. 8vo. London. 1885.

From the Author, Alfred Jeremais:—Die Hollenfahrt der Istar. 8vo. München. 1886.

From the Author, the Rev. John Campbell, M.A.:—"Etruria Capta."

Reprinted from the Proceedings of the Canadian Institute. Vol. III. Toronto. 1886.

From the Author:—Die *מלכת השמים* und ihr aramäisch-assyrisches Aequivalent. Von Eb. Schrader.

Reprinted from the Berlin Academy. Sitzung der philosophisch-historischen classe, vom 20 Mai. XXVII. 1886.

From the Author:—Le Catacombe degli ebrei presso la Via Appia pagnatelli. By Nicolò Mueller.

Estratto dal Bulletino dell' imp. Istituto archeologico germanico. Vol. I.

From the Author:—Remarks on the Zodiacal Virgo in connection with a representation of the constellation upon the porch of St. Margaret's Church, York. By Robert Brown, jun., F.S.A.

Reprinted from the Yorkshire Archæological Journal. Vol. IX.

From the Author:—Astronomische Untersuchungen über in hebräischen Schriften erwähnte Finsternisse. Von Dr. Eduard Mahler. Theil I, Die biblischen Finsternisse, ein Beitrag zur biblischen Chronologie. Theil II, Die Prophetischen Finsternisse. Von Dr. Eduard Mahler. 8vo. 1865.

From the Author:—Die Irrationalitäten der Rabbinen. Von Eduard Mahler. 8vo. Wien. 1885.

From the Author:—Untersuchen einer im Buche "Nahum" auf den Untergang Ninive's bezogenen Finsterniss.

(Zuzatz zur Abhandlung Astronomische Untersuchungen über in hebräischen Schriften erwähnte Finsternisse. Theil II.) Von Dr. Eduard Mahler. 8vo. Wien. 1886.

From the Widow of the Author:—Recent Egyptian Discoveries concerning Joseph, Moses, and the Exodus. By David Burnett. 8vo. London. 1886.

From the Author:—The Beer of the Bible (the leaven of Exodus). By James Death.

Extract from the *Brewer's Guardian*, 1886.

From the Author:—Choix de Textes Égyptiens Traduits en François. Par A. Massey. 8vo. Gand. 1886.

From the Author:—The Battle of Halûle, 691 B.C. By Prof. Paul Haupt.

Reprinted from the Andover Review. May, 1886.

From the Author:—The Masonic Journal. April, May, June, July, August. Folio. Victoria. 1886.

Containing completion of paper entitled, The Tree of Knowledge in the Garden of Eden, and the Fruit it bore.

From Phillipe Berger:—Plate of Phœnician Inscriptions from the Corpus Inscriptions Semiticarum. December, 1885.

The following were nominated for election at the next Meeting, December 7th, 1886:—

Israel Abraham, B.A., 59, Mildmay Park, N.

Professor E. C. Bissell, D.D., The Congregational Theological School of Hartford, Connecticut, U.S.A.

John Travis Cook, F.R.H.S., Adelaide House, Anlaby Road, Kingston-upon-Hull.

Henry B. Slee, 10, Poplar Crescent, Gateshead-on-Tyne.

The following Communication has been received from Professor Sayce:—

NEW KYPRIOTE INSCRIPTIONS DISCOVERED BY
DR. MAX OHNEFALSCH-RICHTER.

The unwearied archæological zeal of Dr. Max Ohnefalsch-Richter, who has for some years past superintended such excavations as have been made in Cyprus, has during the past year been rewarded by a discovery of the highest interest. In the neighbourhood of Polis-tes-Khrysokou, the ancient Arsinoe, he has found three important cemeteries which have already yielded him results of great value. They are situated in the north-western part of the island within the district of Paphos. Besides objects of more or less interest, a number of Kypriote inscriptions have been dis-interred. Some of these are upon stone, one is on the topaz chaton of a ring, while over two hundred are potters' names inscribed on vases. Most of

the latter consist only of a letter or two giving the first and second syllables of the name; in a few cases the characters are combined together so as to form a kind of cipher.

Dr. Max Ohnefalsch-Richter has been good enough to send squeezes of all the inscriptions he has discovered to Dr. Deecke and myself, and we have been in communication in regard to them for the last few months. In almost every instance our readings agree, and Dr. Deecke has already published some of his in the *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift* for October 9, 1886.

My readings are as follows:—

I.

Necropolis I. Grave cvi. No. 1. Inscription from right to left on one side of a block of stone.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. A-ri-si-to-se • xe-[te-ke] | (1) Ἄριστος ἐξέθηκε |
| 2. A-ri-si-to-ku-po-[ro •] | (2) Ἀριστοκίπρω |
| 3. πα-ί-τι. | (3) παίδι. |

“*Aristos has set (this) up to the child of Aristokypros.*”

This use of ἐκτίθημι is new in Kypriote.

Dr. Deecke sees *ro* in the squeeze at the end of line 2, and is unable to make out the end of line 1, where he doubtfully suggests [*ta-t*].

II.

Necropolis I. Grave cxviii. No. 2. On the base and back part of a stone lion.

- ? 1. Ti-mo-ku-po-ro-se • o Ti-mo-ke-re-te-o-se
e-pe-se-ta-se • ki-si-ro-ma.
- ? 2. to-i ka-si-gi-ne-to-i.

This is the order of the lines according to the information given to Dr. Deecke by Dr. Ohnefalsch-Richter, but in a letter to myself he reverses the order.

Τιμόκυπρος ὁ Τιμοκρέτους ἐπέστασ' ἐξίρωμα τῷ κασιγνήτῳ.

“*Timokypros the son of Timokretês has set up the dedicated object over his brother.*”

This is the natural explanation if the words τῷ κασιγνήτῳ really form the first line. Otherwise Dr. Deecke may be right in reading the proper name Γιλ(λ)ίκαφι. But in my squeeze the three last characters of the longer line seem certainly *si-ro-ma* and not *li-ka-vi*.

In the same tomb (Grave LXVII) Dr. Ohnefalsch-Richter has discovered a Greek text in which ἐπέστησε is used in the same sense as ἐπέστασε in the Kypriot text.

- (1. Τιμαγόρου 2. [Ο]νασαγόρου 3. Τύχων 4. ἐπέστησε.)

III.

Necropolis I. Grave LXVII. No. 3. Inscription from right to left on a stone.

O-na-i-o-se e-mi "Οναίος ἡμι. "I am Onaios."

Dr. Deecke compares the gloss of Hêsychios: ὄναιον ἄρειον.

IV.

Necropolis I. Grave LXXI. No. 4. Badly-preserved inscription, originally containing three lines on a stone.

1. [A-ri-]si-ti-ya-se (1) Ἀριστίγας
2. [e-mi] (2) ἡμι . . . "I am Aristiyas."

The reading of this inscription is not attempted by Dr. Deecke.

V.

Necropolis I. Grave LXXXIX. No. 7. Badly-preserved inscription on "a stone used for closing a door."

1. O-na-sa-go-ra-u to Ku-po-ro
2. . . . ra-yi-vo-se.
(1) Ὀνασαγόραν τῶ Κυπρο . . .
(2) . . . (θυ)ραγίφος.

"Of Onasagoras the son of Kypro . . ."

Dr. Deecke reads *li* at the beginning of the second line, and suggests λί(θος θυ)ραῖος.

VI.

Necropolis I. Grave LXXXVIII. No. 8. On a stone column. The characters have been filled in with red paint, and are late in form.

1. Sa-ta-sa-go-ra-u (1) Στασαγόραν
2. e-mi • to Sa- (2) ἡμι τῶ Σ
3. ta-sa-do-ro (3) τασά(ν)δρω.

"I belong to Stasagoras the son of Stasander."

VII.

Necropolis I. Grave xcix. No. 11. Inscription from right to left on a block of stone.

- | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Ti-ma-do-ro e-mi | (1) Τιμά(ν)δρω ἡμὶ |
| 2. to O-na-sa-go-ra-u | (2) τῶ Ὀνασαγόραν. |

"I belong to Timander the son of Onasagoras."

VIII.

Necropolis II. Grave xcix. No. 14. Inscription from right to left on a block of stone.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. A-ri-si-to-ku-pa-ra-se | (1) Ἀριστοκύπρας |
| 2. e-mi e-se-ta-se A-ri-si- | (2) ἡμὶ ἕστασε Ἀρισ |
| 3. to-se | (3) τος. |

"I belong to Aristokypra: Aristos has erected (me)."

IX.

Necropolis II. Grave ccxlii. No. 15. Inscription from right to left on a block of stone.

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------|
| Pi-lo-ke-re-te-o-se e-mi | Φιλοκρέτεος ἡμὶ. |
|--------------------------|------------------|

"I belong to Philokretês."

X.

Necropolis II. The same grave. No. 16. Inscription from right to left on a block of stone.

- | | |
|----------------------|------------------|
| 1. Ti-ma-go-ra-u | (1) Τιμαγόραν |
| 2. to Ti-mo-ke-re-te | (2) τῶ Τιμοκρέτε |
| 3. o-(se e-)mi | (3) ὅς ἡμὶ. |

"I belong to Timagoras the son of Timokretês."

XI.

Necropolis I. Grave xxxii. No. 13. On a column.

- | | |
|---------|--------------------------|
| 1. a-ra | (1) ἀρὰ |
| 2. Di-i | (2) Δί "Prayer to Zeus." |

This is Dr. Deecke's reading; a squeeze of the inscription has not been sent to me.

XII.

Necropolis II. Grave cxl. On the topaz chaton of a ring, written in boustrophedon fashion round the representation of a struggle between an ox and a stag. Dr. Deecke reads:

- | | |
|------------------|------------------------|
| 1. A-ri-ri-to-va | (1) Ἀριστοφά |
| 2. na-xe | (2) ναξ "Aristotanax." |

XIII.

Necropolis III. Grave XVIII. No. 17. Inscription from right to left on a block of stone.

- | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. [Me]-ga-ko-ro Di-vo-se | (1) (Με)γαχώρω· Διφός |
| 2. e-mi | (2) ἡμί |

"Of Megakhoros: I belong to Zeus."

Dr. Deecke reads (Νι)καφόρω, which would give a good sense, but I can make the third character nothing else except *ko*.

XIV.

Necropolis III. Grave XIX. No. 18.

Pu-nu-ti-la-se·e-mi ta-se Pu-nu-ta-go-ra-u pa-i-se

Πνυτίλας ἡμί τᾶς Πνυταγόραν παῖς

"I am Pnytilas the son of the daughter of Pnytagoras."

XV.

Necropolis III. Grave XXX. No. 19. Badly-preserved inscription on a block of stone.

- | | |
|----------------------------|------------------|
| 1. Te-mi-si-to-ku-po-ro-se | (1) Θεμιστόκυρος |
| 2. illegible | (2) |

XVI.

Necropolis III. Grave XXXI. No. 20. Inscription from right to left on a block of stone.

- | | |
|-------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Ti-mo-se Ti- | (1) Τιμος Τι |
| 2. ma-go-ra-u | (2) μαγόραν |
| 3. pa-i-se e-(mi) | (3) παῖς ἡ(μί). |

"I am Timos the son of Timagoras."

I now come to the potters' marks, which are very abundant in all three cemeteries, attaching to them the numbers which have been assigned to them by Dr. Ohnefalsch-Richter. I shall, of course, select those marks only in which the names are given in full, or which have something specially interesting about them.

No. 5. (Necropolis I. Grave v.) $\text{Ζ}\mu\text{Ϟ}$. This has been cleverly explained by Dr. Deecke as a combination of the characters O-na-sa-go ('Ονασαγόραν).

No. 14. (Necropolis I. Grave xxiii.) O-na-si-lo ('Ονασιλω).

No. 24. (Necropolis I. Grave xxvi.) Zo-pu-ro-se (Ζώπυρος).

No. 49. (Necropolis I. Grave lii.) A-ri-si-ti-ya ('Αριστίγυ[ς]).

Nos. 50, 53. (Same tomb.) O-na ('Ονασιλας).

No. 54. (Necropolis I. Grave liv.) Ti-mo-ke-re (Τιμοκρέεος).

No. 66. (Necropolis I. Grave LVI.) Mu-ti-lo (Μυτίλω).

No. 68. (Necropolis I. Grave LVIII.) Mo-lo (Μόλωνος).

No. 69. (Necropolis I. Grave LXXIV.) No-no (Νόννου).

No. 74. (Necropolis I. Grave LXXXVIII.) A-ri-si-ta-go ('Αρισ-
ταγόραν).

No. 80. (Necropolis I. Grave xcii.) † Δ Δ Δ Δ Ι Ι Ι Ι.

Perhaps = 144.

No. 86. (Necropolis I. Grave xcix.) E-lo ('Ελλω).

No. 91. (Necropolis I. Grave cvi.) Ge-ru-vo-se (Γήρυφος).

No. 93. (Necropolis I. Grave cix.) I-do. Perhaps Idome-
neus.

Nos. 95-99. (Necropolis I. Grave cxvi.) Ni-ka (Νικάνδρω).

No. 115. (Necropolis II. Grave xxxvi.) Kypriote *e* with
Greek **E** written above it.

No. 130. (Necropolis II. Grave LXIX.) Δ Δ Δ. "30."

Nos. 158-160. (Necropolis II. Grave LXXVIII.) Ti-te (Τιθήνου).

No. 168. (Necropolis II. Grave LXXXVIII.) Kypriote *te* with
Greek **Θ** written below it.

No. 199. (Necropolis II. Grave cxlvi.) Pi-la-go (Φιλαγόραν).

No. 202. (Necropolis III. Same tomb.) O-ro ('Ωρω).

No. 227. (Necropolis III. Grave ccxxxix.) Vo-ko (?*Ωχω).

No. 204. (Necropolis II. Grave cxlviii) **A/** **Ω**. These
characters are similar in form to a character on an inscribed whorl
found by Dr. Schliemann at Hissarlik, with which I have compared
a character in a Mysian inscription discovered by Perrot and
Guillaume at Deliklitash (Schliemann's *Ilios*, p. 694). The same
character, or combination of characters, is found in Necropolis III,
Grave XLVIII (Nos. 278-283).


































Nos. 238, 239, 244, 247, 249 (Necropolis III, Grave xvii),
present us with a new character **)(** or **)(** of unknown value.
It is followed by *sa*, and is frequently accompanied by another
potter's mark **XX** which may be a combination of *ko-sa*, but is
more probably, as Dr. Deecke believes, a new character. It also
occurs in Nos. 169, 177, 179, 181 (Necropolis II, Grave LXXXIII),
and in No. 179 is preceded by **)(** *ru*. On other fragments of
pottery found in the Grave LXXXIII, the latter character precedes
ko (Nos. 173-176, 180, 182).

Dr. Ohnefalsch-Richter states that the first and third cemeteries
form a single large burial-ground.

Mr. Renouf made some remarks upon the god Seb, which will be printed in a future number.


A paper was read by Mr. E. A. Wallis Budge, M.A., "Remarks on a Papyrus containing Formulæ for Recitation in the Temple of Amen, and the Service for the Slaughter of Āpepi."

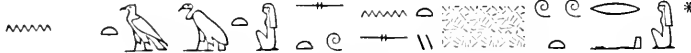
The papyrus from which the following extracts are given is preserved in the British Museum, where it bears the number 10188 Bremner. It has already formed the subject of a communication to the *Recueil de Travaux* by Dr. W. Pleyte,* who translated a few passages from it, and gave a summary of the headings of the chapters, &c. The papyrus is 20 feet by 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches, and is of a fine texture; parts of the lines at the bottom of the first four columns have been broken away, but as a whole it is wonderfully perfect. The beginning words of a new paragraph, the directions for reciting the hymns, the names of the fiends and devils and of Āpepi are all written in red; many of the characters are Demotic.† From the colophon we learn that the papyrus was written for

										
nutâr	hen	en	nutâr	het	en	Het	nāuu			
<i>the prophet</i>	<i>of the temple</i>		<i>of the Temple town,</i>				<i>the scribe</i>			
										
en	Āmen	en	sa	III	nutâr	hen	Nesi-Āmen			
<i>of Amen</i>	<i>of order third,</i>				<i>the prophet</i>		<i>Nesi-Ames</i>			
										
se	en	nutâr	hen	Pe-ṭa	- Āmen	- suten	- taiu			
<i>the son of the prophet</i>				<i>Pe-ṭa-Amén-suten-taiu</i>						

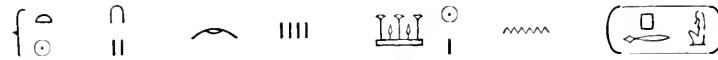
* "Sur un papyrus inédit du British Museum," *Recueil de Travaux*, iii, p. 57.

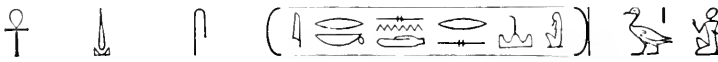
† As, for example, Nos. 13, 20, 23, 41, 51, Table A in Brugsch's "Grammaire Démotique."

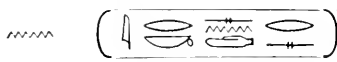

 ârit en âhi en Âmen - Râ ta sere
born of the sistrum bearer of Amen-Râ, the daughter


 en ta - mut - setu - nesti utu - Râ.
of Ta-mut-setu-nesti utu-Râ.


It was written in


 renpit XII âbtu IV ša en Pa-âa
year twelve, month four of the sowing season of his majesty,


 ânχ ut'a senb Arksentres se
life, strength, health, Alexander, son


 en Arksentres
of Alexander.

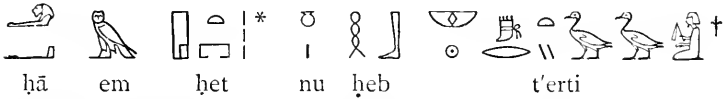
or B.C. 305.†

The papyrus contains three distinct works or compositions, which formed a part or whole of a service performed in the temple of the god Âmen in the Âpts at Thebes. From the occurrence of the expressions  *ki t'et*, "otherwise said," in them, we know that other and older copies of this work must have existed. The three

* I am doubtful about the reading of this name.

† Alexander II began to reign B.C. 317, he was murdered B.C. 311, and was succeeded by Ptolemy Soter (Revillout, *Revue égyptologique*, pp. 8, 15). The writer of our papyrus has added the years of the interregnum (Lepsius, *Königsbuch*, *Synoptische Tafeln*, p. 9) to the years of the reign of Alexander (*Recueil de Travaux*, iii, p. 63).


works occupy 18 columns of small but beautifully written Hieratic, and the whole papyrus contains 940 lines. The last two columns are written on the back of the papyrus; and as this end has suffered some slight injuries in modern times, a line or two of the text have disappeared. The first part of the composition in the papyrus is entitled:—




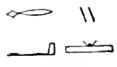







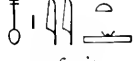


Beginning of the verses of the festival of the T'erti




made in the temple of Osiris at the head of those in Amentiu

* Literally, 'houses,' compare Arab. ^س ^ب ^ي ^ت بيت, plur. ^س ^ب ^ي ^ت ابيات, Syr. ^{ܩܘܘܒܐ} ^{ܩܘܘܒܐ}, plur. ^{ܩܘܘܒܐ}. Dr. Pleyte gives, *traité, livre, chapitre*, as the meanings of this word; but I think that 'verses' is its correct rendering. The fact of the composition being written in short lines shows that some kind of metre or rhythm was intended by the author; and as the word 'house,' used in the sense of 'verse' was the common property of the Semitic dialects, from which the Egyptian borrowed so much, there is, at least, an antecedent probability that  here means 'verses.' In Syriac we find the expressions ^{ܩܘܘܒܐ} ^{ܩܘܘܒܐ} ^{ܩܘܘܒܐ} ^{ܩܘܘܒܐ} 'short verses (in honour) of the Mother of God;' ^{ܩܘܘܒܐ} ^{ܩܘܘܒܐ} ^{ܩܘܘܒܐ} ^{ܩܘܘܒܐ} 'verses which are said when they go in for the offering;' and ^{ܩܘܘܒܐ} ^{ܩܘܘܒܐ} ^{ܩܘܘܒܐ} ^{ܩܘܘܒܐ} 'verses which are said when they celebrate the Lord's supper.' See also the other passages quoted by Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, col. 479; and Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, 2nd ed., vol. II, pp. 378, 192.












† A name of Isis and Nephthys in their character of protectors of the deceased. Isis was called the 'older t'erti,' and Nephthys the 'younger t'erti.' Brugsch, "*Wörterbuch*," p. 1335.

					
nutár	āa	nebt	âbțu	em	âbțu iv
god	great	lord of	Abydos	in	month four
					
ša	hru	xxii	neferit	er	hru xxvi
of inundation day		22	until		day 26.

After the title, a rubric goes on to say that the papyrus was written for the use of the temple, and composed for female singers or reciters. They were to have the bodies washed, and their limbs shaved; they were to wear ram's wool crowns and to carry tambourines in their hands; and upon their two arms they were to wear an inscription which read, "To Isis and Nephthys." Thus, clean of body and with fitting vestments, they were to chant the verses of the festival ritual before Osiris, beginning, O lord Osiris, O lord Osiris, O lord Osiris, O lord Osiris. After this the precentor stood up in the enclosure before the temple, and said four times, "O chief of heaven and earth." Then the women, with flowing hair,

 *henksti*, sang or recited songs, of which the following is a specimen.

COLUMN VI.


24.						
	â	âhi	nefer	mâa	er	pa - k
	<i>Hail</i>	<i>boy</i>	<i>beautiful</i>	<i>come to temple thy.</i>		
25.						
	qa	sep u	sa - k	er	pa - k	
	<i>Exalted,</i>	<i>exalted</i>	<i>may be side thy</i>	<i>towards temple thy.</i>		

* That is to say, ΧΟΙΣΚ, which month began about November 27 of our reckoning. The days of the celebration of this festival correspond roughly with our December 25-29th.

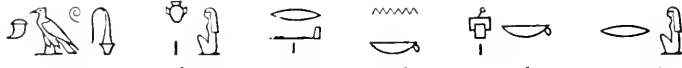
26.
 áu nutáru ħer uást - sen.
Are the gods upon scat their.
27.
 nuk set λu senà - s
I am a person defender of brother her,
28.
 ħent - k senà en mut - k
wife thy, the sister of mother thy.

COLUMN VII.


1.
 iu - k ná em λex
Come thou to me running.
2.
 t'er - áb ma ħra - k áu sa án ma - à ħrà - k
firm of heart, let be seen face thy, because not see I face thy.
3.
 sam - tu uat en - n em ħrà áu
Make clean thou the way for us before face my to
- Rā em pet
 Rā in heaven.
4.
 Sam pet ta ári χebit em ta mán
Unites heaven and earth making shade on earth daily.

5. 


tau ab - á er sefe χ -k em Nefiá

Burns heart my at escape thy from the evil one.
6. 

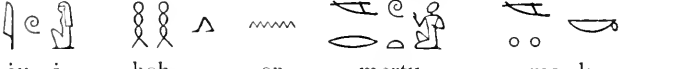
tau ab - á ertā nek sa-k er - á

Burns heart my, give thou side thy to me,
7. 

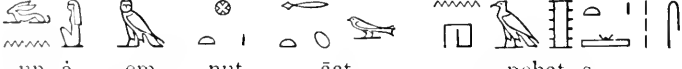
áu án sep kem nek su er - á

not for ever remove thou it from me.
8. 

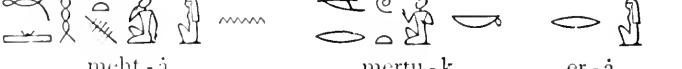
āti āat tenemem uat

Making firm the two domains turning back the roads,
9. 


áu - á heh en mertu ma - k

am I seeking of love to see thee.
10. 

un - á em nut āat nehat - s.

Am I in the town great are fortifications its,
11. 

meht - á mertu - k er - á

overcome am I by love thy for me,
12. 

mää em uā em heru

come alone not depart.

13.

māk se-k er seχetχet Tebha

Verily son thy (is) for repulsing Tebha

er nemmat

at the block.

14.

Āmen-uā em bāa er sekapu

Hidden have I among the bushes to hide

se-k er ušebt-k

son thy for answering thee.

17.

s'em-ā em uā rer-ā em bāa

Advance I alone, go round I among the bushes.

18.

āu tennu em at er se-k

Is a very great crocodile after son thy,

19.


set em hrau āu t'a pu

a female with faces against the male to wit.

20.


nuk ās rex-kuā hnā ut'eb

I but know I in conjunction with Ut'eb.

21. 


 rer-nâ uat tenemem-nâ her sen-â

Go round I the ways turn back I after



 beti em Nefi

brother my leaping from the evil one.

22. 


 tau âbu en hefnu hrâu

Burning are the hearts of myriads of faces,

23. 

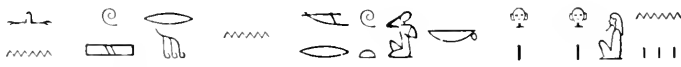
 maut âa em nutaru

O splendour great among the gods,

24. 


 bef-n neb

May see (?), we the lord,

25. 


 ân ušer en mertu-k her hrâ-n

not may be lack of love thy upon face our

26. 

 pa t'a nebt net'emt'em


O male, lord of love,

27. 

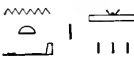






 net nebt heh



king, lord of eternity.

The two women who represent Isis and Nephthys mourning for Osiris, call themselves the widows, wives and mothers of Osiris, and the burden of all their songs is their misery when Osiris is absent from them. Their pathetic lament intermingled with praises of their loved one Osiris, is both curious and pretty. Thus, after exhortations to the god to forget all the troubles and sufferings which he has undergone at the hands of Sut or Tebha, they sing:—










“Thou art like a god coming forth like a god.
 When thou comest into the emerald fields thy hair lies upon thy body like emeralds.
 Thy hair is blue like lapis-lazuli, and thou thyself art more blue than thy hair.
 Thy skin and limbs are made of steel of the south, and thy bones are moulded of silver.
 Thy teeth are of emerald, and the liquid flowing from thy hair is of *ānti*  which flows by itself.
 The top of thy head is like lapis-lazuli.

The last few lines of the first part of the papyrus contain a reference to a remarkable myth. They read, “Isis the lady of the horizon comes to thee as she engenders the ONE, the guide of the gods. She avenges thee, she avenges thee. She avenges Horus, she the woman who acts as the engenderer of her own father, Neb-er-t’er, coming forth from the eye of Horus. She the venerable one, advancing like Rā when he came forth from the pupil of the eye of Ātmu, when Rā rose for the first time.” Following the colophon, which gives a list of the dignities of the deceased for whom the book was written, come,

						
entāu	en	an	en	Seker	er	her
<i>The litanies which introduced Socharis in addition</i>						

	
setai	t'ettu
<i>to the mysteries recited,</i>	

This short work, consisting of 97 lines, was to be recited,

⊙	  	  	  
sep	xvi	sesep	texenu
<i>times</i>	<i>sixteen</i>	<i>by players</i>	<i>on tambourines.</i>

It begins,

“Hail prince coming forth from the womb.
 Hail eldest son of the first cycles.
 Hail lord of many faces and becomings.
 Hail disk of gold in the temple.
 Hail lord of time and giver of years.
 Hail lord of life for ever.
 Hail lord of many millions and myriads.
 Hail shining in rising and setting.
 Hail making throats pleasant.
 Hail terrible and fearful one.
 Hail lord of fear, self produced.
 Hail venerable body of Horus, adoration.
 Hail son of Rā in the boat of myriads.
 Hail hidden one, unknown to mankind.
 Hail maker of him that is in the tūat to see the disk.”

A little lower down we find an address to the twelve Athors, and an address to Amen-Rā concludes this section of the papyrus. Between this and the beginning of Part III. are fifteen lines of rather careless writing, which, among other things, invoke a curse upon any person who should remove the papyrus from the resting place of the deceased. It runs, “If any person belonging to any foreign land whatsoever, whether Negro, or Ethiopian, or Syrian, shall remove this book and carry it off, may they never draw near refreshing coolness, may they never breathe the breezes of the north wind, may no son among their children ever live to establish their posterity, may their name never be remembered on earth by children, and may they never see the beams of the disk. If, on the other hand, any person sees this book, and takes care that my name be established among the favoured ones of Rā, may the same thing be done for him likewise after death, as a recompense for what he has done for me.”

The third section, by far the largest part of the work, is entitled :—

sāt	ent	seχer	Āpepi	χeft	nu	Rā,
<i>The book of overthrowing Apepi the enemy of Rā,</i>						

and it was

ārit	en	pa	Āmen - Rā	neb	nest
<i>made for the temple of Amen - Rā the lord of the thrones</i>					

taiu	χent	Āpit	em	χerti
<i>of the world, at the head of the Apts in the course</i>				

ent	ħru	neb
<i>of day every.</i>		

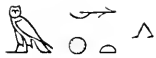
The book is divided into a series of short chapters, each one of which introduces fresh tortures for Āpepi, the enemy of Rā, and is most probably based upon the chapters of the Book of the Dead which treat of his destruction. According to the prescriptions given in our papyrus, it was necessary to make a wax figure of Āpepi in wax, and then to cut and inscribe his name upon it with green colour. This done the figure was thrown into the fire and was spit upon many times, and spurned by the foot of the person appointed by the temple authorities to perform the ceremony. From the rubric we learn that a figure of Āpepi was burnt at dawn, at noontide, at eventide when Rā set in the land of life, at the sixth hour of the night, at the eighth hour of the day, and every hour of the day and of the night : On the day of the festival, by day, by month, by the festival of the sixth day, of the fifteenth day, and likewise every day. This ceremony was particularly recommended to be performed when “tempests boiled in the eastern part of the sky, and when the sun was about to set”; and it was held to be a sure preventive against showers and rain storms. Moreover, as an encouragement to the


officiating person, it was said to be "good for a man on earth if he did this, and good for him in the nether world; it enabled him to rise to great dignities far above him, and delivered him in very truth from all evil." While the figure of *Āpepi* was burning in the fire, the priest recited the following chapter, written upon a piece of new papyrus with green ink. "Down upon thy face, *Āpepi*, the enemy of *Rā*. Go back, retreat O thou *Sebau* without thy arms and thy legs: may thy snout be split up. Thou art fallen, overthrown. *Rā-Harmachis* overthrows thee, he destroys thee, he damns thee, he sticks a hook into thee. Thou art fallen into the fire, flames coming forth from the burning rush against thee at their lucky moment. *Isis* says, with vehement utterance, 'Thy crocodile is repulsed, thy soul is cut in pieces, thy vertebræ are severed, *Horus* aims blows at thee, his children desire to smash thee, and thou art destroyed at their lucky moment.' Back, back, retreat, retreat, thou art fallen, O *Āpepi*. The cycle of the great gods in *Heliopolis* turns thee back, *Horus* drives back thy crocodile, and *Sut* paralyses thy moment. The chain of *Sut* is upon thy neck, thy flesh is cut at and hacked with knives, thou art deprived of thy ear, the flesh is struck off from thy limbs, thy soul is separated from its shade, thy name is destroyed, and thy enchantments are overthrown. Thy soul is damned, thy shade is destroyed, an end to thee, damnation to thee. Ground to powder art thou, the eye of *Horus* feeds upon and devours thee, mayest thou never come forth from thy cavern for ever and ever."


This systematic cursing of *Āpepi* continues with somewhat monotonous persistency for several pages, when after the statement that *Āpepi* is overthrown "by water, by land and by stars," we find a very interesting chapter from the "Book of knowing the becomings of *Rā* and overthrowing *Āpepi*" relating to the genesis of gods, men and things. As it is important I transcribe the passage in full:—

nuk	pu	cheper	em	chepera	cheper-na
<i>I am to wit the becomer</i>		as	<i>Chepera.</i>		<i>Became I</i>

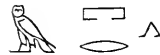
cheper	cheperu	cheper	cheperu	nebu
<i>the becoming of becomings,</i>		<i>the becoming of becomings</i>		<i>all</i>

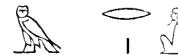

emχet
after


χeperu - à
becomings my



āšt
many



χeperu
and changes


em per
coming forth



em re-à
from mouth my



àn χeper pet
Not had become heaven,



àn χeper ta
not had become earth,


àn qemam
not created



seta
ground things


t'etfet
and reptiles

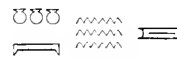

em bu
in place


pui
that.

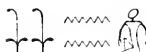

tes - nà
Raised I



àm sen
them

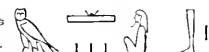

em
out of the


Nu
watery mass



em
from

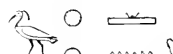

enenu
inertness.



àn
Not

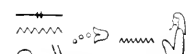

qem - nà bu
found I a place



āhā - nà
could stand I



àm χut
there. Strong


nà em
was I in



em āb - à
heart my,



senti - nà
founded I



em Shu
as Shu,


àri - nà
made I


àru
attributes



nebt
all.


uā - kuā
Alone was I,




 ân âses-nâ em Shu ân tef-nâ

not evacuated had I as Shu, not had spit I



 em Tefnut ân χeper ki âri-nef hnâ-â

as Tefnut, not became other worked he with me.



 senti-nâ em âb-â t'es-â χeper âst

Laid foundation I in heart my own, became many



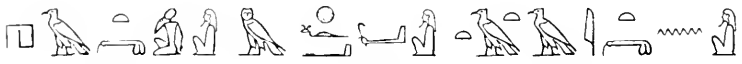
 χeperu, nu χeperu em χeperu nu

the becomings of the becomings out of the becomings of




 mesu em χeperu nu mesu sen ânuk pu

births from the becomings of births their. I to wit (was)



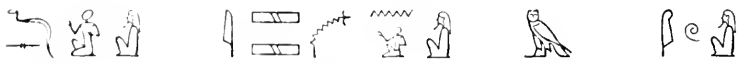
 hat-â em χefâ-â tataât-nâ

husband my, begat children I



 em χebit-â χer-nâ em re-â

with shade my. Vomited I from mouth my



 t'es-â âses-nâ em Shu

own, evacuated I Shu, Shu,

tef-nâ	em	Tefnut	ân	âtf-â
<i>spat out I</i>		<i>Tefnut.</i>	<i>Says</i>	<i>father my</i>

Nu	saftet-sen	mat-â	em-sa
<i>Nu,</i>	<i>'Eclipse they</i>	<i>eye my behind</i>	

sen	t'er	henhen	uau-sen
<i>them since for</i>		<i>centuries</i>	<i>preceded they</i>

er-â	emxet	xeper-â	em	nutâr	uâ
<i>from me</i>	<i>after</i>	<i>became I</i>	<i>from</i>	<i>god</i>	<i>one</i>

nutâru	III	pu	er-â	xeper-nâ	em	ta
<i>gods three</i>	<i>to wit</i>	<i>from me,</i>	<i>became I</i>	<i>in land</i>		

pen	hââ	âref	Shu	Tefnut	em
<i>this.</i>	<i>Rejoiced</i>	<i>therefore</i>	<i>Shu and</i>	<i>Tefnut</i>	<i>in</i>

enenn	un-sen	âm-f	ân-sen
<i>the watery mass</i>	<i>were they in it;</i>		<i>brought they</i>

nâ	mat-â	emxet-sen	emxet	âref
<i>to me</i>	<i>eye my</i>	<i>after them.</i>	<i>After</i>	<i>therefore</i>

sam - ná	āt - á	rem - ná	her - sen	xeper
<i>gather up I limbs mine,</i>		<i>weep I</i>	<i>over them and become</i>	

ret	pu	em	rem	per	em
<i>men</i>	<i>to wit</i>	<i>out of the tears</i>		<i>coming forth from</i>	

mat - á	mesu	án	Shu	Tefnut
<i>eye my.</i>	<i>Give birth</i>		<i>Shu and Tefnut to</i>	

Nut	mesu	án	Seb	Nut	Uásár
<i>Nut,</i>	<i>give birth</i>		<i>Seb and</i>	<i>Nut to Osiris,</i>	

Heru - xent	án - maa	Sut	Uáset	Nebt - het
<i>Horus dwelling</i>	<i>in darkness,</i>	<i>Sut,</i>	<i>Isis,</i>	<i>Nephthys</i>

em	xat	ua	em	sa	uā	ám - sen
<i>at a birth,</i>		<i>one after the other</i>				<i>of them ;</i>

mesu - sen	ást - sen	em	ta	pen
<i>children their</i>	<i>multiply they</i>	<i>upon</i>	<i>earth</i>	<i>this.</i>

The following Communication has been received :—

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

November 3, 1886.

With this note I send you a cast from a hæmatite seal which the British Museum has recently acquired. It was found at *يوزخاد* Yúz'aád in Asia Minor, by F. G. R. Edwards, Esq. The upper



part of its handle has been broken away, and a piece has been chipped out of the side. Fortunately, the hieroglyphic inscription remains intact; and as it appears to be an unusual style, I hope that the publication of a copy of it will call forth some explanation of, or throw some light upon the text. The seal is

$1\frac{1}{4}$ in. high by $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. in diameter, and its catalogue number in the British Museum collection is 17804.

Yours, etc.,

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.



The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 7th December, 1866, at 8 p.m., when the following Papers will be read :—

I.—THE REV. JOSEPH EDKINS, D.D. :—“When did Babylonian Astrology enter China?”

II.—THE REV. A. LÖWY :—“Old Jewish Legends on Biblical Topics.” No. I.—“The Death of Moses.”

THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE
LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

- BOTTA, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847-1850.
 PLACE, Ninive et l'Assyrie, 1866-1869. 3 vols., folio.
 BRUGSCH-BEY, Grammaire Démotique. 1 vol., folio.
 ————— Geographische Inschriften Altaegyptische Denkmaeler.
 Vols. I-III (Brugsch).
 ————— Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens, copiés sur lieux et
 publiés par H. Brugsch et J. Dümichen. (4 vols., and
 the text by Dümichen of vols. 3 and 4.)
 DÜMICHEN, Historische Inschriften, &c., 1st series, 1867.
 ————— 2nd series, 1869.
 ————— Altaegyptische Kalender-Inschriften, 1866.
 ————— Tempel-Inschriften, 1862. 2 vols., folio.
 GOLENISCHEFF, Die Metternichstele. Folio, 1877.
 LEPSIUS, Nubian Grammar, &c., 1880.
 DE ROUGÉ, Études Égyptologiques. 13 vols., complete to 1880.
 WRIGHT, Arabic Grammar and Chrestomathy.
 SCHROEDER, Die Phönizische Sprache.
 HAUPT, Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze.
 SCHRADER, Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament. 1872.
 RAWLINSON, CANON, 6th and 7th Ancient Monarchies.
 PIERRET, Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Égyptienne. 8vo. Paris, 1875.
 BURKHARDT, Eastern Travels.
 WILKINSON, Materia Hieroglyphica. Malta, 1824-30. (*Text only.*)
 CHABAS, Mélanges Égyptologiques. Séries I, II, III. 1862-1873.
 ————— Voyage d'un Égyptien en Syrie, en Phénicie, &c. 4to. 1867.
 ————— Le Calendrier des Jours Fastes et Néfastes de l'année
 Égyptienne. 8vo. 1877.
 MASPERO, De Carchemis oppidi Situ et Historia Antiquissimâ.
 8vo. Paris, 1872.

PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE SOCIETY
OF
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

SEVENTEENTH SESSION, 1886-87.

Second Meeting, 7th December, 1886.

WALTER MORRISON, ESQ., PRESIDENT,

IN THE CHAIR.



The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors :—

From the Geological Society :—The Quarterly Journal. Vol. XLII. Part 4. No. 168. November 1st, 1886. 8vo. London.

From the Geological Society :—List of the Geological Society of London. November 1st, 1886. 8vo.

From the Royal Geographical Society :—The Proceedings and Monthly Record of Geography. Vol. VIII. No. 11. New Monthly Series. November, 1886. 8vo. London.

From the Royal Institute of British Architects—The Transactions. Vol. II, New Series. 4to. London. 1886.

From the Royal Institute of British Architects :—The Journal of Proceedings. Vol. III. New Series. Nos. 2 and 3. 4to. London. 1886.

- From the Royal Institute of British Architects :—The Kalendar, 1886–87. 8vo.
- From the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland :—The Journal. New Series. Vol. XVIII. Part IV. October, 1886. 8vo. London.
- From the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland :—The Journal. Vol. XVI. No. 2. November, 1886. 8vo. London.
- From the Palestine Exploration Fund :—The Quarterly Statement. October, 1886. 8vo. London.
- From the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres :—Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'année 1886. Bulletin d'Avril–Mai–Juin. 8vo. Paris. 1886.
- From La Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord. Mémoires. Nouvelle série, 1886. 8vo. Copenhagen.
- From La Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord. Aarboger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og historie, 1886. II Række. 1 Bind. 2 Heft. 8vo. Kjobenhavn.
- From the Johns Hopkins University :—The Johns Hopkins University Studies. Fourth Series. X. The Town and City Government of New Haven. By Charles H. Levermore, Ph.D. 8vo. Baltimore. 1886.
- From the Editor :—The American Journal of Archæology and of the Fine Arts. Vol. II. No. 3. 8vo. Baltimore. 1886.
- The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis :—The Journal. June, 1886. 8vo. Boston, U.S.A.
- From the Editor, Rev. Stephen D. Peet :—The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal. Vol. VIII. No. 6. November, 1886. 8vo. Chicago.
- From the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze :—Bollettino delle Pubblicazione Italiane ricevute per diritto di stampa, 1886. Nos. 20 and 21. 8vo. Firenze.
- From the Hon. the Rev. H. Noel Waldegrave :—Catalogue Général des Monuments d'Abydos découverts pendant les fouilles de cette ville. Par Auguste Mariette. Folio. Paris. 1880.

From the Hon. the Rev. H. Noel Waldegrave :—Grammaire
Démotique contenant les principes généraux de la langue et
de l'écriture populaires des anciens égyptiens. Par Henri
Brugsch. Folio. Berlin. 1855.

From Alexander Peckover, F.S.A. :—The Seventh Great Oriental
Monarchy. By George Rawlinson, M.A., &c., &c., &c. Svo.
London. 1876.

From the Author :—Das Aegyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII bis
XX Dynastie. von Edouard Naville. Einleitung.
4to. Berlin. 1886.

From the Editor :—Anecdota Oxoniensia. Texts, Documents, and
Extracts, chiefly from manuscripts in the Bodleian and other
Oxford Libraries. Semitic Series. Vol. I. Part 2. The
Book of the Bee. Edited by Ernest A. Wallis Budge, M.A.
4to. Oxford. 1886.

From the Author :—Delle Antichità Egiziane di Brera, illustrazione
di Simeone Levi. Folio. Roma. 1886

Reale Accademia dei Lincei (Anno CCLXXXIII, 1885–86).

From the Author :—Mané, Thécél, Pharès et le festin de
Balthasar. Par M. Claremont-Ganneau.

Extrait du Journal Asiatique. No. 5. 1886.

From the Author :—Notizia dé Lavori di Egittologia e di lingue
semitiche pubblicati in Italia in questi ultimi decenniii pel
P. Cesare A de Cara, D.C.D.G. Svo. Prato. 1886.

The following were elected Members of the Society, having
been nominated on November 2nd, 1886 :—

Israel Abraham, M.A., 59, Mildmay Park, N.

Professor E. C. Bissell, D.D., The Congregational Theological
School of Hartford, Connecticut, U.S.A.

John Travis Cook, F.R.H.S., Adelaide House, Anlaby Road,
Kingston-upon-Hull.

Henry B. Slee, 10, Poplar Crescent, Gateshead-on-Tyne.

The following were nominated as Candidates for election
at the next Meeting, on 11th January, 1887 :—

Henry M. Mavor, 89, Elgin Crescent, Notting Hill, W.

William Gershom Collingwood, M.A., Gillhead, Windermere.

The following paper by the Rev. Joseph Edkins, D.D., entitled, "When did Babylonian Astrology enter China?" was read by the Secretary :—

THE *Chow* dynasty from 1100 to 800 B.C. was in a flourishing condition, and China at the beginning of that period had the advantage of the legislative skill of *Chow Kung*, who exerted himself successfully to place the empire in a state of great order and prosperity. His genius led him to mathematical studies, to poetry, and legislation, and, as one of China's sages, he had more authority in his day than Confucius, because he belonged to the imperial family, and was brother of the first emperor of the dynasty and uncle of the second. He gave to the dynasty a scientific character, and his name is connected with certain mathematical schools which continued until about the year 800 B.C., when they were disbanded in times of political trouble.

That Babylon preceded China in the knowledge of the stars, and that China borrowed largely from Babylon, need not be doubted. Each country had a Zodiac of twelve, the dial, the clepsydra, the astrolabe, an intercalary month, and observations of the motions of the five planets. In the ancient world the fame of Babylon was very much founded on knowledge of this kind. That city was a city of scientific light, and spread its doctrines in all the surrounding countries. China was among the countries that in the far East received help in scientific learning from that celebrated city. It was believed however by J. B. Biot* that Indian Astronomy owed much to China, especially in regard to the twenty seven nakshatras. The Zodiac so named seems to be based on the Chinese Zodiac of twenty-eight. The Hindoo Astronomy has changed some of the stars, but has kept the Chinese stars in most cases. The truth of this view ought to be admitted unless the Babylonians can be shown to have had a Zodiac of twenty-eight signs, from which the Hindoos and Chinese might both have borrowed. Until the present time we do not know of any such Zodiac among the Babylonians, and yet we have a very full account of Babylonian Astronomy and Astrology given us by Professor Sayce in the "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology."† But the basis of the Zodiac of twenty-eight is apparently *the week*, and assuming that the Chinese

* "L'Astronomie Indienne et Chinoise."

† Vol. III, 1874, pp. 145-339.

invented the Zodiac of twenty-eight, is was at least based on the number seven, in the Great Bear, and on the institution of the Week in a rudimentary form. So far it may be said to be Babylonian.

The time when the Babylonian astrology entered China is left uncertain in the Chow Ritual, where it is first mentioned. That book appears to have been compiled at different periods from B.C. 1120 downwards to the time of Confucius and later. The record of the astrologer's duties there given is brief: "The astrologer, styled Pau chang shi, has charge of the stars in order to record the changes in the motions of the sun, moon, and stars, so that he may observe in the lands under their influence what changes will take place in the way of good or ill fortune. The nine provinces of the empire are distinguished by certain stars. The states which are defined by imperial decree have each of them special stars, by observing which calamities and blessings about to fall on them may be foretold. That which may be seen in the year star [Jupiter] of the cycle of twelve is either of an adverse or prosperous nature."

Another astrologer, Feng siang shi, has charge, says the same work, of Jupiter as controlling the twelve years of his period, the twelve months of each year, during each of which the Bear points to a sign; the twelve signs or hours, the ten divisions of the denary cycle and the twenty-eight constellations. He must distinguish the order of the stars, and state when the various heavenly bodies meet in them.

When did the Chinese first learn astrology? Most probably, it may be replied, about the close of the ninth century before Christ. Siuen wang the eleventh emperor of the Chow Dynasty was then reigning. He rewarded his brother in B.C. 805 with an extensive barony, the Cheng state.* It was taken from the Chow State in Central China. Now it happens that in arranging the stars of the Zodiac of twenty-eight, the astrologers have made Kio and Kang, the first of them, the special constellations of the Cheng state. Professor Russell of Peking informs me that Jupiter was certainly in Kio and Kang (Virgo) in the year 806. This would be the reason that those constellations were selected for the new barony. We have here a clue by which we may learn the otherwise unknown date of the distribution of the twenty-eight constellations among the states

* This date is given in the Shi ki, written about B.C. 100, in the chapter upon the Cheng ducal family.

of China. It is also probable that the reason why the states had such and such constellations assigned to them was because Jupiter was, or was supposed to be, in those constellations in the year when, or in reference to which, the assignment was made. To the states Cheng, Sung, and Yen, the seven eastern constellations were appointed. The northern group was assigned to Wu, Ts'i, and Wei. The western was given to Lu, Chau, and Ts'in. The southern group went to Ts'in, Chow, and C'hu.

With astrology came also star worship and the worship of the five rulers, who presided over the elements and the five colours, blue yellow, red, black, and white. The first recorded case of the worship of the blue (or green) emperor, was in north-western China, B.C. 669.* That of the white emperor, ruler of the west, was B.C. 769, and this is the earliest instance. The ruler of Ts'in who introduced this worship, had just been rewarded for military service rendered to the emperor with a place among the feudal dukes of China. The establishment of this worship is equivalent to the establishment of the worship of Jupiter and Venus, or Marduk and Istar, on the banks of the Wei, where the Ts'in dukes had their residential city.

In the year B.C. 564, the Tso History † tells us that at that time in the Sung country the worship of Antares was maintained as a preventive against fires, and that it had been long in existence there. Legend said it was established by the emperor Yau. But we can only safely allow it to have existed a few centuries. There can be no doubt that they looked on the element of fire as prevailing in Scorpio, partly because Antares is a red star, and also on account of the great brightness of Scorpio and its neighbour Sagittarius, both belonging to the eastern group of seven, known as the blue dragon.

In the year B.C. 540 a new aspect of the superstition of the time in regard to stars is recorded by the same historian. The star god and a river god worshipped in Ts'in (Shansi) were supposed to have afflicted the ruling marquis with a disease. The friendly ruler of Cheng sent a message of condolence by a deservedly famous statesman named Tsze c'han, ‡ who told the sick marquis the whole story of the gods who were said to have done him this harm. One of them was Orion (Shen), and was named Shi c'hen (Gemini). But

* Shi ki, in the history of the Feng shan ceremony.

† Legge's "Chinese Classics," Vol. V, p. 439.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 580.

the sage advised the marquis to believe that this god had nothing to do with causing his sickness. It appears from the account that Orion was then worshipped in Tai yuen fu in Shansi, and that the legend connected with the worship was known but to few. The name Shi c'hen is the third of the Zodiac of twelve, and corresponds to Gemini. But it is clear that this Zodiac was made up of divinities who could, it was believed, bring sickness on the ruler of the state over which they presided astrologically. If Shi chen is a foreign word, it should be read Jidim, that being the old sound.

In the Kwo yü, a work believed by good native critics to be written by Tso, either before or after he had compiled his history, there are some allusions to astrology under the date B.C. 521. One thing said is, "the place where Jupiter is, that is the region among the stars which belongs to [the emperor's land, or] C'how."

Before this it is said, "when Wu wang went to attack the Shang emperor, Jupiter was in Leo, the Red bird in its fiery part."* The astrologers seem to have calculated back to find the position of Jupiter, the sun, the moon, and Mercury on this occasion. They seem to have believed that Jupiter was in the year B.C. 1122-1 in Leo, and from this circumstance fixed upon that sign as the constellation which presided over the Chow state. We may say with confidence that it was calculated back, for Jupiter was not in Leo in that year,† and could not have been there till six years after. The discrepancy is so great that it is hopeless to suppose that the patron sign of the Chow kingdom was fixed on till a long time after. Leo must have been chosen, because the astrologers in the ninth century believed that Jupiter was there at the time of the victory of Chow over Shang. The position of Jupiter would in all probability be made the ground of choice in the case of the other states also.

From the same passage it appears that in B.C. 521 it was believed that a wife of one of the ancestors of the Chow imperial family, whose home was in the Ts'i kingdom, brought with her the influence for good and ill of the constellation Aquarius, the presiding star

* The Red bird is the pheasant. It occupies the signs Gemini, Cancer, Hydra, and Corvus. Cancer is the head, and Corvus the tail. See Schlegel's "Ouranographie Chinoise," p. 69.

† My friend Professor S. M. Russell has calculated the place of Jupiter in B.C. 1121, and finds it longitude 298°, instead of being, as the Chinese astrologers represent, longitude 124° 28'.

group of that country, so that the Chow historian could say our K (Chow) family came out of Aquarius.

The results of this inquiry show that astrology came to China long before the destruction of Nineveh, and that the Assyrian empire favoured the spread of Babylonian knowledge. During the period of Babylonian supremacy and the first years of the Persian empire, the communication of Babylonian science and superstition continued, as Chinese history makes clear. At the same time a like flood of superstition and science mixed with mythology was poured in upon India while Buddhism was still young, and the Vedic age had but lately passed away. The doctrine of lucky and unlucky days, the worship of the planets with astrology spread fast and far in India and in China. After the death of Buddha and Lautau images were introduced from abroad in both countries. But in the sixth and preceding centuries it was not so. At least nothing about this occurs in the books which remain from those times.

In B.C. 2500 to 2300, or thereabouts, the Chinese had the Zodiac of twenty-eight constellations, and an intercalary month with an instrument for observing meridian stars. In the period B.C. 820 to 500, or thereabouts, they knew the Zodiac of twelve signs, and astrology. They looked on the twelve signs as divinities, and worshipped them with certain other stars in particular localities. The place of Jupiter at the time when the rulers of each of the twelve states of China first received investiture was made the basis for this local distribution of patron stars. Various later books, chiefly the Shi ki, give the astrology of each star in detail in the order of the Blue dragon, the Black warrior, the White tiger, and the Red bird. A large part of these details may be found translated from the Chinese by M. Schlegel in his "Ouranographie Chinoise."

The following examples from the astrology of the Shi ki will show what it is. After the first section on the Great Bear and the pole, the writer proceeds at once to Scorpio. The eastern palace is that of the Green Dragon, with Fang and Sin (Antares). Sin is the hall of audience (Ming T'ang), or hall for declaring the principles of the administration. Arcturus is the hall of audience for the king of heaven. There are three stars on each side of him called the directors (She ti). They straighten the pointing of the *piau* of the Peck Measure (tail of the Great Bear), so as to define the seasons and half signs. They are therefore called limiters of the directors.

The star Kang, ι , κ , λ , μ , ϵ , in Virgo is the outer temple. It rules diseases. North and south of it are two large stars called South Gate (Centaur). Libra is called the root of heaven, and rules epidemical diseases. When Mars breaks into the region of the eastern part of Scorpio and the western part of Libra there will be fighting. If he be in Antares kings will be full of wrath and fear.

On Jupiter it is said that he belongs to the east, and rules spring. His day is Kia yi (1 and 2 in the denary cycle). When there is injustice, punishment emanates from Jupiter. The destinies (or name) of nations are fixed by the sign through which Jupiter is passing. The country beneath Jupiter can rule the world by justice. That year is called the year of Sheti ko, "limit of direction." The shadow of the year goes left to the space called Yin (3rd in duodenary cycle). Jupiter goes on the right to Ch'ow (2nd in duodenary cycle). In the first month he appears with the Peck and the leader of the Cow (both in Sagittarius). In this position Jupiter is called "observer of virtue." If he has a bright green light he will leave his place. When seen in the Willow Lieu $\hat{\epsilon}$, ϵ , ζ , η , θ , ρ , σ , ω , Hydra, if Jupiter be too early, there will be floods; if too late there will be drought. Jupiter moves east 12° for 100 days, and becomes stationary. He then moves backward for 8° . After 100 days he again moves eastward. In a year he moves 30° and $\frac{7}{16}$ ths of a degree. Each day he moves nearly $\frac{1}{12}$ th of a degree, and completes the circuit of the sky in twelve years.

After detailing the movements of Jupiter during each of the twelve months, the account proceeds: When he ought to become stationary and fails to do so, or when he wavers to the right or left, or leaves his station when he should not leave it, there will be misfortune in the state to which that station belongs. Kingdoms in which he is long stationary have great virtue. His horn (flash) then moves. It is sometimes great and sometimes small. His colour changes frequently. At such a time the rulers of men will have sorrow. Beneath the region where Jupiter loses his place, and goes to the north-east in the third month, a comet will be seen (Tien pei) four feet in length. He still advances, but to the south-east, and after three months the comet called the sweeper (Hwei) appears, 20 feet in length. After the disappearance of the sweeper, in the north-west the shape called Tien chan is seen, 40 feet in

length. After three months more the comet called Tien tsiang is seen in the south-west, and is several tens of feet in length. The commentator here cites a passage from the astronomical chapter of Panku's history, which states that in the reign of Han wenti, B.C. 179 to 156, the comet called Tien ts'iang appeared in the south-west in the evening, and that the astrologers announced that it meant war. In the sixth year, B.C. 174, the Hiung nu Tartars invaded Yun chung (Shansi) and an imperial army was put in motion to protect the capital. The account of Jupiter concludes with saying that if he enters the moon there will be in that region expulsion, and if he should struggle with Venus there will be in that region the defeat of an army. Jupiter is called the Director, the Double Flower, the answering star, and the recording star. His temple is Pi (Markab and Sheat in Pegasus).

“Mars, the fiery planet, belongs to the south and to fire. He rules the summer. His days are ping ting (third and fourth in the denary cycle *). If there is error in ceremonies, punishment comes from Mars, of which departure from his regular movement is the sign. When he comes out there will be war. When he enters again the soldiers will be disbanded according to his place (or house), the fate of kingdoms will be fiery and moveable (*yunng*, fiery, *hwo*, moveable). This means rebellion and anarchy, sickness, death, famine, and war. If he goes back through two signs and remains there after three months, there will be misfortune, in five months there will be the arrival of troops, in seven, half the territory will be lost.” “When the five planets meet in one sign, the country beneath that sign can establish its ceremonies and rule the world. Mars moves eastward through sixteen signs and then becomes stationary. He moves back two signs during sixty days. Again he travels eastward through several tens of signs for ten months, when he appears in the west. During five months he is hidden in the sun's rays, and then appears again in the east.” Troops gather under him. If they fight in accordance with his indications they prevail, if the contrary they are defeated. When Mars follows Venus the army is in sorrow. When he leaves Venus the army retreats. When he emerges from the dark side (*yin*) of Venus, armies divide. If Mars moves on the bright side (*yang*) of Venus, a

* The place of ping is on the east of south, and that of ting on the west of south.

general will fight in a "one-sided manner." "Antares is his hall of administration and temple. Let careful attention be given to this."

Saturn rules the centre, and the last month of summer. His days are wu, ki (fifth and sixth of denary cycle). He is the Yellow Emperor, and rules Virtue, the star of queens and empresses. When he stays for a year in the sign, the country of that sign has good fortune. If he should not remain and does so, or if, after leaving a sign, he returns to it, the country of that sign will gain new territory, and if not, will gain a woman. "He is called Ruler of earth and of the year. He moves $12^{\circ}\frac{5}{11}\frac{1}{2}$ ths in a year. In a day he moves $\frac{1}{2}$ th of a degree. In twenty-eight years he completes the circle of the sky. If where Saturn is, the other four planets arrive together, the country of that sign will rule the world by the weight of its influence." "His colour is yellow, and he has nine flashes of light. The Peck (Ursa Major) is the temple of Saturn, and the star of empire."

The stars mentioned in Chinese astrology are of two kinds, actual and imaginary. The actual, whether fixed stars or planets, can all be recognized and identified with European names. The imaginary are roaming powers, supposed to move about the sky and shed malign influence on the world below. They may be comets or not. In Professor Sayce's "Astronomy and Astrology of the Babylonians" the real stars mentioned by their names cannot, in most cases, be identified on account of the fragmentary nature of our information on Babylonian star nomenclature. It follows that Chinese astrology may be expected to furnish, in some respects, a fuller account of Babylonian astrology than Babylon itself, in the present state of our knowledge. One important point made plain by the Chinese documents is, that the elements in Babylonian astrology ought to be five and not four. The doctrine of four elements was Greek. That of five elements must have been Babylonian, or we should not find it so distinctly presented as it is in the Chinese astrology. The Greek fondness for four was determined by the order of development in the Ionic philosophy.

PEKIN, *Aug.* 6, 1886.

The following paper was read by the Author: "Old Jewish Legends on Biblical Topics." No. I.—"A Legend on the Death of Moses;" translated by the Rev. A. Löwy.*

There are ten records of the decree that Moses was doomed to depart from this world. The first begins with the words, "Behold thy days have drawn near to the time when thou must die." These commands were combined with the Divine decree that Moses should not enter the Holy Land. But the time for the fulfilment of this sentence was only finally fixed when the Supreme Tribunal sent forth the words, "Thou shalt not pass the Jordan." The limit thus imposed upon his expectations seemed to be a slight thing in the eyes of Moses, and distressed him not; for he said to himself, "Oftentimes have Israel sinned, and when I prayed for them the Almighty forgave them and cancelled the fulfilment of the impending decree. I however who have never sinned, will engage in prayer, and the Almighty will surely listen to me. But a seal had been put upon the Divine sentence, and it was made irrevocable through the Supreme Name, that Moses should not enter the Holy Land, and should not bring the Israelites to their appointed destination. Moses however resolved to fast and to pray for the revocation of this judgment. He put on sackcloth, covered himself with ashes and stood in prayers at fifteen different times. The earth, a witness of this appeal, was seized with trembling, and all created things became afraid that the Almighty was about to change the face of the world. And there came a voice from above which proclaimed, "The end of the world has not arrived, but He who dwells in Heaven, and who holds in His hand the souls of all the living, decides the destiny of the spirit of all flesh." Throughout the firmament and throughout the Divine Courts of Justice rang the proclamation that the prayers for the continuance of the life of Moses would not be granted. No angel should present the prayers; for when the decree of death was once signed, it could not be altered. All the chiefs in the supernal regions were then hurried along, and were ordered to close the gates against the prayers of Moses. The heavens and the earth and all the foundations thereof, and all beings

* This translation forms an abstract of a Midrash (legendary exposition) of the latter portion of the Book of Deuteronomy, and is based on *Petirath Moshel*, published by Dr. A. Jellinek in his "Beth Hamidrash," Vol. I.

in creation shook with terror, for the prayers of Moses were like unto a drawn sword, that rendeth and cutteth, and that is irresistible like unto the force of the Ineffable Name which Moses had been taught to pronounce by his teacher the angel Zagzagel or Zangziel. Concerning such an occurrence of terror Ezekiel said, "I heard behind me a voice of commotion occasioned by the Great One." When the angels of the revolving orbs and the Seraphim above, found that the prayer for the life of Moses was not accepted, they joined in choral adoration before Him in whose presence there is no wrong, no forgetfulness, no distinction of persons, whether small or great. And Moses prayed, "Oh Lord of the Universe ! many times have I been troubled for the sake of Israel, until at length they became unto Thee a distinguished people and an inheritance. I have witnessed their affliction ; should I not also witness their joy ? In thy Law I have announced the precept which ordains, 'Thou shalt give his wages unto the labourer on the self-same day on which they are earned.' Give me my reward for the forty years of my toil. I felt for Israel's sorrows, am I not to take part in Israel's happiness?" Then he was comforted by words, saying, "The enjoyments and delights of a coming world are a substance and a treasure, and a compensation for the righteous that fulfil the Law through the promptings of pure love." Further, Moses was told, "The days on earth come to an end, but they are succeeded by an Eternity that needeth no light of the sun, no light of the moon and stars, no eating and drinking, no raiment, no ointment for the head, no shoeing for the foot, for I, in My glory, will shine upon Thee. My effulgence will be thy garment, My beauty thy covering, My lustre will shed purity upon thy countenance. My sweetness will refresh thee, my charms will carry thee aloft. On my sceptre is engraven that Ineffable Name whereby I called the world into existence, and by the aid of that Name I have given thee the semblance of a divine messenger, even in this world. But this sceptre appears magnified without bounds in the world to come. Many were the wonders and signals that I wrought through thee when Israel came forth from Egypt. For this people I rent asunder the sea, and caused manna to rain down from heaven. I sweetened the bitter waters ; I gave Israel the Law in which the affirmative commandments are equal in number to the limbs in the human frame, viz., 248, while the prohibitive commandments are equal to the days of the year, 365 ; and through thee I made

their warfares victorious. Thy portion, oh Moses, has been sufficient; now is the time for Joshua to take the lead of Israel. On future days Solomon, as thy disciple, shall declare in writing: 'The sun shineth forth and the sun goeth down.'

A few more were then the entreaties of Moses; at length he went forth and addressed the Israelites, from the twenty-second day of the seventh month to the first day of the tenth month, that is ninety-five days. On the first day of the tenth month he explained the Law to the 600,000 of the people. On the seventh day of the twelfth month Moses was destined to pass away, and a Divine Voice then was heard saying, "Mark it well within thy mind, thy life in the world lasts only this one day." On that day Moses wrote down the thirteen precepts of the Divine Attributes (as contained in Exodus xxxiv, 6 and 7), and sent copies of the writings unto every separate tribe. Half of the day was gone. He now invited each of the tribes, and handed to them the Law and the Commandments. The choicest inscription of the Law he placed by the side of the Ark, and he admonished and exhorted every one separately, the men alone, the women alone; and he said to them, "Be mindful and do honour to the Law and to the keeping of the Commandments." Another tradition adds that the angel Gabriel came down and took the Law out of the hands of Moses and carried it up to the Great Tribunal in heaven in order to proclaim the righteous conduct of Moses. And he took it up higher and higher into each region of the firmament. And this Law is read by the souls of the righteous on each second and fifth day of the week and on festive days. At the same time Moses conferred upon Joshua great distinction and honour in the presence of Israel, and a proclamation went forth through the camp of Israel, saying, "Come and hear the words of the new prophet who arises this day, 'All Israel come and show submission unto Joshua.'" Then Moses ordered that there be brought a throne of gold, and a crown studded with pearls, and a helmet of royalty, and a purple garment.

Moses caused seats and benches to be prepared for the Synhedrim, the chiefs of the troops, and the priests. And Moses invested Joshua with the attire of the commanding chief, put the crown upon him, seated him on the golden throne, and placed before him the Turgeman (public speaker), who was to deliver addresses before Israel—and this public speaker was Caleb the son of Jephunah. Then Joshua gave utterance to the following invocation in the

presence of the people and of his teacher Moses: "Be roused and sing, ye heavens of the highest heavens; wake up, ye foundations of the nether world; be aroused and stand forth, ye orders of the created world; arise and sing, ye mountains of the world. Issue forth songs and psalmodies, ye hills of the land. Be up and send forth praises, ye hosts of the firmament. Utter songs and recount the passing events, all ye sons of Jacob. Send out songs, ye store-houses of Israel. Let the words enter all hearts, and let the souls accept with gladness the commandments of your God. Put forth speech and ascribe glory to the Lord your God who delivereth you. Make acknowledgment before your Sovereign, and put in Him your trust; for He is One, and there is no second by His side. There is none like unto Him among the gods; there is none His equal among the angels; there is none like Him among the lords. His praise has no end; His miracles are unsearchable; His deeds are unaccountable. He keepeth unto us the oath sworn unto our fathers. He maintaineth for us the covenant and the mercy which is revealed unto us through our teacher Moses, through whom we were marvellously redeemed and carried from servitude unto freedom. For us the sea was rent asunder, and unto us 613 commandments were given." Moses then formally abdicated his high position, and served Joshua as Joshua had served him.

From the first day of the eleventh to the sixth day of the twelfth month, that is, the day before his death, Moses, true to his character of humility, paid his homage to Joshua, and waited upon him as a disciple would wait on his master, in order to show to the people that Joshua had assumed the reins of government over Israel, and that Moses himself had resigned his high position. Now every individual Israelite was seized with sorrow and trembling, and Joshua himself wept, and he said, "How cometh such greatness and such honour unto me?" And there came forth a mysterious voice, saying unto Moses, "Thou hast only five more hours to live." Thereupon Moses desired Joshua to sit before the people like a king; and the face of Moses was lustrous like the sun, and the face of Joshua shone like the moon. Moses set forth the Law, and Joshua expounded it. They were still engaged in giving this instruction to the people, when a preternatural voice was heard, saying, "Thou hast only four hours to live;" and Moses prayed, "Oh Lord of the Universe, give me power by means of Thine Ineffable Name to pass through the air or the water in order that I may cross

the Jordan and see the Promised Land. Let me be borne along on the wings of the clouds, that I may behold the Promised Land!"

But to these and all further entreaties, came the Divine reply, "Thou shalt see the land from afar, but thou shalt not pass thither." Then Moses beheld 400 parasangs of the land, which were reduced into a small scale; he beheld all that is concealed and hidden, all that is far and near. Again there came a mysterious voice and proclaimed, "Fret not, as thou hast only three more hours to live on this earth."

Another hour was consumed in prayer, and it was announced to him that he had only two hours more to spend in this life.

And Michael, the guardian angel of Israel, wept when he beheld the Angel of Death waiting for the last breath of Moses.

Then came the parting hour, and Moses prayed, saying, "Permit me, Oh Lord, to be like a bird that flitteth through the four quarters of the world gathering sustenance, imbibing drink from the river, and returning at eventide to its nest." And Moses appealed to all things in creation that they should join him in his prayer for mercy. But all creation in the heavens and on earth declared to him the feebleness of their estate.

Then he called Joshua, and said to him, "My son, I deliver up to thee the people of the Lord; their babes are as yet innocent and untaught; never say anything before them that is not fitting to be said in the presence of God's children." Moses was then proceeding to take leave of every individual tribe; but when he observed how little time was left, he bid farewell in one general greeting, and exchanged with the people words of mutual condonement.

When it was announced to Moses that his life was now measured by seconds, he took a scroll and wrote upon it the Divine Name, and the book of Jashar: then he handed the scroll to Joshua, upon whose head he places his hands. And Joshua's eyes became dimmed with tears, so that he could not behold his master.

Moses now lost the power of teaching, and the mysterious voice exclaimed before the people, "Henceforth take instruction from Joshua, and from him carry the instruction further; he is henceforth your leader."

And the supreme angels were ordered to take away the soul of Moses; but they tarried with fear. Amongst them was Zagzagel, who

spake, "Oh Lord, I was the teacher of Moses, how can I take away the soul of my disciple?"

Now the Angel of Death was called forth, who with the eagerness of the destroyer drew his sword, and approached Moses. But he saw inscribed the Ineffable Name of the Almighty, he saw fiery sparks issuing from the lips, and a wondrous lustre from the countenance of Moses, who shone like the sun and appeared to be like an angel of the heavenly hosts. Then the Angel of Death became stricken with terror. Moses, turning his eye towards that angel, asked "Who sendeth thee unto me?" The Angel of Death replied, "He who hath created the world, and who hath delivered into my hands all who come into the world." Then Moses spake: "I was gifted with the greatest power. I was brought into existence with every sign of a true child of Israel, and was endowed with speech at my birth. My mother was recompensed even for the milk with which she nursed me. From the days of my childhood I was made a prophet, being destined to receive the Law; I wrested the crown from the head of Pharaoh. At the age of eighty I wrought signs and miracles; sixty myriads of Israelites I led out of Egypt. For them I cleft the sea, making twelve paths. I sweetened the waters. I cut from the rock the tablets of stone, and took them up into the firmament of the heavens. Face to face I spoke unto the Lord of the Universe. I prevailed over powers that sought to rival me in the supreme regions. It was I who received the Law. Under the dictate of Him who inspired me I wrote the 613 Commandments, and enforced them by my teachings. I overcame the giants who since the flood had continued their predominance. I determined the movements of the sun and moon in their orbits. I have been the mightiest of men. Thou rebellious angel, for whom there is no peace, begone!"

And the angel fled. The mysterious voice then called out, "Contend not, life lasteth only a short moment."

The Angel of Death was once more summoned to fetch the soul of Moses. But he said, "I may deepen Gehenna into a lower depth; but over the son of Amram I cannot prevail. Before him I cannot stand. His face beameth like that of a seraph in the heavenly chariots. His countenance shines with divine radiance." And the Almighty addressed the Angel of Death, "Thou rebellious angel, thou hast been formed out of the fire of Gehenna; unto the

fire of Gehenna thou shalt return. With eagerness thou didst go forth ; yet when thou didst behold the greatness of that man, thou didst shrink back with dismay. His soul, however, shall be brought home."

Once more the Angel of Death with drawn sword approached Moses, who held in his hand the divine staff, on which the Ineffable Name was engraven. With that staff Moses touched the Angel of Death, and with a rebuke put him to flight. The lustre of countenance had not yet departed from Moses, when for the last time the mysterious voice rang forth, exclaiming, "The end of thy time hath come." Moses stood up in prayer, saying, "Thou Lord of the Universe, who wast revealed unto me in the fiery bush, remember that Thou didst carry me up into Thy heaven, where I abided forty days and forty nights, have mercy upon me, and hand me not over unto the power of the Angel of Death."

His prayer was granted : Moses stood there like a seraph, clad with heavenly majesty, and *He who ruleth in the highest heavens, Himself received the soul of Moses*, who acknowledged the benign and compassionate rule of the Creator. Moses resigned himself to that merciful rule.

Thus he followed the guidance of the Almighty. Three angels, Michael, Zagzagel, and Gabriel came to meet him, smoothing his couch for him to lie down, and they placed themselves at his right side, at his left side, and at the foot. By the heavenly command he clasped his hands and closed his eyes. And the Almighty called the soul, saying unto it, "My daughter, one hundred and twenty years were appointed for thee to abide in the body of this righteous man. Tarry no longer here, Thou hast arrived at thy destination. And thou shalt be placed with Me by the throne of My glory, where Seraphim and Ophanim, and Angels and Cherubims are enthroned." And the soul declared, "It was well for me to dwell within this righteous man. Angels themselves became corruptible, yet this man Moses, who was but flesh and blood, was the purest among the pure ever since the time when Thou didst reveal Thyself unto him in the midst of the burning bush."

Then the Almighty with a Divine kiss removed the soul of Moses. "Moses the servant of the Lord died by the mouth of the Lord." There was mourning in heaven and mourning on earth ; and sorrow prevailed everywhere on account of Israel : for he had

proclaimed the Lord's righteousness, and the Divine justice among the people.

He had proclaimed the knowledge of the Lord in the heavens above and on the earth beneath, and he had established that testimony, through which he surpassed every other prophet in Israel. Therefore he received the high praise which crowneth the conclusion of the Divine Law.

The following Communication has been received from Professor Wright :—

Among the objects from Cyprus exhibited during the past summer at the Colonial Exhibition were two bilingual inscriptions, Phœnician and Cypriote, the property of Colonel F. Warren, R.A., who discovered them during his excavations at Frangissa, near the ancient town of Tamassos (Ταμασσός).

The longer and better preserved of these has been translated and published by the well known archæologist M. D. Pierides, though without the Phœnician text. Colonel Warren's preface to this little pamphlet (8 pages small 8vo.) is dated "Cyprus, 13th June, 1886." M. Pierides' readings have been reproduced, with some valuable critical remarks, by Dr. W. Deecke in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* for 16th October, 1886, which has been kindly sent to me by my friend Professor Euting.

The Phœnician text, in six lines, reads as follows.

- סמל או אשיתן ויטג (1)
 א מנחם בן בנחדש בן מינ (2)
 חם בן ערק לאדני ל[רש]ף (3)
 אליית בירה אתגם בשנת (4)
 שלשים / / למלך מלכותן מלך (5)
 כתי ואדיל בשמע קל יברך (6)

- (1) *This is the statue which gave and set*
 (2) *up Mēnahēm, son of Ben-hōdesh, son of Mēna-*
 (3) *hēm, son of 'Arāq, to his Lord, to [Rēshe]ph*
 (4) *Eleyīth, in the month of Ēthanīm, in the year*
 (5) *thirty, 20 + 10, of king Malkiyathān, king of*
 (6) *Kition and Idalion, because he heard (his) voice. May he*
bless (him).

The Cypriote text, in five lines, I give according to M. Pierides' reading, with one correction in the first line made by Professor Sayce and Dr. Deecke.

- (1) *to . na . ti . ri . a . ta . ne . to . nu . e . to . ke . ne .*
- (2) *ka . se . o . ne . te . ke . ne . ma . na . se . se .*
- (3) *o . no . me . ni . o . ne . to . ti . o . i .*
- (4) *to . i . a . fe . i . lo . ni . to . i . e . le . i .*
- (5) *ta . i . i . tu . ka . i .*

This Dr. Deecke transcribes as follows.

- (1) Τὸν ἀ(ν)τιμά(ν)ταν τόν(ν)υ ἔεωκεν
- (2) καὶς ὀνέθηκεν Μανασ(σ)ῆς
- (3) ὁ Νωμημίωυ τῶ (σίε) θιῶτι
- (4) τῶτι Ἀπείλωνι τῶτι Ἐλεί-
- (5) ται ἰ(ν) τίχα.

There is no word in the Phœnician text absolutely new to us save the proper name ערק, which Dr. Deecke wrongly identifies with the "Heb. 'ārēk, 'long.'" That is אָרֶךְ, not עָרֶךְ. I suppose עָרֶךְ to be either a verbal adjective, עֹרֶךְ = عَارِج, or a substantive עָרֶךְ, of the form בָּרֶךְ, עָבֶן, etc.—The name of the dedicator is strangely rendered in the Cypriote version by *Μανασσῆς*, which should represent מְנַשֶּׁה, and not מְנַחֵם.—The name of his father Ben-hódesh, בֶּן־הַדֵּשׁ, in Greek *Νομημίος* (Cypr. *Νωμήμιος*), means "born on the day of the new moon," and is of the same class as the Syriac בְּנֵי־שַׁבָּת *Barhadbēshabbā*, "born on Sunday," בְּנֵי־סַמּוּא *Bar-šaumā*, "born in Lent," בְּנֵי־דֵּנְיָ *Denhā*, "born on Epiphany."—The reading לְרֶשֶׁף at the end of line 3 is quite certain, for Résheph is well known as the name of the Phœnician-Cypriote Apollo, on Egyptian monuments Raspu. In the *Corpus Inscriptt. Semitt.* I. 1, p. 36, no. 10, he is styled רֶשֶׁף הַיָּז, "arrow-Resheph," and elsewhere (e.g. I. 1, p. 105 sqq., nos. 89–92) רֶשֶׁף בְּנֵי־בַל, i.e. Ἀπόλλων Ἀμυκλῶς (or Ἀμυκλαῖος, of *Amyclæ*, in Lacedaemon). Here we have a new epithet, Ελείτας, אֱלִיית, which M. Pierides reads Ἐλείτας and identifies with Ἰλύτας (-της, of *Ilytē*, Ἰλῆ, in Cyprus); but Dr. Deecke takes it for Ἐλείτας (-της, of *Helos*, Ἐλος, in Lacedaemon). He adds however (*loc. cit.*, col. 1324) that there was a spot in Cyprus, near Idalion, called

τὸ ἔλος, to which the name might possibly be referred.—The month of Ēthaním occurs in the Old Testament, 1 Kings viii. 2, יָרַח הָאֵיתָנִים, and in *Corpus Inscriptt. Semitt.* I. 1, p. 92, no. 86 A, lines 1, 2.—The name of the king is written in Cypriote Greek Μελεκθυθων or Μελεκθυθων. The former would be in Phœnician מְלִכְיָתָן (cf. יְהוֹנָתָן, אֶלְנָתָן), the latter מְלִכְיָתָן (cf. אֶלִיָּאֲתָה, אֶלִישָׁפָט, אֶלִישָׁמֶע), Phœn. יתן being the equivalent of Heb. נתן, as in line 1.—This inscription proves that Melekhythán's reign was far longer than appeared from the records previously known; its beginning may have been about 375 B.C., a few years earlier or later.

The smaller of Colonel Warren's two bilinguals is not nearly so well preserved, especially as regards the upper or Phœnician portion. I have sent a squeeze of it to Professor Euting, who will no doubt succeed in deciphering it with Dr. Deecke's help. I made out enough to show that it is a monument of the same kind as the one just explained, and belonging to the same reign.

QUEENS' COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,

15 December, 1886.

Mr. Renouf sends the following:—

With the help of the Cypriote Syllabary published by Dr. Deecke in the seventh volume of the *Studien* of Curtius, I had already deciphered the second inscription of the bilingual tablet, when I was informed by Professor Wright that Deecke had published a transcription and version of the text in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* of the 16th of last October. On referring to that journal, I found that the transcription (made by Pierides) was exactly what I had expected. It was however accompanied by some very valuable notes which are necessary in order to understand the difference between the Phœnician and the Cypriote texts.

The following is the Cypriote inscription when printed in the type cut for the publications of the Society of Biblical Archæology. I am not sure about the second **ss** in the first line. Deecke

thinks this a wrong reading. The fault however may be in the text. Professor Sayce reads *nu*. My own eyesight is too defective for the settlement of the question. The most satisfactory reading would be **V**; for *to-te* = τὸν τε.

ss	e	F	*	ss	F	ss	+	*	e	∩	T	F
ne	ke	to	e	ne	to	ne	ta	a	ri	ti	na	to
F	F	T	∩	ss	e	V	ss	∩	F	∩		
se	se	na	Ma	ne	ke	te	ne	o	se	ka		
*	∩	∩	F	ss	∩	e	∩	e	∩	∩		
i	o	ti	to	ne	o	ni	me	no	o			
*	8	*	X	F	e	+	X	∩	*	X	F	
i	le	E	i	to	ni	lo	i	pe	∩	i	to	
			X	∩	T	X	X	+				
			i	ka	ty	i	i	ta				

In deciphering Cypriote writing, it is necessary to remember that the characters are essentially syllabic, not alphabetic like the Greek or Latin; that the medial and aspirated consonantal sounds are altogether wanting; and that the nasal sound is always eclipsed before a dental.

With this knowledge it is quite easy to read,—

των ἀνέριανταν τον(?τε) εἶωκεν κας(= καί) ἀνθηκεν Μανασσης ὁ
 Νωμημιων τωι θωι τωι Απειλωνι τωι Ελειται. ε(ν) τυχαι

“This image gave and offered Manasseh Numenius to the god,
 to Apollo of Helos. May good hap befall!”

The name Nomēniōn or Numenius is, as both Pierides and Deecke point out, equivalent to the Phœnician Ben Hodesh, “son of the first day of the month.” Manasses is not identical with Menachem, but both names may signify “comforter.”

Apeilon is a very remarkable form of the divine name Apollo, but closely cognate forms are known.

Pierides identifies 'Ελείτας with 'Υλάτας, another cognomen of the Cyprian Apollo, and both forms with the Phœnician Elyith.

Deecke however derives the two Greek names from different localities, "Υλη and "Ελος, and thinks it most probable that the Phœnician Elyith has its origin in the latter place.

NOTE.—The plate of this inscription will be issued with future number of the *Proceedings*.—W. H. R.

The Anniversary Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 11th January, 1887, at 8 p.m., when the Council and Officers of the Society will be elected, and the usual business of the meeting transacted.

The following Paper will be read:—

THE REV. C. J. BALL, M.A.—“Remarks on the Inscribed Stones from Hamath,” &c.



NOTE.—Members are reminded that their Subscriptions become due on January 1st, and should be sent to the Treasurer, B. T. BOSANQUET, ESQ. (Messrs. Lloyds, Barnetts, and Bosanquet's Bank), 54, St. Jame Street, London, S.W.

THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE
LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

- BOTTA, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847-1850.
 PLACE, Ninive et l'Assyrie, 1866-1869. 3 vols., folio.
 BRUGSCH-BEY, Grammaire Démotique. 1 vol., folio.
 ————— Geographische Inschriften Altaegyptische Denkmäler.
 Vols. I—III (Brugsch).
 ————— Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens, copiés sur lieux et
 publiés par H. Brugsch et J. Dümichen. (4 vols., and
 the text by Dümichen of vols. 3 and 4.)
 DÜMICHEN, Historische Inschriften, &c., 1st series, 1867.
 ————— 2nd series, 1869.
 ————— Altaegyptische Kalender-Inschriften, 1866.
 ————— Tempel-Inschriften, 1862. 2 vols., folio.
 GOLENISCHEFF, Die Metternichstele. Folio, 1877.
 LEPSIUS, Nubian Grammar, &c., 1880.
 DE ROUGÉ, Études Égyptologiques. 13 vols., complete to 1880.
 WRIGHT, Arabic Grammar and Chrestomathy.
 SCHROEDER, Die Phönizische Sprache.
 HAUPT, Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze.
 SCHIRADER, Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament. 1872.
 RAWLINSON, CANON, 6th Ancient Monarchies.
 PIERRET, Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Égyptienne. 8vo. Paris, 1875.
 BURKHARDT, Eastern Travels.
 WILKINSON, Materia Hieroglyphica. Malta, 1824-30. (*Text only.*)
 CHABAS, Mélanges Égyptologiques. Séries I, II, III. 1862-1873.
 ————— Voyage d'un Égyptien en Syrie, en Phénicie, &c. 4to. 1867.
 ————— Le Calendrier des Jours Fastes et Néfastes de l'année
 Égyptienne. 8vo. 1877.
 MASPERO, De Carchemis oppidi Situ et Historia Antiquissimâ.
 8vo. Paris, 1872.

PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE SOCIETY
OF
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

SEVENTEENTH SESSION, 1886-87.

Third Meeting, 11th January, 1887.

[ANNIVERSARY.]

REV. A. LÖWY

IN THE CHAIR.



The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Royal Society:—The Proceedings. Vol. XLI. No. 247. Svo. London. 1887.

From the Royal Geographical Society:—The Proceedings and Monthly Record of Geography. Vol. VIII. No. 12. New Monthly Series. December, 1886. Svo. London.

From the Royal Institute of British Architects:—The Journal of Proceedings. Vol. III. New Series. Nos. 4 and 5. 4to. London. 1886.

From the Palestine Exploration Fund:—The Quarterly Statement, January, 1887. Svo. London.

From the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1884:—The Journal. New Series. Vol. XIX. Part 2. Svo. Shanghai, 1886.

From the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze :—*Bollettino delle Pubblicazioni Italiane, &c.*, 1886. No. 23. 15th December. Svo. Firenze.

From the Editor :—*The American Journal of Philology*. Vol. VII. No. 3, whole No. 27. Svo. Baltimore. October, 1886.

From the University :—*Johns Hopkins University Studies*. Fourth Series. XI, XII. *The Land System of the New England Colonies*. By Melville Egleston. Svo. Baltimore. 1886.

From R. D. Darbishire, Esq., F.S.A. :—*Report of the Phœnician and Roman Antiquities in the group of the Islands of Malta*. By A. A. Caruana, D.D.

Printed by Order of His Excellency the Governor. Folio. Malta. 1882.

Recent Discoveries at Notabile; a Memoir by A. A. Caruana, D.D. Printed by Order of His Excellency the Governor. Folio. Malta. 1881. (In same Vol.)

Discovery of a Tomb-Cave at Ghain Sielem, Gozo, in June, 1884. Notice by Dr. A. A. Caruana. Folio. (In same Vol.)

El-Gherien tal-Liebru, Malta; a Hypogeum discovered in July, explored and described in October, 1884. By Dr. A. A. Caruana. Folio. (In same Vol.)

Recent further excavations of the Megalithic Antiquities of "Hagiar-Kim," Malta, executed in the year 1885, under the direction of Dr. A. A. Caruana. Folio. Malta. 1886. (In same Vol.)

From R. D. Darbishire, Esq., F.S.A. :—*Annales du Musée Guimet*. *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* publiée sous la direction de M. Maurice Vernes, avec le concours de MM. A. Barth, A. Bouché-Leclercq, P. Decharme, S. Guyard, G. Maspero, C. P. Tiele (de Leyde), etc.

Première année. Tomes I and II. Paris. 1880; III and IV. 1881; V and VI. 1882; VII and VIII. 1883; IX and X. 1884; XI and XII. 1885; XIII. 1886; XIV. Nos. 1 and 2. 1886.

From the Author :—*Inschriften aus der Saitischen Periode*. Von Dr. A. Wiedemann. Folio.

Tirage à part du *Recueil de Travaux, &c.* VIII^e année. [Vol. VIII, 1887.]

From the Author :—*La Lettre d'Adrien à Servianus sur les Alexandrins.* Par Dr. A. Wiedemann.

Extrait du Muséon.

From the Author :—*Essai d'interprétation assyro-chaldéenne.* Par G. Massaroli.

Extrait du Muséon.

From the Author :—*De Inscriptionibus cuneatis quæ pertinent ad Šamaš-šum-ukîn, regis Babyloniæ regni initia.* Carolus Fredericus Schmann. 8vo. Monachii. 1886.

From the Author :—*Camillus.* Par Philippe Berger. 8vo. Paris. 1886.

Extrait des Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique. Tome VI. 2^e fascicule.

From J. Crossett :—*The Bible in Chinese.* Vol. I. Genesis. Printed by the Tae Ping Rebels, in the third year of their king. (The whole Bible was printed by them.)

The following has been purchased by the Council for the Library of the Society :—

La Terre des Patriarches, ou le sud de la Palestine. Par l'Abbé Morand. 2 Vols. 8vo. Lyon. 1882.

The following were elected Honorary Members of the Society :—

Professor C. de Harlez, Louvain.

Professor C. P. Tiele, Leyden.

The following were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated on December 7, 1886 :—

Henry M. Mavor, 89, Elgin Crescent, Notting Hill, W.

William Gershom Collingwood, M.A., Gillhead, Windermere.

The following were nominated as candidates for Membership of the Society :—

Rev. Signor Padre Brunengo, alla Direzione della Civiltà Cattolica Firenze.

J. Norton Dickens, 12, Oak Villas, Manningham, Bradford.

SECRETARY'S REPORT

FOR THE YEAR 1886.

I CANNOT commence this Report without referring to the grievous loss suffered by the Society, in common with the world of science, by the lamented death of our distinguished President, Dr. Birch. It must never be forgotten, that as its principal founder he had not only from his position as President, but as the best friend to its interests and welfare, by his varied scholarship, unfailling industry and watchful care, done all that was in his power to carry forward the work for which the Society was founded.

Since the year 1870, to the time of his death, Dr. Birch was year after year elected President, and but seldom during that long period of over fifteen years was he absent from the meetings.

It cannot be other than a subject of congratulation to the Members that a memoir of Dr. Birch has been prepared by Mr. P. le Page Renouf and Mr. E. A. Wallis Budge, with notes on his Chinese studies by Professor Douglas, which will be issued shortly in the *Transactions* of the Society. It will include a portrait, and as complete a bibliographical list of his works as could be collected by Mr. Budge.

In the last Report presented to the Society, read at the Anniversary Meeting held on the 12th of January, 1886, the total number of Members on the Roll was announced as 703.

The following figures show the present condition of the Roll of Members, &c. :—

Ordinary Members	....	....	....	....	610
Public Libraries	....	....	....	....	51
					661
Foreign Honorary Members	....	....	....		35
			Total	....	696

The full number of eight Meetings have been available for reading papers, and it is satisfactory to be able to mention that the number and interest of those presented has been equal to former years.

It will perhaps be well and more convenient to class the papers with the communications for which the Society has been indebted to various authors. To commence with the Anniversary Meeting, Dr. John P. Peters discussed the date claimed for a boundary stone of Nebuchadnezzar I, an account of which was presented to the Society by Mr. Theo.

G. Pinches and Mr. E. A. Wallis Budge, M.A., on March 4th, 1884; the same writer (May 4th) discusses the date of Naram-Sin, son of Sargon, as given by Mr. Pinches from the cylinder in the British Museum (November 7th, 1882). Following this with the papers, &c., also dealing with the antiquities of Assyria, &c., on February 2nd, in a paper entitled, *The Tower of Babel and the Birs-Nimroud*, Mr. William Simpson gave some noteworthy suggestions as to the origin of the Mesopotamian Tower Temples; a number of carefully prepared diagrams were exhibited in illustration, which it is the intention of the Council to reproduce in a future number of its publications.

Professor Hommel, at the meeting held on the 6th April, announced his suggestion that the Babylonian hero Gish-du-barra was to be identified with the Biblical Nimrod. In the same number of the *Proceedings*, Professor J. Oppert gives an interesting and valuable list of the weights and measures as they are written in cuneiform.

To Mr. Pinches we were indebted (June 1st) for the following interesting and valuable notes upon Assyriological matters. An interesting numeral form (*šitin* = two); *Āgarrūtu*, "workmen"; *Šaṭāru*, "a written document," *Nadūnu* and *naṭūnu*, "to give;" the name of Sargon of Agadé, which may be considered as a supplement to the remarks published in the *Proceedings*, November 6th, 1883, &c. (VI, pp. 11 and 68); and lastly a note upon Assyrian bird-names, throwing some new light upon one of the birds mentioned in the Rev. W. Houghton's paper printed in the *Transactions*, Vol. VIII, pp. 42. &c.

The Rev. Joseph Edkins, D.D., in an interesting paper, examined the question, *When did Babylonian Astrology enter China?*

It is much to be regretted that the excavations carried on in Mesopotamia so long and so successfully have now come to an end. But we can only hope that the cessation of these works, so interesting and at the same time really valuable to students of Bible History, is only temporary, and that at no very distant period the excavations will be resumed on a larger and more exhaustive scale, so that the still hidden treasures of the mounds may not continue to remain unknown.

The papers dealing with Egyptian antiquities have been both numerous and valuable. To commence with those printed in the *Proceedings* of January 12: Professor Lieblein writes on the 2 Kings vii, 6, and the Egyptian title *per m ĩru*. Professor Aug. Eisenlohr gives some new information on the How inscriptions, one of which was mentioned by Professor Sayce in the *Proceedings* of June, 1885. Professor Eisenlohr adds full copies of the inscriptions, which are given in a plate.

To Dr. Wiedemann the Society has been indebted for a number of communications, for the most part, besides original matter, dealing with antiquities an account of which has not been before published. To commence with the next number of the *Proceedings*, February 2nd: *The Egyptian monuments at Venice*; *Notes on the Cult of Set*, and on the

Hyksos Kings ; The Monuments of the Ancient and Middle Empire in the Museum at Karlsruhe. Again (June 1), The King *Āhmessa-pa-ar* ; Tombs of the Nineteenth Dynasty at *Dér El-Medinet* (Thebes), and descriptive remarks on a stone Sarcophagus of the Saitic period, preserved in the Museum at Berlin.

A paper from M. E. Lefébure was read on March 2nd, entitled *Le Cham et l'Adam Égyptiens*, which will be printed in a future part of the *Transactions*. The same author (June 1st) discusses the name of the Egyptian god commonly called *Khem*.

The valuable communications of Mr. Renouf run through the *Proceedings* for April, May, and June, and deal with a variety of interesting subjects : The Myth of Osiris Unnefer ; The Name of the Winged Solar Disk on Egyptian Monuments ; The Name of the Blind Horus ; The Egyptian god *Apuat* ; The Name of the Ithyphallic Horus, and of the Heliopolitan Nome.

The communications of Mr. E. A. Wallis Budge have not been confined to Hieroglyphics. In a letter printed March 2nd, he describes the Mummy and Coffin of *Nes-Ames*, a Prophet of *Ames* and *Chonsu*, bought at Luxor by W. H. Ingram, Esq. Again (April 6th), Sepulchral Boxes from *Echmim* (June 1st), on an Egyptian Funeral Tablet in the Museum at Bath, for squeezes of which the Society was indebted to Miss Gertrude Austin. Also an interesting paper from the same writer (November), entitled, *Remarks on a Papyrus containing Formulæ for Recitation in the Temple of Amen, and the Service for the Slaughter of Apepi*.

Mr. F. G. Hilton Price, F.S.A., at the Meeting held 1st June, read a paper, with careful descriptions, of a large number of Egyptian antiquities in his collection. This paper will be printed, with illustrations, at a future time.

Mr. F. Cope Whitehouse, in presenting to the Society a volume of photographs, &c., which he had had specially prepared, made remarks on the following, which are in continuation of former communications already printed in the *Proceedings* : *Researches in the Mæris Basin* ; *The Wadi Moéleh* ; *Dionysius and the Deir Moéleh* ; *Meredis Lacus on the Ptolemaic Maps* ; *Hanes Heracleopolis* ; *Behnesa*.

Mr. E. A. Wallis Budge, in a paper read 4th May, described and translated a Coptic version of an encomium on *Elijah the Tishbite*, attributed to *St. John Chrysostom*, the manuscript in which it was found dating from A.D. 399.

As the result of Professor Sayce's journey to Egypt, we are indebted to him for two papers, the *Coptic and Early Christian Inscriptions in Upper Egypt*, and the *Kypriote Inscription in Egypt*. From the same author we have received an account of some new *Kypriote Inscriptions* discovered by *Dr. Max Ohnefalsch-Richter*.

It must always be a subject of satisfaction to the Society to be the

first to publish any inscription of value, and we have again to thank Professor William Wright for his descriptions and translations of Seven Punic Inscriptions in the British Museum, and of Hebrew Inscriptions from Aden, all of which were fully illustrated with photographic plates in the *Proceedings* for June. From the same author we have (December) an account, with translation, of a bilingual inscription, Phœnician and Cypriote, with which is printed a communication from Mr. Renouf on the same inscription.

To continue the papers bearing upon and connected with Hebrew antiquities: Professor Gaster, in a paper read at the March meeting, presented to the Society the translation of a version of the Apocalypse of Abraham, preserved in the Slavonic and Roumanian languages, and discovered by the translator.

Dr. S. Louis continued his series of interesting papers in one entitled Ancient Traditions of Supernatural Voices (Bath-Kol), which resulted in a letter from the Rev. James Marshall on the Belief in Supernatural Voices among the Greeks and Romans.

The Rev. Charles James Ball opened up a new field for discussion in his three communications (April, May, June), Remains of Ancient Hebrew Poetry; Notes on the Metres of David, and The Metres of David.

The Rev. A. Löwy at the December Meeting commenced a series of papers, entitled, Old Jewish Legends on Biblical Topics, with No. 1, A Legend on the Death of Moses.

Wherever possible the Council have printed in full in the *Proceedings* the papers submitted to the Society at the meetings, and it is hoped as time goes on that this manner of publication will be considerably extended.

Some books, as the funds at their disposal for this purpose would allow, the Council have purchased for the Library as seemed necessary; but it has been to the kindness of many friends that the Society has been indebted for valuable donations, not only of their own works, but those of other authors. Much however still requires to be done in order to make the library more complete in the series of works bearing on the various countries, the antiquities and history of which are included in the objects of the Society. It cannot be too often pointed out that the Library is for the use of the Members, and that duplicate copies, or other works no longer required by the possessor, will be gratefully received, and be of real service to those who have neither the time nor opportunity to seek elsewhere for the information they require.

A short note by Mr. Robert Brown, jun., F.S.A., is all to be recorded during the present session bearing upon the "Hittites," unless, as has been suggested, we may attribute to them the seal described by Mr. Budge, with an illustration, in the November *Proceedings*.

In the above summary of the work done by the Society during the year 1886, I have, as already stated, classed the shorter communications

to the *Proceedings* with the papers read at the monthly meetings, according to subjects.

It must not be forgotten that each number of the *Proceedings* is sent as issued every month during the session to all the Members of the Society, thus supplying those who are unable to be present at the meetings with information of what has been done, and placing them as nearly as possible in the same position as those who are able to attend. Year by year the quantity of material thus circulated has gone on increasing, and it is very gratifying to consider that through the kindness of many friends, who have thus placed at the disposal of the Members the result of their researches, this portion of the publications of the Society—commenced in 1878 with 81 pages has now reached 253 pages.

The first Part of Vol. IX of the *Transactions* is in the press ; it will be issued as soon as possible, and will contain the following papers, with illustrations : Memoir of Samuel Birch, LL.D., D.C.L., F.S.A., &c., President. Part I. Biographical Notice, List of Works, &c., by E. A. Wallis Budge, M.A. Part III. Remarks and Observations on Dr. Birch's Chinese Labours, by Professor R. K. Douglas. Notes on the Antiquities from Bubastis in the collection of F. G. Hilton Price, F.S.A. The Martyrdom of Isaac of Tiphre (with the Coptic Text), by E. A. Wallis Budge, M.A. The Karian Language and Inscriptions, by Professor A. H. Sayce. The Weasel and the Cat in Ancient Times, by the Rev. Dr. Placzek, in *Brünn (Moravia)* ; translated by the Rev. A. Löwy. Le Cham et l'Adam égyptiens, par E. Lefébure ; and Ancient Traditions of Supernatural Voices (Bath-Kol), by Dr. S. Louis.

The President, Mr. Walter Morrison, on retiring from the chair, has kindly presented to the Society the sum of fifty pounds, towards the illustration of the various papers printed in the publications of the Society.

The Audited Balance Sheets annexed show that the funds available for the year 1886 have been £480 16s. 4d., and the expenditure during the like period £351 6s. 8d., the balance brought forward from 1885 having been £124 11s. 9d.

The balance carried forward to the current year is £129 9s. 8d.

The above Report and Statement of Receipts and Expenditure were adopted.

Canon Beechey proposed, and Mr. Hyde Clarke seconded, a vote of thanks to Mr. Walter Morrison for having so well presided over the Society during the past year, and for having kindly marked his retirement from that office by so substantial a donation to the funds.

The Rev. A. Löwy proposed, and Rev. W. Wright, D.D., seconded, to which remarks were added by Canon Beechey and Mr. Thos. Christy, F.L.S., a vote of thanks to the Secretary, for which Mr. Rylands expressed his grateful acknowledgments.

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

JAN. 11]

PROCEEDINGS.

[1887.

FINAL STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31ST, 1885.

	£	s.	d.
Balance from 1885, as in printed statement ...	124	11	9
Arrears 1885, &c., collected ...	66	1	5
	£190	13	2
Secretary, Balance ...	180	0	0
Balance ...	10	13	2
	£190	13	2

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31ST, 1886.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
1887. Jan. 1. To Balance in hand ...	10	13	2	By Rent to date ...	116	0	0
" Subscriptions for 1886 ...	401	6	11	" Printing Proceedings, Vol. VIII, and Sundries ...	136	0	0
" In advance ...	25	4	2	" Engraving, Drawing, &c. ...	51	12	6
" Less subscriptions returned ...	426	11	1	" Books and Bookbinding ...	9	2	8
" Sales of Transactions ...	4	4	0	" Stationery ...	1	6	0
" Dividends, 1 year, on £123 14s. 3d. ...	44	1	11	" Official Auditor ...	2	2	0
" New Three per Cents. ...	3	14	2	" Postage ...	12	7	1
	£480	16	4	" Housekeeper and Sundries ...	18	18	11
Audited and found correct, January 11th, 1887.				" Furniture ...	0	10	0
				" Fire Insurance ...	3	7	6
				" Balance carried forward to 1887 ...	129	9	8
					£480	16	4

Dr.

LIABILITIES.

Printings, Rent, and Current Expenses, accruing for 1887.
 Printing Vol. IX, Part 1, in progress.

ASSETS.

Subscriptions still outstanding for 1886, estimated at £100.
 Transactions, Library Furniture and Effects
 Reserve Fund in New Three per Cent. Annuities, £123 14s. 3d.
 11. HART STREET, BLOOMSBURY, W.C., January 11th, 1887.

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 C. J. BALL,

W. HARRY RYLANDS, Secretary.

The following Officers and Council for the current year were elected:—

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The Rev. Charles James Ball read some Remarks on the Inscribed Stones from Hamath, &c., which will be printed in the next number of the *Proceedings*.

Thanks were returned for this Communication.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 1st February, 1887, at 8 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

REV. C. J. BALL:—"The Metrical Structure of Qênôth" (Lamentations).

NOTE.—Members are reminded that their Subscriptions become due on January 1st, and should be sent to the Treasurer, B. T. BOSANQUET, ESQ. (Lloyds, Barnetts, and Bosanquet's Bank), 54, St. James's Street, London, S.W.

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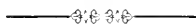
- BOTTA, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847-1850.
 PLACE, Ninive et l'Assyrie, 1866-1869. 3 vols., folio.
 BRUGSCH-BEY, Geographische Inschriften Altaegyptische Denkmæjer.
 Vols. I-III (Brugsch).
 ————— Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens, copiés sur lieux et
 publiés par H. Brugsch et J. Dümichen. (4 vols., and
 the text by Dümichen of vols. 3 and 4.)
 DÜMICHEN, Historische Inschriften, &c., 1st series, 1867.
 ————— 2nd series, 1869.
 ————— Altaegyptische Kalender-Inschriften, 1866.
 ————— Tempel-Inschriften, 1862. 2 vols., folio.
 GOLENISCHEFF, Die Metternichstele. Folio, 1877.
 LEPSIUS, Nubian Grammar, &c., 1880.
 DE ROUGÉ, Études Égyptologiques. 13 vols., complete to 1880.
 WRIGHT, Arabic Grammar and Chrestomathy.
 SCHROEDER Die Phönizische Sprache.
 HAUPT, Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze.
 SCHRADER, Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament. 1872.
 RAWLINSON, CANON, 6th Ancient Monarchies.
 PIERRET, Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Égyptienne. Svo. Paris, 1875.
 BURKHARDT, Eastern Travels.
 WILKINSON, Materia Hieroglyphica. Malta, 1824-30. (*Text only.*)
 CHABAS, Mélanges Égyptologiques. Séries I, II, III. 1862-1873.
 ——— Voyage d'un Égyptien en Syrie, en Phénicie, &c. 4to. 1867.
 ——— Le Calendrier des Jours Fastes et Néfastes de l'année
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 Svo. Paris, 1872.

PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE SOCIETY
OF
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

SEVENTEENTH SESSION, 1886-87.

Fourth Meeting, 1st February, 1887.

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, ESQ., PRESIDENT,
IN THE CHAIR.



The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Royal Society:—The Proceedings. Vol. XLI. Nos. 248 and 249. 8vo. London. 1886.

From the Royal Geographical Society:—The Proceedings or Monthly Record of Geography. Vol. IX. No. 1. January, 1887. 8vo. London.

From the Royal Asiatic Society:—The Journal. New Series. Vol. XIX. Part 1. 8vo. London. January, 1887.

From the Royal Institute of British Architects:—The Journal of Proceedings. Vol. III. New Series. Nos. 6 and 7. 4to. London. 1887.

From the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres :—Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'année 1887. Quatrième Serie. Tome XIV. Bulletin de Juillet—Août—Septembre. Svo. Paris. 1886.

From the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze :—Bollettino delle Pubblicazioni Italiane, &c., &c., 1886. No. 24. 31st December, 1887. No. 25. 15th January. Svo. Firenze.

From the University :—Johns Hopkins University Studies. Fifth Series. I—II. The City Government of Philadelphia. By Edward P. Allinson, A.M., and Boies Penrose, A.B. Svo. Baltimore. 1887.

From the Author :—Cyprische Vase aus Athen. Max Ohnefalsch Richter.

Reprint from the Jahrbuch des Kais. Archäol. Inst. Band I. 2 Heft. Svo. 1886.

From the Author :—Max Ohnefalsch-Richter. Eine Unterredung mit Sir Henry Bulwer, dem neuen Generalgouverneur auf Cypern. Folio. Berliner Philol. Wochenschrift. No. 47. 20th November, 1886.

From the Author :—A Phœnician Vase found in Cyprus.—A Prehistoric Building found in Cyprus. By Max Ohnefalsch-Richter.

Reprinted from the Journal of Hellenic Studies, 1883 and 1884.

From Max Ohnefalsch-Richter :—Idalium-Dali. By Salomon Reinach.

Reprinted from the Revue Archéologique. Third Series. IV. 1886.

From the Author :—L'Expedition Wolfe en Mesopotamie. Par J. Menant.

Reprinted from the Revue Archéologique, 1886.

From the Author :—The Babylonian Seals. By Dr. William Hayes Ward. Svo. Scribner's Magazine. January, 1887.

The following were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated at the last Meeting, held 11th January :—

Rev. Signor Padre Giuseppe Brunengo, S.J., alla Direzione della Civiltà Cattolica, Firenze.

J. Norton Dickens, 12, Oak Villas, Manningham, Bradford.

A Paper was read by the Rev. C. J. Ball, entitled "The Metrical Structure of Qinôth (Lamentations)."

The following Communication has been received from the Rev. C. J. Ball:—

I do not propose on the present occasion to discuss at length the general question of the linguistic and ethnographic affinities of the Hetta-Hattê. I will content myself with affirming that the royal Hetta names in the Egyptian records (Sapalel, Mârusar, Mâutnur, Hettasar, Mât'arima, Sapat'ar, Hirpasar) are far from striking one as decidedly non-Semitic in form, especially if due allowance be made for the peculiarities of hieroglyphic transcription.* It is probable that divine titles are involved in several of them; in Hettasar, for instance ("Hetta is king"), in Sapalel, and in Sapat'ar ("Saph is a rock"). The Philistine deity Saph (ספ; 2 Sam. xxi, 18) will thus have been worshipped by the Hetta also, just as the Syrian Hadad, Dad, Dadda, Addu, was adored among the Edomites (Gen. xxxvi, 39, הדר; 1 Chron. i, 50, הדר; 1 Kings, xiv, 17, אדר). The name seems to occur in the inscriptions of the Sufa, decyphered by M. Halévy. De Vogüé gives two inscriptions, which read:

לִנְשֵׁת בֶּן סָפ and . . . לְקֹהֵשׁ בֶּן סָפ (Nos. 151, 278).

If the name Hettasar is most naturally explained as above, it ceases to lend support to the idea that in the speech of the Hetta "the genitive preceded the nominative." A similar remark applies to certain names of towns, which have been supposed to furnish similar evidence of the non-Semitic character of the Hetta language. The first of these is â-tâ-kar (Karnak Lists, iii, 228), commonly explained as meaning "city of the goddess Ate." But *was* the Syrian 'Athé a "goddess," and not rather a god (עתה, עתא)? And is not *âtakar* more likely to be a transcription of עתעקר or עתעקר, forms corresponding to De Vogüé's עתעקב, "Athe

* The well-known Canaanitish goddess עשתרת, Assy. 𐎶𐎵𐎲𐎠𐎫. Sabean عشتَر, appears in Egyptian spelling as ā . n . t . r . t . ā (Rosellini, "Mon.," pl. 116), which looks like a dissimilation of a form עתרתא; cf. Aram. ܥܫܬܪܬܐ, עתרתא (ערתא)

sustinuit." Ἀθηναῖος, עתנתן, "Athe dedit," Ἀθηναίως, than to signify "city of Athé?"* In like manner, ā . t . b . a . n . a (226) may be עתבנא, "Athe aedificavit," and ā . n . t' . a . q . a . b (235) either ענתעב or ענוקה (Anath, Anah). Lastly, ā . tu . k̄ . r . n (191) may be עתקרן, "Athe cornutus" or "Athe radios sparsit;" compare the Biblical עשתרות קרנים. The appropriateness of this is evident, if Athé = Atys or Attis, or at least be a solar deity (cf. Hab. iii, 2, for "horn" = ray).

So far, I have touched upon Egyptian evidence. The Assyrian is equally important, but to-day I shall only notice a single point. In the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser II, Sargon, and Sanherib, an expression occurs which is said to be of Ḫatté origin. The term I mean is 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶, *bit ḫilāni*, "a portico, porch, or vestibule." The principal passage is the following:—



Bit appāti tamšil ekal mat ḫatti ša ina lišan mat aḫarri bit ḫilāni iṣassūšu, uṣepiša miḫrit babē-šin: "A porch (עתנת), in the likeness of a Ḫatté palace, which in the tongue of the West Country they call a *Bit ḫilāni*, I caused to be made in front of their gates" (Sargon, Bull Inscr., 67-69). Now if the Ḫatté spoke a non-Semitic dialect, and *bit ḫilāni* is really one of their phrases,† it ought not to be explicable from Semitic sources. The *bit*, however, is the common Semitic בית, بيت, בית: "a house;" and the second half of the compound, *ḫilāni*, admits of explanation as a derivative from the root חול, or הלל (not חלן, as suggested

* Perhaps we have a trace of this deity in the Old Testament עתיה, Num. xi, 4; and perhaps No. 203, ā . ti . ua may be compared (? עתיהו).

† "Das Wort *ḫilāni* ist, wie bereits bemerkt, hettitisch. Die Schreibweise, Tig. jun., 68, *bit ḫi-it-la-an-ni* möchte ich nicht für eine assyrische Umbildung des Lehnwortes, sondern einfach für einen Schreibfehler anstatt *bit ḫi-il-la-an-ni* halten" (Keilschrifttexte Sargon's, von Dr. D. G. Lyon, who refers to VR 10, 101 f., Sanh. Kuy. iv, 4).

by Dr. Lyon). In the former case we might compare the Heb. חֵיל, חָיִל, προτείχισμα, antemurale, "forewall," *i.e.*, the outer wall of a city (2 Sam. xx, 15; Isa. xxvi, 1; Lam. ii, 8; Nah. iii, 8; Ps. xlvi, 14). If it were objected that the *heth* of this root is soft (Arab. حَيْلٌ = חֵיל), and would not be expressed in Assyrian, we might reply that in Assyrian the *heth* appears hard in the word *hātu*, "host," = חילות (ha . a . a . al . ti, "Flood," iii, 21, 22), as also in Ethiopic ካይል: In this case, *hīlāni* would be a plural, as suggested by Dr. Lyon. If, however, we compare the חָלַל, Arab. خَلَّ perforavit, Syr. سَلَّ, explained by the native lexicographers *perforavit, intravit*; Aph. *profanavit* (as in Heb., *pi'el*), we get the sense, "house of entry," or "openings" (*cf.* خَلَّلَ, "interstice," "gap," Lane s.v.; חַלּוֹן, "window"). The Targumic חילוני, חילונאה, "outside," "foreign," "profane," curiously resembles the Assyrian term (Ex. xxix, 33; Ps. cxxxvii, 4). Thus from whichever root we derive the term, and in whatever precise meaning, *bit hīlāni* is clearly an expression of Semitic form and origin; and to look farther afield for its explanation is needless. I am not so rash as to conclude from a single phrase to the character of an entire language; but it is at least remarkable that when an Assyrian king chances to mention the *Hattē* designation of a particular object, that designation should so obviously be a Semitic one.* Leaving the general question, I will now endeavour to set before you certain considerations bearing more particularly upon the Stones from Hamath. And first I observe that Hamath is, and always has been, so far as we know, a Semitic town.† The entire historical period from first to last presents no trace of a non-Semitic occupation. The name itself is obviously Semitic (Heb. חמת, Arab. حَمَّاتٌ), and means *munimentum, arx, ἀκρόπολις* (*cf.* חומה, *murus*, and حَمَّا, "to defend from invasion or attack," Lane, s.v.

* A name is not necessarily non-Semitic because it looks so. The curious Girparuda, *e.g.*, may be explained from the Arab. جرف, "a waterworn bank," جراف, "a torrent" (Heb. and Aram. גרף, *abripuit*: Judg. v, 21), and *Arunta*, the Orontes. *Cf.* the variant Garparunda.

† The Hamathites were a clan of the Canaanites, Gen. x, 18.

Also **המני**, Prov. xxvi, 27); and that it is not a Semitic designation of a foreign city, but the immemorial native name, is demonstrated by the Assyrian *mīt* A-ma-at-te (Sarg. Cyl., 25; also *Ḥa-am-ma-te*; *vid. infr.*), which presupposes a nominative 'Amātu, and by the far more ancient *Ḥemtu* of the Karnak Lists.*

The Old Testament mentions one place, and one only, so far as I am aware, as being "in the land of Hamath" (2 Kings xxv, 21), viz., Riblah, **רבִּלָּה**, now **رَبْلَة**, *Ribleh*; a name referred to the root **רָבַל**, and expressive of fertility and abundance (perhaps, however, the place got its name from the tree called **רָבַל**). Shalmaneser II* mentions Adēnu, Bargā or Masgā, Arganā, and Qarqara, as towns belonging to Hamath. There is nothing in any of these names suggestive of a non-Semitic origin. The first resembles **עֲדָן**, **עֲדָן**, and the last is the **קִרְקַר** of Judg. viii, 10. If the people of the country did not speak a Semitic idiom, it is singular that they called their towns by Semitic names.

Further, the Old Testament and the cuneiform inscriptions have preserved a few names of Hamathite kings and gods. If the language of Hamath in the Old Testament period were a non-Semitic idiom, we might expect to find some trace of the fact in these proper names; but we find none. Upon inspection, all of them are seen to be more or less obviously Semitic. The first we meet are those of David's vassals, Toï (**תֹּוִי**); so 1 Chron. xviii, 19, more correctly than 2 Sam. viii, 9, Toï), and his son Hadoram (**הַדּוֹרָם**) or Joram (Sam. I. c. **יִוֹרָם**, but LXX Vat. *Θωρόβ* and *Ἰεῖλσούραμ*). Toï is a good Hebrew form, and may signify *bulbus*; cf. Arab. **تعتع**: or perhaps rather *excelsus, superbus, tyrannus*; cf. **طَاع**, **طَاعَال** or **طَغَى**, "to rise high," said of a torrent, or the sea (**תִּיָּעָה** = **תִּיָּעָה**). The latter name is, in both forms, clearly Cananaeo-Semitic. The names of two deities are involved, viz., **יְהוָה** (as in the Israelite **יְהוָה**, **יִוֹרָם**), and the more obscure **הַדְּר**, which may be perhaps **הַדְּר**, **הַדְּר**, Assy. Addu, in the name Bin-Addu-natan; cf. Sufa **הַדְּר** (De Vogüé, 303); or else **הַדְּר** = **אֲדַר**. The LXX

* In both Egyptian and Assyrian the name has the old case-ending. With the Assyrian spelling, cf. the Greek *ἡ Ἀμαθίτις χώρα*, 1 Macc. xii, 25; *Ἀμάθη*, Jos. Ant. 1, 6, 2.

spelling may point to הַדְּדִירָם, Haddu-ram (the י being a vestige of ה). The double name of Tou's son may indicate different sources drawn upon by the writers of Sam. and Chron.; and the prince may have borne both designations, just as a later king of Hamath, whom Sargon conquered and slew in his second year (B.C. 720), is called both Yahu-bi'di and 'Ilu-bi'di. These names, too, are Semitic, and, in fact, Canaanite; whether we explain them as יהופחדרי, יהופחדרי, אלפחדרי, "Yah" or "El is my Fear" (*i.e.*, my God; cf. the Biblical פחד יצחק, and the Aram. ܐܢܝܠܐ, "an idol") or as יהובעדי, "Yah is around me" (Ps. iii, 4).*

Whatever the precise origin and significance of the second half of this royal title may be, as a compound the whole name exactly resembles the Heb. אליקים-יהויקים; and the form of the second member of it, *bi'-di*, is thoroughly Semitic (فعل with a suffix). Somewhat earlier, we again encounter the universal Semitic אל, in the name *E-ni-ilu*, *i.e.*, עיניאל "Eye of El," like פניאל, "Face of El,"† a king of Hamath, mentioned by Tiglath Pileser II. Lastly, we have Ir-ḥu-li-na (Shal. Ob., 60) or Ir-ḥu-li-ni, the king of Hamath, who was reduced by Sargon's predecessor, Shalmaneser (Schrader, K.A.T., 107, Ir-ḥu-li-e-ni; 201, Ir-ḥu-li-na; 203, Ir-ḥu-li-ni). This also has the appearance of a Semitic compound name. The first member might be ירח, as in עבדירח, ירחבול; or it may be an imperfect of a רחל, in which case the second member *ēni* or *ēna*, will be the עין, which, as we have seen, occurs in Eniel. The former derivation seems preferable, as רחל is only known from the primitives רחל "ewe," Arab. رَحَلٌ, etc., while Irḥu-lēni might possibly be connected with לין, pernoctavit, permansit, or with לען, Arab. لعن abegit, procul esse jussit, maledixit (an aspect of the moon-god, which recalls the classical Hecate); or, lastly, the latter half of the word might be another proper name (as in Hadad-Rimmon, Samsi-Rammân).

* The Sam. 𐤁𐤃𐤓, *perdidit*, would give an ill-omened name.

† III R., 9, 51, 𐤁𐤃𐤓 𐤁𐤃𐤓 𐤁𐤃𐤓 𐤁𐤃𐤓 𐤁𐤃𐤓 𐤁𐤃𐤓 𐤁𐤃𐤓 𐤁𐤃𐤓 𐤁𐤃𐤓 𐤁𐤃𐤓 𐤁𐤃𐤓. Delitzsch compares the Phœnician name of a king of Byblus עיניאל ("Wo lag das Paradies," p. 278).

The gods of Hamath, so far as known to me, are those whose names are implicated in these royal titles: viz., Hadad or Adar, El and Yahu, and possibly Tou, and Yerach (the moon). One remains, the אַשִׁימָא of 2 Kings, xvii, 30, which agrees with the Arabic epithet ^{أَسَافَة} or ^{الْأَسَافَة}, "The Lion;" and may have denoted a lion-headed deity (*cf.* 2 Kings, xvii, 25). It has also been compared with the Phœnician 'Eshmun, the eighth (שְׁמִינִי) of the Cabeiri; but this is not so likely. It is interesting to find the name of Ashima in a Temaïte text, lately discovered by Professor Euting of Strasburg, which he refers to the sixth century B.C. This inscription, written in an Aramaic dialect, mentions (lines 16, 17)

צֶלֶם זֵי מַחַר וּשְׁגַלָּא וַאֲשִׁימָא
אֱלֹהֵי תִימָא

"Çelem of Maḥar, and Shangala(?)* and Ashima, gods of Tema." (Only the מ in Ashima is uncertain.) If Ashima was a god of Tema in the south as well as of Hamath in the north, it is hard not to recognize here also a Semitic deity.

I now come to the consideration of the inscriptions from Hamath. The facts already laid before you seem to point in one direction. If Hamath is a Semitic term; if the kings and gods of Hamath bear Semitic names; above all, if from first to last, throughout the entire history of the place, there is no hint of a non-Semitic population, we may acknowledge a considerable *a priori* probability that any ancient inscriptions from Hamath must be couched in a Semitic idiom.

The peculiar character of these inscriptions excludes a post-Christian date, and probably the entire Greek period. If they are not relatively very ancient, the fact must be due to the survival of an archaic system of writing side by side with a modern one. They seem at least to imply the existence of a native ruler or rulers of some importance, and can hardly be assigned to any period after the Assyrian overthrow of the native dynasty (720 B.C.). How much earlier they may be is a question which must be left undecided.

* See Dr. Neubauer's article in "Studia Biblica," Oxford, 1885. Perhaps we may compare the names Sangara of Carchemish, and the Biblical Shamgar.

I submit the following as a possible transcription of H. 1, observing that the grouping of the symbols in threes (of which there are three instances in line 1, and four in line 2) suggests the Semitic characteristic of trilateralism.
























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						ת









This, reading the lines *boustrophedon*, and the words alternately from top to bottom, and *vice versa*, gives :





1. אנא (?) מרא רב מלך חמת (D.P.)
2. שר בני חית אדרנחם שר שריא מ
3. חתתייא בן שפרנחת (D.P.) (D.S.)


"I am the great lord, the king of Hamath, the prince of the bnê Heth, Adar-nahem, king of the kings of the Hittites, son of Saph-(or San-)dan-(?) Heth the king." *

* "We must regard them (*i.e.* the Hamathites) as closely akin to the Hittites on whom they bordered, and with whom they were generally in alliance" (Dict. of Bible : art. HAMATH : London, 1863). I have always held that the Old Testament Hittites were Semitic, in the sense of speaking a






Three of the inscriptions from Hamāh open with a common formula, which occupies the first line of H. I., and half of the first lines of H. II., H. III. Not only so; the three inscriptions appear to consist of a common setting, so to speak, in which are inserted different proper names. (The fifteen signs, which follow **המת** in H. II. and III., are omitted in H. I.) From the outset, I recognized the resemblance of the sign  to the Himyaritic , , Ethiopic ,* and that of  and  to , Phæn. . As the stones came from Hamath, and I knew that the name of the place had always been the same (even when in the Greek period it received the addition of Epiphaneia, in honour of Antiochus Epiphanes); I naturally looked for that name in the parts common to the three inscriptions. And as  reminded me of the Egyptian , denoting a *wall* or *fortification* (the meaning of the name Hamath), and of  "the act of building," I thought it might be an ideogram either for the name Hamath, or for a town in general. Then, assuming the symbol under it () to be equivalent to a *Heth*, I read the whole group at the end of H. I. 1, as **המת**. The form  is actually found for  in the rock inscriptions of the *Safa*. Reference to the Cypriote syllabary seemed to confirm this reading of the group.    or    might be compared with   .































Having identified **המת**, I thought the preceding group of three signs might be **בילך**, "king." The lowest sign is my , the  is like Asoka , Hieratic , Phœnician , , , Cypriote ,


Semitic tongue. But I did not expect to find them at Hamath; and at first I read the  which begins line 3 as a *beth*; but *cf.* *Safa* , , *heth*. The form  **התתיא** however, is strange (*cf.* **התאי**, 1 Kings, x, 29; 2 Kings, vii, 6), and so is the use of the *Mem* before it.





Perhaps the sign  should be read **אדון**, "lord," and the last group of line 2, **אדנים** (in H. II, III, **אדני**).

* The Stone Bowl, where the characters are more conventional in plan, presents a very good example of Himyar-Ethiopic *m*.

➤ (*li*); and for the top character , I thought Egypt.  *k*, Phen. , Himyar. , and especially Saf. , not altogether unfair analogies.

I have all along assumed that, like the hieroglyphs of Egypt, this system of writing consists of ideographic, syllabic, and alphabetic signs. Accordingly, it seemed likely that the initial sign of the head and arm pointing to the mouth denoted the first personal pronoun, after the analogy of the Egyptian sign  *á*, which is the suffix of the first person (Renouf, "Egypt. Gram.," p. 17; Brugsch, "Verzeichniss," p. 21).* The symbol  might be a phonetic determinative, viz., the final vowel *ā* or *ī*. In Egyptian, we have  *i*; and in the Asoka character all vowels but *ā*, which, as in Ethiopic, is implied in the consonant, are represented by combinations of lines above or below the letter. Thus  is *ka*,  *ku*,  *kū*; just as in Ethiopic we find ከ: *ka*, ኩ: *kū*, ኪ: *kī* (cf. also the Hebrew system of punctuation, both Babylonian and Palestinian; e.g., יִשְׂרָאֵל and יִשְׂרָאֵל). Hence I conjectured that the often recurring  (or ) which appears under the  of the second group in the first line of H. I, II, III, might be a vowel, perhaps *ī*; cf. Asoka  *kī*.† The symbol like a beetle or grasshopper  I suppose to be *n*; compare Egypt. hier. , , demotic , Phen. , Asoka  (*a*, *o*), Safaitic  and , and , and , Cypriote . The last sign of the second group, which is a flattened equivalent of the  of the next, is, I think, a ; cf. Himyar. , , Eth. , Safa , Old Arab. , Cypr , , *re*. Writing the three principal signs of the second group in the Safaitic character, horizontally instead of vertically, the striking resemblance between certain of the Hamathite symbols and those of the Rock Inscript-

* The sign for "action with the mouth," "eating," "speaking"  still more closely resembles the Hamathite symbol (Renouf, Gram., p. 2).



† It closely resembles Safaitic  = , which occurs on the Stone Bowl. The Egyptian demotic  *a*, and  *b*, are similar.




































tions copied by De Vogüé, and interpreted by Halévy, becomes evident.

HAMATHI.	Safa.	or	Safa.	

I therefore read this group **ברא**. But it is obvious that the same three letters, read in a different order, would give the word **אמר**, “to say;” and I do not feel at all sure about the values of my vowel-signs. The stroke appended to the **ר** may perhaps mark the end of the word; or be used like the Egyptian in *re*, *ra*, etc. The same may be true of the central stroke in , as the sign also occurs without it; H. II, 2; H. III, 2. I read this symbol as **ב**, on the analogy of Asoka **𑀧 bh**, Himyar.-Eth. **𐩇**. It is also not unlike an inverted *beth*. But it may be a **ב**, Old Ethiop. **𐩇**, or a **ס**, Safa **𐩇**, **𐩇** (a common character on the Stone Bowl).

In line 2, I take the to represent a royal head-dress (**בתר**, Assy. *kitiru*, *kl̄cap̄s*), and to be the ideogram for *king*, *prince*, etc. The signs below it may be a phonetic ending, completing the word, or they may be an independent expression, e.g., **בני**. In either case, I think **כ** is a vowel; cf. Cypriote **𐤎** (*e*?), **𐤏** (*i*?), Egyptian demotic **ⲕ**, *e*. At first I read the whole group **שליט**, “ruler” (**Ⓢ** = Phen. **Ⓢ**, **𐩇**). But as **Ⓢ** appears in Himyar-Ethiopic as **𐩇** *π*, in Safaitic as **פ** *f*, and in Cypriote as **𐤎** (*mo*), it may perhaps represent the remaining labial **ב** in Hamathite. If so, the bar added to it in this group may be an *u*, (Egypt. **𐎃**, Safa **𐩇**); and the middle group of line 3 is **בן** with a determinative prefix apparently denoting virile strength (an arm grasping a club), and so the male sex. The other *u*, **𐩇**, seems almost certain; cf. Egypt. **𐎃**, Asoka **𑀧**, Phen. **𐩇**, Safa **𐩇**, and a dot (**•**), Cypriote **𐤎**, **𐤏**, **•**. (*ne*). I am very doubtful about **𐩇**, which I have transcribed by *you*, on the strength of Egypt. **𐎃**, Phen. **𐩇**,

א, מ, Sam. מ.* It might be Cypriote , (ri), in which case the second group might be read תרה (bottom to top); and the royal name in H. II, 2 might be ינחרמון (if  = mo, as in Cypriote), or נחרבן....

For the sign , I long compared Asoka  m, Safa  m, Cypriote  or  or  (mo). It might even be a conventional owl's head (*cf.* hieroglyphic m.) The top sign in the third group looked like a double *Ain*, viz., Safa  upon , thus . I thus read this group עמא. But  may be a *d*; *cf.* Egypt. , Himy. , Old Eth. , Geëz , Asoka  d,  dh, Safa  d. *Cf.* also the various Phœnician forms of emphatic *t* (); , , , . The  may be a combination of r's, *cf.* Egypt.  (Cypr. ,  ra, ,  ro), and Phœn. . The Hamathite  may be compared with Semitic  n, or Asoka  d, or the Cypriote signs for *re*, *ru*. Lastly,  is somewhat like Himyar-Ethiop. *god*, Cypriote  ya. If, however, this sign be read as an *ain* (*cf.* Egyptian ), the first nine characters missing in H. I, and supplied in H. II, III, may perhaps be transcribed ינחרמון מלך מלכין, "the city where abideth the king of kings . . ." I will only add that the last name in H. II looks like סתהרם, and that the Ibriz inscription seems to read :

שנתעתרחממת
 אבנעמחננעם (?)
 or
 ענבא .. מחננעם (?)

(The last three signs may be פדן).

* At first, I thought it might be an *m* or *r* with a vowel appended, and I read the group, in which it occurs, as Hamāth.

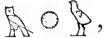

The following Communication from Mr. E. A. Wallis Budge, M.A., was read by Canon St. Vincent Beechey:—

DESCRIPTION OF THE TOMBS OF MECHU, BEN, AND SE-RENPU,
DISCOVERED BY MAJOR-GEN. SIR F. GRENFELL.

On the west bank of the Nile, at the foot of the first cataract, nearly opposite the town of Assuân,* and a little below the Island of Elephantine, the sandstone formation rises into a bold ridge, which is capped by a Sheik's tomb called *Ḳubbat el-Hawa*, *قُبَّةُ الْحَاوِدِ*. The eastern side of this hill slopes down to the Nile at about an angle of forty degrees, and is entirely covered with sand. At various heights however lines of bare rock could be seen, and it was evident that the sandstone rock had been scarped in several places. The perpendicular faces had become entirely buried by the sand which drifts in from the Northern desert. Running from the water's edge up to a spot where part of a vertical face of rock could be traced, the remains of two parallel walls were distinctly visible. Major-Gen. Sir F. Grenfell suspected the existence of ancient tombs in this place, and was convinced that if excavations were made here, interesting discoveries would be the result. In 1885 this officer was at Aswân in command of the Frontier Field Force, and in the December of that year he requested the British Consular Agent, Mr. Mustafa Shakir, to clear away the sand from some of the most likely looking spots on the hill side. The first clearance was made from between the parallel walls, and as an important result it was found that they protected two flights of steps, between which ran an inclined plane leading from the bank of the Nile to the doorway of a tomb cut in the rock. The distance between the walls is 10 feet; the steps are about 18 inches deep at the top, and are 250 in number. These convenient means of ascent were used more than 5,000 years ago for drawing up the sarcophagi and mummies of the people who were buried in the tomb. At the top of the steps there are on each side beneath the wall three chambers which once held coffins. In one of these a coffin is still to be seen, but it is so decayed that every touch causes it to crumble. As soon

* More correctly Aswân. Arabic *أصوان* or *أسوان*, Eth. *ḶḶḶḶ*, Coptic *COϩϩ* or *CEHOH*, Heb. *סְוָיָה*, Greek *Σωίμη*.

as sufficient sand had been cleared away to allow an entrance to be made through the door in the rock, it was found to be half filled with fragments of coffins, human remains, stelæ, and sacrificial tables. This discovery was reported by Major G. F. Plunkett R.E., to Sir F. Grenfell, who had been obliged to go to Wady Halfa in consequence of the advance of the rebel forces. Shortly after, traces of a second flight of steps were found, and upon measurements being made, it was found that they led to another doorway of a tomb. On 18th January, 1886, Sir F. Grenfell returned to Aswân, and at once took steps to remove the sand from the interior of the tomb. The labour involved was enormous, for the rubbish and broken stones and sand had to be cleared out in small sledges; and as soon as one load was removed, its place was almost immediately filled by the loose fragments which poured in from all sides. The second doorway was cleared, and an entrance made into the tomb. These two tombs have been numbered 25 and 26 respectively, and they will henceforth be referred to by these numbers.

Tomb No. 25 was built for an hereditary prince called , *Mechu*. He was a member of the highest council in Egypt; he held the priestly dignity of  *χερ heb*, or 'precentor;' and he was the highest priestly, military, and civil dignitary in the whole district. On entering this tomb, immediately to the right, the wall has been carefully smoothed for a space of 14 feet. Upon this the deceased is represented taking part in the cutting up of a sacrificial victim. He holds a sceptre emblematic of his office, and from the fact that his right knee is bent, and that he leans heavily on a crutch, it is clear that he was a lame man. He is usually accompanied by his son, who held the office of 'president of the priests of the Ka, or genius.' Scenes representing the ploughing with oxen, the sowing and reaping of corn, and some very spirited pictures of the Egyptian donkey, occupy the remainder of the space. In this tomb there are three rows of six round pillars. On three of them smooth places have been chiselled, and scenes of ancestor or family worship have been painted. Those who make the offerings and pour out the libations are all priestly dignitaries, chiefly 'priests of the Ka,' and are accompanied by their wives and daughters, who wear yellow tunics and carry lotus flowers in their hands. Between the two centre pillars of the middle row there still stands a rough hewn stone table, upon which offerings were placed. In a straight line

with the doorway and table a deep square rectangular niche has been chiselled. A platform projected from the bottom of it, and was approached by steps. Upright stone slabs formed a kind of screen to it, and an opening in front formed the doorway. In the wall a pylon-shaped slab has been hewn, and upon it are inscribed lines of hieroglyphics, which read: "May Anubis, the lord of Tasert, upon his hill, give a royal oblation; may Osiris at the head of the town of Tattu give a royal oblation; may they give thousands of cakes and loaves of bread, thousands of vessels of wine, thousands of oxen, ducks, rams, and gazelles to the hereditary prince, the chancellor, the president of the council, the precentor, Mechu the devoted follower of the great god of heaven."

Beneath this inscription there are in relief two figures of the deceased. There are several false doors hewn in the west wall of this tomb, and the chambers which are beneath them still await the digger's spade. What may lie buried in them it is impossible to say; but it is very important that they should be cleared out as soon as possible.

Tomb No. 26 lies to the north of No. 25. The original outer door was broken down in ancient days and carried away; on each side of the doorway are the remains of small upright stones which show traces of hieroglyphics. On the right hand side of the doorway are traces of several lines of inscription. Many of the characters have been completely obliterated by the action of time and weather; but enough remains to tell us that the deceased BEN was a high official in the government of king Ra-nefer-ka. This fixes the date of the tomb. Ra-nefer-ka or Pepi II (the Phiops of Manetho's list) was the fourth king of the VIth Dynasty, according to the king list at Sakkárah, and the fifth according to the king list of Abydos, and the evidence of the monuments themselves. The statement of Africanus that he reigned about 100 years is supported by the Turin papyrus; and we may place his reign about B.C. 3400. The name of Ra-nefer-ka is inscribed upon various objects which have been found at Elephantine; for reproduction of these, *see* Mariette, "Monuments Divers." Above the doorway of the tomb is a rounded lintel in the shape of a palm trunk, upon which is inscribed the name and titles of the deceased BEN, BENA or BENT, as his name is variously spelled. On each side of the doorway are full length relief representations of Ben, accompanied by his wife, the priestess of Athor, and his son, the Ka priest. Above the larger

figure of the deceased are two lines of hieroglyphs which record his dignities, and state that he was "governor of all the foreign lands south of Elephantine, and the chief who carried out the will of the king his lord in Elephantine." On entering the tomb we find that the first large chambers of this and the next tomb, No. 25, form one large hall, 104 feet long by 47 feet wide. The pillars in this case are square, and taper slightly towards the top. When or why the chambers were joined it is impossible to say. The general look of tomb No. 25 is older than that of No. 26, and appears to be of a much earlier date. There are several false doors in the tomb of Ben, but that of the deceased is situated in the south-west corner. The inscription upon it record his titles and the usual sepulchral prayers for material things, such as ducks, wine, bread, &c. On the west wall facing the doorway is a painted scene, in which Ben and his son are seen in boats spearing fish among papyrus plants. Above this is a niche in which there was originally a squatting figure of the deceased. In this tomb, as in No. 25, there are several chambers which are waiting to be cleared out. Passing north from these tombs we arrive at the door of the tomb of one of the great rulers of Elephantine during the XIIth Dynasty, called Se-Renpu, or 'the child of the years.' We enter it through a narrow doorway 12 feet thick, and find ourselves in a chamber containing two rows of smooth hewn square pillars; at the end of this chamber there was originally a stone door, which has long since disappeared. This door concealed a narrow passage with a slightly vaulted roof. In the side wall are three rectangular niches, each containing a painted figure of Osiris cut out of the rock, and all without inscriptions save one which bears the name of the Se-Renpu. Above are four lines of hieroglyphics, in which he says, "I have come to this land of the underworld after a good old age like unto that of my fathers." His mother, Sati-hetep, priestess of Athor, and his son Anchu are making offerings to him. At the end of this passage is a square chamber with four pillars. On each of these is a coloured representation of Se-Renpu, and a list of his titles. On the right hand side, hewn into the wall, is an inclined passage leading to a shaft, from the bottom of which a return passage brings one to a chamber beneath a small shrine. The shrine is about $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, 3 feet wide, and 3 feet deep. The sides and roof are formed of slabs of stone smoothed, plastered, and painted white. The roof slab is ornamented with a red wave pattern, and one line of hieroglyphics giving the rank and titles of

Se-Renpu. The side facing the door has painted upon it a picture of Se-Renpu, and above it are two inscriptions, which read, "The devoted servant of Sati, the lady of Elephantine and Nechebnut, Ra-nub-kau (Āmenemhāt II) Necht. The devoted servant of Chnum, the lord of Elephantine, Ra-nub-kau (Āmenemhāt II) Necht." The inscriptions on the right and left hand sides tell us that Se-Renpu, in addition to his offices of hereditary prince, chancellor, and councillor, was "the chief of the soldiers who guarded the gate of the foreign lands of the South; the president of the priests of Sati and Chnum; and the superintendent of the soldiers who were the guardians of the district of Elephantine." He was, in short, the 'Warden of the Marches,' and was so great a man that he was allowed to add the prenomens of his king Āmenemhāt II to one of his own names Necht. The appearance of the royal name Āmenemhāt II enables us to fix the date of the building of the tomb at about B.C. 2500. The freshness of the painting of the hieroglyphs in this shrine is most surprising, and the colours chosen are wonderfully true to nature. The hieroglyphic for elephant, which occurs in the name Abu or Elephantine, is painted in a greyish sepia, the exact colour of the beast. The hieroglyphs for the granite hills round about the town are painted to represent granite, and the artist has succeeded well, as one single glance at the quarries will show. The fallen slabs which once formed the fore parts of the side walls were removed by M. Maspero. Fragments of the broken statue of Se-Renpu which once filled the shrine were found scattered about the floor.

The whole of the side of the hill is honeycombed with tombs, and the short description of the three given above will show what an important necropolis lies buried here. Apparently the whole of the governors and chiefs of Aswān lie here, and a complete excavation would certainly add much to our knowledge of the history of Syene.

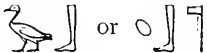



I must not omit to add that Captain Handcock, who has been continuing the excavations begun at Philæ by Captain Jackson, R.A., has recently discovered a large staircase leading down from the temple courtyard at Philæ to the Nile. On the left or south side of the staircase, a nilometer in eleven sections is cut into the wall. Major Plunkett, R.E., is now busily engaged in taking levels there, and we may hope for some important data respecting the rise and height of the Nile in ancient times at Philæ.

The following are the Remarks of Mr. P. le Page Renouf (*President*), read at the Meeting held 2nd November, 1886.

THE NAME OF THE EGYPTIAN GOD SEB.

This year's first number of the *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache* begins with an extremely interesting article by Dr. Brugsch, in which that eminent scholar produces the evidence on which he bases his new reading, Qeb or Geb,* of the god's name which has hitherto been read Seb. The new reading has been taken up by scholars like Dr. Dümichen and Dr. von Bergmann, and is now authoritatively recognised in the Catalogue of the Egyptian Antiquities of the Museum in Berlin. I fear my learned colleagues in Egyptology have been somewhat precipitate in this matter, for the evidence which has until now been put before them, however strong it may appear to them, is essentially one-sided, and, as I shall presently show, it is even incomplete on the side which they have espoused.







The fact that the name of Seb was often written Keb in the last periods of hieroglyphic writing is no new discovery. "Le Saturne Egyptien . . . prenait le nom de *Sév, Sív* ou *Sèv* et celui de *Kéb* ou *Kév*," writes Champollion,† in one of the first works written after his discovery of the true method of decipherment. And Lepsius (*Ueber den ersten ägyptischen Götterkreis*, p. 14) refers to this form in connection with a passage of a worthless Greek chronographer‡ of the seventh century after Christ, who talks of $\text{Κηβ τοῦ Ἡλίου, ἦτοι Κρόνος}$. The exchange between *Keb* and *Seb* is, as Lepsius well observes, difficult to explain. There are several possible explanations of such a change, but the true one in this instance has not yet been given.





The first point I must insist upon is that the old orthodox reading, Seb, of  or  is not an erroneous one.  *sebastos* and  *sebastā* are the Egyptian transcriptions of Roman






* See Appendix on Transcription of Egyptian Words.

† Panthéon Égyptien, 27 (1).

‡ This is *not* John Malalas, who however would be quite as worthless. To speak of Κηβ as the "griechische Umschreibung des Gottesnamens" is preposterous. Were this transcription found in Herodotos, Plato, Diodoros, or even Plutarch, well and good.


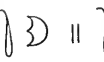
imperial titles, and CIKET and $\text{CICP}\omega$, as Brugsch says, are the Greek transcriptions of the decans  (or ) and  (or ) . The well-known name  or  is in Coptic $\text{ϩ}\omega\text{P}\text{C}\text{I}\text{H}\text{C}\text{E}$, and is found in the Assyrian annals of Assurbanipal, in the seventh century before Christ, transcribed *Har-si-ya-e-su*.


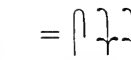
The superficial measure  has for variant  *sa*. The verb  "to guard" has for variant  *sau*.



 or  *Sait* is the ancient name of Sais,  *Saut*, that of Syut.  *Senchemu*, or its variant  "a locust," is identical with the Hebrew סלעם .


In the base period of hieroglyphic writing (during which alone the god's name is written $\Delta \text{J} \text{9}$), the *goose* and its homophone the *egg* were used as equivalent to the alphabetic *s*.


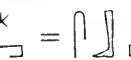
The following are instances—


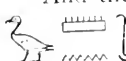

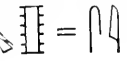
 \parallel  *tehas*. Mariette, *Denderah*, I, 71, 10.

 =  *senen*, image. *ibid.* II, 1 d.







 =  *xus*, build. *ibid.* II, 1.

 = *Uasar*, Osiris. *ibid.* II, 22, 33.

 =  *sba*, door. *ibid.* IV, 39.

And the sign  is even used for grammatical suffixes, thus  *smen* (*Dend.*, III, 15)  =  *scap*.




(*Tempelinschr.*, II, 45, 8)  =  *seur*, magnify.
This practice is continued in Demotic writing.*

With respect to the *egg*, it will be sufficient here to quote the forms  for  (*Denkm.*, IV, 85) and  for   *mās* (*Denkm.*, IV, 17, *d*, line 5), and I particularly recommend the latter example to those who think  should be read *seb*.

It is not probable that any of the facts quoted will be disputed, but it is very important to show that Egyptologists have not been mistaken for the last fifty years in assigning a sibilant sound to the two signs which are used interchangeably in writing the name of the god, but that they rely upon a mass of evidence from the best time of Egyptian writing down to the latest.

It will, however, be urged that these signs may be, and in fact *are*, polyphonous, and that though they may stand for *s* in Sebastos, Sais or Syut, they need not do so in the name of the Earth-god hitherto called Seb. To this plea there is a triple reply.


In the first place they are never polyphonous (except in "enigmatic writing") during the classic period of hieroglyphics; when their use was confined to a very few words, in every one of which their value can be proved to be *s* vocalised.




Secondly: There is a rule which applies to hieroglyphic and cuneiform writing alike; and against which no exception has yet been proved: *Two polyphonous characters are homophonous in only one value*, because the reasons which determine the values are necessarily different for each sign. Thus, if English were written hieroglyphically, a sign representing a *whip* might be homophonous with a sign representing a *cat*, but it would have this value only when the sound *cat* had to be pronounced. When the sound *whip* had to be read, the sign for *cat* would no longer be homophonous with it, nor can we imagine with what *other* values the two signs could again be homophonous.  sometimes has the value *men*, so has , so has , and so have various other signs,† but



* See *Revue égyptologique*, II, pl. 10, note.

† See Dümichen's articles in the *Zeitschrift* of 1886 and 1887.

these are never homophonous except in the value *men*. It is by the merest chance that they agree in one value, and the chances of their agreeing in a second are so small, as practically to be null. A study of the Assyrian syllabary, which is so full of polyphonous signs, will furnish the best illustrations of the rule.

It is not impossible, but in the highest degree improbable, that the signs  and O, representing as they do thoroughly distinct objects, should be homophonous, not only in the value *se*, but also in another value *ke* or *keb*.

But we are not left to *a priori* argument, however cogent, for evidence as to the name of the god; which is sometimes written with the syllabic sign * = *seb*, either  or *  or . We may smile at Champollion talking more than fifty years ago about "le Saturne égyptien," and connecting with his name the star as a symbol of *time*. But it ought, now at least, to be understood that the mixing up of mythologies can only lead to error. Saturn is an Italian god of sowing, not of time; and if the Greeks chose to confound the Egyptian Seb, as they did the Latin Saturn, with their Kronos, the Egyptian god has not to be interpreted by their stupid mistake.* Even Kronos has nothing to do with *χρόνος*. It is derived from a different root, *kar* (doing), whence *creo* and *cresco*. *Χρόνος*† is connected with *κρίψ*, *χόρος*, *χόρτος*, and with the Zend *sr-van*, *sr-vāna*.

The last quoted variant, , which appears in the calendar of Esneh, is an example of double orthography in the base period, like  ‡ *set*, daughter. But there is another very remarkable instance of the same kind, which has I believe been misunderstood till now. We have all hitherto understood a certain group, first admirably illustrated by Dr. Duemichen, § as literally signifying the


* The mistake is all the more stupid as the marriage of Heaven and Earth is mythologically expressed by that of Uranos and Gaia among the Greeks, just like that of Seb and Nut among the Egyptians. And to add to the absurdity Nut is called the Egyptian Rhea!

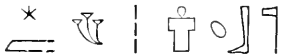
† "Κρ-όνο-ς erinnert am skt. *karanas* machend, bewirkend. 'Perficus' deutet den Namen schon G. Hermann . . . und nach ihm Schoemann." Curtius, *Grundz.*, 154.

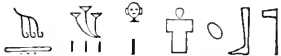
‡ Dümichen, *Resultate*, 33, 7.

§ *Zeitschr.*, 1871, pp. 91, 92.


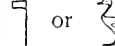


“back of Seb.” The variants however, as they stand, prove that, sometimes at least, *Seb* alone is meant. In various passages the produce of the earth is called—










 *Tempelinschr.*, I, 77, 7.


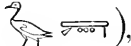
 *Histor. Inschr.*, II, 52, 2.

 *Tempelinschr.*, I, 78, 16.

 *Denderah*, II, 15, b.



From this it appears that  is but a double orthography of  or . And I have no doubt that  which is quoted by Dr. Duemichen is another, because the whole passage means “his great throne is upon the earth,” not *her sa*, “behind or after” it.* The play upon words, however, suggested by this orthography naturally gave rise to the notion *sa en Seb*, back of Seb, as at Edfu.

There is another variant of the god’s name,  about which scholars have not made up their minds. The name is expressed by the number 5. But this is a variant of the sign . If it were necessary to seek for the phonetic value of this number in the name of a god who is otherwise known as Seb, the solution of the problem would be discovered in the usual way.  in Todt. 125, 41, =  =  ‡ And from the sixth chapter on the sepulchral figures we derive the additional equations §  =  =  = , whence

*  quoted by Dr. Duemichen is one word (= ) not two.

† Champollion, *Mon.*, pl. 145, 1.


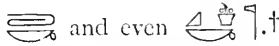
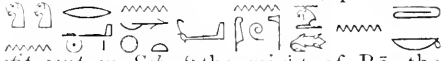


‡ See M. Naville’s edition, Vol. II. *in loco*.



§ *Zeitschr.*, 1869, p. 27; 1886, p. 87; and 1867, p. 41; and Mariette, *Catalog.*, p. 55. No. 2 of these variants is considered characteristic of the first period. And No. 3 is found on a monument of the XIIIth Dynasty. The phonetic variants of  are *seb*, *set’eb*, and *seteb*, sometimes with prosthetic *à*, and sometimes with .

it follows that the signs K , \star and 𓆎 are homophonous in the value *seb*, and that *seb* is one of the Egyptian names for the number 5.

The value *seb* is then absolutely certain, and if it can be shown that the god was also called *keb*, this latter fact has to be harmonised with the former. This is possible, (1) if *seb* and *keb* are but different forms of one word [*Ceb*], bearing the same relations to each other as the ancient Roman and Greek pronunciation of *Cicero*, and the modern English and French pronunciation of that name;* (2) if *keb* is another name of Seb as Βάκχος and Ἰακχος are of Διόνυσος . But there is a third possibility; viz., that *keb* is written, but *wrongly* written. And this is really the fact.

Before I proceed to explain the origin of this wrong spelling, it will be useful to call attention to another form of this very same divine name.

The name of Seb is frequently written  and even .† There can be no doubt as to the god who is intended under this strange orthography. Dr. Birch indeed thought that Sebak was meant,‡ but he was not aware how often the form occurs as a variant of Seb. When it occurs in an independent text, the translator is liable to misunderstand it. When the texts of Edfu, published by M. Naville,§ speak of  *pehtā en Rā next en Šu šefit sent en Seb*, "the might of Rā, the victory of Shu, the force and terror of Seb," the last hieroglyphic group here may at first sight appear doubtful; not so when later on the deities appear in a list, and  is coupled with Nut, followed by Osiris and Isis. The text which Dr. Birch refers to Sebak adds an epithet to the god's name which has been peculiar to Seb from the earliest down to the latest days of Egyptian mythology:  *seb erfā nutāru*.










But how comes  to be identical with ? This riddle can only be solved through a study of the cursive writing of the period, and this also gives a complete solution of the origin






* If this were the fact *Keb* would be written in all the ancient forms of the name, and *Seb* in the later, for *K* is older than *S*, but the reverse is the case.




















† Dümichen, *Rec.* IV, pl. 31.


‡ Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, Vol. III, pl. 51.

§ *Mythe d'Horus*, pl. xxii, 29, 30. Cf. pl. xxiii, line 48.





of the form . I was at first inclined to ascribe this latter form to a confusion of the signs , , and , for these mistakes are very frequent indeed, both in manuscripts and in other texts. In some papyri the *egg* is always represented as triangular. But the origin of  is really quite different. The  is nothing here but a hieratic form of , and  is derived from another hieratic form of the same bird. The  is equally derived from a cursive form of writing.


The hieratic "Rituals" of the later periods seem at first sight to be full of instances in which Seb is called  . In some of them the name is always written in this form. But that *qcb* is not really meant, will at once be manifest on looking for a word containing the hieroglyphic letter . Whatever that word may be, the  in it will invariably be written with the well-known hieratic sign, entirely different from the sign which occurs in the name of the god. If we reverse the process, the god's name will never be found written with the hieratic form of .

The triangular sign which has given rise to the form  is, as I have said, a mere cursive way of drawing a bird. In the hieratic Bremner Papyrus (B.M. 10188), written B.C. 305, which has been treated of by Dr. Pleyte and by Mr. Budge, one of the passages occurs twice; the last word in it being written  in page 2, and  in page 3. The hawk  has suffered a similar transformation. It is, I believe, commonly supposed that the form  is a combination of  = *h* and  = *r*. This is not the case;  is merely a cursive transformation of the *hawk*, as may be seen on referring to all the places in recent papyri where the word    *bak* is written.  is not the letter *r*, but represents the talons or some other portion of the hieroglyphic hawk, of which the indivisible symbol  is a conventional representation. How the picture of a bird may degenerate conventionally into a triangle may be seen on referring to the plate annexed. And the same plate will show how the sign  or  may be confounded with one of the hieratic forms of the sign . The  in , , and other forms has arisen out of the flourish at the end of a cursive group.

The signs on lines 1, 2, and 3 of the annexed plate are some of the cursive forms of the hieroglyphic sign . The first sign on line 3 is taken from the Coffin of Amamu, dating from the Early


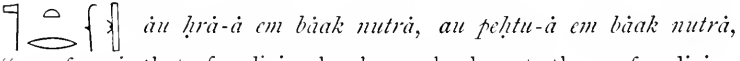
Empire. The signs in the text from which it is taken look from right to left.


Line 4 contains two hieratic groups; the first =   =, and the second  =. The hieratic signs used for = in these groups will be seen to resemble hieratic forms of .

Line 5 gives four cursive forms of the sign , illustrative of the separation between the higher and the lower portions of the figure.

Line 6 furnishes cursive forms of the same sign at a later date.




Four examples are given in line 7 of the hieratic transcription of the hieroglyphic group , and another form is presented in line 8 which is the transcription of 






au hrà-à em bàak nutrà, au fehtu-à em bàak nutrà,
 "my face is that of a divine hawk, my back parts those of a divine hawk," Todt. 78, 25, as given in the Leyden Papyrus, T. 16.











In line 9, three hieratic transcriptions of  are given from the papyrus just mentioned. The god's name in this papyrus is almost invariably written like the two last forms.





Line 12 contains transcriptions of the name of Seb from different Turin papyri, published by Dr. Pleyte.











The name of Seb is next given in three cursive forms in line 10. The first is taken from the above-named Leyden papyrus, col. XXIV, line 8. = Todt. 31, 4. The two others are taken from the Demotic text of the Rhind Papyrus, plate V, lines 19 and 23. The close resemblance between the demotic forms of the goose and the hieratic of the Leyden papyrus is very striking, and induces me to bring down the date of the latter papyrus to a much later period than has hitherto been assigned to it.

In line 11, three hieratic signs of the *latest* (Roman) period are given representing , and two representing . It is evident how easily these signs might give rise to such forms as .

In the face of all this evidence how trifling is the combined weight of a solitary , incorrectly put, no doubt, instead of a  of the same sign instead of . It is a matter of surprise that far more evidence of the same kind cannot be produced. To those who

have given any considerable time to the collation of texts, variants are by no means rare phenomena, but the number of important variants diminishes sadly when the indispensable process of sifting and weighing has been gone through. I have in these *Proceedings* produced more than one instance where the preposition  was written   , and I have since found several more instances, which, if they could be relied upon, would prove that the preposition in question is a compound one. But I believe, after all, that in each case the stroke  was wrongly made into a square , which has the value of the letter *p*. We must surely wait for far more numerous instances of the equivalence of  with  and  before attaching any importance to the cases yet known; and above all we must have proof that this equivalence bears upon the name of the god Seb, for  might possibly be homophonous with *q* in the name of Koptos, without necessarily having the value of *q* in the name of the god.

That this god's name was   I do not believe, particularly because *this name belongs to another deity*, who personifies the North-wind,* and has nothing to identify him with the Earth-god. I believe that the form originated in cursive writing, and perhaps when written was pronounced Seb. As for the form   *kab*, that is an *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον* in a very dilapidated text. But there is another reading which has very much more to say for itself than either of those which have been mentioned.






A god whose name is written     *kcb* appears on a *Suten-hotep-tā* in one of the Mastabas of the Early Empire.† The determinative of the name is a *goose*, and *kab* is the simple form of which the reduplicated       *kabka* is found in the Ebers Papyrus. It is an onomatopœic name like our word *gabble*, or the name *gobble-gobble* familiarly applied to turkeys.

Now it is highly probable that this ancient goose-god was no other than Seb. It does not follow at all that Seb's name is to be read *Kab*, when not so written. The gods are polyonymous, and proof is needed before we can assert that two names written differently are to be read alike.

* See Brugsch, *Zeitschr.*, 1875, p. 128, and Lanzone, *Diz. di Mit.*, p. 1190.


† Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 186. This remarkable proof of the existence of such a divine name is not alluded to in Dr. Brugsch's article.






Now two arguments in favour of the identity of the names are offered in Brugsch's article.

The first is derived from the variants of *Tolt*, 99, 4, unfortunately an extremely corrupt passage, which was certainly not understood by those who wrote the papyri, the variations of which are given in M. Naville's edition. I do not know where Dr. Brugsch has found  *three times* in these variants. This reading occurs nowhere, as far as I can discover. The sign  is nowhere attached to  in the copies of this chapter. But I am quite ready to admit that the god *Seb* may be really meant. The difficulty is elsewhere. The variants are evidently *different readings*, and not identical words under varied forms. It is possible to make some sense out of the words , but it is impossible to make the *same sense* out of any one of the variants in which the sign  occurs. The conditions are therefore wanting under which any safe conclusion about phonetic equivalence may be established. We are reduced to suspicion and conjecture.

The second argument of Dr. Brugsch, as put forth by him, is most ingenious, and, I confess, extremely attractive.

From the earliest times, he says, of Egyptian history down to the Roman period, certain titles were ascribed to the goddess Isis and to the queens who were supposed to be her successors. In proof of which assertion he "begins with the latest period." He quotes in all five inscriptions, all of which belong to the base period except one, which is from the Ancient Empire. The proof of continuity fails entirely. It is as if one quoted the words of Pietro Bembo to prove that the "immortal gods" had been worshipped in Italy down to the sixteenth century. And there is no more reason for supposing that the Egyptian texts of the base periods are authentic interpreters of the texts of the Ancient Empire than that Bembo's words have the same meaning as they would have in the mouth of Cato or the Scipios. The Egyptians of the later days used the ancient formulas, but imported new meanings into them, and it is a tremendous anachronism to quote Ptolemaic texts, or those of the Roman period, as illustrative of the primitive mythology. The ideas of the "Mythe d'Horus," and even those of the far more ancient "Destruction of Mankind," betray their comparatively recent origin.

I refuse then to admit that the ancient text E, quoted by Dr. Brugsch, is to be interpreted by the texts A, B and C, which are indeed imitations of it, but not necessarily *variants*, in the restricted sense of the word. That they contain the name of Seb, where the ancient text has  *Ḳebba*, need not imply that the two names are to be pronounced alike, even if it be assumed that the names represent the same divinity. Βάκχος is not identical with Ἰακχος. Phœbus is not the same word as Apollōn. But it is not at all certain that the scribes of the base period recognised *Ḳebba* as the same god as Seb. They may have substituted a well-known name for an unknown one. Substitutions of divine names are a not unfrequent phenomenon in Egyptian documents. In the more recent documents we find the name of Thoth where that of Sut occurs in ancient times. The reason of this may be assigned; but who can tell us why, in some copies of the 125th chapter of the Book of the Dead, Nephthys is written where, in other copies, Hathor appears?

Dr. Brugsch refers to his "Religion und Mythologie den alten Aegypter" for the origin of the name of the earth-god Qeb. I am sorry to be compelled to say that I am unable to share any of his views on the subject, and that I consider them to be entirely erroneous. Assuming that  *ḳab* is one of the names of Seb, I hold that the word signifies 'goose,' just like  *smen*, which is another name of Seb, and that it is an instance of onomatopœia. Why the *earth* should be represented by a *goose* is an interesting question, but it is one which does not concern us at present. Dr. Brugsch, on the other hand, etymologically connects the name *ḳab* (which he writes *gab*) with  *ḳabā*,  *ḳabu*, and other words related to the Coptic *Ϯωβ*, *Ϯεβ*, etc., signifying *weak*, *infirm*, *wretched*, *abject*, and so forth, as also with  *qeb* and kindred forms related to the Coptic *κβε*, *κβε*, and others, with the sense of *cold*. Without any extravagant amount of scepticism, it may safely be doubted whether there is the slightest etymological connection between these two series of words. A man no doubt is often 'wretched' when he is 'cold,' but the two notions are distinct, and the words which express them are as distinct in Egyptian as in English or German.

But why, above all things, should we look for the origin of a mighty god's name in a word signifying weak, wretched, doubled up, crooked, or something of the kind? The Egyptian notion of a god implies the very reverse of all this. An Egyptian god is characterised by resistless might, and the usual epithet *neb maât*, also implies the most direct opposition to crookedness. *Maât* is the perfect rigid and straight *rule*. Dr. Brugsch, on the other hand, points by way of explanation to the well-known picture in which the goddess Nut as the sky is extended over Seb, who lies sprawling on the ground, in a doubled-up or crooked posture.



The conception of this picture as described by Dr. Brugsch* is not the true one. The picture represents the Break of Day. Heaven and Earth (Nut and Seb) have been slumbering in each other's arms. The rising sun, Shu, parts them, and Nut is seen raised up on high, whilst Seb (sometimes resting on his arm) remains stretched out sleeping beneath her. It is only Egyptian *perspective* which in some copies of this picture gives Seb the odd postures of an unfortunate man struggling with adversity. This is no part of the conception, and will be sought in vain in many of the copies.† "Thy back is as the back of Seb," was certainly not meant to signify weakness.

It will not, I trust, be imagined that I think lightly of Dr. Brugsch's article because I do not accept its conclusions. The article is full of most interesting matter, which none but a scholar of Dr. Brugsch's learning and ingenuity could have brought to bear upon the question. But the solution of the question must wholly depend upon the nature of the *entire* evidence,‡ and upon this I believe that I have in this paper contributed information which was not generally known.

Dr. Brugsch refers to an instance in which the god's name is written with a final *u*. I have long since noticed an abundance of such instances. § The truth is, *u* is a common not to say the general termination of masculine nouns in the Egyptian language,

* "Die Nebenvorstellung eines leidenden, schwacher, gelähmten Manns."

† See, e.g., Lanzzone, *Diz. di Mit.*, pl. 256, 2; and Leemans, *Monuments*, III, M., pl. 19. In some of the pictures the postures of Seb would imply the possession of immense acrobatic power.

‡ For an additional piece of evidence, see *Proceedings*, 1886, p. 97, where in a proper name  appears as the ideograph of .

§ See *Proceedings*, 1885, pp. 152 and 153.

and of proper names among the rest : “ ut sunt Divorum,” *Nu, Anpu, Chonsu, Chuemu, Mentu, Tmu, Shu, Ptaħu, Unnu-neferu, Ĥoru, Ĥu, Sau, Babau, and Sebu*. The notion that this final letter was to be pronounced in the middle of the word, not at the end of it, was hit upon by Lepsius before he had mastered the Egyptian vocabulary, and abandoned by him as soon as he discovered its baselessness.* But his declaration to this effect does not prevent Egyptologists from still talking of Tum and Anup, or of Ĥâr, because in the last instance the suffix $\text{Ĥ} \dot{a}$, which is often weakened to $\text{Ĥ} \dot{a} i$, is sometimes attached to the name of Horus, as to those of other gods, of which it forms no part whatever.

APPENDIX ON THE TRANSCRIPTION OF EGYPTIAN WORDS.

Geb cannot possibly be the right name of an Egyptian god.

The texts in the Etruscan language, though perfectly legible, defy as yet all attempts at translation or grammatical analysis. Yet if it were asserted that *Geb* was the name of an Etruscan god we could at once pronounce an unhesitating verdict against such a statement. We know this at least, that the Etruscan language is defective in certain letters. *It has no medial sounds.* *Geb* therefore cannot be the name of a god in this language. And the same truth holds good with regard to the Egyptian language.

It is deeply to be lamented that Egyptologists have not adhered to the system of transliteration adopted at the Oriental Congress held in London in the year 1874. That system had been most carefully devised by Lepsius (who among the older Egyptologists was the only competent scholar), and agreed upon with him by M. de Rougé, who had not indeed the advantage of the splendid philological training which Lepsius had gone through, but was guided by a highly refined instinct and reason, which enabled him to see the right path whenever fairly presented to him. The system of transliteration agreed upon was certainly not perfect, but it was far better than any which has since been devised. It did not, as others do, completely *misrepresent* the entire character of the Egyptian language.

* “ Ich habe meine Ansicht von 1836 in meinen mündlichen Vorträgen über Grammatik auch längst berichtet.” *Zeitschr.*, 1872, p. 26, note.

When alphabets of different languages are compared together it is seen at once that each is incomplete. Each language has its peculiar sounds and is defective in all the rest. Mohawk and other American languages have no labials. Some languages have no gutturals. Sanskrit, though so rich in sounds, has no *f* or soft sibilants. Latin has neither soft sibilants nor aspirated consonants. Greek has no sound corresponding to Ψ , and is generally averse to spirants. Those who only know Greek without reference to kindred languages can have no notion of the extent to which the letter *s* has been suppressed in it. The digamma is chiefly known through Aeolic and Doric forms, but the Jod which once formed an essential part of an immense number of words in the vocabulary has entirely disappeared. The Cypriote syllabary though used for the purpose of writing a Greek dialect, has no means of indicating a medial sound or an aspirated consonant.




It is evident that any mode of transcription which ignores characteristic facts of this nature must be radically wrong.









The Egyptian language, like the Etruscan and others, had no medial consonants.* When the Greek alphabet was borrowed for the purpose of writing Coptic, the letters Υ , Δ , and ζ , were used for foreign words only; and these words are often found written in such a way as to show that the writer did not understand the right sound. If the Egyptians at one time used ϵ and Δ in the transcription of the Semitic \daleth and \aleph , this does not prove that these signs had exactly the same sounds as the Semitic ones. The signs were only conventional representations of sounds which did not exist in the Egyptian language. The Greeks were reduced to the same strait when they had to transcribe γ , ν , and ψ . But we have no excuse for such transcriptions from the Egyptian as *Geb, gabu, du, didi, Dad, Zaru*.

POSTSCRIPT.—It has occurred to me that Brugsch, who most certainly knows of the *only* text which offers a direct proof of the existence of the god *kab*, may have good reasons for not attaching importance to it.

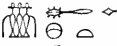
The fact is, this inscription, like many others, is carelessly and ignorantly written, and glaring blunders may be pointed out in it.

* There is not the same objection to the use of *b*, because in many languages this is not pronounced as a medial consonant.

M. Mariette has placed a “sic” by the side of  , which is written instead of  . But this is not the full extent of the blunder. The word  which precedes the second *ámχu* shows that two different and well known phrases have here been incoherently mixed up together.

The text begins  . Now it has always been considered a sign of a comparatively late date when more than one god is mentioned after the word *Suten-hotep-tā*. This rule, it is true, cannot hold *simpliciter*; but it may serve as the indication of a blunder. Two gods' names do not, in the early period, appear in the same line; but the scribe may here have mixed up two inscriptions at the beginning, as he has done at the end; the  may be a truncated  , and  merely one of the innumerable inversions which are found in the inscriptions, and which induce persons who are ignorant of the language to write nonsense about metathesis and its functions. Instances of the inversion of  for  will be found in the inscriptions of the Pyramid of Pepi I, lines 59, 61, 63, 65, etc. This is no case of metathesis. It is either simply a faulty inversion, or else it may have originated (if we may judge from M. Maspero's copies) in the same way as  or  ; the second sign being placed under the projecting top of the first, and therefore in front of it.

I am, however, strongly inclined to admit *kab* as a genuine name of the goose, signifying the “gabbling;” just as *seb* signifies the ‘piper,’ or ‘whistler.’

The identification with the Sun of a god who unquestionably personifies the earth, has generally (see, *e.g.*, M. Maspero, *Guide au Musée de Boulaq*, p. 153) been attributed to a very late period. But I find it already on a coffin of the Ancient Empire (B.M. 6655), where he is moreover designated (like on the coffins published by Lepsius, *Älteste Texte*, plates 9 and 39) as  *χentā λat paut āat*, which I take to be equivalent to *crpā nuteru*, ‘princeps Deorum;’ not ‘youngest’ or ‘heir’ of the gods, as is sometimes imagined.

The following Communication has been received from A. Macalister, M.D., F.R.S., Professor of Anatomy, Cambridge :—

AN INSCRIPTION OF AAHMES, IN THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM.


When the celebrated traveller Dr. E. A. Clarke visited Sa-el-Hajar, shortly after the close of the Egyptian campaign against Napoleon, he found among the ruins of the ancient Sais a large slab of polished syenite, which had been fixed in the steps before the entrance to the Mosque. With some difficulty he had this stone extricated, and on turning it over he found it bore a long inscription. The stone had formerly been the pedestal of a statue, of which however there only remained a small portion of the right foot; and the place where the left foot had been (in advance of the right) was only indicated by a broken outline.


The statue must have been about life-size, as the foot is twelve inches long. The whole block of stone measures thirty inches in length by sixteen in breadth, and six inches in thickness. Dr. Clarke brought it home and presented it to the University of Cambridge, and it is at present in the Fitzwilliam Museum.


On the right side of the upper surface of the slab there is a beautifully cut inscription of incuse hieroglyphs arranged in four columns, and included by a rectangular linear border.


This inscription was copied by Dr. Clarke, and was published by him in the third volume of his "Travels," p. 218. He contributed to the Society of Antiquaries an account of the characters, and a commentary on them, which is only of historic interest as bearing upon the views then current on the subject of hieroglyphs.


I am not aware that any translation of this inscription has as yet been published, and I have therefore copied it, with a transliteration and translation. There is some interest in it, as after the name of Aahmes there occurs that of Psamtik, some deceased servant of Amasis, a namesake of the king's son, the unfortunate Psamtik III, the Psammenitos of Herodotos, and the last king of the Saite XXVIth Dynasty. The inscription itself is one of the usual proscynemata.


(1) 
 Suten hetep tā Neter āa am neter hat
A royal offering give the Great God who dwells in temples.

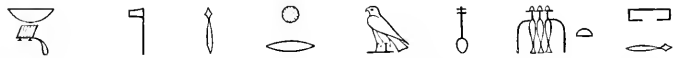

 Hetep tā neteru nebu Amenti Hetep tā
Give offerings the gods all of the West Give offerings,


(2) 
 per - er - xeru āka apt ah nef ap
funeral viands, bread, ducks, oxen, to him, (at) the opening of the


 renpit hetep renpit Uaka Tehuti Sokar Heb ur
year, new year's feast, the Uaka, { the feasts of Thoth and Soxaris, } the great festival,


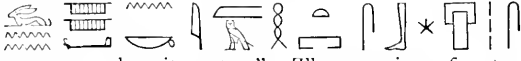
(3) 
 Ap ruu Neterhat ma (?) neterui per
the opening of the doors of the temples, the feast of the apparition of the two gods,


 Api abut smat heb Heb neb rā neb t'etā em
the feast of the 1st of the month { feast of the 15th of the month } every feast, every day, for ever, as

(4) 
 neb amx neter āa xer Har nefer xenti per āa
one devoted great God to Horus the good, in presence of the Great House,


 neter nefer Chnum - ab - rā amx Psamtik
the Good God. Amasis the devoted Psammetichus

The name Psamtikes was common at this period. The name used for the king is the throne name, Chnum-ab-ra, not Aahmes-sa-Net, or Sememat, names by which he is known elsewhere. Aahmes reigned forty-four (or forty-two according to Aucher's text of Eusebius) years, from B.C. 572 to B.C. 528.

The feast names are mostly those familiar on all such tablets, the peculiar feast named *ap ruu neterhat*, or opening of the gates of the Temples, occurs in a Saïte inscription published by Sharpe (Eg. Ins., I, 16), together with the "feast of the apparition of the two gods," and in another Saïte inscription in the British Museum (*ibid.*, II, 40). In the Calendar of Esne (Brugsch, "Matériaux pour servir," &c., pl. XI, line 7, *b*) there is the following entry for the 26th Choiak  "Feast of Neith, opening of the doors in the great places, with her gods." The two great gods of Sais were Osiris and Neith, so it is probable that they are referred to in this feast of the apparition.* In the stele of Thothmes, chief of the gate keepers of Memphis, published by Mr. Budge in the *Transactions* of this Society, Vol. VIII, p. 325, there occurs the formula  "may the Ammahet open to thee its gates." The opening of gates is a very common symbol in the Egyptian ritual, as in the mystic ceremonies of the 146th chapter of the Book of the Dead, where after the enumeration of the fifteen gates, the Osiris says, "I come each day to the gate of the festivals. * * * I come each day to the gate of Ammah, * * * I come each day to the gate Ap-ur, * * * I come each day to the gate of the Ament, &c."

The following Communication, addressed to the President, has been received :—

MONSIEUR LE DIRECTEUR,

PARIS, le 23 Janvier, 1887.

Nous avons reçu de M. le Professeur W. Wright les estampages des deux nouvelles inscriptions cyprotes de Tamassus. Nous ne les connaissons jusqu'à présent que par une photographie, insuffisante, surtout en ce qui concerne la plus petite de ces inscriptions.

* I am indebted to the kindness of the President for these references, as well as for many other valuable hints and corrections.

Vos excellents estampages comblent cette lacune. J'écris à M. W. Wright pour l'en remercier.

Veillez agréer pour vous aussi, monsieur, les remerciements de la Commission du *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*.

Pour le plus grand de ces textes, il n'y a rien à ajouter à l'excellent travail de M. le Professeur Wright, et à vos savantes observations sur la partie cyprïote.

Quant à la plus petite inscription, qui pouvait paraître désespérée, grâce à vos estampages, j'ai réussi à la lire presque en entier. En voici le texte et la traduction :

נח א ללסן אאן לללללללללללללללללל
 לללללללללללללללללללללללללללללל
 לללללללללללללללללללללללללללללל
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 לללללללללללללללללללללללללללללל

[ב] ימים 2 ||| ||| לירח פעלת בשנ-
 ת 2 ||| ||| למלך מלכית[ן מלך כ]-
 תי ואדיל סמל א[ז] אש יתן [עב]
 דסם בן לאדני לרשף א-
 ל[ה] יתס הנדר אש נדר כשמע
 הא קל יברך

Diebus xvi, mensis Faalot, an-
 no xvii . . . regis Melekjat[onis, regis Ci]-
 tii et Idalii : statua haec quam dedit [Ab]-
 dsasam, filius Domino suo Resef E-
 leites, votum quod voverat ; quia audiit
 ille vocem. Benedicat.

Cette nouvelle inscription prête à plusieurs remarques intéressantes :

Ligne 1. Nous retrouvons ici le mois de Faalot, qui avait déjà été lu sur deux inscriptions de Chypre, *Corp. Inscr. Sem.*, No. 86 B, pp. 97, 98, et No. 88, p. 102.

Ligne 2. L'année du règne de Melekjaton n'est pas entièrement certaine ; il se peut en effet qu'une ou deux barres d'unités aient disparu dans la cassure ; en tous cas, la partie intacte nous donne les chiffres X, III, III, I. Cette inscription vient donc se placer, pour la date, entre les inscriptions de Melekjaton antérieurement connues, qui n'allaient pas au-delà de l'année 3 de son règne (voyez *C. T. S.*, Nos. 13 et 88-91) et la nouvelle inscription bilingue, publiée par M. Wright, qui nous mène jusqu'à l'an 30 de son règne.

La ligne 3, bien qu'assez mutilée, peut se restituer avec une presque entière certitude, à l'aide des lettres que l'on entrevoit encore, grâce à la comparaison des autres inscriptions royales de Chypre.

Ligne 4. Je lis עבדססם "Abdsasam." Le scribe avait oublié le *mem* et l'a rajouté audessus de la ligne. Pour ce nom, très-fréquent à Chypre, voyez *C. T. S.*, Nos. 46, 49, 53, 93 et 95. Le personnage, mentionné sur cette inscription-ci, n'est aucun de ceux qui figurent sur les inscriptions précédentes ; en effet, le nom de son père était différent, autant qu'on peut en juger d'après les traits encore visibles. On voudrait lire חבלך ou un nom de ce genre, mais l'inclinaison de la queue de la dernière lettre ne s'y prête guère. Pour la même raison, ce ne peut non plus être un פ; peut-être est un פ. En tous cas, la pénultième est un ל. Peut-être faut-il lire פלס? Cf. *C. T. S.*, No. 40.

Le nom de Resef Eleitès, qui finit la 4^e ligne et commence la 5^e, est particulièrement intéressant ; ce nom est le même que sur la grande inscription bilingue ; seulement il est écrit différemment ; j'ai longtemps hésité avant de me rendre à la lecture à laquelle me conduisait l'examen impartial des lettres, mais elle s'impose : il faut lire אלהיתס. Ce fait est capital, parce qu'il nous prouve que le nom phénicien n'est que la transcription du nom grec. Ainsi, ce n'est pas du nom phénicien qu'est sorti le nom grec, c'est le nom grec qui a donné naissance au nom phénicien. Dès lors, la même conclusion s'impose pour Resef Mikal qui joue à Idalion le même rôle que Resef Eleitès à Tamassus. Ce n'est pas Mikal qui a donné

'Αμυκλαῖος, c'est 'Αμυκλαῖος qui a donné Mikal. Resef Mikal n'est que la transcription phénicienne d' Ἀπολλων Ἀμυκλαῖος, c'est-à-dire d'Apollon d'Amyclée.

Et maintenant, quel est l'endroit qui a donné l'ethnique Eleitès? On ne peut guère hésiter à y voir Hélos en Laconie. Du moment que nous trouvons à Idalion un culte importé d'Amyclée, il est naturel de trouver à Tamassus un culte importé d'Hélos, qui était, avec Amyclée, l'un des principaux centres religieux de l'ancienne Laconie. Cette conclusion, à la quelle M. Renan était arrivé du premier coup avant même d'avoir vu le travail de M. Wright, se trouve confirmé par la nouvelle inscription. Il n'y a pas jusqu'à la transcription phénicienne *Elehitès* qui n'en fournisse indirectement la preuve. On comprend en effet comment l'esprit rude a pu se déplacer et donner naissance à ce *hé* dont la présence étonne tout d'abord.

On peut continuer à discuter sur la question de savoir si les noms d'Hélos et d'Amyclée ont une origine phénicienne. Toute cette vieille civilisation laconienne est fortement imprégnée d'éléments asiatiques, et le sentiment vague d'une ancienne parenté a pu ne pas être sans influence sur l'introduction du culte d'Apollon d'Amyclée ou d'Hélos à Chypre. On ne saurait s'appuyer sur l'orthographe des mots Mikal, Eliit, dans nos inscriptions, pour en démontrer l'origine phénicienne. Quand les Phéniciens écrivaient Resef Eleitès, ils ne faisaient que transcrire dans leur langue un mot grec.

La fin de l'inscription présente encore une ou deux particularités dignes de remarque.

Ligne 5, après Eleitès, l'offrant rappelle que la statue qu'il donne à son dieu était l'accomplissement d'un vœu. Nous trouvons une formule encore plus développée sur une autre inscription de Chypre, *C. T. S.*, No. 93.

Enfin, ligne 6, il faut noter l'emploi du pronom personnel **𐤍**, qui est en général sousentendu, dans la formule finale.

La découverte de ces deux inscriptions de Tamassus vient éclairer un point encore obscur de l'histoire de Chypre. Sur toutes les inscriptions de Chypre antérieurement connues, les deux rois qui composent la petite dynastie phénicienne à laquelle les Ptolémées ont mis fin, vers 312, Melekjaton et Pumjaton, s'intitulent "Rois de Cition et Idalion." Sur une seule d'entre elles, qui appartient à

M. de Vogüé et qui date de l'an 21 de Pumjaton, ce roi porte le titre de "Roi de Citon, et Idalion et de Tamassus" (*C. T. S.*, No. 10). M. de Vogüé, rapprochant ce fait d'un passage d'Athénée (*Deipnos.* IV, 63), était arrivé à la conclusion que Tamassus n'était devenu phénicienne que sous Pumjaton, qui l'avait achetée à Pasicipros, roi d'Amathonte; mais Pumjaton à son tour en avait été bientôt dépouillé par Alexandre (voyez *C. T. S.*, p. 37). Les deux inscriptions phéniciennes de Tamassus, datées des années 17 et 30 de Melekjaton, nous prouvent que, déjà sous Melekjaton, le père de Pumjaton, la domination phénicienne s'étendait jusqu'à Tamassus.

Voilà, monsieur, les remarques que me suggère la lecture de cette intéressante inscription. Je ne doute pas que la partie Cypriote, quand vous l'aurez déchiffrée, ne vienne confirmer la lecture du texte phénicien et éclairer les obscurités qu'il peut encore présenter.

Je vous serai reconnaissant, monsieur, de vouloir bien donner communication de cette note à la Society of Biblical Archæology, et je vous renouvelle encore tous nos remerciements.

Veillez agréer, monsieur, l'expression de ma plus haute considération.

PHILIPPE BERGER.

NOTE.—Dr. Max Ohnefalsch-Richter in a letter which arrived too late for insertion in the January number of the *Proceedings*, refers to the inscriptions discovered in Cyprus, published in the *Proceedings*, December 7th, 1886, by the President and Professor William Wright, LL.D., and about which a further note from M. Berger appears in the present number.

Dr. Ohnefalsch-Richter points out that the excavations which resulted in this discovery were superintended by himself for Colonel Warren, and that the larger of the two stones was found on the 2nd November, 1885.

W. HARRY RYLANDS.

The plates illustrating the papers by the President and the Rev. C. J. Ball will be issued with the next number of the *Proceedings*.



The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 1st March, 1887, at 8 p.m., when the following Papers will be read:—

I. W. C. THURMAN:—"The Chronology of the Bible."

II. DR. E. AMÉLINEAU:—"Sahidic Translation of the Book of Job."

III. Miss Gonino:—"The Caaba and Mosque of Mecca."



THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE
LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

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- BOTTA, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847-1850.
PLACE, Ninive et l'Assyrie, 1866-1869. 3 vols., folio.
BRUGSCH-BEY, Geographische Inschriften Altaegyptische Denkmaeler.
Vols. I-III (Brugsch).
————— Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens, copiés sur lieux et
publiés par H. Brugsch et J. Dümichen. (4 vols., and
the text by Dümichen of vols. 3 and 4.)
DÜMICHEN, Historische Inschriften, &c., 1st series, 1867.
————— 2nd series, 1869.
————— Altaegyptische Kalender-Inschriften, 1866.
————— Tempel-Inschriften, 1862. 2 vols., folio.
GOLENISCHEFF, Die Metternichstele. Folio, 1877.
LEPSIUS, Nubian Grammar, &c., 1880.
DE ROUGÉ, Études Égyptologiques. 13 vols., complete to 1880.
WRIGHT, Arabic Grammar and Chrestomathy.
SCHROEDER Die Phönizische Sprache.
HAUPT, Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze.
SCHRADER, Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament. 1872.
RAWLINSON, CANON, 6th Ancient Monarchies.
PIERRET, Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Égyptienne. 8vo. Paris, 1875.
BURKHARDT, Eastern Travels.
WILKINSON, Materia Hieroglyphica. Malta, 1824-30. (*Text only.*)
CHABAS, Mélanges Égyptologiques. Séries I, II, III. 1862-1873.
————— Voyage d'un Egyptien en Syrie, en Phénicie, &c. 4to. 1867.
————— Le Calendrier des Jours Fastes et Néfastes de l'année
Égyptienne. 8vo. 1877.
MASPERO, De Carchemis oppidi Situ et Historia Antiquissimâ.
8vo. Paris, 1872.

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

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VOL. IX. SEVENTEENTH SESSION.

Fifth Meeting, 1st March, 1887.

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PROCEEDINGS
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BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

SEVENTEENTH SESSION, 1886-87.

Fifth Meeting, 1st March, 1887.

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, ESQ., PRESIDENT.

IN THE CHAIR.



The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Royal Society:—The Proceedings. Vol. XLI. No. 250. 1886.

From the Royal Geographical Society:—The Proceedings. Vol. IX. No. 2. February, 1887.

From the Geological Society:—The Quarterly Journal. Vol. XLIII. Part 1. February 1, 1887. No. 169.

From the Royal Institute of British Architects:—The Journal of Proceedings. Vol. III. Nos. 8 and 9.

From the Anthropological Institute:—The Journal. Vol. XVI. No. 3. February, 1887.

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From the Royal Archæological Institute :—The Archæological Journal. Vol. XLIII. Nos. 171 and 172. 1886.

From the Royal Northern Society of Antiquaries —Aarbog: 1886 11. Roekke; 1. Bind; 3. Hefte

From L'Academie Impériale des Sciences de St. Petersbourg —Mélanges Asiatiques. Tome IX. Livr. 2. 1886.

From the American Oriental Society :—Proceedings at Newhaven. October, 1886. (Vol. XIII).

From La Société d'Anthropologie de Lyon. Bulletin. Tome IV. 1885.

From the Bibliotheca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze :—Bolletino delle Pubblicazioni Italiane, &c. 1887. Num. 26 and 27.

From the Author :—La Stèle de Mésa, examen critique du texte. Par M. Clermont-Ganneau.

Extrait du Journal Asiatique. 1887.

From the Author :—On the Etymology of Nekasim. By Prof. Paul Haupt, Ph.D.

The following were nominated for election at the next Meeting on 3rd May, 1887 :—

Ernest George Harmer, 88, Buckingham Road, N.

E. C. Hulme, 18, Philbeach Gardens, South Kensington, W.

Rev. Howard Crosby, D.D., LL.D., 116, East 19th Street, New York City, U.S.A.

Miss Rebecca Scott Lowrey, 2083, Fifth Avenue, New York City, U.S.A.

To be added to the List of Subscribers :—

The Library of the Newton Theological Institution, Newton Centre, Mass., U.S.A.

A Paper by W. C. Thurman, "The Chronology of the Bible," was read by the Secretary.

The President read a Paper by Professor E. Amélineau, "On the Sahidic Translation of the Book of Job."

VERSION THÉBAÏNE DU LIVRE DE JOB.

Parmi les livres de l'Ancien Testament nul n'a été plus étudié et plus admiré, à juste titre, que le *Livre de Job*. L'Égypte chrétienne semble avoir partagé notre admiration et notre prédilection modernes pour cette œuvre sublime du génie hébreu. De très-bonne heure Job était devenu un personnage très populaire dans la vallée du Nil et dans la Haute-Égypte. Les moines aimaient à se le proposer comme l'exemple de la patience et de la résignation. En outre le merveilleux qui entoure l'action du poème au commencement et à la fin convenait particulièrement au génie égypto-chrétien. Je croirais même volontiers que les longs discours de Job et de ses amis faisaient peu d'impression sur les moines ou les simples fidèles d'Égypte; on ne trouve que très-rarement dans les œuvres coptes des citations textuelles du livre de Job. À part quelques passages célèbres, comme les versets 23 et 24 du chapitre xix, si remarquables par la vigueur de l'expression,* les Coptes se sont peu préoccupés du texte; ils ne sont jamais doutés que les deux versets qui suivent le passage que je viens d'indiquer devaient servir d'occasion et d'armes pour l'une des plus vigoureuses luttes de la science contemporaine. En revanche, ils prisait fort les dialogues de Satan avec Dieu, les récits de la maladie de Job et de la mort de ses enfants, surtout l'apparition du Seigneur sur un nuage pour terminer le débat toujours pendant. Rien ne montre mieux la popularité de Job parmi les moines d'Égypte que le fait suivant. Tout le monde sait quel amour les anciens Égyptiens avaient pour l'art de l'écriture; leurs descendants chrétiens ont conservé et conservent encore cet amour à eux légué de génération en génération par leurs pères, depuis longtemps endormis dans la montagne ou sous leurs pyramides. Les scribes chrétiens ont soigné leurs écrits de telle manière qu'aujourd'hui encore ils font l'admiration de ceux qui les voient. Ces heureux scribes avaient leurs personnages de prédilection, et ils prouvaient cette prédilection en mettant le portrait de leurs préférés en tête ou à la fin de

* Le passage en question est cité dans l'abrégé memphitique de la vie de Théodore, disciple de Pachôme. Il sert à montrer aux cénobites récalcitrants qu'on peut et qu'on doit écrire la vie des serviteurs de Dieu.

leur copie. C'est ce qui est arrivé pour Job, et la manière dont on a peint le patriarche de Hus montre bien qu'on était intimement persuadé n'avoir pas affaire avec un personnage vulgaire.

Dans l'un des manuscrits qui sert à cette publication, le *juste Job*, comme ne manquent jamais de le dire les écrivains coptes, est représenté entouré de ses filles. Il porte une courte tunique, une cuirasse et un manteau militaire agrafé sur l'épaule droite. Sa tête est coiffée d'un diadème orné de pierres précieuses ; son menton est entouré d'une barbe longue et soyeuse ; toute la figure est ceinte d'un nimbe lumineux. De la main droite, il tient une lance ; de la gauche, un globe, symbole de la puissance. On voit que ce devait être en son temps un roi fort puissant. Les filles ne sont ni moins belles, ni moins richement ornées que leur père ; ce sont princesses royales ou impériales, telles qu'on les représentait chez les Coptes, élèves des peintres byzantins.

Il est malheureux qu'aucun des manuscrits qui nous ont conservé la version thébaine du Livre de Job ne porte de date. D'après le type des lettres et des ornements, je serais assez porté à croire que les manuscrits en question ont dû être écrits au sixième, sinon au septième siècle, en pleine période de la domination byzantine en Égypte. Ces manuscrits, j'ai hâte de le dire, sont au nombre de trois, dont deux se trouvent à Rome au musée de la *Propagande*, et l'autre à la bibliothèque du musée *san-Ferdinando* à Naples. Ils sont complètement inédits. Par un hasard heureux ou malencontreux, comme l'on voudra, ils se suivent les uns les autres, quoiqu'ils ne soient pas de la même main. Ils n'offrent aucun passage, aucun verset qui se rencontre dans deux manuscrits. Cependant quelques versets nous ont été conservés dans le *Cod.* xcix du Musée Borgia,* comme faisant partie de l'office de la Pâque. Le texte de ce manuscrit présente quelques variantes, mais de peu d'importance ; d'ailleurs on ne peut y attacher quelque valeur, parce que le dit manuscrit est criblé de fautes, comme il est facile de le constater pour les Évangiles et les Épîtres, sans parler de l'Ancien Testament.

Avec de pareils éléments, il est donc impossible de faire une édition critique vraiment digne de ce nom ; si je l'entreprenais, je m'exposerais à donner quelque fois pour la version antique une version qui serait simplement mienne. Peut-être sera-t-il toujours im-

* Voici ces passages : xxiii, 2—xxiv, 29 ; xxvii, 16—xxviii, 1 ; xxix, 21—xxx, 29.

possible de faire une pareille édition, à moins que quelque heureux hasard ne fasse mettre la main sur de nouveaux manuscrits. Telle, cependant, que j'ai l'honneur de la présenter au public savant, la version thébaine du *Livre de Job* est à peu près complète. Il n'y a qu'une seule lacune, lacune importante, il est vrai, mais relativement petite, puis qu'elle commence au verset 8 du chapitre xxxix, pour finir au verset 8 du chapitre xl, soit 34 versets, en s'en rapportant au texte des Septante. Quoique ce soit encore pour moi une question indécise de savoir si l'Ancien Testament a été en entier traduit par les Coptes sur les Septante, et quoique je sois assez porté à croire qu'il y a eu tout au moins plusieurs traductions faites sur les traduction des Septante, il n'y a toute fois aucun doute à entretenir sur la traduction de *Livre de Job* ; elle a bien été faite d'après la traduction grecque connue sous le nom des Septante. Le dernier verset du livre, verset qui ne se trouve ni dans le texte hébreu tel que nous l'avons aujourd'hui, ni dans la Vulgate, mais qui se trouve dans la traduction thébaine, en est une preuve convaincante, je crois. Je dois faire observer aussi qu'un certain nombre de versets manquent dans la version thébaine, sans qu'il y ait lacune du manuscrit ; en outre dans les passages qui se retrouvent dans le *Cod.* xcix du Musée Borgia, ces mêmes versets sont absents, sans que je puisse me rendre compte de cette absence, autrement que par l'étourderie ou l'inattention des scribes, ce qui ne me paraît guère satisfaisant.

Quoiqu'il en soit je présente au public savant, à tous ceux qui recherchent avidement tous les vestiges laissés dans les œuvres de l'esprit humain en quelque pays que ce soit, par des livres regardés comme sacrés et éminemment respectables, je présente, dis-je, la version thébaine du *Livre de Job*, telle que je l'ai rencontrée. Les uns y trouveront matière à leur admiration religieuse, les autres matière à leurs recherches scientifiques et linguistiques, tous lumière et profit. Au point de la seule langue, la version thébaine du *Livre de Job* sera, j'ose le croire, d'une grande utilité, à cause de la multiplicité des sujets traités par l'auteur de ce livre merveilleux, qui semble à distance un résumé encyclopédique de toutes les connaissances que l'auteur avait, ou qu'on avait à l'époque de l'auteur, en fait de philosophie et d'histoire naturelle. Le dictionnaire de la langue copte sera enrichi de mots nouveaux, et surtout d'une foule de formes nouvelles. Afin de ne rien laisser au hasard des corrections ou des restitutions, j'ai reproduit les manuscrits tels quels, et je me suis contenté de souligner d'un mot les fautes par trop évidentes.

Pour toutes ces raisons, j'ai cru que nulle Société ne pouvait entreprendre cette publication à plus juste titre que la *Société d'Archéologie biblique*, qui a rendu et rend tant de services aux études scientifiques, religieuses et chrétiennes.

BRUXELLES, 13 *Février*, 1887.

This paper, with the Coptic text of the Book of Job, will be printed in a future part of the Society's publications.

Remarks were added by the Rev. Canon Beechey and the President.

A Paper on "The Caaba and Mosque of Mecca," by Miss Gonino, was read.

Arabia is as yet to the generality of people a *terra incognita*. Few there are who are conversant with its language, history, or literature—fewer still who have cared to undergo the hardships which a visit to El-Hejaz entails; very little is known of the country, almost nothing of its people and their inner life; yet it is a subject replete with interest, and one which comes home to all Christian minds as being intimately connected with the most ancient Biblical records, and in days when students are ardently and energetically pursuing their researches in the old as well as the new world, the time cannot be far distant when the Arabic Peninsula will be made to yield up its long forgotten lore. Broadly speaking, the Arabs, according to Burton, may be divided into three races. These are: the autochthones, or sub-Caucasian tribes, occupying Mahrah and the coast between Muscat and Hadramaut; the Noachians, or Chaldeans of Mesopotamia, who penetrated into Arabia about 2000 A.C., and drove before them the owners of the soil, seizing on the best lands of the peninsula; thirdly, the descendants of Ishmael, dating from *cir.* 1900 A.C., who occupy the Sinaitic Peninsula, and never extended beyond the limits of these mountains, where they even to this day "dwell in the presence of their brethren," and retain the simple customs and the fierce spirit of their forefathers. They have an admixture of Egyptian blood, recognized in Genesis, where it is said that "his mother took him a wife out of Egypt."

The religion of the different tribes of Arabia down to the birth of

Islamism seems to have been a very extensive polytheism. At one time the Caaba, which was looked upon as a Pantheon common to all, had no less than 360 statues of their various divinities. This temple, and the Black Stone, are the only two objects of worship which have survived the Arab heavenly host, and which Mohammed, that greatest of iconoclasts, dared not destroy.

Ærolite worship, however, is not confined to Arabia. The primitive emblem of Bonus Deus, Bona Dea, among the ancient Italians was a round stone, which with their descendants has dwindled down to, "buona donna," a sign-board representing a headless woman. A black stone, said to have fallen from heaven, is worshipped at Jagannath; the cone and triangle were revered in some parts of India, the pyramid in Egypt and Mexico, whilst in Greece cones of terra cotta were held in high esteem.

The Hejazi is a short man, his complexion generally "dark leonine," varying from the darkest Italian to a chocolate hue; his manners are simple and dignified, free from affectation or awkwardness; his character is a mixture of determination, gentleness and generosity, which does not exclude a certain amount of worldly cunning. Brigandage is still in good repute among the dwellers of El-Hejaz, and to die in a foray is considered a noble and enviable death.

Mesha, Becca, Mecca, Om-el-Cora, the mother of cities, the noble, capital of El-Hejaz and Arabia, the birth-place of the founder of Islam, the holy city of Moslems, whose greatest desire is to have seen it at least once in their lives, is built in a narrow sandy valley, the direction of which extends from north to south. Burkhardt, who visited the place in 1809, calculates the inhabitants of Mecca *cir.* 25,000 to 30,000, counting the suburbs; but owing to political disturbances they fell to 18,000 a few years after he was there. Its sole commerce and activity occur during the few days of the pilgrimage, when Meccans and merchants may be said to make the most of their opportunity.

The town belongs to the Beni-Hussain, Mohammed's descendants, who bear a distinctive sign so as not to be confounded with the other inhabitants of El-Hejaz: forty days after their birth, two vertical incisions are made in the males' cheeks, and two others near the right temple; these cuts leave indelible marks, which last all their lives, and the operation which ensures these ennobling scars is styled *Tashrit*.

Towards the centre of the city rises the Mosque, which gives and has given so great a lustre to Mecca, surrounding the Holy of Holies, Beth-Allah, the Caaba, looked upon by Moslems as the first temple raised by men to the glory of God. The temple or house, as it is commonly called, stands towards the middle of the open square of Mosque, measuring 22 paces by 18 paces, and from 40 to 50 feet in height. It is built of fine grey granite, well fitted and cemented together.

Tradition says that the Caaba was built no less than ten times ; it was first constructed in heaven, 2,000—some say 40,000—years before the creation of the world ; there worshipped by angels, whom God commanded to perform the *Tawaf* or procession round the Caaba, praising His Name the while.

Adam, according to the same tradition, was the first believer ; he erected the Caaba on earth, precisely underneath the site it occupied in heaven, collecting the stones on the five holy hills, *i.e.*, Lebanon, Sinai, Jur, Zeit, Ararat, and Hur or Hira, which latter afforded the first stone. Ten thousand angels had the care of the edifice, but, as the sequel will show, they do not appear to have been mindful of the charge committed to them.

After him, Abraham and Ishmael received the commands of the Almighty to rebuild this temple, which had been swept away in the deluge. On digging the ground, they came upon the foundations left by Adam, and being in want of a stone to mark the angle from which the Taüf or procession was to begin, Ishmael went in search of one. On his way to Gébel Kobeis, he met the angel Gabriel, holding in his hand the famous *Black Stone*, or *Hajar el Aswad*, which was of such dazzling whiteness that its light could be seen at the distance of four days' journey, but having wept much and sore on the sins of men, it gradually became black. Another tradition says that it was touched by an impure woman, and forthwith turned opaque and black. According to a third, it is the only object in the world which has come straight from heaven. On the day of judgment it shall witness in favour of those who touch it with a reverent and single heart : for it contains the "document" placed by Allah on the day when He made a solemn covenant with the sons of Adam. When the Caaba was completed, God commanded Abraham to ascend Gebel-Sabir and call the world to visit the holy place, "and all the sons of men heard him, yea even the unborn, from that day to the day of resurrection."

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P. L. P. Renouf del.

PLATE ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE HIERATIC FORMS OF THE GOOSE

De Vogüé 26; Halévy 15.
(Left to right)

141101010
P120C
לודי בן עקב.
ינבפס.

De Vogüé 48; Halévy 36.
(Right to left)

1010101010
לקמעא שוען
51. 10101010

64 (51)

+ 10101010
(Left to right) חבז בן בבלי

71 (57)
(Left to right) 10101010
לחביאל בן חלב

226 (210)

368 (357)
לזול בן אנש בן ודמת

לנההע בן שיש

127.
402.




95.
10101010
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108.
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110.
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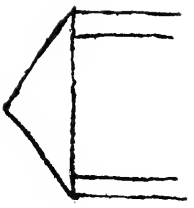
EXAMPLES OF INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE SAFA.
AFTER DE VOGÜÉ AND HALÉVY

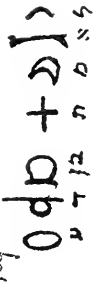
188. 

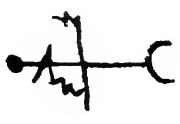
167 (173.)

Handwritten inscriptions in Phoenician script, including the word 'EXC' and other characters.

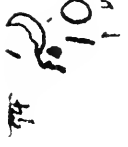
Handwritten inscriptions in Phoenician script, including the word 'AN' and other characters.



169.  $\alpha\beta\theta + \gamma\delta$

171.  +

184. $\alpha\beta\gamma + \delta\epsilon\zeta$
Handwritten inscriptions in Phoenician script.

172.  $\alpha\beta\gamma\delta\epsilon\zeta$

186. $\alpha\beta\gamma\delta\epsilon\zeta$
Handwritten inscriptions in Phoenician script.

147. $\alpha\beta\gamma\delta\epsilon\zeta$
Handwritten inscriptions in Phoenician script.

147. $\alpha\beta\gamma\delta\epsilon\zeta$
Handwritten inscriptions in Phoenician script.

EXAMPLES OF INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE SAFA
AFTER DE VOGUÉ AND HALÉVY

The Amalikah (descended from Shem) were the first to settle near Mecca; they built the sixth house. The seventh house was constructed by the Beni-Jorham. According to Moslems, Ishmael married a daughter of this tribe, and for love of her forgot his mother tongue to speak Arabic.

Kossai-bin-Kilab, fifth forefather of the prophet, rebuilt the seventh house on Abraham's plan. It was his nephew Amer-ibn-Lahai who filled it with idols, and persuaded his brethren to erect houses near the Caaba, in which they dwelt during the day, but at night they returned under their tents on the neighbouring hills.

This Caaba was accidentally burnt, and its walls were destroyed by a swollen torrent. The Beni-Kassai were succeeded by the Beni-Koreish, who rebuilt the Caaba; but failing in money, they curtailed its proportions and marked out its former limits with the Hattim wall; they closed the western door, and placed the south-eastern entrance five feet above the ground, to prevent people getting in without their leave. This took place when Mohammed was twenty-five years old. The historian Azrabi states that over one of the columns nearest to the door, a woman was sculptured with a babe in her lap, believed to be the Virgin Mary and the infant Christ; it is more likely, however, to have been an "Isis with Horus." Ibn-Zobeyr, Ayisha's nephew, reconstructed the Caaba in 64 H., and brought it about the size it had during the supremacy of the Beni-Kossai.

It was about this time that the edifice was called Ca'aba, a word derived from Ca'ab, die, cube, the shape the building had assumed. The main portion of the edifice as it now stands, is the work of Hajjaj-ibn-Jusuf-el-Takasi, who reduced it to what it was at the time of the Beni-Koreish, re-constructing the Hattim which had been pulled down by Ibn-Zobeyr and its space comprised in the Caaba. Since then the shape and size of the temple has remained the same. The Abbassides during their sway enlarged the Caaba at different times, and greatly contributed to its improvements.

The Caaba stands upon a base two feet in height, projecting about one foot from the wall, composed of fine marble slabs, polished like glass by the touch of innumerable pilgrims. The only door which gives access within is on the south-east, *viz.* seven feet from the ground, and is opened, first for the admittance of pilgrims, and five or six days after for the purifying and cleaning of the temple.

The door is opened in this way: a movable ladder, the gift of a Turkish sovereign, silver plated, is placed against the door, the Sherif of Mecca ascends the ladder accompanied by his officials, who keep aloft the *Burka*, or portière, whilst the Sherif opens the door, kisses the threshold, and enters the sanctuary, remaining inside the time necessary to recite one prayer and make two genuflexions. When he has done, the other sheiks go through the same ceremony in turn, after which the door is thrown open and the people enter, exclaiming, "Oh, God, open for us the door of Thy mercy and Thy forgiveness: Thou the most merciful of those who are merciful."

When the cleaning of the Caaba takes place, the Sherif, or a substitute, enters the temple together with the negro-warders and the Sakkain, or water-carriers, who come with skins full of water, which are handed on from hand to hand, until they reach the Blackwatch at the door; these pour the water on the floor of the sanctuary and perfume it with rose-water. The Sherif, the high personages and the negroes, with small palm brooms in their hands, scour the floor, and the water which runs through an aperture under the door is eagerly taken up by the vulgar throng, who drink and sprinkle themselves with it as long as there is a drop to be had. The cleaning over, a paste composed of amber and aloe-wood moistened with rose-water, is made and spread on the uncovered portion of the wall below the tapestry; perfumes are burnt in a Mabkhara or censer, an appropriate prayer is recited, and all depart.

The Caaba is 115 paces distant from the northern cloister of the mosque, and 88 paces from the southern; this want of symmetry arises from its having been in existence prior to the mosque. The interior of this celebrated temple consists of one single room, whose roof is supported by three columns; the only light and air it receives is from the door, so that when filled with a multitude of jostling fanatics it becomes almost a black Calcutta hole. The pavement is of coloured marble in chequer-wise pattern; the walls below the tapestry, likewise of marble, are adorned with inscriptions in *relievo*, and with arabesques; innumerable lamps, said to be of gold, hang between the columns. The ceiling and the upper portion of the walls are covered with handsome red silk, embroidered with a running flowery pattern, and inscriptions in large silver letters. This drapery is looped up six feet from the ground, so as to remove it

from the hands of the pilgrims. At the north-east corner is a small door leading to the roof, and never opened save for purposes of repairs ; opposite to this, in the Black-Stone or Aswad corner, stands a flat-topped cabinet, which in Ibn-Zobeyr's time used to contain the fine copies of the Coran given to the mosque, which were destroyed in the inundation which has already been mentioned, but now it is empty.

On the south-east corner of the Caaba, near the door, stands the famous *Black Stone*, or *Hajar el Aswad*, forming part of the angle of the edifice, four or five feet from the ground. It is an irregular oval, nearly seven inches in diameter, composed of various fragments, well cemented together, and smoothed over by the touch of the devotees. It is surrounded by a brown reddish cement slightly raised above the surface ; both the stone and the cement are kept together by a massive band of gold or silver gilt.

According to an Arabic manuscript this stone is the only object in the world which having come down from heaven, is able to work miracles, cure diseases, and make holy the blackest sinner. It is related of a doctor of Cufa, who was seen to approach it reverently, and who on being asked what proof he had that it was not a common one, replied, "We have an infallible sign that when thrown into the water it will float." The experiment was performed on the spot, and confirmed the doctor's assertion. An Arab poet says concerning the Black Stone : "The eye sees in it a wondrous beauty, similar to that of a young bride ; such a pleasurable sensation is felt by the mouth in kissing it, that the pilgrim wishes to go on for ever. This sensation is peculiar to it, and a divine grace in its favour. The prophet declared it to be the right hand of Allah upon earth, and the proper place to shed abundant tears."

The Hajar el Aswad has suffered frequently at the hands of the iconoclastic Moslems. The first time was about 311 H., when both Mecca and the Mosque were almost destroyed by the schismatic Karmates, who, commanded by Abu-Dabehr, invaded El-Hejaz, took possession of Mecca and plundered it ; 50,000 inhabitants lost their lives ; the Mosque and the Caaba were deprived of their ornaments (the treasures of the temple had been stored under ground against the doubtful fortune of war). The Karmates departed after twenty days, taking the stone to El-Hassa, a city near the Persian Gulf, in the expectation that Moslems would flock thither to worship the stone,

and have with them the costly gifts which it had been the custom for pilgrims from all parts of the world to bring to Mecca. But in this they were disappointed, and after the death of Abu-Dabehr, who had refused 50,000 denari for it, the Karmates in 339 H. returned it gratis, experience having taught them that little was to be made out of it, as few pilgrims took the trouble to go to El-Hassa to kiss it. The stone consisted at that time of two pieces, having been broken by a blow from a Karmate during the siege of the city.

In 411 H. it had a narrow escape of being destroyed by El-Hakim-bi-Amr-Allah, Sultan of Egypt, who being afflicted with madness, sent with the Pilgrims' Caravan an Egyptian with orders to destroy the stone; this emissary, provided with an iron club carefully hidden under his cloak, walked up to it, and cried, "How long shall this stone, as also Mohammed and Ali, be the objects of our worship? Let us put an end to this sacrilegious *cultus*, let us destroy this temple, and let Islam disappear under its ruins." So saying he dealt three heavy blows at the stone, whilst a body of armed men belonging to the caravan were guarding the door of the Mosque, ready to rush in to his assistance; but they were unable to protect him from the infuriated mob, and he was struck down by the dagger of a *Yemeni*. The men-at-arms were pursued, and on this occasion the entire Egyptian caravan was plundered.

The last time the stone was illtreated was in 1086 H., when it and the door of the Caaba were found one morning covered with dirt, so that all who kissed it retired with sullied beards. The author of this nasty trick was sought in vain. The Persians were suspected, but nothing could be proved against them.

The Meccans, however, who realize the saying, that "the nearest the altar the farthest from God," are not sorry of a real or fictitious "avanie" which gives them the opportunity of belabouring and plundering the Persians, against whom they entertain a deep seated religious hatred. On the north-west side of the Caaba, two feet below its summit, is the famous *Mizab* or water-spout which carries the rain-water collected on the roof, and discharges it on Ishmael's grave, where pilgrims stand fighting to catch it. Moslems believe it to be of massive gold, but Ali Bey gives it as his opinion that it is only gilt brass. The pavement round the Caaba under the water-spout was laid down in 827 H.; it consists in a mosaic of coloured stones, in the centre of which are two large slabs of beautiful *verde*

antico, which according to Macrizi were sent from Cairo 241 H. Moslem tradition places here the tomb of Ishmael and his mother, and pilgrims pray at both. Here too is a semicircular wall, the extremities of which are in a line with the sides of the Caaba, and distant from it four or five feet, leaving an opening which leads to Ishmael's tomb. The wall bears the name of *Hattim*, and the area which it encloses is called *Hijr* (separated), on account of its having been separated from the Caaba, of which, at different periods, it formed an integral part. The law accepts the *Hijr* as a portion of the Caaba; so that it is considered as meritorious to pray in the *Hijr* as in the Caaba itself, and pilgrims who have not the opportunity of praying in the latter, have the right to aver that their prayers were recited within the Caaba, although they have only bowed in its precincts. The *Tawaf* round the Caaba is performed outside the *Hattim*, but as close to it as possible.

The pavement round the Caaba is of fine grey granite, polished like glass by the feet of the Faithful. About eight inches below the level of the main court, describing an irregular oval, it is surrounded by 32 slender gilt columns; between every two are suspended numerous lamps, always burning after sunset. This oval walk is called *El Mattaf*, or place of Tawaf. Beyond it is a second pavement, slightly higher, followed by a third which you approach by a step, and is occupied by the five *Makams* or chapels, the well *Zemzem*, the arch Bab-es-Salām, and the *Mambar* or pulpit.

The *Makams* are distributed about the four sides of the Caaba; four of them are named after the founders of the four orthodox schools. They are, the Hanafi, Hambali, Meleki, and Shafei. In these the Imams take up their position to direct the prayers of their communities. The *Makam Shafei* encloses the well *Zemzem*, and has an upper story where the *Muazzin* ascends to call the Faithful to prayers. On the ground floor is an entrance leading to the well-room, which from early morn till twelve at night is filled with pilgrims drinking or having pails of holy water poured over them, to make the man inwardly and outwardly clean. The mouth of the well is fenced round by a parapet five feet high and ten feet in diameter. On this wall stand the *Sakkain* with their skins, ready to let them down at the pilgrims' desire; an iron railing protects them from falling in.

The well *Zemzem* is believed to be the one shown to Hagar and

Ishmael by the angel Gabriel, when they were ready to faint from thirst and fatigue. The word is differently explained. Some derive it from Zam Zam, or murmuring of its waters, others fill, fill (the bottle), Hagar's exclamation when she saw the spring. However it may be, Meccans hold it as a wonderful miracle that the well should ever keep at the same level, notwithstanding the quantity of water drawn from it. They advise pilgrims to break their fast with it, to apply it the eyes to brighten the vision, and to drink a few drops at the hour of death to ensure their safe and speedy passage into eternal bliss. Pilgrims therefore on leaving Mecca take with them as many earthen jars covered with basket-work as they can conveniently carry, to distribute among friends less privileged than they, or to keep for personal use. The water, according to most travellers, is heavy, bitter, and lukewarm, not differing in any respect from other springs in Hejaz, whose water is somewhat brackish; if indulged in rather freely, it produces pimples and other disagreeables, which makes strangers prefer rain-water collected in cisterns for drinking purposes.

The mosque surrounding the Caaba is remarkable only for the vast proportions of its dimensions, the open court measuring no less than 257 paces by 210 paces; none of the sides of which run in a perfect straight line, although the first impression is that of a regular form. The court is surrounded on the eastern side by columns four deep, and from three to four deep along the other sides, united by pointed arches; a thousand lamps given by the Faithful hang between these arches. The columns, nearly 600 in number, are more than 20 feet high, and one-and-a-half in diameter; little thought was bestowed on their regularity, so that some are of white marble, others of granite, and others of Mecca stone. Springing from every four columns may be seen a small cupola, whitewashed and plastered outside, and seven minarets, as well as many towers and pinnacles, which are distributed among the arcades and at the corners. The floor of the colonnades is paved with large stones, and eight pavements, each rising above the other, extend from the outside to the centre of the square occupied by the Caaba. Nineteen gates open into the inner court; these gates have no doors, so that the mosque stands open night and day.

The outside walls of the mosque are formed by the houses surrounding it on all sides; these dwellings belonged formerly to the temple, but are now the property of individuals, who let them out at

very high prices during the pilgrimage. People who occupy them have the privilege of performing their devotions at home; for seeing the Caaba is equivalent to being in it and joining in the religious exercises of the Faithful.

Moslems who perform the pilgrimage must, according to the places they enter Hejaz,* stop at different stations, and go through various ceremonies carefully and minutely noted down by the prophet himself. Each Hadji, when arrived at one of these, prepares to enter the holy city in this wise: he first sets aside his dust travelled clothes, goes through a thorough ablution and a rather elaborate toilet, perfuming himself with musk and aloe-wood, and when he has put on the *irham*, or white pilgrim's cloak, he receives the name of *mohrin*, pure, and in this garb he proceeds to Mecca on foot, reciting aloud a long psalm, not a word of which is to be slurred over or missed, referring to an old legend which makes Abraham the builder of the Caaba.

On entering Mecca, the Hadji recites aloud a special prayer, visits the mosque, going through the gate Es-Salama (welcome), and leaves his shoes at the door (which are apt to be purloined, especially if new); he advances slowly towards the Caaba, and approaches the Black Stone or Hajar el Aswad; kisses it if the throng of devotees does not prevent him, or touches it with his hand, which he carries to his lips; sometimes indeed he has to be satisfied with the indirect contact of his staff. Immediately after this first ceremony the pilgrims perform the Tawaf, which consists in going seven times round the Caaba, beginning at the east angle of the Black Stone, and following the main façade where the door stands; thence pacing slowly round the north, outside Ishmael's stones, and the west corner, until they reach the south angle, when they touch the stone with the right hand and kiss the finger tips (great care being taken lest the end of their *ihram* should touch the uncovered basement of the Caaba); then they draw their hands over their faces, reciting some prayers the while, and when they have returned to the south angle, the hands are again raised as before; they let them fall, recite some more special praises to Allah, kiss the stone, and so the first round or *Shaiit* is done.

* This word Hejaz wants a little explanation, for it includes a large space of ground; the pilgrims from India perform the ceremony described below on board ship, at a point where they are supposed to enter the Hejaz.

The traditional rule requires the last turns to be done slowly; moreover, during the whole of the Taïf the pilgrim must have great care to keep his face and left shoulder turned towards the stone; then passing out of Bab-el-Safa, he ascends the height bearing the same name, and performs the *Sai*, or "running," between it and Mount *Marwah*, his face ever turned in the direction of the Caaba, advancing and receding alternately in a given space, to recall the wanderings of Hagar and Ishmael in the wilderness, after their expulsion from Abraham's tent.

The pilgrim then returns to Mecca, without, however, divesting himself of the *irham*, for he is supposed to meditate on the important ceremony he has just accomplished; but should his pious zeal prompt him, he may repeat his visits to the Caaba as often as he pleases down to the end of the pilgrimage. But this is not all: before leaving the holy city he has many other religious duties to perform. The day of sacrifice (in remembrance of Abraham offering his son Isaac) falls on the 8th of *u'l Hижjah* (pilgrimage); on that day (12th September), a little after sunrise, the pilgrim directs his steps towards *El-Mina*, a straggling village three miles distant from Mecca, sacred to Moslems as the burial place of Adam; then he proceeds to Mount Arafat* (Holy), which owes its name to the following legend: When our first parents were driven out of paradise, because they had eaten wheat, which deprived them of their innocence, they were cast upon earth. Eve descended upon Arafat, and Adam at Ceylon; but Adam unable to live without his wife determined to seek her. He forthwith began a journey to which our globe owes its present configuration: for wherever our first parent placed his foot, a town in the course of time arose. After wandering for many years, he reached the mountain of Mercy (Arafat), and as he drew near he heard Eve calling his name. He hastened in the direction whence the voice proceeded, and saw her from whom he had been separated for so long, and to their re-union the name of Arafat is due. Here Adam was duly instructed by the archangel to erect a *Madaa*, house of prayer, and here they dwelt until their death.

After a day's journey and many prayers, the Hadjis halt at the foot of Arafat, and the next day they set off again, traverse El-Meshar-el-Haram, hurry through the Osnah-Hassar, accursed valley, until they come to Meshialla Mina.

* Called "holy" above.

Here they go through a series of ceremonies referring to long forgotten legends, whose true import is wholly unsuspected by the performers themselves ; after which they must each take up seven stones and hurl them at Shaïtan-el-Cabir (the common enemy of the human race), with averted faces, crying *Bismillah*, "in the name of Allah." This done each pilgrim may turn his attention to the sacrificing of the victim he has brought with him, and if a good Moslem, he will distribute it among friends, and especially the poor. Finally, after another tedious toilet, he returns to Mecca, where he resumes his devotions at the Caaba, which on the third day of the pilgrimage has had the old *Kiswa* removed, cut up, and sold to the devotees. On its being taken down from the temple there follows a scramble for the dust which has collected and stuck to the walls, and which the people keep or sell as a relic. And now the outside of the Caaba is entirely hung with the black damask covering, which leaves no portion of it exposed save the roof, the basement, the space occupied by the Hajar-el-Aswad, and the Burka. A broad stripe embroidered with gold runs the whole way round the upper portion, with the following words of the Coran, "God has made the Caaba to be a holy house, a house destined to be a station for the sons of men ; He has appointed a holy month, the offering of sheep, and all the ornaments depending from the victims, that ye may know that He sees all that is done in Heaven above and on the earth beneath."

The *Kiswa* is made in Cairo at the Sultan's expense. After the feast of Ramadan it is transferred from the manufactory to the Hassanein mosque, and whilst there, on stated days, ladies of high and low degree help in sewing or finishing off some portion of the embroidery, it being accounted among the good deeds which even women can perform. When completed it is despatched to Mecca with the pilgrims' caravan. The Viceroy, accompanied by all the grandees of the realm, and thousands of spectators, assemble in the Cara-meydân (square) beneath the citadel, together with all the religious denominations and various guilds with their flags and music. From this square the departure of the *Kiswa* takes place. The necessary orders being given, and the requisite papers delivered by the Khedive, the procession files out, headed by the military, the corporations, horsemen, and camels, carrying the Mehmâl or box on a camel with the carpet ; the caravan Sheikh follows immediately after, riding a camel, then the high functionaries in full uniform, and

lastly another body of troops close the march. Guns give the signal for starting; the city is traversed from end to end; they pass out at Bab-el-Nasr, and halt at Berket-el-Haj, the centre of the pilgrims' rendezvous. The day is kept as a general holiday; the whole population is out in the streets through which the pageant is to pass. The *Kiswa* does not vary in colour, shape, or design. At first the new covering is looped up by means of ropes fastened to the roof, and suffered to hang down in festoons, so that the lower portion of the building remains uncovered; by-and-bye the carpet is let down, and secured in the basement brass rings. The ropes which support the *Kiswa* not being very tight, the slightest breath of wind causes it to undulate. This the throng assembled round the edifice welcome with prayers, for they imagine the swaying is produced by the flapping of guardian angels, of whom 70,000 have the care of the Caaba, and will carry it straight to heaven on the last day.

The custom of covering and uncovering the Caaba is not of Mussulman origin. It existed already among the heathen Arabs, when there were two carpets, one for summer and the other for winter.

The *Kiswa* was given successively by the Emirs of Yemen, the Commanders of Bagdad, and the Sultans of Egypt, according to the degree of power exercised over Mecca; for giving the Caaba carpet was tantamount to assuming the sovereignty over Hejaz. Kalaun, sultan of Egypt, obtained this exclusive right for himself, his descendants and successors, which the Sultans of Constantinople have inherited from him. Kalaun assigned the revenue of two villages to defray the expenses of the carpet; later on Soliman the Magnificent added several others. But to return to the Hadji. After another pilgrimage to Muna, a farewell visit to the Caaba and the well Zemzem, he must hasten to leave Mecca as speedily as possible, for fear of transgression, which in his state of grace would make his punishment seventy-fold more terrible.

Burton calculates the number of pilgrims who repair yearly to Mecca at about 50,000, a considerable falling off since the days when Burkhardt and Ali-Bey visited the place.

Remarks were added by the Rev. Canon Beechey, Mr. P. R. Reed, Mr. J. Offord, and the President.























Thanks were returned for these Communications.

The following Communication has been received from A. Macalister, M.D., F.R.S., Cambridge :—

AN INSCRIPTION OF THE THIRTEENTH DYNASTY IN THE
DUBLIN NATIONAL MUSEUM.

In the National Museum of Ireland there is a block of black basalt which originally formed the pedestal of a statue, and which in general appearance is not unlike the Saite pedestal, whose inscription I recently communicated to the Society.

The remains of the feet of the statue are still attached to the stone, and on the flat face of the pedestal there are three lines of well-cut, incise hieroglyphs, which form a part of a funeral inscription. The characters, as usual, read from right to left, and are as follows :—

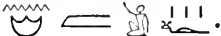
- | | | | | | | |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| | χet nebt | nefer | ābt | ānχ-tā | neter | ām |
| | <i>All things</i> | <i>good</i> | <i>pure</i> | <i>which the Goats are fed upon</i> | | |
| (2) |  |  |  |  |  |  *** |
| | en ka en | nemu | em | Uast | Sebek-em-sa-f | māχeru |
| | <i>to the spirit of</i> | <i>the Nemu in</i> | <i>Thebes</i> | <i>Sebek-emsaf</i> | | <i>justified</i> |
| (3) |  |  |  |  |  |    |
| | ār-n | ur | suten | sa (?) | Sebek-tutu-beba | |
| | <i>son of</i> | <i>{ the chief of the }</i> | <i>thirty royal magistrates</i> | | <i>Sebek-tutu-beba</i> | |
| |  |  | | | | |
| | māχeru | neb āmaχ | | | | |
| | <i>justified</i> | <i>the faithful one.</i> | | | | |


The two persons mentioned on this stone are well-known historical characters. On the limestone slab in the Louvre numbered c. 13, the genealogy of the whole family is given, and we there learn that the royal magistrate Sebek-tutu-beba was the husband of the lady of




the house Tuau-ra-nefert, and that his fourth son was the personage here referred to, Sebek-em-saf, who filled the office of *Mer-sent*, or "Superintendent of the Storehouse."

A stele in the Bibliothèque Nationale carries this genealogy a step farther back, and tells us that the scribe and magistrate Sebek-tuta-beba was the son of Sebek-hotep and his wife Hepiu. This Sebek-hotep was probably the son of the *Erpa* Seneb, and nephew of Sebek-hotep IV, the son of Mentu-hotep.

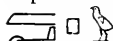

We have thus five generations of this family commemorated in monumental history, the first of whom lived in the reign of the 20th king of the XIIIth Dynasty, according to the Turin list, or about B.C. 2000, and the last in the days of the Queen Nubchās, the contemporary, and probably the wife of Sebek-hotep VI, the 26th king of the same dynasty.

It is interesting to note that in the name Sebek-em-saf the marks of the plural are interposed between the *sa* and the *f*, both in the Paris and Dublin monuments. In one later stele of an Emsaf there is a single mark under the *sa*. Such plural marks in names are not uncommon, but are usually terminal, and very seldom precede an *f*. I know however of one case in a stele in Turin (Vestibule, No. 18) where there is the name .

The office held by Sebek-em-saf is not well understood. There is another monument of a Nemu named Mentu-hetep in the Museo Civico, Palazzo Correr, Venice, described by Dr. Wiedemann in the *Proceedings* of this Society (1886, p. 90), and dating from the XIIth Dynasty. This stele describes the office as  "Nemu of the keeper of the palace."

From its connection with  the tongue (connected with  *iterare*), and such uses as that in the Metternich Stele, where the sense is verbal in the phrase , "Thou pronoucest thy spells," and some other examples, it is evident that a Nemu was a speaker; and in the stele of Ra-hotep at Boulaq, who was, like Sebek-tutu-beba, one of the thirty magistrates, the word Nemu is used in the sense of pronouncing a judgment or sentence. Wiedemann translates it "speaker" (with a query). Chabas renders it "reporter," and others have proposed "inter-

preter" or "envoy." Unfortunately this inscription throws no light on this point, except so far as it links it with a place, and calls him the Nemu in Thebes.

As to the nature of the post held by Sebek-tutu-beba, we have no clear knowledge as to the phonetic value of the characters which express it. It may be, as Chabas conjectured, connected with the  mentioned in the "Travels of an Egyptian" (Chabas, "Voyage," p. 271), but this is uncertain. These thirty great royal magistrates seem to have constituted the high court referred to by the Greeks, a judicial board something like the court of the seventy , whom Moses appointed to judge the Israelites more than six centuries later. I do not know of any variant of the title which gives any information as to the name of the office.*


The following Communication has been received from Robert Brown, Jun., F.S.A. :—

ON EUPHRATEAN NAMES OF THE CONSTELLATION *Ursa Major*.

What was the original Euphratean name of the constellation *Ursa Major*, not the extended *Great Bear* of a modern star-map, but

"*Ἄρκτον, ἣν καὶ Ἀμαζαν ἐπὶ κλησιν καλέουσιν,*

which heads the Northern Signs, as *Orion* the Southern, and which, Orion-like, consists of seven protagonistic stars, arranged by four and three? The Bear is named *sakh* in Akkadian, the Assyrian *dabû*, Heb. *dôb*, and Arabic *dub*. Thus the star *a Ursæ Majoris* is now styled *Dubhe* (= Arabic *dubbeh*, "she-bear"), and the Arabic name of the sign is *Al-dub-al-akbar* ("the Great-bear"). But the Arabian nomenclature is borrowed from the classical, the native

* The President has kindly directed my attention to the passage in the inscription of Aahmes at El Kab, in line 10, where it is said that his deeds of valour were told to the Nemu, as a preliminary step towards his receiving royal rewards, so that apparently it was his duty to report to the sovereign. It is probable, therefore, that the official was like the Hebrew , a recorder. For this reference, and several other valuable suggestions, I desire to express my most sincere thanks,

Arabian names for the two *Bears* being the *Great* and *Little Coffins*, or *Biers*, in reference to their slow and solemn motion round the pole. So the three tail-stars of *Ursa Major* are called *Benetnasch* ("The-daughters-of-the-bier").

Lenormant translated line 2 of the Fifth Tablet of the *Creation Legend* :—

2. "Des étoiles il leur attribua, les étoiles de la grande ourse
(LU. mási) il fixa."

He adds, "Dans un proclain travail je justifierai cette interprétation" (*Les Origines*, I, 499); but his lamented death prevented his further treatment of the matter, and I know of no special reason in favour of this view, whilst there are numerous considerations against it (*Vide* R.B., Jun., *Eridanus*, 65).

Euphratean astronomy knew a *Kakkabu Dabi*, a "Star (or Constellation) of the Bear;" but it was not apparently a prominent member of the heavenly host, and was connected with misfortune (*Vide* Sayce, in *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, Vol. III, page 176). Of course the constellational *Bear* of one nation may, or may not, be identical with the constellational *Bear* of another. "A fragmentary planisphere," says Professor Sayce, "places the star *Lul* immediately above seven dots, under which is written, 'Bel who goes before the star.' Now *Lul* was included among 'the stars of Martu,' or 'the west,' and since Tammuz was 'the month of Martu,' it would seem that the seven dots represented *Ursa Major*. . . . The words underneath would fix the day of the month to which the planisphere belonged, since the revolution of the moon was called *Bel* from the tenth to the fifteenth day" (*Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, Vol. III, page 172). And, having quoted another inscription relating to portents drawn from the positions of *Mars*, in which we read :—

"*Mars to Bel-the-Confronter* is opposite,"

he observes :—"Bel-the-Confronter . . . is perhaps to be identified with the 'Bel who goes before the star' in the planisphere to which I have referred. In this case it would denote the Great Bear from the eleventh to the fifteenth days of the moon's age."

Of course the *Wain*-stars, which are so prominent,

"Shining with ample light when night begins,"

as Aratos says, would be specially represented in the Euphratean scheme; and the title "the Confronter" is exceedingly appropriate

to this large and remarkable star-combination, ever before us (weather permitting) and untouched by ocean. Professor Sayce once suggested to me that perhaps “‘the god seven,’ so frequently mentioned in the Inscriptions,” is connected with the *Bear*. The planets, *Orion*, and *Ursa Major* form three remarkable groups of sevens; and seven stars in a group are often represented on the cylinders, some fifteen instances being given in Lajard’s *Culte de Mithra*. Thus in Plate xxx, Fig. 7, we have the Sun and Moon in human form, the eight-rayed solar star over the head of the former, and the crescent over the head of the latter; close by the crescent are seven stars in two rows of four and three, representing, as I believe, the *Wain*-stars, the limits of the original *Ursa Major*. (Cf. Plate xxxii, Fig. 11; Plate liv, Fig. 5). The Sun and Moon being separately represented, it is not probable that the seven circles stand for the seven planets. The seven circles in the shape of the letter Λ, attached to the crescent-moon in Plate liva, Fig. 7, symbolize, I believe, the days of the week. (Cf. Plate lxix, Fig. 16).

I have always thought that Professor Max Müller’s well-known explanation of the mental process by which, according to him, *Ursa Major* obtained her name, *i.e.*, the connexion in idea between *riksha* (= (1) bright, (2) bear), *arktos*, *ursa*, and the seven “Sages” (*Rishis*), was very conclusive. Mr. A. Lang’s objection that this explanation cannot be accepted unless it could be shown that every star-name arose in a similar way (*Custom and Myth*, 2nd edition, page 139 *et seq.*), practically asserts that only one line of thought could enter the human mind in a stellar connexion, a proposition which it is unnecessary to discuss. History and philology, as far as I am acquainted with them on the subject, alike point to an Aryan origin of *Ursa Major*; and, further, there is every reason to believe that *Ursa Minor*, another group of seven stars also lying in a parallelogram of four with a tail of three, is a reduplication of her greater sister, and not an archaic constellation. (*Vide* R.B., Jun., “*The Heavenly Display*” of *Aratos*, page 16.)

And here let me refer to a passage in *Achilleus Tatios*, sometimes overlooked, and at others misquoted:—“Ἐν τῇ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων σφαίρᾳ οὔτε ὁ ἑράκων ἐστὶν νομιζόμενος ἢ ὀνομαζόμενος οὔτε ἄρκτοι οὔτε Κηφέυς. ἀλλ’ ἕτερα σχήματα εἰδώλων. οὔτω δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ τῶν Χαλδαίων.” (*Εἰσαγωγή*, xxxix.) This testimony, when we consider (1) its positive character, (2) the knowledge of the writer, and (3) the

preservation of the various "spheres" unaltered, except in trifles, from age to age, may be fairly regarded as conclusive so far as the *Bears* are concerned. It is also in exact agreement with the general historical evidence on the matter; and it is noteworthy that Mr. Proctor, working on another line of investigation; had arrived at a similar result so far as *Draco* and *Ursa Minor* are concerned, and gives a picture of a winged Dragon, as he sees it in the skies (*Easy Star Lessons*, Fig. 7, page 25), in the place of the great Serpent, remarking elsewhere, "It is impossible not to recognize, from the configuration of this constellation, that the ancients" [say rather "the archaics"] looked on the stars which form the Lesser Bear as forming a wing of *Draco*" (*Half-Hours with the Stars*, page 15). Hêsyehios gives, *Δαβουλή, ἄρκτος, Χαλκαίοι*. But he merely refers to the actual animal, as when he mentions *Γαυάλη, κάμηλος, παρὰ Χαλκαίους*. The form *δαβουλή* = *dabû* (*dabou*) + some other (unknown) word, or may possibly have originally been *δαβούα* (𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠, *da-bu-u*).

Bel-mi-khi-ra ("Bel-the-Confronter") is probably the Semitic equivalent of an Akkadian name; and one of the equivalents of the *As. belu*, "lord," is *Ak. AK (= AG)*. The *As. makhirtu*, "front" = *Ak. NA*, which also means "sky," "prince," being, as Lenormant observes, "modification de ANA par élision de la voyelle initiale" (*Étude sur quelques parties des Syllabaires Cunnéiformes*, page 321). Hence "the Lord in front," or "Confronting-lord," would represent the *Ak. Ag-ana* ("Lord of heaven.") Now, turning to Hêsyehios, we find, *Ἀγαννα. ἄμαξα. καὶ ἡ ἐν οὐρανῷ ἄρκτος. Q.E.D.*

It is, of course, quite to be expected that a remarkable archaic Euphratean name would be preserved by Hêsyehios; just as we find in his *Lexicon*, *Σαύη (= As. save, sawe, same, "the heavens," Heb. shamayim), ὁ κόσμος Βαβυλωνίος. Ἰαίης (= Ak. Idu, the full moon), ἡ σελήνη παρὰ Χαλκαίους*, and many other Euphratean words.

I may add that Hêsyehios is always careful to distinguish his sky-animals from their terrestrial brethren; and so speaks of *Ἀἴξ οὐρανία*, and *Κλείτα, ἡ οὐράνιος ἄρκτος*.

The following Paper by the Rev. C. J. Ball was read on 1st February :—

THE METRICAL STRUCTURE OF QĪNÔTH.

THE BOOK OF LAMENTATIONS ARRANGED ACCORDING TO THE ORIGINAL MEASURES.

THIS Paper hardly needs a lengthy preface. The arrangement of the Hebrew text of Lamentations in a form which makes visible to the eye the general symmetry of its poetical structure, may fairly claim to be considered a self-evident improvement on the prosaic jumble of the Masoretic text. But in the following pages I go further than this, and attempt to show, what I am convinced is the case, that this small collection of sacred elegies is characterized by a scheme of metres so well-marked and distinct, that no difficulties affecting the scansion of individual lines are sufficient to throw doubt upon its reality. The same kind of difficulties meets us, as was remarked by our accomplished President, in old Latin verse, in the *Nibelungenlied*, in Italian and Spanish poetry, and in Shakspeare; cases in which no one would dream of questioning the real existence of metrical form.

I was greatly helped, in discerning the measures of the pieces before us, by the acrostich arrangement which, of course, determined for me the extent of each verse. Within the limits thus defined by the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet, it was my task to ascertain the number of the lines in each verse, and their measures. When I began I had not the smallest idea of the results to which the facts would guide me. I did not begin with a theory, and seek to accommodate the facts thereto; my theory made itself evident in the course of handling the facts. Briefly stated, my results are as follows. The stanzas of the first three elegies (chaps. I, II, III) are hexastichic or six-lined stanzas. (The third elegy, which is arranged in our bibles in 66 verses, is not an exception, although the acrostich form is here more elaborate, being observed in the first member of each couplet.) The two remaining elegies (chaps. IV, V) are composed, not in hexastichs, but in quatrains or tetrastichs; the latter of them (chap. V) being evidently unfinished, as it contains only eleven, instead of twenty-two stanzas. The connexion of thought establishes the fact that this fragment ought to be arranged in quatrains, like chap. IV, and not in

distichs, as in the Masoretic text. There is no break in the sense between verses 17, 18; and verses 9, 10, 15, 16, 19, 20, and 21, 22 are almost as obviously bound together. The Masoretic division is simply an attempt to bring this fragment into conformity with the finished poem which precedes it. Other indications of incompleteness are the absence of the acrostich arrangement, and the abruptness of the close, as well as an unevenness of expression observable here and there. We seem to have the poet's first rough sketch, which owing to circumstances was never completed. The case of Psalms ix, x, is somewhat similar. There the alphabetic character is partially supplied, but has not been fully carried out, as we must suppose was originally intended. In such instances, then, we see unfinished fragments, which have been preserved for their intrinsic merits, like the numerous fragmentary pieces which we find in editions of Coleridge and Shelley.

My results have been obtained, not by arbitrary arrangement of words in disregard of their logical connexion, and of the well-known principle of parallelism. On the contrary, I made it my first consideration to observe these landmarks; and I was rewarded for my loyalty to accepted principles by the discovery that the metrical divisions for the most part coincide with those which logic and the parallelism of members prescribe.*

The normal measure of the stichi is the hexasyllable. Representing unaccented syllables by the sign \smile , and accented ones by $_$, the verse scheme of chaps. I—III is:—

\smile	$_$	\smile	$_$	\smile	$_$
\smile	$_$	\smile	$_$	\smile	$_$
\smile	$_$	\smile	$_$	\smile	$_$
\smile	$_$	\smile	$_$	\smile	$_$
\smile	$_$	\smile	$_$	\smile	$_$
		\smile	$_$	\smile	$_$

Cf. I. 1. 'Aiká yashbá badád
 Ha'ír rabbáthi 'ám!
 Haïthá kě'áľmaná
 Rabbáthi bággoym;
 Saráthi bámdinóth
 Haïthá lamás.

* See chap. III, 13, 5 sq., for a striking instance in which the restoration of the metre is also a restoration of the parallelism and the sense.

As an alternative of the Iambic $\cup \text{—} \cup \text{—} \cup \text{—}$, we find the Trochaic rhythm $\text{—} \cup \text{—} \cup \text{—} \cup \text{—}$; but seldom in the first line, especially in chap. III, where the only instances are *Dób 'oréb hu' lí*, and *Tób yahwéh-l'qozáú*, which may require correction (*leg. 'el*). The fifth line also is hexasyllabic throughout chap. III, and there are but two or three apparent exceptions in chap. II. In chap. I, I find some eight or nine, but not all of equal weight. The short (dipodiac) line $\cup \text{—} \cup \text{—}$ occurs in the second, fourth and sixth places, but never in the first and fifth, and rarely in the third (not at all in chap. III).* *Cf. I, 22 :—*

Tabó kol rá'athám!
 Wě'ólél lám,
 Kashér 'olálta lí,
 'Al kól pish'í!
 Kí rábboth 'ánhothái;
 Libbí dawwái.

The standard measure of chaps. IV, V, may be represented thus:—

$\cup \text{—} \cup \text{—} \cup \text{—}$
 $\cup \text{—} \cup \text{—} \cup \text{—}$
 $\cup \text{—} \cup \text{—} \cup \text{—}$
 $\cup \text{—} \cup \text{—} \cup \text{—}$

with an alternative $\text{—} \cup \text{—} \cup \text{—} \cup \text{—}$.† The dipodiac $\cup \text{—} \cup \text{—}$ is not permitted here.

Without going into further detail, I cannot help asking if there is not sufficient trace of law in these phenomena of fixed measures recurring at fixed intervals in what has hitherto been held to be no more than rhythmic prose, to exclude the hypothesis of chance, and to establish a claim to the name of science for such unexpected results of a laborious investigation.

It has been objected that the language of the Old Testament in general is rhythmical, and that similar results might be found

* See I, 2; I, 7; I, 9; and II, 4; II, 9. Of these apparent exceptions to the rule, I, 7 and II, 4 occur in corrupt verses; I, 2 may be read '*Aín mēndhem lāh*'; and I, 9, *Wātteréd pīl'im*, if the latter word be correct (it occurs once only); and II, 9 should perhaps be scanned *Mālkah wāsarēa*.

† I fancy these hexasyllables and pentasyllables are what Josephus meant, when he wrote, somewhat ambiguously, of Hebrew "hexameters and pentameters."

in Genesis or Isaiah. There are poems and portions of poems embedded in both books; but, these apart, I challenge any one who holds this opinion to test it by actual experiment. Doubtless he will find octosyllables, and heptasyllables and hexasyllables here and there, just as he might find plenty of blank verses in Macaulay's "History of England." All good prose is rhythmical. The difference between prose and poetry is constituted not only by the more marked predominance of rhythmic cadence in poetry, but by the regular recurrence of fixed rhythms according to a definite scheme. This is what I have found in the Book of Lamentations, and not in Genesis nor in Isaiah.

QĪNŌTH.

ELEGIES ON THE FALL OF THE JEWISH STATE, B.C. 588.

Καὶ ἐγένετο μετὰ τὸ αἰχμαλωτισθῆναι τὸν Ἰσραὴλ καὶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐρημωθῆναι, ἐκάθισεν Ἱερεμίας κλαιὼν, καὶ ἐθρήνησε τὸν θρήνον τοῦτον ἐπὶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ εἶπεν.

(Superscription in the Septuagint.)

ירמיה כתב ספר קינות היא המגילה אשר שרף
יהוויקים על האח אשר על האש :

(Rashi, Comment. *ad init.*)

ואיננה המגלה הנשרפת על יד יהוויקים כי לא נמצא שני
דברי השם אשר הם בספר ירמיה הקוקים . וכן כתוב
קח לך מגלת ספר וגו' ועוד כתוב מדוע כתבת עליה
לאמר בא יבא מלך בבל והשחית את הארץ הזאת ואין
במגלת ספר אינה זכר בבל ולא מלכה :

(Aben Ezra *in loc.* See Jer. xxxvi, 2, 29.)

ירמיה כתב ספרו וספר מלכים וקינות :

(Talmud Bab., *Baba bathra*, 15 A., 1.)

I.

1.

איכה ישבה בדד
 העיר רבתי * עם
 היתה כאלמנה †
 רבתי * בגוים
 שרתי * במדינות
 היתה למס :

2.

בכו תבכה בליל †
 ודמעת על § לחיה
 אין לה מנחם
 מכל אהביה ||
 כל רעיה בגדו בה
 היו לאיבים : ¶

3.

גלתה יהודה ** מעני
 מרב עברה
 היא ישבה בגוים
 לא מצאה מנוח
 כל רדפיה השיגוה
 בין המצרים :

4.

דרכי ציון אבלות
 מבלי באי מועד
 כל שעריה שוממים
 כהניה גא־הים
 בתולתיה נוגות
 והיא מר לה :

* Cf. יושבתי, IV, 21, 2. The prose forms are less rhythmical.

† Or *ke'álmanóth*; but cf. V, 2, 2, *kálmanóth*; II, 1, 1, *bappó*; I, 6, 3, *kēlm*; 7, 6, *wain*; 9, 5, *rēh*; 20, 1, *id.*; 12, 2, *rú*; 18, 4, *id.*; 22, 3, *kāsher*; II, 3, 5, *kēsh* (?); II, 4, 1; 5, 1, *kōyēb*; II, 12, 1, *lmmothám* (?); II, 19, 5, *sí*; III, 15, 1, *báf*; 22, 5, *id.*

‡ Cf. Isa. xv, 1; xvi, 3; Qinoth, II, 19, 1. An old form usually eliminated by later editors.

§ *Wedimathál tēyāh*; eliding the soft Ain; cf. 13, 2, *baçmothai*; II, 15, 3, *wayyāniū rōsh*; III, 2, 3, *banālai* (?); II, 2, *lōdm*; 5, *lōinna* (?) 12, 5, *lawwēth*; 13, 3, *mipp̄tlyon*; I, 3, 1, *meoní* (a dissyll.). But *dim'átha*? (*çarátha*, *yeshu'átha*); or *dim'ath*? (*zimrath*, *naḥalath*); or omit initial *Waw* (cf. II, 2).

|| *'Oh'bēa*, as a dissyllable. So *rēea* in next line; 3, 5, *rōlfea*, *hšsigia* (*hšsigwá*); 4, 3, *sh'rea*; 4, *kōh'nea*; 5, *b'thūlothēa*; 5, 2, *'oibēa*; 5 *'ōlalēu*; et passim; 8, 3, *hšzilāa*.

¶ *Hayú loiblm*. I have omitted לה, as repeated from a former line. The first seven stanzas end with a short line of two feet.

** Read *yuddāh*; cf. *yehoram-yoram*. So 15, 6.

5.

היו צריה לראש
איביה שלו
כי יהוה הוגה
על רב פשעיה
עולליה הלכו
שבו לפני צר:

6.

וישא כל הדרה
מן בת ציון
היו שריה כאילים *
לא משאו מרעה
וילכו בלאיבה
לפני רדף:

7.

‡ זכרה † ירושלם
ביום § עניה ומרודיה
כל מחמדיה
שהיו מימי קדם
בנפל עמה ביד צר
ואין עוזר לה:

8.

חטאה || ירושלם
על כן לנדה ¶ היתה
בלמכבדיה הזילוח
כי ראו ערותה
גם היא נאנחה
ותשב ** אחור:

* LXX, ὡς κριοί. *Kayyalim* only scans, if *hayu* be omitted. The transposition in lines 1, 2, though not absolutely necessary to the metre, improves it.

† The Qal pf. 3 sing. and plur. are dissyllabic throughout the book.

‡ *Yarúshalém*; Ἱερουσαλήμ; Arab. *Yarúshaléma*; Assy. *Ursalimu*; Ch. *Yêrushêlêm*; forms which suggest the original pronunciation.

§ Pro *y'mé*. Pronounced *byom*; cf. *byad*, line 5; *byad'a*, 17, 1; *Yakwéh-lyá'qúh*, 17, 3; *byá'qob*, II, 3, 5. This line (2), however, may be spurious; see note at the end of the piece.

|| Omitting initial. חטא (accidental repetition). The line might be read, *Heš hál' airúshalém*; but I prefer the omission for the sake of the sense.

¶ I think the ה should be sounded in close connection with the preceding word. Thus, *'al-kélnúddá*; cf. 13, 3, *páras ríshltraglá*.

** *Wattáshób 'ahór*. The short *o* is little heard. Cf. 9, 3, *wattéréd (wattér'd?) p'la'im (pil'im?)*; II, 6, 1, *wayyáhmós kaggáfu sukkó*; II, 17, 5, *waysámmäh 'aláik 'oyéb*.

9.

טַמְאָתָהּ בְּשׁוּלֵיהָ
 לֹא זָכַרְאֲחֲרִיתָהּ *
 וּתְרַד פְּלֹאִים
 אִין מִנְחָם לָהּ
 רָאָה יְהוּדָאֲתָ עֲנִיהָ
 כִּי הַגְדִּיל אוֹיֵב :

10.

יָדוּ † פָּרַשׁ צֵר
 עַל כָּל מַחְמִדִּיהָ
 כִּי רֵאתָה גּוֹיִם
 בָּאוּ מִקְדֻשָּׁהּ
 שִׁצִּיטָהּ לֹא
 יָבֹאוּ בְּקַהֲלֶךָ :

11.

כָּל עֲמָה נֶאֱמָחִים
 מִבְּקָשִׁים לָחֶם
 נִתְּנוּ מִחְמִדִּיהֶם
 בֹּאכֵל לָשִׁיב נֶפֶשׁ ‡
 רָאָה יְהוּדָה וְהַבִּיטָהּ
 כִּי הִיתָה § זֹלֵלָה :

12.

לֹא אֲלִיכֶם עֲבְרֵי דָרְךְ
 הַבִּיטוּ רְאוּ אִם יֵשׁ
 מִכְּאוֹב כְּמִכְּאֹבִי
 שְׁעוּלָל לִי
 שְׁהוּגָה יְהוּדָה
 בְּיוֹם הָרוֹן אֲפֹו :

13.

מִמָּרוֹם שָׁלַח אֲשׁ
 יוֹרִידְנָה || בַּעֲצַמְתִּי
 פָּרַשׁ רֶשֶׁת לְרַגְלִי
 הַשִּׁיבֵנִי אַחֲרוֹר
 נִתְּנִי שׁוֹמְמָה
 וְכָל הַיּוֹם דוּוֹה :

14.

נִשְׁקַד עַל פִּשְׁעֵי
 בִּידוֹ יִשְׁתַּרְגֹּו
 עָלוּ עַל צְוֹאֲרֵי
 הַכַּשְׂיֹל כְּהוּ
 נִתְּנֵי יְהוּדָה בִּידֵי
 לֹא אוֹכֵל קֹוֹם :

* If this crasis of *zakrá 'ah'ritháh* be objected to, we can read *lo' zákra áhritháh*. So in line 5, *Reh yáhvveh 'éth 'onyí*; but the *wasl* seems preferable, as in 19, 6.

† *Yádo*. This regression of the accent is precisely analogous to that in the following word, and depends on a like reason. Many other instances will be noted in these poems.

‡ *Bukl lúshib náfsh*. For *bukl* = *b'ukl*, cf. note to I, 3; II, 4, 5, *bauhl* = *b'uhl*. *Lashib* = *lehashib*, and in the next line, *wabbítah* = *w'habbítah*, hardly require comment; cf. II, 8, 1, *lashhíth*; 12, 3, *bith'atjam*; 5, *bishtappek*; 14, 4, *lashib*.

§ So Vat. LXX, ἐγενήθη. Cf. vers. 9.

|| So LXX, ἐν τοῖς ὀστέοις μου κατήγαγεν αὐτό. The endings נה, נו, ני do not as a rule make a separate syllable in scanning. Thus, in this verse we have *yoriden bácmothal*, *l'shibán 'ahór*; and perhaps *n'thanán shom'máh* (as 14, 5), unless we should read *h'shibányahór*, *n'thanáni shómémáh*, and *n'thánanyádonai*.

15.

סֵלָה כָּל אֲבוֹרֵי
 אֲדֹנָי־בִּקְרָבִי
 קָרָא עָלַי מוֹעֵד
 לְשֹׁבֵר בַּחֹרֵי
 גַּת דֶּרֶךְ אֲדֹנָי
 לְתַבּוּלַת בַּת יְהוּדָה :

16.

פִּרְשָׁה צִיּוֹן בִּידֵיהָ
 אֵין מִנַּחֵם לָהּ
 צוּה יְהוָה לִיעֲקֹב
 סִבִּיבֵי צִיּוֹן
 הִיתָה יְרוּשָׁלַם
 לְנֹדָה בִּינֵיהֶם

17.

עַל אֱלֹהִים אֲנִי בֹכִיָּה *
 עֵינַי † יוֹרְדָה מַיִם
 כִּי רַחֵק מִמֶּנִּי
 מִנַּחֵם מִשִּׁיב נַפְשִׁי
 הִיוּ בְנֵי שׁוֹמְמִים ‡
 כִּי גִבֹר אוֹיֵב :

18.

צָדִיק הוּא יְהוָה
 כִּי פִּיּו מְרִיתִי
 שָׁמְעוּ נָא כָּל עַמִּים §
 רְאוּ מַכְאֲבֵי
 בַתּוֹלְתֵי וּבַחֹרֵי ||
 הִלְכּוּ בִשְׁבִי :

19.

קָרָאתִי לְמֵאֲהָבִי
 הָמָּה רְמוֹנֵי
 כָּהֲנֵי וְזִקְנֵי
 בְּעִיר גִּזְעוּ ¶
 כִּי בִקְשׂוּ אֲכַל לֶם
 וַיִּשְׁיבוּ־אֶת־נַפְשָׁם :

20.

רְאֵה יְהוָה כִּי צָר לִי
 מֵעַי חֲמַרְמְרוּ
 נִהַפְּךְ לְבִי־בִקְרָבִי
 כִּי מָרוּ מְרִיתִי
 מֵחוּץ שְׁכֵלָה חָרַב
 בְּבַיִת כְּמוֹת :

* Cf. האל of Pent. Perhaps *bokla*, as a dissyllable ('al 'el 'ani bokla?).

† The repetition of עיני is against the metre, and superfluous in sense. Some MSS. and the versions omit it.

‡ If *shómentim* be read, *hayu* must be omitted; cf. 4, 3; 13, 5; 11, 6.

§ Metre confirms Ketib; Qre, *ha'ammim* will not scan.

|| Read, *bthulóthainubáburai*, not making too much of the medial triphthong (cf. *μη οὐ* as a monosyllable in Greek verse).

¶ *Garúú*. So *bashbí* or *bishbí*, 18, 6 (not *gāwā'ū*, *bashshēbī*). These pausal effects are unmetrical, and probably arose out of the chanting of the synagogue (prolongation of a musical note on a vowel).

21.

* שָׁמְעוּ כִּי נִאֲנָהָאֲנִי *
 אִין מִנְחָם לִי
 כָּל אִיבֵי שָׁמְעוּ
 שִׁשׁוּ נִי אֲתַעֲשִׂית
 הַבָּאת יוֹם קִרְאָת
 יְהִי כְמוֹנִי :

22.

+ תְּבֹא כָל רַעְתָּם
 וְעוֹלָל לָם
 כַּאֲשֶׁר עוֹלָלָר לִי
 עַל כָּל פִּשְׁעֵי
 כִּי רַבּוֹת אֲנַחְתִּי
 לְבִי דוּי :

NOTES.

Stanza 7. In the Masoretic text, this verse has eight lines, the last two being—

רֹאֵה צְרִים
 שְׁחָקוּ עַל מִשְׁבַּתָּה :

It is not likely that the poet wrote it so, as all the other verses are hexastichic. The term *mishbattea* only occurs here (*cf.* V. 14, 15, where the verb is used). It is possible that the closing couplet was added by someone who remembered II, 15, *sqq.* (*cf.* Ps. cxxxvii, 7; Obad. 12), and missed the sense of the verse as it stood, which seems to be that in the last dreadful moment of her fate, Jerusalem remembered her past delights, to the aggravation of her present misery. The short line *wain 'ózer lálh* affords a fitting close; but I am far from satisfied with the stanza, as I have ventured to edit it.

Stanza 10. Line 5. Or omit *'ásher*, and scan—

Çiwwítha, ló' yabóu
 Baqqáhal lák.

But I think the ל in line 6 was written twice by inadvertence.

Stanza 12. Lo' 'leikem 'óbre dárk; omitting *kol*. But *lō* is suspicious (ל' זעירא). Perhaps it was לוא Utinam! O si! with imperat. (Gen. xxiii, 13); or the original verse may have been Lakém kol 'óbre dárk, "To you, O all ye that pass by (she saith)."

* A crasis. (*Cf.* Syriac qōṭélnā.) The pointing is א"נ. In line 4, perhaps we should rather scan, *sasú kiattá'asth*.

† רעתי after שמעו is, I think, a gloss. Else we might omit *kol*, and scan, *'oibi shant'á rá'áth*.

Stanza 14. LXX: ἐγρηγορήθη ἐπὶ τὰ ἀσεβήματα μου, *i.e.*, נִשְׁקָד עַל כְּשָׁעַי, invigilavit peccatis meis. Cf. Jer. i, 12; xxxi, 28. The metre shows that בִּידוֹ belongs to the next line.

Stanza 22. Omit לַפְּנֵיךְ in line 1 ("Let all their calamity come to pass!"), and read פְּשָׁעַי (sing. for plur.) in line 4. The verse is symmetrical, and the couplets rhyme.

II.

1.
 אִיכָה יַעֲיֵב בְּאֶפֶס
 אֲדַנִּיאֲתִיב־תִּשְׁוֹן
 הַשְּׁלִיךְ מִשְׁטֵמִים אֲרִץ
 תִּפְאֶרֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל
 לֹא זָכַר הַדָּם רַגְלָיו
 בְּיוֹם אֶפֶס :

2.
 בִּלְע * לֹא חִמַּל
 אֶת כָּל נְאוֹת יַעֲקֹב
 הָרֶם בְּעֵבְרָתוֹ
 מִבְּשָׂרֵי בֵת יְהוּדָה
 הִגִּיעַ לְאֲרִץ חִלָּל
 מִלְּבַהֲוֹשֵׁרִיהָ † :

3.
 גָּדַע בַּחֲרֵי אָף
 כָּל קֶן יִשְׂרָאֵל
 הַשֵּׁיב אַחֲרֵי יָמָיו
 מִפְּנֵי אוֹיֵב
 וַיִּבְעַר בִּיעֲקֹב נָאֵשׁ
 לַהֲבֵה־אֶכְלָה ‡ סָבִיב :

4.
 דָּרַךְ קִשְׁתּוֹ כְּאוֹיֵב
 נָשַׁב § יָמָיו כְּצָר
 וַיַּהַרְג כָּל . . .
 מִחֲמַדֵּי עֵין . . .
 בְּאֶהֱל בֵּת שִׁוּן שִׁפְךְ
 כְּנָשׁ חֲמָתוֹ :

* Omit אֲדַנִּי, a gloss from verse 1.

† *Malkāh w'sarrāa*, "her king and her princes;" so LXX, cf. II, 9, 3. Text ממלכה. The metre forbids connecting the הִגִּיעַ לְאֲרִץ with what precedes, as in R.V.

‡ A crasis; or read לְבָה; *labbāh 'aklāh sabīb* :—

"And hath burned up Jacob, like a fire,
 A flame that devoureth around."

§ Cf. III, 4, 5. LXX, ἐξερῶσα? הִצִּיב. The short lines (dipodia) are suspicious. Perhaps we should correct :—

וַיַּהַרְג בַּחֲצִיו
 כָּל מִחְמָדֵי עֵינֵי

For the last word, see LXX.

5.

הִיִּהְאֲדָנִי כְאוֹיֵב
 בִּלְעַי יְרוּשָׁלַם *
 בִּלְעַי כֹּל אֲרַמְנוֹתֶיהָ
 שָׁחַת מִבְּצֻרָיו
 וַיִּרְבַּב בְּבֵת יְהוּדָה
 תֹּאנִיָּה וְאֹנִיָּה :

6.

וַיַּחֲמַס כִּגְפָן סָכּוֹ †
 שָׁחַת מוֹעֵדוֹ
 שָׁכַח יְהוָה בְּצִיּוֹן
 מוֹעֵד [ו]שְׁבֹת
 וַיִּנְאֹץ בְּזַעַם אַפּוֹ
 מֶלֶךְ וּכְדוֹן וְשֵׁר ‡ :

7.

זָנַח אֲדָנִי מִזִּבְחֹו
 נֶאֱרַר מִקְדִּישׁוֹ
 הִסְגִּיר בְּיַד אוֹיֵב
 חֹמוֹת אֲרַמְנוֹתֶיהָ
 קוֹל נָתַנּוּ בֵּית § יְהוּדָה
 כִּיּוֹם מוֹעֵד :

8.

חֲשַׁב יְהוָה לִשְׁחִית
 חֹמֹת בֵּת צִיּוֹן
 נָטָה קוֹ לֹא הַשִּׁיב
 יָדוֹ מִבְּלַעַי
 וַיֵּאבֵל חָלַל וְחֹמָה
 יַחֲדוּ אֲמַלְלוּ :

9.

טַבְעוּ בְּאַרְצָה שְׁעָרֶיהָ
 אֲבָד שֹׁבֵר || בְּרִיחֶיהָ
 מַלְכֵהוּשְׁרִיָּה
 בְּגוֹיִם אֵינִן תּוֹרָה ¶
 גַּם־נְבִיאֶיהָ לֹא מִצְאוּ
 חֲזוֹן מִיְהוָה :

10.

יִשְׁבּוּ לְאַרְצָה יְדֻמוֹ
 זָקְנֵי בֵּת צִיּוֹן
 הִקְעִלוּ עֶפְרַיִם עַל רֹאשׁ **
 חָגְרוּ שָׁקִים
 הוֹרִידוּ לְאַרְצָה רֹאשׁ **
 בּוֹנוֹלוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם :

* So Grätz for *Yisra'el*.

† Cf. Job xv, 33; Jer. xxv, 38; and LXX, διεπέτασεν ὡς ἄμπελον.

‡ LXX, add.

§ Om. ב repet.

|| Om. ו; cf. 2, 5 (asyndeton); 10, 1.

¶ Confirms R.V., against A.V. and Heb. accentuation.

** The suffixes are superfluous.

11.

כלו בדמעה * עיני
 חמרמרו מיני
 נשפך לארץ כבדי
 על שבר בת עמי
 בעטף + עולל וינג
 ברחבות קריה :

12.

לאמתם יאמרו
 איה דגן ויין
 בתעטפם כחלל
 ברחבות עיר
 בשתפך נפשים
 אל היק אמתם :

13.

מאעידך † מאדמיה † לך
 הבת ירושלם
 מאשורה † לך ואנתחך
 בתולת בת ציון
 כי גדול כים
 שברך מי ירפא לך :

14.

נביאך הווי לך
 שואזתפל §
 לא גלו על עונך
 לשיב שבותך
 ויחוו לך משאות
 שואזמודחים :

15.

ספקן עליך כפאים
 כל עברי דרך
 שרקו ויניעו ראש ||
 על בת ירושלם
 הזאת העיר שיאמרו
 כלילת יפו :

16.

פשו עליך ביהם
 כל איבך
 שרקו ויחרקו שן
 אמרו בלענך
 אך זהיום שקוינו ¶
 משאנו ראינו :

* Heb. text plur., which hardly scans. The sing. occurs 21 times (*cf.* I, 2, 2); the plur. only in Ps. lxxx, 6. We might suggest *בְּדַמְעָת*.

† Qal, as Isa. lviii, 16; Ps. lxi, 3. Niph. here only: Qal 8 times besides.

‡ *Mād'ek, mādlammeh lak*: *cf.* מִדְּעָת, מִדְּעָת.

§ *Shāu-zathaf'el* (with inversion of the accent in the first foot?)

¶ Hebrew text ראשם; *cf.* 10, 3, 5. I have omitted, after this word, *כימיניש לכל הארץ*; but perhaps כל עברי דרך is an interpolation from I. 12, 1; *cf.* I. 7.

¶ *'Ak zavyom shéqizweln*. A copyist has added the object-suffix to the verb in the Heb. text.

17.

עֲשֵׂה שׁוֹמֵם *
 בִּנְעָ אִמְרָתוֹ
 [ש] צוֹה מְיֹמֵי קֹדֶם
 הָרֶם לֹא חִמַּל *
 וַיִּשְׂמַח עַל־ךְ אוֹיֵב
 הָרִים קָרַן צִרְיָד :

18.

צִעַק לִבִּם אֵל אֲדֹנָי
 בַּתּוֹלַת † בַּת צִיּוֹן
 הוֹרִידִי כְּנַחַל דְּמֵעָה
 יוֹמָם וּלְיַלְלָה ‡
 אֵל תִּתְּנֵי פֹגַת לֶךְ
 אֵל תֵּדַם בַּת עֵינֶךְ :

19.

קוֹמֵי רֵנִי בַלִּיל §
 רֹאשׁ אֲשִׁמּוֹרֹת
 שִׁפְנֵי בְמִיֹּם לַבֶּךְ
 נָבַח פְּנֵי אֲדֹנָי
 שָׂאֵי אֵלָיו כַּפֶּיךְ
 עַל נַפֶּשׁ עוֹלָלֶיךְ || :

20.

רֹאה יְהוּדָה וְהֵבִיטָה
 לְמֵי עוֹלָלַת כֹּהֵן
 אִם תֹּאכַלְנָן נְשִׁים ¶
 עַל־לֵי טַפְחִים
 אִם יִהְרַג ** בְּמִקְדָּשׁ
 כֹּהֵן וּנְבִיא :

* Or, עֲשֵׂה יהוה זִמָּם, omitting אשר; or read יָהּ.

† Heb. text חוֹמַת.

‡ An *lailah*?

§ Metre supports Ketib, against Qre *ballailah*.

|| In the Heb. text a couplet is added:—

הַעֲטוּפִים בְּרַעֲב
 בְּרֵאֵי: כָּל חוֹצוֹת :

making the verse an octastich. But the rhyming—

Sí'elatu kappáik
 'Al'nafsh 'ólaláik

forms a natural close to the stanza.

¶ Either this word, or פְּרִים must be omitted (LXX, *καρπὸν κοιλίας αὐτῷ*, פְּרֵי בִטְנֵם, which may be a gloss on טַפְחִים).

** Impersonal. Heb. text יִהְרַג. Omit אֲדֹנָי, or read:—

Im táhrog, bámmiqdášh

'Adonai, kohén w'nabí? (LXX. ἀποκτενεῖς.)

21.
 שִׁכְבוּ לָאָרֶץ חוֹצוֹת
 נָעַר וְזָקֵן
 בַּתוֹלְתֵיזוּבְחוֹרַי
 נִפְלוּ בַּחֶרֶב
 הִרְגַתִּי בַיּוֹם אֶפֶךְ
 טִבַּחַת לֹא הִמְלַת :

22.
 תִּקְרָא כַּיּוֹם מוֹעֵד
 מִגּוֹר * כִּסְבִּיב
 לֹא הָיָה בַיּוֹם † יְהוָה
 פְּלִיט וְשֵׁרִיד
 שִׁטְפַחַתִּי וְרִבִּיתִי
 אִיבִי כֹלָם :

NOTE.—Stanza 17, 4. Omit *We*; cf. 21, 6.

III.

1.
 אֲנִי הַגֶּבֶר רֹאֵה
 עֲנִיבִשְׁבַט עֲבַרְתּוֹ
 אוֹתִי נִהַג וְיֹלֵךְ ‡
 חֶשֶׁךְ וְלֹא אֹור
 אֶךְ בִּי יֵשֵׁב יִהְפֵךְ
 יָדוֹ כֹל הַיּוֹם :

2.
 בַּלְהִיבִשְׂרֵיזוּעוֹרִי
 שָׁבַר עֲצַמְתִּי
 בְּנִהְעֵלִי וְיִקַּף
 רֹאשׁ וְתִלְאָה
 בַּמַּחֲשָׁנִים הוֹשִׁיבֵנִי
 כַּמְתִּי עוֹלָם :

3.
 גָּדַר בַּעֲדֵי לֹא־אֲנִי §
 הַכְּבִיד נַחֲשֵׁתִים ||
 גַּם כִּי אֲזַעֵק אֲשֻׁעַ
 סַתָּם ¶ תִּפְלֹתִי
 גָּדַר דְּרוֹכֵיבְנוֹת
 נַתִּיבַתִּי עוֹהָ :

4.
 דַּב אַרְבִּי הוּא אֵלַי
 אַרְיָה בַּמַּסְתָּרִים
 דְּרוֹכֵי סוֹרֵר פִּשְׁחָנִי **
 שִׁמְנֵי שׁוֹמֵם
 דְּרֹךְ קִטַּת הַצִּיבֹנֵי **
 כַּמְטָרָה ¶ לַחֵץ :

* Not מְגוֹרֵי, which means “my sojournings” (Gen. xlvii, 9; Ps. cxix, 54; cf. Gen. xvii, 8; xxxvii, 1). The phrase of the text occurs five times in Jeremiah (vi, 25; xx, 3, 10; xlvi, 5; xlix, 29).

† Perhaps the original line was, לֹא הָיָה בַיּוֹם אֶפֶךְ, which was changed to יְהוָה אֶפֶךְ בַיּוֹם for clearness sake, metro repugnante (cf. 1, 6).

‡ Or, אֲוִתִּי נִהַג וְיֹלֵךְ 'Othi nahag wayyólk (cf. on I. 8, 6). So perhaps, *Banáh 'alal wayyáqf*, 2, 3.

§ Loççé, a crasis.

|| Heb. text נַחֲשֵׁתִי (the final ם being left unwritten, for brevity, as often in MSS. The word was then mistaken for sing. with suff.; but in the sing. it never means *chains* or *fetters*.)

** Heb. text וַיִּפְשַׁחֵנִי וַיִּצִיבֵנִי, against the metre. ¶ So, many MSS.

5.

הבִּיא בְּכִלְיָי
 בְּנֵי אֲשַׁפְתּוֹ
 הֵייתִי שֶׁחָק לְעַמּוֹי*]
 נְגִינָתְם כֹּל הַיּוֹם
 הַשְּׁבִיעִי עֲנֵי בְּמַרְוֹרִים
 הַרְוֵנִי לַעֲנָה :

6.

וַיִּגְרַם בְּחַפְזֵיךָ שְׁנֵי †
 הַנְּפִישֵׁנִי בְּאֶפֶר
 וַיּוֹנַח שְׁלוֹם נַפְשִׁי
 נְשִׁירֵי טוֹב
 וְאָמַר אֲבַד נַעֲחִי
 תוֹחֲלָתִי מִיְהוָה :

7.

זָכַר עֲנֵי וּמַרְוֵי
 לַעֲנָה וּרְאִישׁ
 כּוֹר תּוֹכַר תְּשׁוּחָ ‡
 עָלֵי נַפְשִׁי
 וְאֵת אֲשִׁיב אֶל לְבִי
 עַד כֵּן אוֹחִיל :

8.

הַסֵּד יְהוּדָה כִּי לֹא תָם §
 כִּי לֹא כִלּוֹ רַחֲמָיו
 חַדְשִׁים לְבַקְרִים
 רַבָּה אֲמוֹנַתְךָ
 חִלְקֵי יְהוָה אָמְרָה
 נַפְשִׁי עַל כֵּן אוֹחִיל :

* So, many MSS.

† Wayyágr's b'haçáç shinnai, which is doubtless harsh; but the sound echoes the sense. Cf. note on I. 8, 6; as also for wa'óm'r in line 5.

‡ Many MSS.

§ LXX. τὰ ἐλήη κυρίου ὅτι οὐκ ἐξέλιπέ με . . . ὅτι οὐ συνετελέσθημεν, a conflate reading. The former verb is gen. intrans.; cf. Jer. xxxvi, 23; Ps. cii, 28; Lam. iv, 22. I believe that כִּי לֹא is here interrogative, as in 2 Sam. xxiii, 5. "Is it not the fact that Yahweh's love is spent, that his tenderness is exhausted?" The answer follows. The verse is thus a soliloquy of the poet with himself; two voices speak in him. חֲמָנוּ might be read, without affecting the metre. The first line might also be corrected thus: Ḥ'saddû ki l' tammû, and this is perhaps preferable; cf. LXX. Elsewhere also the Divine Name has been inserted for the sake of greater clearness. (Ἡελεψὶ Yahweh reminds us that חִלְקִיהוּ was the name of Jeremiah's father.)

9.

טוב יהוה־לקויו
 לנפש תדרשנו
 טוב ויחיל נְיֹדוּכִים *
 לתשועת יהוה
 טוב לגבר כִּי ישׂא
 על בנעוריו :

10.

ישב בדד ידם
 כִּי נטל עליו
 יתן בעפר פִּיו
 אולי יש תקוה
 יתן למכה־לחי
 ישבע־חרפה :

11.

כי לא יזנח עמו †
 לעולם יהוה ‡
 כי אם הוגה ורחם
 כרב הסדור
 כי לא ענה מלב §
 ויגה בני איש :

12.

לדכא תחת רגליו
 כל אסירי ארץ
 לטות משפט גבר
 נגד פני עליון
 לעות אדם בריבו
 אדני לא ראה :

13.

מי זה אמר ותהי
 אדני לא צוה
 מפיעליון לא תנא
 הרעות והטוב
 מהיתאונן אדם
 חי גבר על הטאו ¶

14.

נחפשה דרכינו נתקרה
 נשובה עד יהוה
 נשא לב על כפים
 אל אל בשמים
 נחנו פשענו מרינו
 ואתה לא סלחת :

* Heb. text : טוב וְיַחֲלִי נְיֹדוּכִים. There seems to be something wrong here. LXX, καὶ ὑπομένει καὶ ὑπεσχεῖται, taking both terms as verbs. Gesenius is inconsistent. Under רוּכָם (Thesaur.) he renders : "bonum est, ut exspectet homo, idque tacite" ; but afterwards he gives יַחֲלִי as an adj., "sperans (in Deum)." If יַחֲלִי be right, we must compare Gen. viii, 10; Job xx, 21; Ps. x, 5 (duravit, mansit, moratus est). I have inserted a *yod*, so as to get a *po'al* impf. "Bonum est ut exspectet homo et in silentium redigatur." Perhaps יוּחַל : "Felix est qui exspectet . . ."

† I have added this word.

‡ Many MSS.

§ Cf. Ps. xxxi, 12.

¶ This couplet is an excellent instance of the value of noting the metre. The Heb. accentuation connects חִי as an adj. with אָדָם, and so A.V. and R.V. But what is the point of such an expression? Would a *dead* man complain? Besides, אָדָם is rarely found with an adj.; and גָּבֵר has no force at all, unless it belongs to a second question. Render, "Why doth Man complain? Hath a man ever lived by his sins?" Gen. xxvii, 40; Deut. viii, 3.

15.

סִכְתָּה בְּאֶף תִּרְדַּפְנֵנוּ
הֲרַגְתָּ לֹא חִמַּלְתָּ
סִכְתָּה בְּעֵגֶן לֶךְ
מִעֲבוּר תִּפְלֵה
סְחִיּוּמֵאֹס תְּשִׁימֵנוּ
בִּקְרֵב הָעַמּוּם :

16.

פָּעוּ עֲלֵינוּ פִּיהֶם
כֹּל-אִיבֵינוּ
פָּחַד וּפְחַת הָיָה לָנוּ
הַשָּׂאת וְהַשְּׁבֵר
פִּלְגֵי מַיִם תִּרְד * עֵינֵי
עַל שֶׁבֶר בַּת עַמּוֹ :

17.

עֵינֵי נִגְרָה לֹא תִדְמָה
מֵאֵין [ה]פְּגוֹת †
עַד יִשְׁקֹף וְיִרָא ‡
יְהוָה מְשִׁימִים
עֵינֵי עַל־הַלְנַפְשֵׁי
מִכָּל בְּנוֹת עִירֵי :

18.

צוּד צְדוּנֵי כַּצְפּוֹר
כָּל אִיבֵי חֲנָם
צִמְתּוֹ בְּבוּר חַיִּי
וַיְדוּ אֲבָן בִּי
צִפּוּ מַיִם עַל רֵאשֵׁי
אֲמַרְתִּי נִגְזַרְתִּי :

19.

קָרָאתִי שֵׁם § יְהוָה
מִבוּר תַּחְתִּיּוֹת
קוֹלִי שָׁמַע אֵל תִּעֲלֶם
אֲנֹכֵךְ לְרוּחֹתַי ||
קָרַבְתָּ בַיּוֹם אֶקְרָא ¶
אֲמַרְתָּ אֵל תִּירָא :

20.

רִיבָה רִיבֵי נַפְשֵׁי
גֵאלָה הֵי **
רֵאִיתָה־עוֹתַתִּי
שִׁפְטָה מִשִּׁפְטֵי
רֵאִיתָה נִקְמַתָם
כֹּל מֵהִשְׁבַּתָם עָלַי :

* Pronounce *tér'd* or *téräd*. *Palgé maim tér'd 'ení*.

† See II, 18, 5.

‡ Perhaps *יראה*, without Waw.

§ Heb. text, *ישמך*.

|| *לשועתי* may be a gloss, or a various reading.

¶ *אקראך* violates rhyme as well as metre.

** Cf. Ps. cxix, 154. Perhaps *רבת ריב נפשי*, as the plur. *ריבי* only occurs in Ps. xviii, 44 (2 Sam. xxii, 44), and that in a different sense. In the next line, *גאלה* for *גאלת*; cf. line 4.

21.

שִׁמְעַת הָרַפְתָּם
 כֹּל מִחֲשַׁבְתָּם עָלַי
 שֶׁפֶת * קָמַי וְהִגִּינֹם
 עָלַי כֹּל הַיּוֹם
 שִׁבְתָּם וְקִינִיתָם †
 אֲנִי מִנְגִּינֹתָם :

22.

תָּשִׁיב לָהֶם גְּמוּלָה
 יְהוָה כִּמְעַשְׂהֵי־דִידֵיהֶם
 תִּתֵּן מִנְגַת לֵב
 תֹּאֲלֶתְךָ לָהֶם
 תִּרְדָּף בְּאָף תִּשְׁמִידֵם
 מִתַּחַת שְׁמֵי יְהוָה :

NOTES.

Stanza 6, 3. Heb. text וְתוֹנָה מִשְׁלֹם נַפְשִׁי, an octosyllabic verse, which is against the metre. LXX, καὶ ἀπύσατο, i.e., וַיִּוְנַח. Further, זָנַח occurs, II, 7, I, III, II, I, in the sense *respuat, rejectit*. "He hath thrust away my soul's peace," seems a possible expression, and the Heb. is metrically correct. Perhaps, however,

וַיִּוְנַח מִשְׁלֹם
 נַפְשִׁי נִשְׁתִּי טוֹב.

Stanza 20, 6. עָלַי for לִי. So some Heb. MSS., the LXX, Vulgate, and Aramean versions.

IV.

1.

אֵיכָה יוֹעַם זֶהָב
 יִשְׁנֵא הַכֶּתֶם הַטּוֹב
 תִּשְׁתַּכְּנֹאֲבֵנוּ קָדֵשׁ
 בְּרֹאשׁ כֹּל הַתּוֹנֹת † :

2.

בְּנֵי צִיּוֹן הַיִּקְרִים
 הַמְּסֻלָּאִים בְּפֹ
 נַחֲשָׁבוּ § לְנַבְלֵי חָרֶשׁ
 מְעַשֶׂה יָדָיו יוֹצֵר :

* Sing. = "language" (plur. "lips").

† Omit הַבִּיטָה, which was added to complete the sense. But the line means: "During their downsitting and their uprising."

‡ For the Article, cf. S, 2; 14, 1.

§ Omit אֵיכָה.

3.

גם תִּנְקַן הַלְצוּ שָׂד
 הַיִּנְקוּ גִוְרֵיהִי
 וּבַת עַמִּי לְאֶכֹר
 כִּיעֲנִים בְּמַדְבָּר :

4.

דִּבֶּק לַשּׁוֹן יוֹנֵק
 אֶל חֲכוּ בְשֵׂמָא
 עוֹלָלִים שָׂאֵלוּ לַחַם
 וּפָרַשׁ אֵין לָהֶם :

5.

הָאֶכְלִים לְמַעַדְנִים *
 נִשְׁמוּ בַחֲוֹצוֹת
 הָאֶמּוֹנִים עָלֵי תוֹלַע
 חִבְקוּ אֲשַׁפְתּוֹת :

6.

וַיִּגְדַּל עֵוֹן עַמִּי †
 מִחַטָּאת כֹּדֶם
 הַחַפּוּכָה כְּמוֹ רֶגַע
 לֹא הָלְוּ בָּהּ יָדַיִם :

7.

זְכוּנוֹרֵיהָ כִּשְׁלֵג
 צָחוּ מִחֶלֶב
 אֲדָמוּ עֵצִים מִפְּנִינִים
 סָפִיר גִּזְרָתָם :

8.

חֲשָׁךְ מִשְׁחֹר תֹּארוֹם
 לֹא נִכְרוּ בַחֲוֹצוֹת
 צָפַד עוֹרֶם עַל עֵצִים ‡
 יִבְשׂוּ הָיוּ § כַּעֵץ :

9.

טוֹבִים || הַלְלֵי חֶרֶב
 מִחֶלְלֵי רֶעֶב
 שִׁלְבוּמִדְקָרִים
 בַּתְּנוּפוֹת שְׂדֵי :

10.

יָדֵי רַחֲמֵנוֹת
 בְּשָׁלוּ יִלְדִיהֶן
 הָיוּ לְבָרוֹת לְמוֹ
 בְּשָׁבֵר בַּת עַמִּי :

* Or, האכלים למעדרים. But *hao* as a diphthong seems better.

† Or, ויגדל עון בת עמי, treating the verb as a dissyllable.

‡ In the Heb. text, *Mem* has been written twice.

§ LXX plur.; Heb. sing.

|| Omit *היו*. In line 3, *ילכו* for *יזבו*, after the LXX, *ἐπορεύθησαν*. The LXX also omits *שהם* before this word. In line 6 two very slight changes give the meaning:—

“Happier were the slain of the sword
 Than the slain of hunger!
 They that departed (life), thrust through
 ‘Mid the tumults of the (battle)field.”

Cf. Isa. xxx, 32 : מלחמות תנופה : *praelia tumultuosa*.

11.

כלה יהוה את חמתו
שפך חרון אפו
ויצת אש בשיון
ותאכל יסדתיה :

12.

לאהאמינו מלכי ארץ
וכל ישבי תבל
כי יבא ער ואויב
בשערי ירושלם

13.

מחטאת נביאיה
עונות כהניה
השפכים בקרבה דם
צדיקים * ...

14.

נעו עורים בחושות
נגאלו בדם
בלא יוכלו יגעו
בלבשיהם † ...

15.

סורו טמא קראו ‡
סורו סורואלתגעו
כי נעו גם נעו
לא יוספו לגור :

16.

פני יהודה חלקם §
לא יוסיף לביטם
פני כהנים לא נשאו
וקנים לא חננו :

17.

עודנה תכלינה עינינו
אל עורתנו הבל
בצפיתנו צפינו
אל גוי לא יושיע :

18.

צרים || צדו צעדינו
מלכת ברחבתינו
קרב קצנו מלאו
ימינו כי בא קצנו ¶ :

* Some words appear to be missing. We might add, באו אליה, "They entered into her." LXX, τῶν ἐκχέοντων αἷμα δίκαιον ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς. Perhaps, therefore,

השפכים דם צדיק
בקרבה באו אליה :

† A dissyllabic word has fallen out. כל איש would complete the line.

‡ Omit לבנו. The lepers themselves had to give the warning cry of "Unclean!" Lev. xiii, 45.

§ An חלקם? III, 8, 5. So LXX.

|| I have added this word, which may easily have been omitted before the following one.

¶ This term, repeated from the preceding line, seems doubtful. (עתנו?)

19.

קלים היו רדפינו
 מנשרי השמים
 על ההרים דלקנו
 במדבר ארבו לנו :

20.

רוח אפינֵה משיח יהוה
 נלכֵד בשחיתותם
 אשר אמרנו בעלֵו
 נחיה בגוים :

21.

שישי שניהי בת אֲדוֹם
 יושבתי * בארץ עוֹץ
 גם עליך תעבר נוס
 תשכרי ותתערי :

22.

תם עונך בת ציון
 לא יוסיף לגלותך
 פקד עונך בת אֲדוֹם
 גלה על הנאתיך :

NOTES.

Stanza 15. As it stands in the Hebrew text, this is a pentastich. The omitted line is probably a gloss on the following verse, ll. 1, 2. (Line 6 may even be rendered, "They *did* not sojourn again." Cf. I, 1.)

Stanza 22. This concluding verse is symmetrical, and rhyming ; cf. I, 22.

V.

1.

זכר יהוה מהיה לנו
 הביט † ראה את חרפתנו
 נחלת ‡ נהפכה לזרים
 בתינו † לנכרים :

2.

יתומים היינו אין † אב
 אמתנו † באלמנות
 מומינו † בבסקף שתינו
 עשינו במהיר יבאו † § :

* This term, for which the *Qrē* suggests יושבת, is obviously used *metri gratia* ; cf. I, 1, 1.

† Metre confirms the *Ketib*.

‡ Ps. xvi, 6 ; cf. I, 2, 2 ; II, 11, 1 note.

§ A dissyllable ; cf. IV. 14, 1 ; 15, 3.

3.

על גִּזְאוֹרֵנוּ נִרְדַּפְנוּ
יִגְעֵנוּ לֹא * הַוּנַח לָנוּ
מִצְרִים נִתְּנוּ יָד
אֲשׁוּר לְשִׁבַע לֶחֶם :

4.

אֲבִתֵּינוּ חֲטָאוּ אִינָם *
אָנוּ † עֲוֹנֹתָם סָבְלוּ
וְעֲבָדִים מִשְׁלוּ בָנוּ
פָּרַק אֵין מִיָּדָם :

5.

בִּנְפִשָּׁנוּ נִבְיָא לְחַמְנוּ
מִפְּנֵי חֶרֶב הַמְדַבֵּר
עֹרְנוּ כִתְנוֹר נִכְמָר
מִפְּנֵי זֹלַעְפוֹת רַעֲב :

6.

נָשִׁים בְּצִיּוֹן עָנוּ
בְּתִלּוֹת בְּעֵרֵי יְהוּדָה
שָׂרִים בִּידָם נִתְּלוּ
פְּנֵי זִקְנִים לֹא נִהְדָּרוּ :

7.

בַּחֹרִים טָחוֹן נִשְׂאוּ
נִעְרִים בְּעֵץ כִּשְׁלוּ
זִקְנִים מִשְׁעַר שִׁבְתּוֹ
בַּחֹרִים מִיַּגְיֹנוֹת ‡ :

8.

שִׁבַּת מִשׁוּשׁ לִבְנוֹ
נִהַפֵּךְ לְאַבֵּל מִחֹלְנוֹ
נִפְלָה עֲטָרַת רֵאשֵׁנוֹ
אִוִי נָא לָנוּ כִּי חֲטָאוּנוּ :

9.

עַל זֶה דוּחַ לִבְנוֹ
עַל אֱלֹהֵי חֲשָׁנוּ עֵינֵינוֹ
עַל הָרַי צִיּוֹן שָׁמַם
שׁוֹעֲלִים הִלְכּוּ בּוֹ :

10.

אֲתָהּ לְעוֹלָם תִּשָּׁב
כִּסְאֶךָ לְדוֹר וָדוֹר
לְמַהֲלַנְצַח תִּשְׁמַחֲנוּ
תַעֲזֹבֵנוּ לְאַרְךָ יָמִים :

11.

הַשִּׁיבֵנוּ יְהוָה וּנְשׁוּבָ §
חֹדֶשׁ יָמֵינוּ כִּקְדָם
כִּי אִם מֵאִם מֵאִסְתָּנוֹ
קִצְפַתְעֵלֵינוּ עַד מֵאֵד :

* Metre confirms the *Ketib*.† Heb. text, אֲנַחְנוּ, *contra metrum*.

‡ Heb. text, כִּנְנִינָתָם; cf. III, 21, 6 (same consonants).

§ *Ketib* right. I have omitted אֵלֶיךָ, because that is not the meaning, metre apart.

The poem is obviously incomplete, both as regards the number of the stanzas, and the acrostich arrangement, which is conspicuous by absence. The comparatively numerous unmetrical lines may indicate a first rough sketch; and the ending, 11, 3, sq., is quite abrupt.

The following Communication has been received :—

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

March 3rd, 1887.

There is a misprint in my Paper on the "Hamathite Inscriptions," p. 74, note *. For "plan" read "form."

As to Yahubi'di, it might rather be "Yah is my guide" (די). The last name in H. 1 is probably שפמנתה.

The signs at the beginning of H. 11, 3 may be read either בתוך (D.P.) אב, "Royal father in the midst thereof;" or ישב בתוך, "enthroned in the midst thereof;" or perhaps "Royal worshipper of Sutekh." The name which follows may be תרהנחור. *Tarhu* or Terah should be compared with the Syriac ܛܪܗܢܚܘܪ; the Accadian and Assyrian 𐎠𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎢𐎣 | 𐎠𐎢𐎣 | 𐎠𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎢𐎣 *turahu*, a mountain goat. The goat appears on a well-known seal representing the worship of the sun, as well as on the famous "Boss" of Tarquimme (or Tarquimudish or Tarqualte), and at Boghaz Keui. The name in H. 111, 2 may be תרהשמחנחור. The language seems to be an Aramean dialect.

Yours sincerely,

C. J. BALL.

The President has received the following Communication :—

PARIS, le 24 Mars, 1887.

MONSIEUR ET HONORÉ PRÉSIDENT,

* * * *

Depuis que vous avez eu la bonté de communiquer ma note à la Société d'Archéologie Biblique, M. Euting a publié aux Comptes Rendus de l'Académie de Berlin (3-17 Février, 1887), d'une façon très-complète, ces deux inscriptions. La lecture de son travail fait

en même temps que le mien, et d'une façon tout-à-fait indépendante, m'a causé une vraie satisfaction. Il se rencontre avec moi pour la lecture de Resef-Elehités, qui est le passage capital de l'inscription. Sur d'autres points, il s'écarte de moi ; mais je crois pouvoir défendre lettre pour lettre ma lecture. Lui-même d'ailleurs l'a déjà reconnu pour certains points du moins.

À la ligne 4, M. Euting a méconnu le nom du donateur, qu'il lit $\text{בְּקֶל} \dots$; mais depuis lors, il s'est rattaché à ma manière de voir.

Pour toute la fin de l'inscription il n'a pas été très-heureux. Je ne puis que maintenir ma lecture $\text{הַנְּדָר אִשׁ נָדָר}$, "votum quod voverat," qu'il remplace pour un groupe de lettres tout différentes et dont il renonce à tirer aucun sens.

Enfin, aux lignes 5-6 il n'y a pas $\text{בְּשִׁמְעָה קָל יִבְרַךְ}$, ce qui donnerait une phrase à peine hébraïque ; le ק conjecturé par M. Nöldeke, et vaguement indiqué par M. Euting sur sa gravure, n'existe pas en réalité, et la lettre suivante n'est pas un ר , mais un ה . Là encore je ne puis que maintenir ma lecture. Il faut lire $\text{בְּשִׁמְעָה הָא קָל יִבְרַךְ}$ "quia audivit Ille (= deus) vocem ; benedicat." (Cf. *Corp. Inscr. Sem.*, No. 88.)

L'inscription cypriote qu'il publié d'après M. Deecke, me paraît aussi devoir être corrigée sur certains points.

À la ligne 1, M. Deecke lit Ἀνέπυς Πινυτός "Statue de Pinutos." Lecture qui n'est satisfaisante ni au point de vue de la langue grecque, qui n'aime pas ces nominatifs absolus, ni au point de vue du texte phénicien. Nous trouvons là en effet un nom baroc, dont nous n'avons que faire, et dont l'inscription phénicienne, pour tant plus longue, ne porte pas trace. Il faut y renoncer. Le premier signe me paraît devoir se lire non pas π , mais σ ;* l'inscription commence donc par la formule, Ἀνέπυς ὅτι , "statua quam," formule tout-à-fait satisfaisante au point de vue de la langue et au point de vue de sens.

Je suis moins au clair au sujet du 3^e signe qui doit se lire π ou ι . Avons nous là une particule qui m'est inconnue, ou bien le scribe ne se serait-il pas trompé, en écrivant deux fois la syllabe ι ? † C'est à vous, monsieur, qu'il appartient de trancher cette question. En tous cas, un fait d'une certaine importance, qui

[* The sign is distinctly V σ , not V π .—P. le P. R.]

† Dans ce dernier cas, peut-être faudrait-il lire : ὅτι ἔδω ἔδωκεν .

vient confirmé ma lecture, c'est qu'il n'y a pas, après $\tau\omega$ ou $\delta\omega$, le point que M. Euting croit y vois; du moins mon estampage n'en porte pas de trace. Je vous serais reconnaissant de vérifier la chose sur l'original.* Cela prouverait que nous n'avons pas à faire à un nom propre, mais à un pronom ou à une proclitique.

Enfin, à la dernière ligne, le texte cypriot porte, si l'on s'en tient aux valeurs reçues, Ἀλασιώται. On est surpris de la présence de la syllabe *si*, là où la transcription phénicienne ferait attendre le son *hi*. Je me demande par fois si ce signe, auquel on donne en général la valeur de *si*, n'aurait pas eu en même temps la valeur *hi* en cypriot? Le phénicien l'exige presque, et l'on aurait ainsi l'équivalent du *hé* qui manque jusq'à présent dans l'alphabet cypriot. La parenté de la sifflante et de l'aspirée, soit en Égyptien, soit dans certains dialects sémitiques, permet de supposer qu'on aurait pu employer un même signe pour rendre les deux sons.†

Je ne soumets ces conjectures, qu'avec quelque réserve, à votre jugement si sûr en ces matières; l'écriture cypriot et la langue

[* I cannot discover a trace of the point in question.—P. le P. R.]

[† The passage of the sibilant into the spiritus asper is a well-known phenomenon in the Indo-European family of languages, but in no branch of this family is it more conspicuous than in the Greek. The tendency of the *sigma* to change before vowels into the spiritus asper is one of the phonetic laws of this language. "It is," says Curtius, "the exception for σ to be retained before vowels, while the rule common to all Greek dialects is for it to pass into the aspirate."

There is a remarkable passage in the *Etymologicum Magnum* (391, 12), which Ahrens believes to be taken from Apollonios Dyskolos, Περὶ πνευμάτων, in which it is said to be characteristic of the Dorians to drop the *sigma*, and say ποιῆται for ποιῆσαι, Βούδα for Βούσα, μωικά for μουσικά, Ahrens (*de dialecto Dorica*, p. 76) quotes an inscription (Rossi, 33; Leake, 52) in which ἐποιέε is written instead of ἐποίησε, and he quotes numerous instances of this tendency.

There is no evidence that the Cypriot σ *si* ever had the value *hi*. Such evidence could only be possible in the transcription of a known Semitic, or at least non-hellenic word. For in Greek words *i* can only be found in the beginning; and the Cypriot transcription of this initial syllable by σ would merely prove that the word had followed the general rule and changed its *sigma* into the spiritus asper.

The inference to be drawn from אלהותם as the transcription of a Greek word in which the syllable *σι* corresponds to the Phœnician הו is that the sibilant really belonged to the word, but was changed in popular pronunciation. No trace of it appears in either the Phœnician or the Cypriot texts of the 30th year of Melikyathan's reign.

qu'elle recouvre, me sont, je l'avoue, moins familières que le phénicien. Si vous pensez que quelqu'une des remarques qui précèdent soit de nature à intéresser la Society of Biblical Archæology, soyez assez bon pour lui en donner connaissance.

Oserai-je aussi vous prier de mettre dans un des prochains Bulletins un petit *erratum*? Partout, le compositeur a mis *C. T. S.* au lieu de *C. I. S.*, c'est d'ailleurs de la faute de mon écriture. Auriez-vous la bonté de faire mettre :

P : au lieu de *C. T. S.*, lisez *C. I. S.* (*Corpus Inscriptio-
tionum Semiticarum*).

* * * *

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur et honoré Président, avec mes remerciements, l'expression de ma haute considération et de mon dévouement.

PHILIPPE BERGER.

I have (I confess) very strong doubts as to the geographical origin of the god's title. A title derived from Helos in Laconia, or from τὸ ἔλος in Cyprus would most probably reveal its origin, when written with a syllabary which so scrupulously records the sounds of the digamma and the *j*, which have disappeared from the common Greek. "Ἐλος, *low ground*, began with a digamma, and is akin to *vallis*.

The word *a. la. si. o. ta. i* represents a Greek noun of the same form as *σπασιώτης* (connected with *στάσις*) or *στρατιώτης* (connected with *στρατία*). It implies connection with a noun like *ἔλασις* or its synonym *ἐλασία*, and the verb *ἐλάω*, *ἐλαίνω*; and would therefore seem to be synonymous with *ἐλάτης*, or *ἐλάτηρ*, the exact meaning of which is determined by the occupation of the agent. He is a *driver* of horses or a chariot, he *hurls* the thunder, he *strikes* the lyre, or he *drives away* evil. 'Ἐλάτης was one of the titles of Poseidon at Athens. The adjective *ἐλατήριος* is in close agreement with those titles from which K. O. Müller drew his conception of the Doric Apollo.—P. LE PAGE RENOUF.]



The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 3rd May, 1887, at 8 p.m., when the following Papers will be read:—

I. REV. HENRY GEORGE TOMKINS.—Continuation of Paper read June, 1885. “The Topography of Northern Syria, with special reference to the Karnak Lists of Thothmes III.”

II. E. REVILLOUT and V. REVILLOUT: (I.) “Contrats de Mariage et d'Adoption dans l'Égypte et dans la Chaldée. (II.) L'Antichrèse non immobilière dans l'Égypte et dans la Chaldée.







ERRATA.

Proceedings, January, 1887.

Page 55, line 9, *for* Schmann *read* Lehmann.

Proceedings, February, 1887.

Page 97, line 6. *for*  *read* .

Page 97, line 17, *for*  *read* .

Page 102, lines 12, 20, 28; page 103, line 9 from bottom; and page 104, lines 2 and 7, *for* C. T. S. *read* C. I. S. (*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*).

THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE
LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

- BOTTA, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847-1850.
 PLACE, Ninive et l'Assyrie, 1866-1869. 3 vols., folio.
 BRUGSCH-BEY, Geographische Inschriften Altaegyptische Denkmäler.
 Vols. I—III (Brugsch).
 ————— Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens, copiés sur lieux et
 publiés par H. Brugsch et J. Dümichen. (4 vols., and
 the text by Dümichen of vols. 3 and 4.)
 DÜMICHEN, Historische Inschriften, &c., 1st series, 1867.
 ————— 2nd series, 1869.
 ————— Altaegyptische Kalender-Inschriften, 1866.
 ————— Tempel-Inschriften, 1862. 2 vols., folio.
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 RAWLINSON, CANON, 6th Ancient Monarchies.
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 WILKINSON, Materia Hieroglyphica. Malta, 1824-30. (*Text only.*)
 CHABAS, Mélanges Égyptologiques. Séries I, II, III. 1862-1873.
 ————— Voyage d'un Egyptien en Syrie, en Phénicie, &c. 4to. 1867.
 ————— Le Calendrier des Jours Fastes et Néfastes de l'année
 Égyptienne. 8vo. 1877.
 MASPERO, De Carchemis oppidi Situ et Historia Antiquissimá.
 8vo. Paris, 1872.

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COUNCIL, 1886-87.

President:—

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PROCEEDINGS
OF
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VOL. IX. SEVENTEENTH SESSION.

Sixth Meeting, 3rd May, 1887.

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SEVENTEENTH SESSION, 1886-87.

Sixth Meeting, 3rd May, 1887.

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, ESQ., PRESIDENT,
IN THE CHAIR.



The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Royal Society:—The Proceedings. Vol. XLII. Nos. 251 and 252. 8vo. 1887.

From the Royal Geographical Society:—The Proceedings. Vol. IX. Nos. 3, 4, and 5. March, April, May, 1887.

From the Royal Asiatic Society:—The Journal. Vol. XIX. Part 2. April, 1887.

From the Royal Institute of British Architects:—Journal of Proceedings. Vol. III. New Series. Nos. 10, 11, 12, and 13. March, 1887.

From the Smithsonian Institution:—The Annual Report, 1884. Part 2.

- From the Secretary of State in Council of India :—The Sacred Books of the East. Vol. XXV. The Laws of Manu. Vol. XXIX. Grihya—Sutras. Part I. Svo. Oxford. 1886.
- From the Royal Northern Society of Antiquaries :—Aarboger, 1886. II, R. I, B. IV, H. Copenhagen.
- From the Johns Hopkins University :—The University Studies. Fifth Series. IV. The City Government of Saint Louis. By M. S. Snow, A.M. (Harvard), Professor of History, Washington University. April, 1887. Baltimore.
- From the American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal. Vol. IX. No. 2. March, 1887. Chicago.
- From the Editor, B. H. Gildersleeve :—The American Journal of Philology. Vol. VII, 4. Whole No. 28. Baltimore.
- From the Directors of the Oriental Institute :—The Vienna Oriental Journal. Vol. I. No. 1. Vienna.
- From the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze :—Bollettino delle Pubblicazione Italiane. Nos. 29, 30, and 31 ; and an Index for 1886. Firenze. 1887.
- From the Author :—Vocabulario Geroglífico, Copto Ebraico. By Dr. Simeone Levi, A.M., &c.
- From the Author :—L'Archéologie Égyptienne. By Professor G. Maspero.
- From M. Strauss :—Description des Objets d'Art Religieux Hébraïques. Poissy. 4to. 1878.
- From the Author :—Handel und Schiffahrt auf dem Rothen Meere in alten Zeiten. Von Prof. J. Lieblein. Kristiania. 1886.
- From the Author :—Die Apocalypse des Saphonias aus dem Koptischen Uebersetzt. Von Dr. L. Stern.
- From the Author :—The Temple at Jerusalem. By M. Nalder, Esq., M.A., &c. 1887.
- From Rev. A. Löwy :—The Scottish Review. Vol. IX. No. 18. April, 1887. London.
- Contains Article by Rev. A. Löwy, The Apocryphal Character of the Moabite Stone. With an Illustration.

From the Author :—Supplement to Harmonies of Tones and Colours developed by Evolution. By F. J. Hughes. London. 1885.

From the Author :—The Purpose of the Ages. By Jeanie Morison, with Preface by Professor A. H. Sayce, of Oxford. Svo. London. 1887.

The following were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated at the Meeting on 1st March, 1887 :—

E. C. Hulme, 18, Philbeach Gardens, South Kensington, W.

Rev. Howard Crosby, D.D., LL.D., 116, East 19th Street, New York City, U.S.A.

Miss Rebecca Scott Lowrey, 2083, Fifth Avenue, New York City, U.S.A.

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The following were nominated for election at the next Meeting on 7th June, 1887 :—

Rev. Henry Marcus Clifford, M.A., St. John's Hill, Ellesmere, Salop.

Rev. T. Witton Davies, B.A., Baptist College, Haverfordwest, South Wales.




Rev. James William Miller, B.A., 43, Evington Road, Leicester.

Charles E. Moldenke, A.M., Ph.D., 124, East Forty-Sixth Street, New York City, U.S.A.



Samuel Alden Smith, Sonneberg, Thuringia, Germany.

A Paper was read by the Rev. Henry George Tomkins, "The Karnak Tribute-Lists of Thothmes III" (continuation of the Paper read 2nd June, 1885).


The introductory remarks on the Campaign against Megiddo are as follows:—

The line of march lay from the frontier-fortress of Tsar (or Tsal), along the ancient road discovered by the Rev. F. W. Holland through the desert, and (as it seems) by Sharukhen (שרוקן, Jos. xix, 6; , Tel es Sher'ah, XXIV, Ex, Mem. III, 392, 399)* to Gaza, an Egyptian station. Thence 28 miles march reached Iakhem (; , 68 in our list; el Kheimh). Here the Pharaoh received news that the king of Kadesh had joined the king of Megiddo in that stronghold with the Syrian allies.

Professor Maspero, in a very interesting paper contributed to the *Leemans Album*, has shown how the march of armies was forced inland, between Joppa and Carmel, by a tract of forest country stretching far eastward from the coast. For the approach to Megiddo three lines were discussed by Thothmes and his staff:—

1. A straitened and perilous mountain defile near 'Arnā (; , 27).

2. A high road leading to the east of Ta'anak.

3. A high road north of Tsifta, , by which they would debouch on the north of Megiddo.

Now the second route is that ancient road from the plain of Sharon to Jordan which "ascends by the broad and open valley Wādy 'Ārah, crossing the watershed at 'Ain Ibrahim, which is about 1,200 feet above the sea; thence it descends, falling some 700 feet in 3 miles, to Lejjûn, where it bifurcates, one branch running towards Nazareth and ascending the hills near Tell Shadûd; the second continuing eastward to el 'Afûleh, and thence down the valley of Jezre'el" (Sheet IX). "This line, which appears to be ancient, is one of great importance, being one of the easiest across

* The references throughout are to the sheets of the Great Map, Memoirs, and Name Lists of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

the country, owing to the open character of Wâdy 'Ārah." *Mem. II*, 50.

This route, as M. Maspero says, passes through Jenin, and if Captain Conder is right in placing Megiddo at Khûrbet el Mûjedd'a, a great turning movement would thus have cut off the king of Kadesh from his retreat northwards.

The third route was doubtless that which crosses the hills between Zebdah and Bûrkîn, as M. Maspero says; and troops marching by it would (as the staff of Thothmes said) debouch into the valley north of Megiddo, if that were Mûjedd'a.

The first-mentioned dangerous "defile of Arouna" lay between the other routes. "The valleys throughout the district (of the Sheikh Iskander hills) are steep narrow gorges" (*Mem. II*, 38), and my conjecture is that one of these, running east and west, with Khûrbet Jerrar 1,452 feet high on the north, and hills on the south 1,278 feet in elevation, is the defile in question. Its name is Wâdy el 'Arriân, "the bare Wâdy," and this name seems to me near enough to



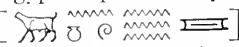
Is it possible that Khurbet 'Arah may have been the inhabited place that is called 'Arna in the narrative? M. Maspero, in indicating Umm el Fahm as a likely situation for 'Arna, is within a mile of Wâdy el 'Arriân.

Thothmes insisted on leading in person through this dangerous road the march in single file, "horse by horse, and man by man." On the 19th of the month we find the Pharaoh encamped at the town of 'Arnâ, and strict watch kept. The traces of ruins at 'Arah are "on a prominent mound, with a well" 2 miles west of Wâdy el 'Arriân. It should be noticed that in the thirty-seventh year of Thothmes, a battle was fought near 'Arnâ with of prince of Naharina.

A most regrettable lacuna in the text is followed by mention of a southern wing of an army at Ta'anak, and a "northern wing on the ground south of" some other place. M. Maspero has supplied the name Megiddo, as Brugsch had done, and conjectured that the army was that of the allies.

But there is no firm ground to go upon, and another long lacuna follows. Then the narrative proceeds, and M. Maspero elucidates it (*Rec. de Travaux*, II, 139). The last date had been the night of the 19th—20th. The march from 'Arnâ to the battle-field was on the 20th, beginning about the sixth hour of the morning, sunrise. The rear-guard was still near 'Arnâ while the advance debouched into the valley [of * * * *], and filled the gorges of this valley,

probably that in which Mūjedd'a stands. There was much anxiety at head-quarters as to the safety of the rear, still entangled in the narrow and perilous defile, and exposed to attack by the mountaineers.

But all went well, and in the early morning of the next day, the 21st, the whole army of Egypt advanced, having its northern wing to the north-west of Megiddo, and its other wing south of Megiddo on the bank of the water of Qinā. I use a vague word, for I do not wish by such an expression as "brook," or "torrent," to exclude the identification of Qinā (or Qānanau, Qānu, see 26 in our list) with Qa'aūn, 4 miles south of Mūjedd'a, for it seems to me that the Egyptian phrase may well mean, "on the bank of the tank, or pool [] of Qina," and that Captain Conder may be right in his suggestion. *Mem. II*, 227.

Khūrbet Qa'aūn "has the appearance of an ancient site, and a fine spring," and I fancy that any conspicuous reservoir or tank of water would justify the expression in the narrative. Pierret gives "lac ou etang," *Voc.* 432, for *Khennu*. Now these conditions would, I think, suit well enough. The adventurous march through the Wādy 'Arriān would be right in the direction of Mūjedd'a. The left wing, marching by the road No. 3 before mentioned, towards Beisān, would take up fighting ground in the valley north-west of Mūjedd'a, and Thothmes, taking as always the road of peril, would emerge with his right wing south of Mūjedd'a, with his extreme right resting on Qa'aūn, through which a Roman road from the south-west to Beisān afterwards passed, and perhaps a more ancient road in the days of Thothmes. Thus he would cut off two great routes on the west of Jordan, and drive his defeated enemies into the walls of Megiddo, and those unable to gain entrance would be driven towards and into the Jordan.

If Captain Conder's identification of Megiddo be right, as I am inclined to think, this great position would be a fortress guarding the convergence of two main routes of war and commerce where they cross the Jordan. From Wādy el 'Arriān to the valley of Mūjedd'a appears to be six hours' march.

After a total defeat before Megiddo that place was straitly besieged, and reduced to submission. Then the Pharaoh had the kings of Kadesh and Megiddo brought before him, with the chiefs and forces of the conquered territory, and enrolled them in tribute-lists. These are the lists afterwards inscribed in relief on the temple walls at Karnak, where each conventional figure in profile bears the



name of the place which he ruled within an embattled oval, just such as in Assyrian reliefs represent the ground plan of fortified places. The chiefs were restored to their dignities under the suzerainty of the Pharaoh.

And now something must be said as to the way in which we should regard the names comprised in our lists. Are these names "geographic," or "ethnographic," or both, or what else?

Mr. Groff insists strongly on the ethnographic view (*Revue Ég.*, 1885, 95; and 1886, 146).

It seems to me that the chiefs of larger or smaller communities, more or less locally settled and identified, who were taken prisoners of war in Megiddo, gave the names enrolled by the scribes for tribute.

These names fluctuate in significance. As I wrote some years since: "personal and local names are vitally connected. Men of old loved to 'call their lands after their own names,' and were called after their native land, and the man gave name to his race, which is included in a vivid way in the personal name and the territorial. So it is often hard to know whether we are reading of men, or tribes, or cities and regions, for all have their pedigrees, and the fashion of recording them was often similar or the same" (*Trans. Vict. Inst.*, 1882; "Biblical Proper Names").

Now it is clear that in all cases of tribute some chief man was responsible, not personally but officially, whether for a city or larger district or for a nomadic tribe, and our lists contain some names very important and inclusive, and others of various degrees of subordinate limitation. The leading names are Kadesh and Megiddo, whose kings commanded these allied forces, and whose names appear at the head. Beneath these, in relative importance, are names of districts and of towns, larger or smaller, and (I think) of tribes, but these last may well have taken root in local and topographic names. I have often been tempted to add to Jacob and Joseph, Simeon, on the strength of  twice occurring, Nos. 18 and 35, שמעון: and an adventurous theorist might even pitch upon Reuben, ראובן, in No. 10, .

The two great lists of Syria seem to follow the two great divisions of the allies. The list of southern Syria would, as it were, crystallize round Megiddo, and the list of northern Syria round Kadesh on Orontes.

The whole country is treated inclusively and vaguely as that of

the Rutennu (perhaps Iltanu), Upper and Lower, Upper being nearer Egypt. But various races are included (as in scripture narratives) and dovetailed together, as Khita, Qidu, Fenkhu, Kharu, &c. The Palestine list (as it is generally called) would naturally include all south of the great dividing block of the Lebanon and Antilebanon; the northern list all beyond, and that appears to me to be the actual result of very patient inquiry into these lists. The northern list I communicated with annotations to our Society on the 2nd of June, 1885, and I have now the honour to submit the southern list.

I have left unstudied nothing within my reach that has been written on the subject by Mariette, Brugsch, de Rougé, de Sauley, Lenormant, Maspero, Conder, Sayce, or others; and I have especially to express my earnest gratitude to my friend Professor Sayce and to Professor Maspero, for most kind and courteous assistance in a laborious and complicated task, in which other gentlemen have also taken an obliging interest. I have not designedly omitted any acknowledgment, but must beg pardon for inadvertencies and errors that will arise unbidden.

In the main our scribes seem to have worked from north to south. It is in the latter direction that I trust my inquiries have added some identifications on new ground, and especially in the regions of Jerusalem and Hebron.

East of Jordan I think we may hold ourselves more free than we have been wont to do in our search for identifications. We must not forget Kedorla'omer and the vast importance of the upland route to Arabia, nor must we overlook the military value of positions commanding the great passages of Jordan near Megiddo and Jericho.

Damascus itself is included in our Southern list, and this will warrant much in the way of sound inference; and Thothmes himself teaches us to look on the confines of the outlandish tribes of the Sati.

The reduplication or multiplication of many names in various directions will account for many doubts and misgivings, and afford many alternatives of choice. Perhaps the Turkish tribute-lists of to-day may throw light on the grouping of places in administrative districts.

I cannot boast of much systematic coherency, and I have always preferred tentative guess-work which may be fruitful in other hands to any little ambition of my own.

I have constantly worked on the basis of the great map of the Palestine Survey, and made reference to the name-lists and memoirs

throughout the Southern List; and I have used the corrected readings of Golenischeff and Maspero. If I have helped to bring these important data into better working order for the student, the explorer, the geographer, and historian, my labour will not have been in vain. The full lists, with a series of plates, &c., will be issued in a future part of the *Transactions*.

Two Papers by MM. Eugène and Victor Revillout were read and explained by the President, who announced that the Secretary had just received from the same authors a paper entitled, "Un Nouveau Nom Royale Perse."

CONTRATS DE MARIAGE ET D'ADOPTION DANS L'ÉGYPTE
ET DANS LA CHALDÉE.

Nous avons montré en Égypte les prototypes des actes de mariage et d'adoption ayant une forme analogue à celle de la vente à Rome : ce fut pour le mariage la coemption, effectuée au moyen d'une mancipation, comme la vente Romaine des choses *mancipi* ; pour l'adoption ce fut également une dation en mancipation, non à titre d'esclave, mais à titre de fils, usitée sous la république et dans les premiers temps de l'empire, et par le moyen de laquelle, à ce que nous apprend Suétone,* Auguste adopta ses petits fils nés de sa fille et d'Agrippa. À l'époque tout-à-fait classique du droit Romain, on n'admit plus pour l'adoption que les genres qui nécessitaient l'intervention d'un magistrat ; et la mancipation ne fut plus employée dans les familles que comme acheminement vers l'émancipation. Mais du témoignage de Suétone on peut rapprocher bien d'autres textes, non moins précis, pour démontrer que l'adrogation, sous forme de loi, et l'adoption, sous forme de jugement, devant un magistrat ayant l'*imperium*, étaient loin d'être les seuls modes d'adoption en usage du temps de Cicéron, du temps de César, et du temps d'Auguste. Auguste lui-même fut adopté testamentairement par son oncle. L'ami de Cicéron, Atticus, avait reçu le nom de Cécilius par adoption testamentaire ; et nous voyons qu'alors les Romains, du moins dans la haute société, se servaient

* "Caïum et Lucium adoptavit, domi, per aes et libram emptos a patre Agrippa . . . Tertium nepotem Agrippam, simulque privignum Tiberium adoptavit, in foro, lege curiata." (Aug., LXIV et LXV.)

de toutes les formes qu'avait consacrées le droit des gens : par exemple, comme en Grèce, laissaient à la fois testamentairement leurs noms, leur gentilité, et leurs biens aux parents qu'ils avaient choisis pour continuateurs de leur personne.

L'adoption par mancipation en Égypte que nous avons citée, remonte à l'an 32 du règne d'Amasis. L'acte est ainsi conçu :

“ Hor, fils de Pétésé, dont la mère est Taouaou, dit au choachyte de la nécropole Haredj, fils de Téos :

“ Tu m'as donné—et mon cœur en est satisfait—l'argent pour *faire à toi fils*. Moi (je suis) ton fils, et (sont à toi) mes enfants que j'enfanterai et totalité de ce qui est à moi, et de ce que je ferai être (de ce que j'acquerrai). Point à pouvoir (ne pourra point) homme quelconque du monde m'écarter de toi, depuis père, mère, frère, sœur, seigneur, dame, jusqu'à grande assemblée de justice, moi-même, mes enfants (qui seront) les enfants de tes enfants à jamais. Celui qui viendra à toi à mon sujet, pour me prendre de toi (à toi), en disant : Ce n'est pas ton fils, celui-là—quiconque au monde (dis-je) depuis père, mère, frère, sœur, seigneur, dame, jusqu'à grande assemblée de justice ou moi-même (fera ainsi), te donnera argent quelconque, blé quelconque qui plairont à ton cœur. Moi, je serai ton fils encore, ainsi que mes enfants à jamais.”

Un acte de mariage tout-à-fait semblable, également effectué par une mancipation, a été publié par nous dans le No. IV de la 3^e année de notre *Revue Égyptologique* et, comme la coemption Romaine, cet acte place sous la main du mari, sous sa puissance absolue, telle qu'il la possédait par rapport à ses esclaves, non seulement la femme qui se vend ainsi par la coemption, avec tout ce qu'elle possède et pourra posséder un jour, mais les enfants qui naîtront d'elle.

Il y avait donc alors en Égypte certaines familles organisées, comme le furent généralement les familles Romaines sous la loi des douze tables, avec une puissance dominicale accordée au chef par rapport à sa femme et à ses enfants. Mais c'était loin d'être la règle dans l'ancienne Égypte. Il faut bien dire que dans ce pays la tendance qui domina fut une tendance absolument contraire : les actes de mariage basés sur un apport d'argent attribué à la femme, actes qui en faisaient la créancière de son mari et mettaient souvent celui-ci pleinement à sa discrétion, furent ceux qui l'emportèrent en nombre et qui constituèrent, pour ainsi dire, la norme du ménage Égyptien.

Les enfants, par cette dernière forme d'actes, étaient complète-

ment affranchis de la puissance du père, comme la femme l'était de la puissance du mari. En effet, une clause formelle prévoyait le dépouillement final du chef de famille : " ton fils aîné sera le maître, l'administrateur, le *kurios* de tous mes biens présents et avenir." Or la suite des actes nous montre les pères transmettant habituellement, de leur vivant, la propriété de tous leurs biens à leurs enfants, quand ils ne s'en étaient pas déjà désinvestis en faveur de leurs femmes, mères de ces enfants.

De même qu'en Grèce, à une certaine époque, les actes de mariage basés sur une constitution de dot, et qui soumettaient le mari à la domination de sa femme, ainsi que nous l'apprennent Ménandre et les comiques de la dernière période, avaient fini par dominer au point de faire complètement oublier les mariages d'une autre forme qui soumettaient la femme au mari, de même, en Égypte, les contrats qui élevaient le plus la situation de la femme firent à peu près oublier tous les autres sous les Ptolémés. Mais si nous remontons un peu plus haut, jusqu'à Darius, ou même seulement jusqu'à son petit fils Artaxercès, nous trouvons encore en vigueur le genre d'union qui, suivant nous, est le genre le plus noble : Celui qui place le mari et la femme sur un pied égal, qui les unit entièrement l'un à l'autre, et qui peut se résumer par la formule Romaine du vieux mariage sacré, de la confarréation : "*Ubi tu Gaius et ego Gaia.*" La femme est en communauté avec le mari pour les biens, pour la situation, pour tout l'ensemble de la vie. Aucune clause particulière relative à ces biens, à cette situation, n'aurait donc à être introduite. Le mari, pour remplir son devoir de mari, doit mettre sa femme en union avec lui même pour tout ce qu'il possède, pour les avantages de sa position dans le monde, pour toutes les jouissances de la vie commune.

Nous avons déjà publié, dans les *Transactions* et dans notre cours de droit Égyptien, deux actes de mariage à forme hiératique, où tout était basé sur les traditions religieuses. Voici la traduction d'un nouveau contrat du même genre, daté cette fois non de Darius mais d'Artaxercès, et dont la copie se trouve dans les *Denkmaler VI*, pl. 126, No. IV :—

" L'an 33 Epiphi, du roi Artaxercès. Le choachyte de la nécropole de l'occident de Thèbes Paérou, fils de Nesamenhotep, dont la mère est Setirban, dit à la femme Tahei, fille du choachyte de la nécropole de l'occident de Thèbes, Ounnofré, dont la mère est Tahonésé : je t'ai établie pour femme. Depuis ce jour

je n'ai plus parole au monde à t'objecter à ce sujet : c'est moi qui donne à toi le *faire à toi mari* en lieu quelconque où tu iras. Personne n'a à en connaître depuis le jour ci-dessus à jamais."

Si l'on compare cet acte de mariage à ceux que nous avons déjà publiés et qui, relatifs à des personnages de la même famille, remontent au règne de Darius, on comprend mieux encore l'importance de ces mots, "le *faire à toi mari*;" c'est là le fond même du formulaire, la partie essentielle qui ne disparaît jamais dans tous les contrats de cette nature. C'est ainsi qu'en l'an 9 du roi Darius le choachyte Petnofréhotep, fils de Nesamenhotep, ayant pour mère Setirban (c'est-à-dire un homme ayant le même père et la même mère que le contractant de l'an 33 d'Artaxercès, et paraissant par conséquent devoir être son frère aîné), disait en se mariant à une femme dont toutes les désignations sont identiques—nous venons de nous en assurer sur les photographies prises sur les originaux—à celles de la femme qui épousa Parou en l'an 33 d'Artaxercès : "Je t'ai établie pour femme. Il n'y a plus de parole à faire ; toutes choses dépendant du *faire à toi mari* je te les abandonne depuis le jour ci-dessus à jamais."

De son côté, Parou lui-même, qui, quand il épousa Tahéi, était veuf, disait à sa première femme, lorsqu'il l'épousait en l'an 33 du roi Darius :

"Je t'ai établie pour femme aujourd'hui. Je t'abandonne le *faire à toi mari* depuis le jour ci-dessus. Je ne puis y échapper en tout lieu où j'irai depuis le jour ci-dessus à jamais."

Cette dernière phrase est tout-à-fait l'équivalent de la phrase Romaine : *Ubi tu Gaius et ego Gata*.

C'était là d'ailleurs un genre de mariage absolument indissoluble, comme le fut à Rome, dans les premiers temps, le mariage religieux, cette confarréation qu'on ne put rompre plus tard que par une cérémonie lugubre imitée de celle des funérailles, et après laquelle en effet la femme, au point de vue religieux, était censée morte, puisque désormais elle ne pouvait plus contracter une autre union sainte.

Tout démontre donc qu'en Égypte, comme à Rome, ce mariage d'égalité, sans clause pécunière aucune, sans contrat d'argent, fut le plus ancien, celui qui se rattachait aux idées religieuses et à toute l'organisation primitivement hiératique de la famille. Le *faire à toi mari*, qui résume tout ici, a été imité par le *faire à toi fils* dans l'acte d'adoption que nous citons plus haut.

Cet acte d'adoption en effet paraît être une combinaison de divers contrats de mariage usités vers la même époque. À côté du *faire à toi fils*, emprunté au mariage religieux, nous trouvons la mancipation, empruntée à la coemption. Dans le mariage par coemption de l'an 4 du roi Psammétique, le type des formules est à peu près le même, sauf bien entendu que rien n'y rappelle le *faire à toi femme* ou *faire à toi mari* des mariages sacrés.

Voici cet acte :

“Dit la femme T'enesi, fille d'Anachamen, à Amon, fils de Put'a :

“Tu as donné—et mon cœur en est satisfait—mon argent pour faire à toi servante (service). Je suis à ton service (ta servante). Point à pouvoir homme quelconque du monde (personne au monde ne pourra) m'écarter de ton service. Je ne pourrai y échapper. Je ferai à toi encore jusqu'à argent quelconque, blé quelconque, totalité de chose au monde et mes enfants que j'enfanterai, et totalité de ce que je possède, et les choses que je ferai être (que j'acquerrai), et les vêtements qui (sont) sur mon dos, depuis l'an 4, Mésoré ci-dessus, à jamais et toujours. Celui qui viendra (t'inquiéter) à cause de moi, au nom de parole quelconque du monde, en disant : Ce n'est pas ta servante, celle-là, te donnera argent quelconque, blé quelconque qui plairont à ton cœur : ta servante (sera ta) servante encore : ainsi que mes enfants. Tu es (maître) sur eux en tout lieu où tu les trouveras. Adjuré (soit) Ammon ! Adjuré (soit) le roi ! Point à te servir servante encore (ne prends pas servante encore) quelconque. Il n'y a point à dire qu'il te plaît (de faire) en toute similitude ci-dessus. Il n'y a point à faire de similitude de ces choses. Il n'y a pas à dire également que je puis échapper au service de la chambre dans laquelle tu es !”

Ainsi les deux modes fondamentaux par lesquels on pouvait entrer dans une famille étrangère, le mariage et l'adoption, étaient en Égypte conçus sur des modèles presque identiques.

Une tablette de Sippara de notre collection personnelle, le No. 147, montre qu'il en fut de même en Chaldée. En effet l'acte d'adoption inscrit sur cette tablette, et qui est le premier acte de ce genre qui nous soit tombé sous les yeux, présente dans sa contexture générale et dans le détail de ses formules les analogies les plus frappantes avec les tablettes relatives au mariage Babylonien dont M. Strassmaier a publié le texte. Il commence par une demande, comme le No. 8 de M. Strassmaier, avec cette seule différence, que dans le No. 8 de

M. Strassmaier cette demande est celle d'une fille en mariage, tandis que dans notre tablette c'est celle d'un fils en adoption.

Dans le No. 8 de M. Strassmaier c'est le futur mari qui prend ainsi la parole au début de l'acte : dans notre tablette ce sont deux époux, un mari nommé Samasbalit et sa femme nommée Kapta. Dans le contrat de mariage c'est au père de la jeune fille que la requête est adressée ; dans notre contrat d'adoption c'est aux scribes ou prêtres* du célèbre temple d'Eparra : ce Temple du soleil, de Sippara, dans lequel ont été trouvés tant de documents importants, et d'où proviennent la plupart des actes de notre collection.


Il s'agit en effet ici, paraît il, d'un enfant exposé d'abord, puis recueilli et élevé dans le temple. Le nom même *Sapiikalbi*, de la bouche du chien, rappelle la légende de l'enfant trouvé donnée dans les tablettes bilingues du palais d'Assurbanipal, et que M. Oppert a traduite : " C'est de la bouche du chien, c'est du bec du corbeau " que cet enfant trouvé avait été sauvé. Il était donc tout naturel d'appeler ainsi un enfant qui avait couru les mêmes risques.

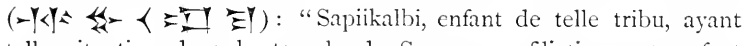
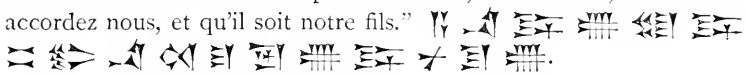
On rencontre deux fois ce nom dans les tablettes que M. Strassmaier a publiées. La première fois il s'agit d'une esclave appartenant à un nommé Nebukitapsilisiru ; la seconde fois *Sapiikalbi*, père d'un des témoins, est rattaché à la tribu des hommes nigab, c'est à-dire des *Kîpu* ou gardiens des temples.

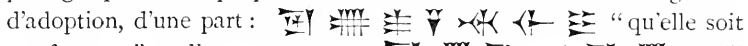
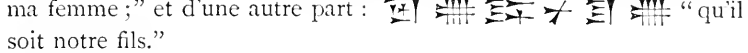
Notre *Sapiikalbi* est un enfant sans père, car, à la différence des autres personnages nommés dans le même acte, il n'est rattaché à personne par les expressions *abal su sa*, indice de la filiation proprement dite dans la ligne paternelle. On le trouve pourtant désigné comme appartenant à une tribu, ce qui n'a rien d'étonnant d'ailleurs puisque sa mère était connue, bien qu'elle n'intervienne pas comme partie dans l'acte. Le reste des désignations qui se rapportent à *Sapiikalbi* ne se voit plus distinctement, par suite d'une détérioration de la tablette à cet endroit. Mais le nom du dieu Samas, qui se lit à la fin, est l'indice des liens qui unissaient au sanctuaire cet enfant trouvé, recueilli par le temple.


C'est donc, nous l'avons dit, aux administrateurs du temple (qu'il faille les nommer Scribes ou *Sangu*), que s'adressent conjointement le mari et la femme pour demander *Sapiikalbi* en adoption.

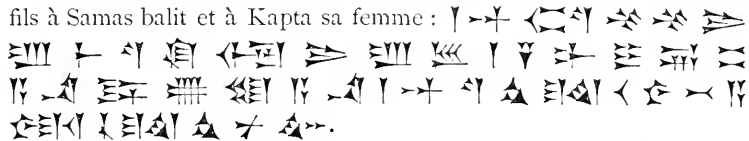
* Le doute est permis, car le signe  se lit également *tufsar* ou *sangu*.

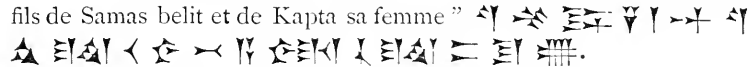
Dans l'acte de mariage le demandeur s'exprime ainsi (*ikbuu umma*) :  "La femme Manaat esaggil fille de toi, femme noble, accorde moi et qu'elle soit ma femme."


Dans l'acte d'adoption les demandeurs s'expriment ainsi (): "Sapiikalbi, enfant de telle tribu, ayant telle situation dans le temple de Samas, en filiation, cet enfant accordez nous, et qu'il soit notre fils." 

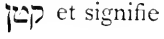
La comparaison de ces deux actes nous force à couper de cette façon la phrase, et à voir un verbe suivi de la copule *et* dans les passages parallèles qui précèdent le vœu formel soit de mariage soit d'adoption, d'une part :  "qu'elle soit ma femme;" et d'une autre part :  "qu'il soit notre fils."


Dans l'acte de mariage le père accueille cette demande, et accorde sa fille en mariage : 

Dans l'acte d'adoption Marduk Suma iddin, scribe de Sippara, et les autres scribes, donnent collectivement Sapiikalbi à l'état de fils à Samas balit et à Kapta sa femme : 

Notre texte continue en ces termes : "Aujourd'hui ils l'établissent fils de Samas belit et de Kapta sa femme" 

Et pour insister encore sur la situation nouvelle de Sapiikalbi on ajoute : "Sapiikalbi est le fils mancipé de Samas belit et de femme Kapta"  *Sapiikalbi aplu Kudinnu sa Samas balit u Belia suu.*

Le mot *Kudinnu*, *Kudinini*, que nous rencontrons dans ce texte après le mot *ablu* fils, est à distinguer de *Kudinnu* =  et signifie soit en chaldaïque* soit en syriaque *mancipatus*.†


*  *in servitatem redigit, mancipatus est.*



†  *junxit et mancipatus in servitutem redactus est.*

Cette dation à l'état de fils était donc en Chaldée aussi comparée à la dation à l'état d'esclave.



L'acte se termine par une formule que nous retrouvons identique dans un contrat qui porte le No. 160 dans le copies de M. Strassmaier, et où une grand-mère constitue un supplément de dot à l'occasion du mariage de la fille de son fils aîné.

Voici comment était écrit ce texte dans le contrat de M. Strassmaier :  sa dababa annua innuu Marduk u Zarpanitum HAA su likbuu.

Nous avons rapproché d'abord le mot *innuu* du mot *anna*, forme babylonienne de la racine , et signifiant grace et faveur*


















* Comme dans les langues sémitiques les 3es personnes des verbes servent très souvent à former des noms théophores apocopés, un nom propre tel que *Innu*, *In-innu*, *Eninnu* aurait été possible, puisque en babylonien l'*e* et l'*i* se confondent et se commuent : et c'est ainsi que nous avons compris comment ce mot aurait pu se trouver précédé du déterminatif des noms propres dans l'acte copié par M. Strassmaier sous le No. 42. Il s'agissait d'ailleurs d'une de ces phrases pleines de lacunes dans lesquelles la copie, les restitutions, tout reste douteux. Mais nous préférons décidément rattacher au premier mot de la ligne le trait vertical qui précède *eninni*, et voir ici la particule bien connue , *inu*, *eninnu*,  *enuma*,

qui se rencontre si souvent dans les textes. D'ailleurs on ne voit pas reparaître dans la suite de cette pièce ce prétendu personnage, et tout prouve que c'est simplement une incise. Voici donc comment nous traduisons : "Bariki ilani esclave *buturu* d'argent de la femme Gagai que, en l'an 37 de Nabuchodonosor, roi de Babylone, Ahi nouru, fils de Nébo nadin ahi, avait délivré pour un tiers de mine 8 sekels d'argent (à la femme Gagai), voilà qu'il réclama ainsi : Affranchi (*turbani*) de Bel rimanni, homme mandataire de Samas damik, fils de Nebo nadin ahi et de la femme Kudasu, fille d'Ahinouru, je suis (*anaku*)."

Dans cette phrase il reste des termes encore douteux, mais il en est d'autres qui sont absolument précisés par l'ensemble de nos contrats. Le mot *sapati*, par exemple, signifiant *des mains de*, a, comme sens juridique, la valeur de *mandataire*, comme le mot égyptien  , sous la main, et comme le mot mandataire lui même qui vient de *manus* et de *dare*. Nous pourrions citer à ce sujet le No. 3 de la pl. 49 du 3e volume de la publication du British Museum (W.A.I.) le contrat de mariage Ninivite, si admirablement publié par notre cher maître M. Oppert, le No. 113 de M. Strassmaier, et beaucoup d'autres documents analogues, Ninivites et Babyloniens.

L'acte 42 de M. Strassmaier continue ainsi :—

"En présence des nobles, des grands, et des juges du roi Nabonid, roi de Babylone, ils racontèrent l'affaire (ou ils demandèrent jugement) : *dini itubu*. Et les juges écoutèrent leurs paroles, ainsi que le (récit) du lien d'esclavage de

(voir Norris, p. 1092) ; dans la conjugaison de cette même racine le *i* se serait très naturellement substitué à la voyelle faible *a* pour la 3^e personne commençant par cet *i*. Le mot *innuu* aurait donc voulu dire favoriser, voir avec faveur, et, comme, d'une autre part, le terme *dababu*, qu'on peut rattacher à la racine **דבב** *locutus est*, a souvent le sens de demande, de réclamation, de requête, on pouvait appliquer la première partie de cette phrase aux dieux Marduk et Zarpanitum, qui auraient vu avec faveur la requête de la grand-mère. Mais notre tablette ne permet plus cette interprétation. En effet l'idéogramme *pal*  s'y trouve substitué au mot  *innu* :                Or cet idéogramme, d'origine Touranienne, signifie surtout *transgresser*,

Barikiilani qui, depuis l'an 35 de Nabuchodonosor roi de Babylone, jusqu'à l'an 7 de Nabonid, roi de Babylone, avait été donné pour argent (*ana kaspa naadnu*), établi en gage (*ana maskanu saknu*), donné en dot à Nupta, fille de Gagai (*ana nuduunni ana Nupta maratsu-sa Gagai naadnu*), qu'ensuite (*arki*) Nupta avait engagé (*taknuku*) et donné (*taaddinu*) à Zamalmalnadin, son fils, et à Iddina, son mari (*muti-su*), avec le revenu d'une maison (*itti isruba biti*) et des esclaves (*amilluutti*). Tout cela ils l'examinèrent (le firent dire). A Barikiilani ils dirent ainsi (*ikbuu umma*) : tu réclames ainsi (*targumu umma*) : je suis affranchi (*turbani anaku*) ? ton affranchissement, mensonger celui-là (*turbanutka kullim annaasu*).

La réponse de Barikiilani contient malheureusement l'idéogramme *haa*, qui non seulement représente en sémitique les mots *nabutum* et *hulluqu*, mais le terme *mugil* et beaucoup d'autres. Les raisons qui ont motivé la déclaration fallacieuse de Barikiilani et qui, l'expliquant, peuvent être invoquées comme circonstances atténuantes, ne sont donc pas encore bien certaines. Mais, après l'aveu, vient un récit absolument conforme à celui qu'avait fait la partie adverse.

Il reprend donc : “ Je dis ainsi : (*akbi umma*) : un affranchi, moi ! (*turbani anaku*). Il n'y a pas d'affranchissement mien (*turbanutau la isi*). Je (fus) esclave *buturu* d'argent de la femme Gagai. Elle m'a donné à la femme Nupta, sa fille (*ana nupta maratsu taaddaanuanni*). La femme Nupta m'a engagé (*taknuka-anni*) et à Zamalmalnadin son fils, et à Iddina, son mari, elle m'a donné (*taaddi-naanni*). Après la mort de la femme Gagai et de la femme Nupta (*arki mitutu sa Gagaa u Nuptaa*), à Ittimardukbaladu, fils de Nebo ahi iddin, pour argent


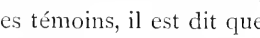

Le reste est trop lacuneux pour permettre aucune tentative de traduction suivie.

La femme Gagai ne doit pas être confondue avec les femmes Gugua, exactement ses contemporaines, dont l'une fait, sur la tablette 74 de M. Strassmaier, un acte de prêt en faveur d'un nommé Bel ahi erib, et dont une autre intervient en qualité de femme (*altum = astum*) de ce dernier, en même temps que sa mère intervient, comme assistante, au bas de cet acte.

Quant au titre de scribe d'Esaggil accordé à Nebo dans le contrat de la grand mère, il est tout-à-fait parallèle au titre de scribe du monde entier qu'il porte dans un texte bilingue.

Notre tablette d'adoption à été dressée en la présence de Marduk suma iddin scribe de Sippara, et des scribes qui, avec lui, avaient attribué *Sapiikalbi* comme fils à Samas suma iddina et à sa femme.



Comme témoins figurent en premier lieu deux individus faisant partie de la tribu des scribes de Sippara, , un autre faisant partie de la tribu des scribes du dieu Samas, , puis, après deux autres témoins, il est dit que cet acte a été fait avec l'assistance de la femme Busasa mère de Sapiikalbi : *ina asabi sa Busasa ummi sa Sapiikalbi* . Le nom du scribe redacteur de l'acte, Ardu Bel, vient en dernier lieu. i

Malheureusement le reste manque.

Il est curieux de voir que la mère ne figure là que comme assistante alors qu'une autre femme est au contraire partie en qualité de mère adoptive. Mais c'est que sans doute l'abandon de Sapiikalbi dans la rue, cet abandon qui l'avait exposé à la bouche des chiens, avait fait perdre tous ses droits à la mère, bien qu'elle fût connue et bien qu'elle pût être recherchée et découverte par une enquête, selon toutes les probabilités.

Il en fut de même en droit romain quand, sous l'empire, à certaines périodes, l'exposition des enfants fut admise. Les parents de l'enfant exposé avaient perdu tous leurs droits sur lui et, bien que de naissance ingénue, bien que pouvant établir et prouver avec évidence sa filiation, il appartenait à celui qui l'avait recueilli jusqu'au jour où le prix de ses services représentait le prix qu'avait coûté son éducation. Les empereurs avaient sans doute emprunté cette solution favorable au droit des gens : et cela fait comprendre comment, parmi les Sapiikalbi, nous en trouvons : un encore esclave d'un particulier ; un autre, recueilli dans un temple, donné en adoption par les représentants de ce temple, et enfin un autre, devenu lui même *Kipu* ou gardien de quelque sanctuaire, et considéré comme un homme libre, père d'enfants ingénus.

L'ANTICHRÈSE NON IMMOBILIÈRE DANS L'ÉGYPTE ET
DANS LA CHALDÉE.

Nous avons longuement exposé dans le cours sur les *obligations en droit Égyptien comparé aux autres droits de l'antiquité*, et dans l'appendice babylonien, annexé à ce même volume, l'histoire des origines et du développement d'une institution à peu près inconnue au droit moderne, mais qui joue un rôle considérable dans les plus anciens droits, dans celui de l'Égypte, et dans celui de la Chaldée : l'antichrèse.

L'antichrèse pouvait servir non seulement pour représenter un genre de gage, c'est-à-dire, la garantie réelle d'une créance, mais pour procurer la jouissance d'un bien et représenter par conséquent une variété de la location. Dans un cas comme dans l'autre on commençait par établir une équivalence exacte entre le bien en question et la somme d'argent livrée en échange momentané de ce bien.

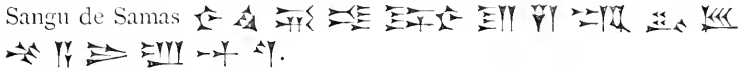
L'idée juridique de cette équivalence entre le capital d'argent et le bien correspondant se trouve déjà développée dans les textes bilingues de la Bibliothèque d'Assourbanipal, et les applications multiples s'en rencontrent dans les vieux textes de Warka remontant au 23^e siècle avant notre ère.

De cette première équivalence en découlait une seconde, établie cette fois entre les produits, d'une part, du bien ainsi livré et, d'une autre part, de la somme d'argent livrée en échange. C'est là ce qui se trouve exprimé dans les actes de Babylone par la formule, si fréquente et qui se rapporte toujours à la constitution d'une antichrèse, faite soit dans un but locatif, soit à titre de garantie pour une dette ou pour un emprunt : "il n'y a pas de terme de location pour le bien, et il n'y a pas d'intérêt pour l'argent," *idie bitti iaanu u harra Kaspi iaanu*.

Nous avons donné des exemples d'applications de l'antichrèse non seulement à des immeubles, mais à des biens d'une autre nature. Nous avons montré notamment : qu'en Égypte on s'était servi de l'antichrèse gage sous le regne d'Amasis pour des immeubles, par exemple ; qu'on l'avait également employée pour des animaux ; et qu'on s'était servi de l'antichrèse locative pour assurer, durant un temps déterminé, au créancier d'une somme d'argent la jouissance des produits de liturgies, d'offices et revenus funéraires. Nous

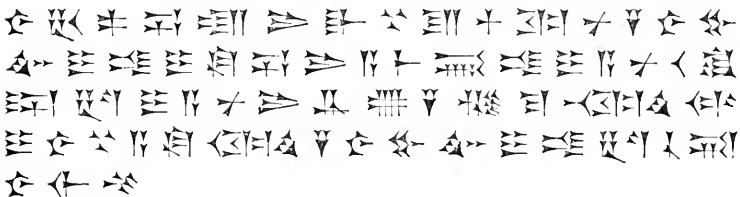
avons également indiqué qu'en Chaldée dans des actes où manquait la formule, "il n'y a pas de terme de loyer et il n'y a pas d'intérêt pour l'argent," la constitution d'une antichrèse n'en était pas moins évidente. Nous avons dit qu'à ce point de vue, à toutes les époques, les esclaves avaient été traités comme des immeubles et transmis de main en main, d'un débiteur à son créancier, de celui-ci à son créancier propre, etc., pour revenir en sens contraire par le jeu, si particulier, si longuement exposé par nous, de l'antichrèse Chaldéenne. Mais jusqu'ici pour établir l'identité complète, au point de vue juridique, des opérations concernant, d'une part, les immeubles, et, d'une autre part, les esclaves, il nous manquait d'avoir retrouvé dans les actes se rapportant à ces derniers, cette formule, qui tantôt se rencontre et tantôt ne se rencontre pas dans les contrats d'antichrèse relatifs à des immeubles : "il n'y a pas de terme de loyer et il n'y a pas d'intérêt d'argent."

Aujourd'hui un acte inédit de notre collection comble cette lacune. Cet acte, No. 138, rédigé à Sippara, et daté du règne de Darius, est relatif à une créance dont le chiffre a malheureusement disparu.

La créancière est une femme Bu'itum. La débitrice est la femme Tabutum (Higatum), fille de Bel-ahi-iddin, de la tribu des Sangu de Samas 

L'acte continue en ces termes :—

"La femme Hapaezi son esclave est le gage de la femme Bu'itum. Il n'y a pas de terme de location d'esclave et il n'y a pas d'intérêt d'argent. Créancier hypothécaire autre ne mettra pas la main dessus jusqu'à ce que la femme Bu'itum ait reçu son argent







Paris, le 29 Mars, 1887.

Thanks were returned for these communications.

The following Communications have been received from Dr. A. Wiedemann.

ON A MONUMENT OF THE FIRST DYNASTIES.

In the beautiful collection of copies of Egyptian texts made by Devéria, now at the Louvre, a copy of a bas-relief, at the present time in the museum at Aix-en-Provence, is found. It represents two standing men dressed in panthers' skin; the first holds a stick in his right hand, and in his left the sign . An inscription tells us the names of the men: . In front of the first personage two little figures are seen standing one above the other; the one uppermost was ; the second, a child, has the name of . In front of the second person another little man stands in the attitude of speaking.

The king Sent, whose prophets Áasen and Ánkef were, is the Sethenes of Manetho, the fifth king of the second dynasty. We know a third prophet of his, named Scherá, who appears on a stone at Oxford (No. 794, "Marmora Oxoniána," II, 1, fig. 5; Lepsius, "Auswahl," pl. 9),* and on a naos at Bulaq ("S. de l'ouest," cat. No. 996), the two belonging to the ancient empire. Afterwards his adoration is quoted anew only at a very late period (*cf.* de Rougé, "Rech. sur les six premiers dynasties," p. 251) when also a bronze statue of the king was made.† The names of the personages quoted on the Aix inscription bear a very ancient character. The name Ánkef is found in another text, in which a man of this name appears as chief of the arsenal. He was the son of a priest at the pyramids of the kings Saḥura and Ra-en-user (*cf.* de Rougé, "Mon. des six premiers dynasties," p. 307), and is certainly not to be identified with our Ánkef.


The monument of Aix is not dated, but there are sufficient indications to prove that it belongs, if not to the second, at least to the third dynasty. In fact the kings of the ancient empire always

[* The tomb of Sheri, from which the stone at Oxford was taken, was found at Saqqarah by M. Mariette, and the inscriptions in it are given in his *Mastaba de l'ancien Empire*, p. 92, and following.—P. LE P. R.]

† This statue was formerly in the collection of Posno, and is now at Berlin ("Jahrb. der Königl. preuss. Kunstsammlungen," IV. Sp., LXVIII).

introduced their cult during their lifetime ; generally it was celebrated in the temple connected with the pyramid erected to receive the king's mummy. After their death the cult usually ceased, the successor being too much interested in his own, to find time to think of supporting the priests of his ancestors, or to control the offerings required by the dead monarch's institutions. Therefore we see the king-cults lasting only a very short time, and hardly ever transferred from one dynasty to the following one. It is very easy to prove this fact by comparing the list of the priestdoms occupied by the different personages buried at Gizeh and Saqqarah. So we may be sure that usually the men quoted as priests of certain kings are their contemporaries, or lived at least at a not very much later period. Thus the bas-relief of Aix may be called one of the most ancient monuments found as yet in the Nile Valley. Unhappily its inscriptions are too short to make it possible to ascertain this fact with certainty.

The cult of the kings disappeared, as we have seen, generally with their death, and this rule has only very few exceptions. But at a much later period,—the time of the XXVIth Dynasty, it became a custom to adore the ancient monarchs anew, and to name priests to serve them, and to restore their temples. The reason was the archaistic tendency of the whole period. At this time monuments were erected bearing the names of the most ancient monarchs. Many scarabs, especially those found at Naucratis, prove this fact, and the celebrated golden arm-ring and ear-rings with the name of Menes, which are now at New York (*Rev. Arch.*, I, Ser. II, 2, p. 733 : Prisse, Mon., pl. 47, No. 2) are another example of the same kind.* Stelas were erected in the names of the ancient Pharaohs, as, for example, that telling about the buildings of Chufu on the ground of the pyramid fields of Memphis (Mariette, "Mon div.," pl. 53 ; cf. de Rougé, "Rech.," p. 265 ; Wiedemann "Handbuch," p. 178). The functionaries had again the names of offices which had been in use some thousand years before, and the titles of the ancient Pharaohs were taken up by the new ones. The

* An unpublished monument belonging to the same category is a Menat of burned clay in green colour, bought by Mr. Chester in 1881. It is worked quite in the style of the XXVIth Dynasty, and shows, written with black ink, in one vertical column, the inscription  pretending to have been made in the time of the most celebrated of the Mentuhetep-kings in the XIth Dynasty. The writing of the king's name with *i* in the text is very seldom found.

art, and especially the sculpture, show the same tendency; it was quite a renaissance, as Lepsius very well described it.

It is true that Prof. Piehl (*Le Muséon*, I, p. 291) has contradicted Lepsius, saying that the Saitic statues were not made in imitation of those of the ancient empire, but showed the style of Lower Egypt, differing from the style of Memphis. If Prof. Piehl had taken the trouble to consider the monuments of the Theban dynasties found at Memphis, he would not have expressed his opinion with so much certainty. The difference which these monuments show, compared with the pieces found at Thebes is a very slight one, caused, not by a variance in the conception of art, but mostly by the difference between the materials used in Upper and in Lower Egypt. Nearly the same difference is found between the monuments erected at Abydos and those coming from Thebes or Memphis.

Quite another thing is the case with the rest of the Theban dynasties and those of the Saitic. In the first period the idea of the sculptor was to make a work in monumental shape after a canon, prescribed by an hieratic law; the proportions of the body were formed after certain rules, so that it is possible to reconstruct a statue of this period with all certainty, if only one part of the body is left. Only the face was chiselled as a portrait, but also there a scheme, the symmetry of the right and left sides, etc., was strictly observed. The statue formed only a part of the architecture, and was worked out as a column without being true to nature. In the ancient empire the art of sculpture was more independent; then the statue was really a portrait of a living man with his real features, his real proportions, if also a certain stiffness is always to be observed. But this must be attributed to the national stiffness of the Egyptians, manifested not only in their unpicturesque way of dressing, but also in their thoughts and movements. The Saitic period tried to raise the same ideal as the ancient empire, to give life to their statues, and thus a period of renaissance began, the works of which can be quoted side by side with the masterpieces of the profane art of the time of Cheops and his successors. While the Theban art was purely hieratic, only intending to adorn temples and graves, the art of the ancient period embellished also the houses of the living, and those parts of the tombs designed for the use of the surviving, not only on days of mourning, but also on festival days of all kinds. These two widely differing tendencies of Egyptian

art, the hieratic and the profane, ought not to be so completely overlooked as has been generally done till now.

The deification of the kings was the custom during the whole period of Egyptian paganism. It began already during the lifetime of the monarchs. It was not the king's person alone that was an object of adoration, but his *ka*, his spiritual essence, which was looked upon as being quite similar to himself but yet not identical. Thus it was possible that the king appeared before his own divine person and could erect temples and altars to it, as was done, for example, by Amenophis III and Ramses II. There exists a certain difference between the comprehension of the deified kings in the remoter and in the later periods. At first the king was simply adored, offerings were given to him, and his *ka* was praised in hymns, but he is a kind of passive divinity, who has no power to intercede in the affairs of this world here. These ideas suffered a change by and by. The king, especially when deceased, became a god, with all the attributes of the great divinities; as well as these he could give life, pleasure, power, eternity, etc. In the funeral prayers he was asked as well as Osiris, Anubis, and others to give bread, wine, geese, etc., to the person of the dead. Not only the powerful kings were thus honoured, but all the kings of the new empire are supposed to have acted in this way, though it is not yet possible to prove it for every one of them. The more stelas of these times are discovered and published, the longer our list of king-gods will become.

One new name is given, for example, by an ostrakon preserved in the museum of Vienna (No. 29, *cf.* von Bergmann, "Uebersicht," etc., 6th ed., p. 23), and not published till now. The hieroglyphic inscription runs thus, from right to left, in five vertical columns:—



This text, dating from the XVIIIth Dynasty, and written for the royal nurse Sat-rā, with the surname Ān, proves that the queen Ramaka, who assumed all the rights and emblems of an Egyptian king, participated also in their divine honours. Generally this fact is mentioned only in inscriptions written by her own orders, only this one monument shows that her divine powers were regarded as effective also by others. That this was so rarely the case is a consequence of the queen's persecution, which took place under the reign of her half-brother Thutmes III.

THE AGE OF MEMPHIS.

Very little is known of the history of the different great Egyptian towns; the monuments make hardly any allusion to their foundation. The principal cause of this circumstance is to be found in the fact that the towns of Egypt were generally no artificial foundations. Only of one town we know that it was built by order of a king;—foundations of fortresses as are quoted in papyrus Anastasi, IV, 6, 1, sqq., have nothing to do with towns—it was Chu-en-āten who built Pa-āten, but his creation had no stability. The place was deserted after his death, and its ruins still cover the desert near Tel-el-Amarna.

The Egyptian town developed itself by degrees out of a single house or small village; thus it is generally impossible to fix the year of the foundation, but we can find out the time when a town is first quoted in the texts and begins to hold a place in history as a capital or cult-centre.

One of the most important of these towns is Memphis. Herodotus, II, 99, and Josephus, "Ant. Jud." VIII, 6, 2,* pretend that it was founded by Menes (*Mw* or *Mwaios* as they name him) and Herodotus adds that at the same time the temple of Hephæstos was erected. Manetho appears to have been of the same opinion. In the historical notes added to the different reigns, he says that Athothis, the son of Menes, built the palace of Memphis, and calls the IIIrd, IVth, VIth, VIIth, and VIIIth Dynasties

* As Josephus quotes in this chapter Herodotus, he will have followed him also in his information about the foundation of Memphis.

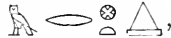







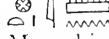
Memphitic. To the second king of the IInd Dynasty, Kaiechos, he attributes the introduction of the cult of the Apis of Memphis. Here Manetho is contradicted by another Greek author, Ælian ("Hist. anim.," XI, 10), telling that already Menes was founder of this cult. In the inscriptions it appears first at the time of Mykerinos (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, II, 37 *b*, line 14); afterwards it is quoted oftener, also in funeral texts, as in the royal pyramids of Saqqarah (*e.g.*, of Unas, line 424; Maspero, "Rec. de trav. rel. e.c.," IV, p. 48).

Diodor. I, 50, ascribes the foundation of Memphis to Uchoreus, and tells about the same of him as Herodotus does of Menes; he adds that from this time Memphis began to rise and Thebes to decline, till Alexandria was founded, so that the warrant of Diodorus must have ignored completely the existence of the first Memphitic period, and believed the town to have been founded only after the Theban dynasties, that is to say about A. Chr. 1000. This quite erroneous statement shows that Diodorus' indication is without value. Another tradition is given by Aristippus, an author whose lifetime is unknown, but who must belong to a rather late period. He pretends in the first book of his *Arcadica* (Frg. 1 of Müller, "Frg. hist. Græc.," IV, p. 327, taken from Clemens Alex. Strom., I, p. 139) that Memphis was built by Apis, king of Argos. This opinion had a large influence on later authors; we find it particularly in the writings of the Fathers of the Church (Euseb., "Præp. evang.," X, p. 293; Augustin, "de civitate Dei," XVIII, *cc.*) but this reproduction of the narrative does not increase its value. The connection between Apis of Argos* and Memphis is caused by the adoration of the Apis-bull at Memphis, and was certainly constructed by a Greek Mythograph, who tried to bring all myths into one system; historically it can be used no more than the indication (Apollodor., "Bibl.," II, 1, 4) that Memphis was built by Epaphus, the son of Io-Isis. The only trustworthy Greek indication is that of Herodotus.

Modern writers have generally followed the opinion of Herodotus, and believed Memphis to be as old as the Egyptian Empire and Egyptian History. The kings of the time of the pyramids are thought to have reigned at Memphis, in a town which included, with other buildings, the temple of Ptah and the citadel of the White Wall. Not long ago this idea was contradicted by Erman

* Apollodor., "Bibl.," II, 1, 1, declared that Apis, king of the Peloponnes, was adored after his death under the name Serapis.

("Egypten," p. 243 *sq.*), who pronounced as a certainty quite another opinion, and was followed in this by Eduard Meyer, "Gesch. Ägyptens," p. 57. I think it will be interesting to examine his arguments more closely to see if they are really sufficient to shake Herodotus' authority.

Erman remarks first, that in the ancient texts Memphis is not quoted, at least not as Mennefer. Instead of it we find under each king a capital, named "his town," and determined with the pyramid, as if town and pyramid had formed one indivisible *ensemble*. Already de Rougé had seen that Memphis is not a very old name, as well as the name Ânub-het' for the citadel of the town (the *λευκὸν πῦλον* of Herodotus III, 91. and Thucydides I, 104) appears only at a later period. He says ("Mon. des six prem. dyn. in Mem. de l'Ac. des Inscr.," 25, 2, p. 317) speaking of the title , which he translates (pp. 317, 342, 345) "Gouverneur de la ville de la pyramide," or "Commandant de la ville de la pyramide," that it is possible that the town spoken of is meant to be Memphis, the popular name of which does not appear in the ancient texts under its later form. This Governor was very often quite a distinct personage from the priest destined to preside at the commemorative cult of the buried king, a fact proving that the town and the pyramids are not always identical. Sometimes it is indeed the case, though if Unā is called , with the ordinary title of the pyramid priest, the  denotes certainly, as de Rougé, l. c. p. 332, observed, the pyramid of Pepi. But generally  the town, or  his (the king's) town, will have been the town *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, the residence and centre of political life, as well as in the new empire in the Theban inscription  denotes Thebes, or as in the classics *ἡ πόλις* is Athens, and *urbs* is Rome. At the same time  may have been an abbreviation of the holy name of the town , the town of god Ptah (*cf.*  Thebes), a name of which the Hebrew designation of Memphis Noph has been formed. That Noph is Memphis and not the Ethiopian Napata, as Brugsch and others thought, is shown already by the Septuagint, which translates Noph always with Memphis, and was proved in a systematic way by Dümichen ("Gesch. Äg.," pp. 75, 245).

The absence of the name Men-nefer alone cannot prove the non-existence of the town. Nearly all the very numerous inscriptions

dating from a period anterior to the VIth Dynasty treat of funeral things, tombs, life after death, and gods, in a merely stereotype way. Of these texts, which give no historical notices at all, neither can geographical notes be expected. Besides the funeral texts, representations are found of this world, scenes of every-day life, of the chase, drives, agriculture, etc., but in so generalized a style that they may belong to every time and place. The texts never contain allusions to the biography of the dead; only his titles are cited, but not the time when he lived, nor what he achieved; neither the place he lived at, nor the places he went to.

Only at one place in the tombs we find names of localities, that is in the representation of women carrying gifts to the deceased. Near each woman the name of a place is written, but this did not mean that towns of Egypt were considered as gift senders, but they were only the names of single possessions and country seats which once belonged to the deceased, which had come to show their fealty to him. This fact is proved by the circumstance that the names of these lands change continually, and are different in every tomb, just because every deceased person cited only his own possessions. The names are generally formed with the help of the name of the reigning king, or of his immediate predecessors, a usage which enables us to fix the age of the graves. When the king, or the possessor, died, the names of the places were very often changed. Therefore it cannot be expected that we should find among these local names the different towns of Egypt, least of all the capital Memphis.

Besides these lands the inscriptions of the period contain only one more designation of locality, which could be believed as relative to a place.* Each king built his own tomb-pyramid, combined with a temple, where his funeral sacrifices were offered to him. Egyptians of noble birth thought it a great honour to serve as prophet of the deceased king in these temples. The names of these pyramids were formed of the king's name and an epithet on the tomb, *p. e.*, the grand, the resplendent, the good place, the sublime seat, and so on. Thus the title of such a functionary was, *p. e.*, prophet at the great (pyramid) of Chufu." These tomb-buildings were determined with the sign ☉, sign of town and place, which used to be placed behind circumscribed localities, such as a

* The disquisition of the places named in the pyramid-texts of the Vth and VIth Dynasties is too little advanced to give certain results.

pyramid with its temple and annexes would have represented. But Erman means that these pyramid-names have a greater weight also in connection with the name of the royal capital of the time, and continues his considerations with the words: "Considering the situation of the dated pyramids, the oldest were the most remote of the emplacement of Memphis. So, holding up the old opinion that Chufu reigned at Memphis, we must think that he had the curious idea to build his tomb three miles distant from his residence, though he had place enough for it near by. Probably the town of Chufu was quite near to the pyramid, as well as the town of Chafra and Menkara near Gizeh, those of the Vth Dynasty near Abusir; only the kings of the VIth Dynasty reigned quite near to Memphis.

The observation that the most ancient pyramids are situated in the north, and the later ones more and more southwards was first made by Maspero. For this reason he thought that the pyramid of Meydum was not built by Snefru but belonged to a much later period. Unhappily it is not possible to prove the fact. We know only the builders of the pyramids of Gizeh, and those of five pyramids at Saqqarah; for the rest, we have only hypothesis. Manetho pretends that the pyramids of Kachome, situated near Saqqarah, were very ancient, and it is indeed very likely that some of the numerous pyramids of Saqqarah belong to the IIIrd Dynasty. Certainly the cemeteries of Gizeh and Saqqarah were used at the same periods. Sometimes the father is buried at Gizeh, the son at Saqqarah, or *vice versa*. The most ancient tombs are found not in the north, but quite at the other end of the necropolis near Meydum.

The topographical extent of the tombs proves that the Egyptian functionaries were not always buried quite close to their residence. The same will have been the case with the kings. Certainly it would have been a curious idea even for a Pharaoh to dwell all his lifetime side by side to the place where his tomb was built. Generally this was even impossible: the pyramids were erected on the summit of the Libyan mountains, surrounded by funeral temples and graves, while the houses, and with them the palaces, stood in the Nile Valley. The distance between them must have been, as the topographical configuration of the country still shows, about half an hour, so that an intimate connection between the palace of a king and his pyramid is very improbable.

A change of residence from king to king is also unlikely, because the pyramids are not built by themselves, but form groups. In this way, if the palaces and the pyramids of the kings would have formed really one whole, the residences of the kings Cheops, Chefren, and Mykerinos, and on the other side those of the first monarchs of the VIth Dynasty, would have been situated on one and the same spot, so that we could speak of a change of residence only from dynasty to dynasty, and not from reign to reign.

As last proof of his hypothesis, Erman cites that the oldest pyramid near Memphis (of Pepi) has the name Men-nefer, the name of Memphis at the later period. Out of the town of Pepi, bearing the name of his pyramid, originated the later town Memphis,* which included afterwards the temple of Ptah and the citadel "white wall." Here, where an old important place was situated in the neighbourhood, the residence of Pepi gained a real prosperity.

But the pyramid of Pepi was not at all the oldest near the site of Saqqarah. Of the five buildings opened there and situated side by side, two, the pyramid of Unâs, called Nefer-âs-u, and the pyramid of Tetâ, called Teṭ-âsu, are older, so that if the town had received its name from the pyramid, it would have been named Nefer-âs-u and not Men-nefer. Then we find at Memphis remains of a time anterior to Pepi. We know by an inscription (tomb of Ap-em-ânch; *cf.* de Rougé, "Rech.," p. 319) that Unas, the last king of the Vth Dynasty, built here a temple for Hathor. And Saḥ-u-ra, the second king of the same dynasty, founded a temple of Sechet at Memphis.


We know of priests appointed to this temple at the time of the XXIst Dynasty (Brugsch, "Rec.," I, pl. 4, No. 3) and at a very late period also (Stele of the Serapeum at the Louvre, No. 413; *cf.* Lieblein, "Dict. des Noms," No. 1217). These facts prove that there existed already more than a century before Pepi a town at the site of Memphis, near the place where the most celebrated temple of the town stood.

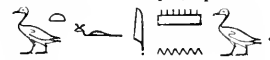
Memphis covered, like all the Egyptian towns in ancient and modern times, a far greater space than a town with the same number of inhabitants would cover in Europe. Just as at Thebes the temples with all their appendixes, the sacred lakes, large parks,


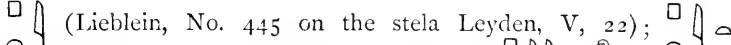
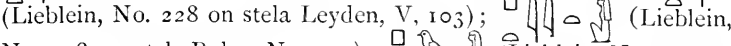
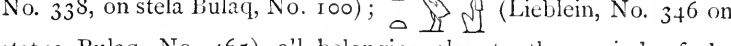
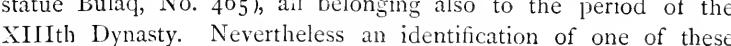
* Meyer, "Gesch. Æg.," p. 57, thinks that on this account the name of Memphis had afterwards always the determinative of the sign of the pyramid.

fields, etc., were enclosed in the town. Things will have been very similar to those now existing at Cairo, where the area would be sufficient for a ten or twenty times larger city. The northern end of Memphis appears to have been near Gizeh, the southern southwards of Saqqarah and Mitraheni. The length was thus very considerable, while the largeness was very circumscribed on one side by the river and its inundation-territory, and on the other side by the Libyan mountains and the sands of the desert. Where the palaces of the different kings were situated is unknown, only during the time of the Ramessides it is probable that they were near the temple of Ptah. Certainly the residence was not always fixed at the same place: as in other empires of the East, and also in our countries, the lodgings of the monarchs will have changed from reign to reign. But nevertheless Memphis remained the capital, as well as at a later period Thebes was the capital whenever the kings dwelt once near Karnak, than near Luqsor, or on the western shore. At the same time it must be remembered that the Egyptian kings lived in their capital only from time to time, and that they passed most of the year travelling through the country, and visiting its cities and temples. The papyri and inscriptions show that the Pharaohs and the Ptolemies fulfilled in this way their royal duties, and held judgment in their own person at different places, as well as the Carolinger kings did in the Middle Ages. Thus the real capital would never have obtained a very high political importance and distinction in comparison with the other towns if it had not been the custom to make the god of the capital the principal divinity of the whole of Egypt, and his temple the centre of religion. In the ancient empire this centre was at Memphis, and thus this town was, as far as the inscriptions show, in confirmation of the saying of the Greek authors and Manetho, the first capital of Egypt.

ON A RELATIVE OF QUEEN NUB- $\chi\bar{\alpha}$ -s.

Between the royal persons quoted in the papyrus Abbott, there appears, p. III, 5, the , the queen Nub- $\chi\bar{\alpha}$ -s, who was probably identical with the queen Chnumnefer-t-Nub- $\chi\bar{\alpha}$ -s, appearing on the stela C. 13 of the Louvre (*cf.* Lieblein, "Dict. des Noms," No. 349; Pierret, "Rec. d'Inscr. du

below these stands a woman in smaller shape, speaking to the sitting man. Before her is written 

The name of the woman, Pet, is a seldom one, and not found in this form in the Dictionary of Lieblein. The  is certainly only determinative, as, *p. e.*, in the "Todtenbuch," chap. cxxv, l. 60, etc. Of similarly formed names we have to quote the woman names  (Lieblein, No. 445 on the stela Leyden, V, 22);  (Lieblein, No. 228 on stela Leyden, V, 103);  (Lieblein, No. 338, on stela Bulaq, No. 100);  (Lieblein, No. 346 on statue Bulaq, No. 465), all belonging also to the period of the XIIIth Dynasty. Nevertheless an identification of one of these persons with the Pet of our stela is not possible.

The following remarks have been received from G. A. Simcox, M.A., with reference to the name which the Rev. C. J. Ball discusses in the February *Proceedings*, pp. 68, 69.

It is not for me to judge whether the expression 'bit ḥilâni' is or is not 'of Semitic form and origin,' but it puzzles me to be assured on the authority of Sargon ('Bull Ins.,' 67-69), that either the phrase as Mr. Ball assumes, or the word 'ḥilâni,' as Dr. Lyon assumes, is 'Hittite.' What Sargon says is, 'A porch in the likeness of a Hattê palace, which in the tongue of the West country they call a Bit ḥilâni, I caused to be made in the front of their gates.' Are we to understand that the 'West country' is always or sometimes, and, if ever, here a synonym of Mat Hattê? If so everything is clear. As the West country certainly includes Phœnicia, its tongue is certainly 'Semitic.' The people who spoke it had a name in their own language for a porch modelled on a 'Hittite' palace, but unless the 'West country' = 'Mat Hattê,' where does Sargon say that the 'Hittites' called a palace Bit ḥilâni, or anything like it? What light does the phrase throw on the question whether they were 'Semites,' or in course of 'Semitisation' in the days of Sargon?

It is possible of course that specialists arguing upwards from the book of Daniel, might be able to frame an induction which might warrant something better than a guess, as to whether if the people of the West country borrowed a 'Hittite' fashion they were likely to borrow the 'Hittite' name, or to translate it or to frame a name quite independently themselves. If it should turn out that they were most likely to borrow the Hittite name, and if 'Bit hilâni' turns out to be a pure 'Semitic' phrase, that would be a real presumption that the 'Hittites' were 'Semites.' But until we know more than Sargon tells us, one is tempted to guess that the thing was Hittite and the name was not.

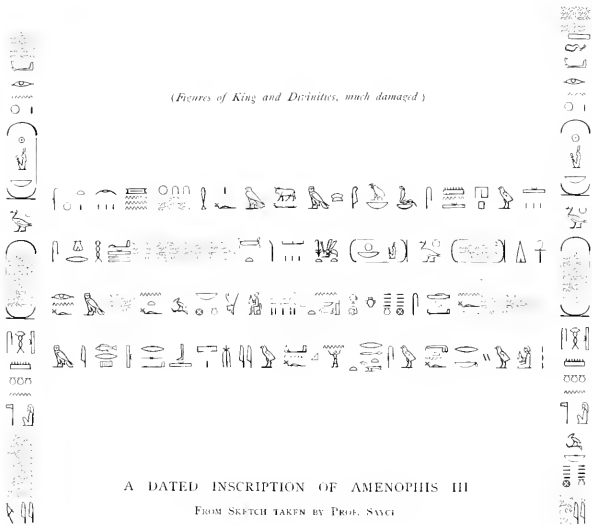
The following Communication has been received from the Rev. C. J. Ball:—

If Mr. Simcox will do me the honour to refer to my paper again, he will see that I expressly avoided assuming that *bit hilâni* was Hittite. "In the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser II. . . . an expression occurs *which is said to be of Hattê origin*" (p. 3). "Now *if* the Hattê spoke a non-Semitic dialect" [as is generally assumed by those to whom my arguments are addressed], "*and bit hilâni is really one of their phrases*" [as Dr. Lyon asserted, at least for *hilâni*, partly, it seems, because 𐤁𐤒 did not appear to be a Semitic root]. My purpose was to show that this term, assumed by others to be Hittite and non-Semitic, was in reality Semitic; and therefore, so far as it went, evidence *for* and not *against* the Semitic affinities of Hattê speech.

I incline, however, to agree with Dr. Lyon as to the origin of the name; for what would be the object of specifying that the people of the west country called a Hattê portico *bit hilâni*, unless *mât Aḥarri* and *mât Hattê* were here synonymous? Is it not clear that it is the Hattê name which the writer means to give in connexion with the thing, and that any other name would be irrelevant, unless a reason were assigned for its introduction?

The argument from the context is strengthened by the fact that Sargon sometimes uses the term *mât Hattê* in the wider sense, so as to cover the notion conveyed by *mât Aḥarri*. Thus in this very inscription (18 *sq.*) he calls himself, "šalil maliki eri Gargamis Mat

(Figures of King and Divinities, much damaged)



A DATED INSCRIPTION OF AMENOPHIS III

FROM SKETCH TAKEN BY PROF. SAVI

Amatti mat Kummulhi eri Asdudu niše Ḥattê limnuti," "captor of the princes of Carchemish, Hamath, Commagene, Ashdod, evil Ḥattê folk." In the same way, Sennacherib records (I. R. 37, col. 2, 34 *sqq.*): "Ina šalši girriya ana mat Ḥa-ad-ti ki (? lu) allik. Lulî šar eri Āi-du-un-ni bulhi melamme belutiya ishupušu ma ana ukki qabal tantim innabit." "In my third expedition, to the land of Ḥattê I went. Elukeus, king of Sidon—dread of the splendour of my lordship cast him down; and to far off places amidst the sea he fled away."

The following three Communications have been received from Professor A. H. Sayce:—

A DATED INSCRIPTION OF AMENOPHIS III.

In December, 1885, I was engaged in exploring a favourite region of mine in Egypt—the cliffs behind Dêr Abu Hannes, south of the ruins of Antinoopolis, on the eastern bank of the Nile. Here, not far from Dêr en-Nakhl, on the southern side of the ravine, on the northern side of which is the tomb with the famous representation of a colossos on a sledge, I discovered a new inscription of Amenophis III. It proved that the great quarries, at the entrance to which it was engraved, had been opened in the first year of the king's reign.

The cliffs, for some miles southward of the ruins of Antinoopolis, are pierced with tombs and quarries. In these are situated the retreats of the early Christian hermits, and the early Coptic shrines and churches of which I have already spoken in the *Proceedings* of this Society. The relics of Christian occupation cease, for the most part, before the tombs are reached, of which that with the figure of the colossos is the best known. They are thickest in the immediate neighbourhood of a church constructed in a quarry and once adorned with frescoes, where I copied some of the Coptic *graffiti* published in the paper I have just alluded to. Close to this quarry church is a stêlê cut in the rock upon which faint traces can still be detected of a king making offerings to Amun, "the lord of the two worlds." But the sculpture and accompanying hieroglyphs have been so defaced by the early Christians that the cartouche of the king has

entirely disappeared, and it requires a strong light to make out the details even of the sculpture itself. The Pharaoh has, however, been avenged by the Mohammedans, who have in turn endeavoured to obliterate the inscription engraved by the Christians on the face of the stêlê. It was with some difficulty that I was able to make out the words: *εἰς ὃ θεὸς [ὁ βοηθῶν] καὶ ὁ ΧC αὐτοῦ καὶ [τὸ] πνε[ῦμα] αὐτοῦ. Ἰχθῖς.*

The ruined condition of the stêlê makes it impossible to assign any date to it, though its general appearance reminds one of the art of the XVIIIth Dynasty. That it really did belong to the XVIIIth Dynasty seems to result from the discovery of the second stêlê.

The quarries and the stêlê to which they belong are on the face of the cliff which fronts the Nile. The line of cliff, however, is more than once broken by a ravine, the sides of which have also been quarried for stone. But the quarries in the ravines are of the vast size which characterises the Ptolemaic and Roman age, and the demotic inscriptions I copied in them, including royal cartouches, prove that they were opened in the Greek era. In the ravine of El-Bersheh—the ravine, that is, at the northern corner of which the Tomb of the Colossos is situated—the quarries contain other curiosities besides demotic texts. In one of them is the figure of Amun seated with the lotos growing before him (near which a Copt has written his name *CEPTΩIC ΘOCEMOYΦ*), while in another is a large picture boldly and skilfully drawn in black outlines representing an immense crocodile with two small birds at its tail, and, close by, the head of another crocodile, with the jaws wide open and a collar round its neck. The birds remind us of the story told by Hérodotos of the trochilus who ministered to the crocodile by extracting the leeches from its jaws.

The quarry in which the crocodile is depicted is on the north side of the ravine; on the southern side is another quarry which was once occupied by the Copts. Above a rude altar cut out of the stone are the words: [*ὁ ἄγριος*] *Παύλο[ς ἀπόσ]τολος*. On the right hand side we read:—

ΠΛΧΘΕΙC
 ἸC̄ ΔΡΙΠΔΜΕΥΕ
 Δ † Ω
 196

On the left hand side is an inscription of 15 lines, painted in yellow, but almost obliterated.*

Starting from the southern corner of the ravine, and opposite the tomb of the Colossos, are a good many rock-cut tombs, some of the Græco-Roman age, but others of a much earlier date. The sculptures and hieroglyphics with which they have been adorned are now entirely destroyed. One of them has been converted into a Coptic chapel, and the Copts have left traces of themselves in others in the shape of two or three almost illegible *graffiti*, one of which is:

ραρρηπος
 ψαλχεχε(?) πκ.. π
 πεκψαγ..

Above the tombs, and close to the summit of the cliff, I discovered quarries of the Pharaonic age, and at the entrance of the largest the *stèle* of Amenophis III, a copy of which accompanies this communication. We learn from it that the quarries were opened in the first year of the king's reign, and the twenty-(third?) day of Epeiphi, in honour of Thoth, the lord of Eshmunên, and that the stone was used "to adorn the house of the new year's feast" (*per mesiu*), apparently in that city.

* The first six lines are quite gone; of the remainder I thought I could make out the following:—

7. π&ς(?) μοσεππ&πουψ &ποπου υπτ(?) πκος
8. μοσ· ρμμογωπ.. πρπ(?) ηγς
9. κ(?) &ιοπ&.. ππ&ς : &ου ψψ(?) τετωνπ : &πψ
10. μππμρογ &γω ευ &ρεππουπ . . .
11. &ρσπεσπνγ : &ρεπετρμπε(?) &(?)
12. μπε : &π&ρεροπππ&ϊ&ποπ
13. ψωπεπεπψ πε&π&χω
14. ρητнс :
15. [&π&] χωρηтнс : εψπεριспа

GREEK OSTRAKA FROM EGYPT.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

The Ashmolean Museum contains three or four ostraka from Dakkeh in Nubia, which were presented to it by Mr. Greville Chester. The following are my readings of them :—

I. No. 1222.

Διεγραψ^ν Ἀρπαῖσις Φεν(ωφέως)
 √π λαογραφ^ν βλ Τραι(ανου)
 του κυριου τας λιπα(ς δραχμας)
 Ερμογενης πρακ εγρα(ψα).

“Harpaësis the son of Phenôpheus has paid on behalf of the poll-tax for the second year of Trajan the lord the remaining drachmas. I, Hermogenês, the collector, have written it.”

The name of the father of Harpaësis has been supplied from the ostraka of the reign of Trajan, published by Dr. Birch in the *Proceedings* of this Society for May, 1883. In these Harpaësis appears as paying the poll-tax (17 drachmas) at Elephantinê in place of his brother Petorz mêthis from the seventh year of Trajan onwards, while Hermogenês, “the collector,” is the scribe from the first year onwards. It would seem, therefore, that Harpaësis moved to Elephantinê in the seventh year of Trajan’s reign.

II. No. 1218.

Δαιμους πρα^κ αρχ εγρα^ν Πετορζμητις
 Παχομπαβιη^χ λι(?)ψυρου δια^κ ν^ν τιμης
 δημοσιου φοινη^κ γενη^μ βλ. Αδριανου
 του κυριου ζ δεκα πεντε δ οβλ^λ τεσ
 σαρες ημισου β ιε /- ε λ.γ
 Αδριανου καισαρος του κυριου
 αθυρ $\overline{\iota \epsilon}$

“Daimous, the collector of tolls, has registered: Petorz mêthis the son of Pakhompabiêkhis Lipsyros (?) the minister (has paid) on behalf of the public assessment for the tax on the fruits of the palm trees, for the second year of Hadrian the lord, 15 drachmas $4\frac{1}{2}$ obols. The third year of Hadrian Cæsar the lord, the 16th of Athyr.”

Takhompbêkis is the name of the mother of Harpaësis in the Elephantinê ostraka of the reign of Hadrian published by Dr. Birch, and Petorz mêthis appears also in Hadrian’s reign established at

Elephantinê. Δια^κ apparently stands for *διάκονος*, while *ἐημόσιος* is used as an adjective of two terminations. The tax on palm trees is mentioned in two of the ostraka given by Dr. Wiedemann in the *Proceedings* for May, 1884. Φοινικ(ος) γενη^μ represents of course φοινίκων γεννημάτων. The bad grammar involved in the form τέσσαρες, and the misspelling ημυσου for ἤμισυ will be noticed. The symbol which follows ημυσου is a combination of the symbol denoting "totality" and that denoting a "drachma." The symbol for a half drachma has already been identified by Professor Revillout; that for 4 obols. is a modification of the one found in the papyri by Dr. Wilcken.

III. No. 1221.

Διαταμων πρα^κ δια Παπαχ^ρ
 διεγριψ^ν Πετορ[ζ]μηθις Πετορζμηθου του Πετορ
 ζμηθου μ1 Σενπακηπ(?)ονης υ' πα' του πεμ
 πτου ζ Αδριανου καισαρος του κυριου δρα^χ δεκα
 αρτα [μ]ιαν ι / ζ — Αθυρ γ̄

"Diatamôn, the collector, through Papakhr(esis): Petorzmethis the son of Petorzmethos, the son of Petorzmethos, and his mother Senpakep(?)ones, have paid on behalf of the tax for the protection of the river for the fifth year of Hadrian Cæsar the lord, 10 drachmas, that is one ardeb (of wheat). The 3rd of Athyr."

Ποταμοφυλακία seems to be intended by the contraction πα', though the tax for the protection of the river was usually only 2 drachmas, according to the ostraka from Elephantinê published by Dr. Birch. Nor do I understand how an ardeb of wheat can be said to be worth only 10 drachmas.

IV. No. 1219.

Διεγραψ— Παπ[υρις?]
 υ^π λαιογρ̄ του ζ
 Τιβερ
 εγρ^ν ζ τεσσαρες /ζ δ . .
 ομο[ιως] ζ τεσσαρες /ζ δ . . .
 ομο[ιως] ζ τεσσαρες /ζ δ
 ομο[ιως] ζ μιαν /ζ α
 και(?) προς τας λυπας ζ δ

"Papyris (?) has paid on behalf of the poll-tax for the . . . year of Tiberius He has written 4 drachmas . . . , also 4 drachmas . . . ,

also 4 drachmas; also one drachma, and in addition to the rest 4 drachmas”

The ostrakon is a mere fragment, and in a very bad condition. As Papyris appears on the Elephantinê ostraka, I have thought it possible that his name should be supplied here.

These are all the ostraka from Dakkeh in the Ashmolean Museum. I add here an ostrakon which I procured at Elephantinê in 1879. The ends of the lines are destroyed.

1. Αιβουτιος Νιγερ και Ιουλιος Σερηνος πρακ, α[ργ]. . . .
2. διεγραψ' Θινψενχης μ, υ) τιμης δη[μοσιου]
3. φουεικος γενηματος. Διεγρ ονοματος Κατ
4. Παμωνθου δραχ' δυο οβλ̄ τρεις 1/4 β ς
5. Αυρηλιου Αντωνειου καισαρος του κυρι(ου)
6. Ιουλ Σερηνος συνεισ^χ

Æbutius Niger and Julius Serenus, the collectors of the taxes Thinspenklês the tenant (*μισθωτής*) has paid on behalf of the public assessment of the tax on the fruit of the palm. He has paid in the name of Kat . . . the son of Pamonthas, 2 drachmas, 3 obols. The [. . . year of Marcus] Aurelius Antoninus Cæsar the lord . . . Julius Serenus has received (the money).”

Julius Serenus appears alone in the nineteenth year of M. Aurelius on an ostrakon published in Boekh's "Corpus" (No. 4890, where the name is misread Aure[lius]); his conjoint service with Æbutius Niger will probably have fallen earlier. The tax upon fruit-bearing palms was no doubt levied, as in modern Egypt, upon individual trees, so that its amount depended upon the number of trees possessed by the landlord.

The supply of ostraka at Elephantinê seems now to have come to an end. None at all events were procurable when I was there in the winter of 1885-6.

The following is a broken ostrakon, beautifully written in uncials, procured by Mr. Greville Chester at Karnak :—

1. Παταπης Γερ^δ ιστωναρ^χ
2. Σενχεσφμορη και νιος
3. αυτης χαιρειν απειπο
4. μεθα παρημων χρη
5. σασθαι ω βουλει Γερ^δ
6. υπο σημερον το διασ

.

“(To) Patapes Gerdiones, the loom-master, Senkhesphmoer and her son send greeting. We give you full permission to use, O Gerdiones, what you like of ours from to-day, that which is prepared (?) . . .” The broken word may be *λοισ[κεναζόμενον]*. The name of Gerdiones is found on another Karnak ostrakon. *Ἄπειπόμεθα* can hardly have its usual meaning of “forbidding” here.

The following from Karnak is also in uncials:—

Συννακυρωι
 Θωτ π^υ γ
 υπεροχης π^υ ∞
 αβι η[^] της π^υ

The first three lines seem to signify: “(The account) of Synnakuros during Thoth amounts to 3 measures of wheat, the excess being $1\frac{1}{4}$ (?) measures,” but I have no idea as to what is the meaning of the last line. The sign \frown denotes “the remainder.” The curious symbol at the end of line 3 may be a variant of that which represents the *ἄρουρα*.

I will conclude with a copy of an ostrakon I myself obtained from Karnak . . .

Χεμπνευς Ιναρω[̄] τελ
 τελ Γερδιον α^λ πυωθη
 ετωνυ^ς χ εσχον παρα σου
 το καθηκ τελ υ^ς φαμενοθ
 και φαρμουθι Ιη αυτοκρατ
 ρων καισαρων Μαρκου Αυρηλιου
 [και Ουηρον τω]ν δυο σεβυστον (*sic*) αρμενιων
 [παρ]θικ[ω]ν γερμανικων
 [και τω]ν μεγαιστων πιχ η)
 τσς

“Khempaneus Inaros, the tax collector, sends greeting to the tax collector Gerdiones, otherwise called (*ἄλλως*) Pyôthe Etônys. I have received from you the full amount of tax for Phamenoth and Pharmuthi, the eighteenth year of the emperors and Cæsars Marcus Aurelius (and Verus) the two Augusti, Armenian, Parthian, Germanic and very great, the eighth day of Pakhons . . .”

I leave the publication of my other ostraka to Dr. Wilcken, who has taken copies of them, and whose exhaustive study of the Greek ostraka and papyri preserved in London, Berlin, and Paris, will enable him to read and illustrate them far better than I can pretend to do.

I have already noticed that the supply of ostraka from Elephantinê seems to have come to an end. That of Karnak, however, is still very far from being exhausted. And my visit to Upper Egypt the winter before last brought to light three new sources of supply. At Kom Ombos I picked up a portion of a Coptic ostrakon, which indicates the presence of more. At Gebelên, to the south of Thebes, I procured two demotic ostraka,—one by purchase, the other by my own examination of the rubbish-mounds of the old city; and I learned from the villagers that they had not unfrequently come across similarly inscribed potsherds, but had thrown them away from ignorance of their value.

It was at Koft, however, the ancient Koptos, that my chief discovery was made. Here the place was pointed out to me (not far from the main entrance to the city on the east) where inscribed ostraka were often met with, and I bought a basket full of them. Many of these were either mere fragments, or so illegible as not to be worth preserving; but there was, besides, a considerable number of demotic, Greek, Coptic, and early Arabic ostraka, which I carried back to England. Two are dated in the reign of Tiberius.

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS FROM ASSUÂN.

When I was staying at Assuân in the winter of 1885-6 a large block of granite was discovered in the mounds of the old town, covered with Greek characters, which had been used as a door-post or lintel. I copied the inscription as well as I could, standing in a hole and blinded by dust and sun, but as the last nine lines were much effaced I had to leave them uncopied. I have therefore never published my copy of the rest of the inscription, in the hope that it would be copied by someone else under more favourable circumstances than those which fell to my lot. But as this does not seem to have been the case, and as the inscription is of considerable importance, I will not delay any longer in communicating it to the Society of Biblical Archæology.

It will be observed that the beginning and end of each line is lost. The original *stêlê* must have been sliced into three pieces, two being intended to serve as the door-posts of a house, and the third as a lintel. It is possible that the two missing portions of the stone may yet be recovered. What remains of the inscription shows us

that it contained copies of decrees and letters dated in the reigns of Ptolemy Eupatôr (B.C. 182) and his mother Kleopatra I, and confirmed, as it would appear, in the second year of Ptolemy Philomêtôr (i.e., B.C. 181), which related to the great temple or altar of "the supreme goddess and of Hêrê" at Elephantinê.

I transcribe the original capitals in cursive Greek letters, adding the accents and dividing the words.

1. . . . [ὁ μ]έγας θεός φιλομήτω[ρ] . . .
2. . . . [ὑπέρ] Σορηπου δευτέρον ἔτους ἐξ ἧς ε . . .
3. . . . τόπω πάντες ἀπήντησαν μέγας τ[ε] . . .
4. . . . ε ὅστις τὸν πόλιν Ἐλεφαντίην πρῶ . . .
5. . . . [ἐ]ποιήσατο τὰς προπούσας οὐσίας κ[αί] . . .
6. . . . ὁ μέγας θεός Νεῖλος ἀνήκει ἐλθῶ[ν] . . .
7. . . . [ἐ]ποίησ[α]το βωμοῦ τῆς τε μεγίστης θεᾶς Ἡραίας τε . . .
8. . . . ν παραλαβὼν δὲ τοὺς συγγενεῖς καὶ τὸ . . .
9. . . . ἐν αἷς ἢ τοῦ Ν[ε]λου πηγῆς, ὄνομα τὸ μέ[γα] καλουμένη . . .
10. . . . νιας καὶ ἀποδοῦς τῷ Νεῖλωι τὰ νομέ[όμενα] . . .
11. . . . ὡν ἐνώχηθεις ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἡραίου τῆς τε εκτ . . .
12. . . . ἀνθρωπαπερίων (sic) ἐπὶ χωρῆς α . . . ναστησ . . .
13. . . . [ἀ]είμνηστον τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ τε καὶ βασι[λικόν] . . .
14. . . . ἀρχὴ εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον κυριεύουσι τ . . .

Here follows a blank space.

15. . . . αιος τοῖς ἐν Ἐλεφαντίην ἱερεῶσι τὸ . . .
 16. . . . [ἐ]πιφανῶν καὶ θεοῦ Ἐυπάτορος καὶ θεῶ[ν] . . .
 17. . . . ειν παραγεγονότες εἰς τοὺς καθ' ἑμ[α]ς . . .
 18. . . . δ' ἐπὶ τῆς συνορίας τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν καὶ ἐχο[μένων] . . .
 19. . . . [κα]τὰ λόγον ἐπιτελεῖσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς τὰ νομέο[μενα] . . .
 20. . . . [τῶ]ν ἀνηκόωντων ἐπιτελεῖσθαι πρὸς τε τὰ . . .
 21. . . . [τῆ]ν ὑπ[ὸ]κειμένην σύνταξιν διδομένων κατ' ἔτος . . .
 22. . . . [ἀ]νευ τιμῆς ἀρτάβας διακοσίας ἐπιχωρουμέν[ων] . . .
 23. . . . ρας τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἐπὶ τε Τουχνουβειου καὶ Σ . . .
 24. . . . ρος ἡμᾶς εὐνοίαν καὶ μεγαλομερῶς ἐπὶ το . . .
 25. . . . ε Blank space. ἔτους δευτέρου Ὑπερβερταίου . . .
- Blank space.
26. . . . Φομμοντι τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν' ἐρρίμεθα . . .
 27. . . . [ἐ]πιστολῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ἐλεφαντίην ἱερεῖ[ς] . . .
 28. . . . [ἐ]πιφα[ν]ῶν καὶ θεοῦ Ἐυπάτορος καὶ τῶν Φιλομητό[ρων] . . .
 29. . . . ν καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις συντάξας προνοηθῆν[αι] . . .
 30. . . . σιν ὑγιαίνης' ἐρρίωσο' ἔτους δευτέρου Ὑπε[ρ] . . .
 31. . . . ὑπετάγη ἢ π[αρα]κειμένη]

32. . . . [ὁ ἐν] Ἐλεφαντίνῃ ἱερεὺς | (sic) Τοῦ Χνουβων Εβρηβ
καὶ θεὸς . . .
33. . . . [φιλο]μητέρων καὶ θεοῦ Νέου Φιλοπάτορος καὶ θεοῦ . . .
34. . . . [σ]τρατηγῶν καὶ ἐπιστρατηγῶν περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν σ . . .
35. . . . [έτου]ς δευτέρου ἑασιῶν τρίτη φαρμουθί τε [τάρτη] . . .
Blank space.
36. . . . ος Ἐρμοκράτει τῷ ἀελεφῶνι χαίρειν· τ[ὸ] . . .
37. . . . [τῶ]ν παρ[ε]χομένων ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ χρε[ίας] . . .
38. . . . [κρα]νέσθω οὖν κατάπερ ἀξιόδοσι Blank. ἔρρωσ[ο']
Blank space.
39. . . . [θ]εοῖς φιλομήτορσι σωτήρσι χαίρειν· οἷα πω (?) . . .
40. . . . ἐπὶ τοῦ κατὰ Σοῦρην ὄρους τὰς χρείας . . .
41. . . . [ε]τι ἐξ ἀρχαίων καὶ ὄντος τῶν πρώτων λό[γου?] . . .
42. . . . ἡ ἱερεὺς γῆς νήσον καλουμένης Ψῶν ἱερω[μένης] . . .
43. . . . ἐν αἵτε τὴν ταύτης πρὸς τὰς ΙΑΝΔΙΑΙΑΝ . . .
44. . . . τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τὸν τόπον κατοικοῦν[των] . . .
45. . . . ελεῖν ἀνατέθην αἵτε καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐπι . . .
46. . . . ρι γερονότα ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός φιλανθρώπ[ου] . . .
47. . . . εὐπάτορος προστεταγμένα καὶ περὶ ἡ . . .
48. . . . θεῶν νικηφόρων καὶ αἰωνοβίων εἰ ἔοκε[ῖ] . . .
49. . . . νει καὶ στρατηγῶν καὶ ἐπιστρατηγῶν τῆς θ . . .
50. . . . πὺς ὑφείλομεν. Blank space. Ἐυτυχεῖτε.
51. . . . [ἐπιστ]ολῆς ἀντίγραφον ὑπόκειται ὅπως κατακολουθῆ[ται] . . .
52. . . . [ὑπ]ετάγη ἢ [παρ]κειμένη ἐπιστο[λή] . . .
53. . . . καὶ βασιλίσση Κλοσπάτραι τῇ γυν[υικί] καὶ] θεοῖς εὐερ-
[γέταις] . . .
54. . . . [νῆ]σον καὶ Σοῦρη[νης] τ[οὺς] λείπομεν ε . . .
55. . . . τ(?)οις τε κ . . . οἰς πε
56. . . . [Ε]λεφαντίνῃ . . . οὐδὲ ἐόξας μὲν οὐ(?) ἐξ ἀρχαίων κ[αὶ]
ὄντος?] . . .
57. . . . καὶ ποῖς

In line 4 the second letter of ὅστις resembles κ more than σ. Ἀνθρωπαπερίων in line 12 is a new compound, and νομιζόμενα for νομιζόμενα in lines 19 and 10, is also a novelty. The αἰωνόβιος of line 48 is met with on the Rosetta Stone. Sôrepos is probably the name to be supplied at the end of line 23.

We gather from the inscription that the temple of the great goddess of the Cataract and of Hêrê on the island of Elephantinê was supported by a fixed contribution (σύνταξις, l. 21) paid each year, which consisted of, or included, 200 ardebs of corn. The tax was

levied as far as "the confines of the Ethiopians," that is to say as far as the First Cataract. The taxable land was that which extended "(up to where) the great god Nile comes in time of inundation" (line 6), in other words was the cultivated soil. Reference may be made to the land now called *sherâqi* by the Egyptians, which has not been reached by the inundation of a particular year or cycle of years, and has consequently to lie fallow until the river once more irrigates it. It will be noticed that the sacred festival was kept at the altar of Hêrê only after the Nile-god had received his dues.

Tukhnubôn seems to have been at the head of the college of priests in Elephantinê in the second year of Ptolemy Philomêtôr. The college was of old standing, as the prophets and prophetesses of the deities worshipped on the island of Elephantinê are already mentioned on the walls of the tombs of the VIth and XIIth Dynasties discovered by General Grenfell in the cliffs opposite Assuân. The names of the deities alone are different: "The supreme goddess and Hêrê" have taken the place of the Hat-hor and Sati of Pharaonic days.


It is interesting to find a mention of the "fountain of the Nile" in line 9, and it is possible that the passage implies that it was called "the greater" in contradistinction to a smaller spring. We learn from the Egyptian monuments that Elephantinê was famous for its Kerti or "two springs," which Professor Wiedemann compares with the two sources of the Nile described to Herodotos by the sacred scribe at Sais.








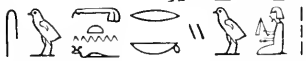
The consecrated island of Psôa (line 42) may be the little island to the north-west of Elephantinê, now called the Island of Flowers, though according to Murray's "Guidebook," the latter name is applied to the northern part of the island of Elephantinê. I must not forget to mention that the upper part of the stone, which was once semicircular, is ornamented with Egyptian sculptures and hieroglyphs.

P.S.—Since the above was in type, I learn from a note by Mr. Cecil Torr in the *Classical Review* (I, 4) that the stone, or a cast of it, has been received by the British Museum. At the end of line 9, Mr. Torr seems to read *Xome* instead of *τομε*, and the name of the month Messori in line 2. He finds the name of the god Khnub and his temple in lines 23 and 32, and states that the whole number of lines was originally 75.

The following remarks are added by the President :—

NOTE ON THE INSCRIPTION OF AMENOPHIS III.

Professor Sayce describes the inscription as very illegible in parts, and therefore liable to be wrongly copied. The first two horizontal lines merely give the date and usual titles of Amenophis III. The first gap in the second line must be filled up with , “the golden Horus, who smites down (the Asiatics).” The second cartouche of the royal name has been defaced in the three places where it occurs, not by Christians, but by the “Disk-worshippers,” on account of its containing the name of Amen.







The third line says , “he made it as his memorial to father Thoth the Lord of Chemennu, and to Shepsu,” another form of the same god of Hermopolis. It is difficult to fill up the gap which follows , should most probably be corrected to , before which I am inclined to read , giving the sense “feast in Hermopolis.” The text proceeds,  “he adorned”  “with stone.” It is unfortunately impossible to supply the object which was adorned with stone. The next portion of the line is unintelligible as it stands, and must have been wrongly copied.  means “high, most exceedingly,” and , “he protected against others.” The king placed his memorial as high as possible, and sheltered it *against* others, namely the profane. The tablet finishes here, and the inscription is not continued anywhere else. The lines written perpendicularly merely state that King Amenophis III made his offering to his god Thoth, Lord of Chemennu (Hermopolis). The god’s name is effaced on one of the lines, but this is the result of time or accident, whereas the cartouche of king bearing the divine name Amen has been purposely mutilated.









The following Communication has been received from Mr. P. le Page Renouf (*President*):—








CONSCIENCE IN EGYPTIAN TEXTS.








There is no Egyptian text of which I am more frequently asked to give an explanation than that which is inscribed on the funereal scarabæi. Two principal recensions of it are found as early as the XIth Dynasty, one contained in the 30th, and one in the 64th chapter of the Book of the Dead. The variations of the text in both recensions are innumerable, and the latter portion of the second recension seems to be hopelessly corrupt. The scribes who copied it no longer understood it.






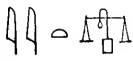
The beginning of the text may be restored as follows:—

					
âb - â	en	mât - â	(sep 2)	hât - â	en
<i>Heart mine</i>	<i>of</i>	<i>my mother</i>	<i>(twice)!</i>	<i>Heart mine</i>	<i>of</i>

							
xeper-â	h̄tep	ta	em	âhâ	er - â	em	
<i>my existence upon earth ! let not there be estoppel* against me through</i>							




						
metru		em	sexesef		er - â	em
<i>evidence,</i>		<i>let not</i>	<i>hindrance be made</i>		<i>to me</i>	<i>by the</i>

						
t'at'anetsu	em	âr	reqa			er - â
<i>divine powers, let not there be a fall of the scale against me</i>						

					
em	baah	âr		māχait	
<i>in presence of him who [presides] at the Balance,</i>					


* The evidence in question being that of the man's own conscience, I use the legal term *estoppel*. *Em âhâ er-â* is literally *Non fia obstaculum mihi*.

like the Greek *καρδία*, and the kindred Sanskrit, Latin, Slavonic and German words, has also its origin in a root expressive of rhythmic motion. The presence in their language of such words as *κραδαύω* and *κραδαίνω* enabled the Greeks to say that the heart had its name *δία τὸ ἀπαιστώως συλεέσθαι*.*








  *hāt* is connected with  *hā*, and originally signified the *breast*, the part of the animal which is prominent in front.

Both words have primarily a physical sense, but in Egyptian, as in most other languages, the heart becomes the seat and organ of attention, sense, feeling, understanding, judgment, and every other imaginable department of thought. It is even identified with the personal self.† No difference in this regard can be discovered between the use of *âb* and *hāt*. The Coptic Ⲫⲏⲧ is used for both, *âb* having fallen out of the vocabulary.

That the Heart stands for Conscience in this text cannot be doubted by anyone who understands the original. M. Chabas understood me to doubt it, but my friendly quarrel with his translation was wholly grammatical.

His translation‡ was made from a comparatively recent papyrus, in which no reference is made to the *hāt*, and the  is spoken of with the suffix of the third person.

“Son cœur de quand il était sur la terre, ne te tiens pas (contre lui) comme juge, ne t’oppose pas à lui comme divin magistrat, ne te tourne pas contre lui devant le dieu grand.”

Besides the objection which I have already mentioned, it appeared to me that, as two objects, the *âb* and the *hāt*, were addressed in the original text, the word  ||  *metru*, which he translates *judge*, ought to be plural, if  is rightly rendered *comme*, and should moreover be accompanied by a personal determinative such as  or , which is never found. This last objection equally applies to Brugsch’s translation ‘als Zeuge.’ The truth is that  ||  *metru*, without personal determinative, means neither *judge* nor *witness*, but *testimony*, *evidence*.

* *Etymologicum Magnum*, 490.

† See M. de Rougé, *Chrestomathie*, § 185.

‡ *Mélanges, deuxième série*, p. 223.

The word *t'at'anutsu*, on the other hand, is always in the plural number, and it does not refer to the heart, but to the forty-two gods who punish the sins enumerated in the "Negative Confession." They are commonly represented in the Vignettes of the Psychostasia. They are called *Tat'anutsu*, however, does not in itself signify 'judge,' but 'divine powers.'

The preposition which precedes both *metru* and *t'at'anutsu* is not to be translated 'comme,' but with its primary meaning 'from,' 'by,' 'through.'

The first part then of this scarabæus text, that which is common to chapters 30 and 64, is I believe free from all difficulties in the way of interpretation. There is a great deal to be said on the subject of the heart and the statements respecting it in these and other chapters of the Book of the Dead, but I have no intention of entering at present into these interesting matters. But with reference to the heart considered as representing Conscience it will be well to quote a remarkable passage from the beautiful Sarcophagus to which I have just referred, the text of which has been published and admirably illustrated by Dr. von Bergmann.

ab en sa nutar-ef t'esef, "the conscience of a man is his own god," says this text of Panehemis, and it is added in behalf of him: *ab-a hotep her ar-na*, "my conscience is satisfied with what I have done."

* Jahrbuch d. Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses, I, p. 29.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 7th June, 1887, at 8 p.m., when the following Papers will be read :—

I. Dr. S. LOUIS.—“Palestinian Demonology.”

II. MM. EUGÈNE et VICTOR RÉVILLOUT. — “Antichrèse in Solutum.”

“Un Nouveau Nom Royale Perse.”



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- BOTTA, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847-1850.
 PLACE, Ninive et l'Assyrie, 1866-1869. 3 vols., folio.
 BRUGSCH-BEY, Geographische Inschriften Altaegyptische Denkmäler.
 Vols. I—III (Brugsch).
 ————— Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens, copiés sur lieux et
 publiés par H. Brugsch et J. Dümichen. (4 vols., and
 the text by Dümichen of vols. 3 and 4.)
 DÜMICHEN, Historische Inschriften, &c., 1st series, 1867.
 ————— 2nd series, 1869.
 ————— Altaegyptische Kalender-Inschriften, 1866.
 ————— Tempel-Inschriften, 1862. 2 vols., folio.
 GOLENISCHEFF, Die Metternichstele. Folio, 1877.
 LEPSIUS, Nubian Grammar, &c., 1880.
 DE ROUGÉ, Études Égyptologiques. 13 vols., complete to 1880.
 WRIGHT, Arabic Grammar and Chrestomathy.
 SCHROEDER Die Phönizische Sprache.
 HAUPT, Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze.
 SCHRADER, Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament. 1872.
 RAWLINSON, CANON, 6th Ancient Monarchies.
 PIERRET, Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Égyptienne. 8vo. Paris, 1875.
 BURKHARDT, Eastern Travels.
 WILKINSON, Materia Hieroglyphica. Malta, 1824-30. (*Text only.*)
 CHABAS, Mélanges Égyptologiques. Séries I, II, III. 1862-1873.
 ————— Voyage d'un Egyptien en Syrie, en Phénicie, &c. 4to. 1867.
 ————— Le Calendrier des Jours Fastes et Néfastes de l'année
 Égyptienne. 8vo. 1877.
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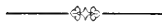
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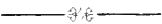
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Seventh Meeting, 7th June, 1887.



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From the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres :—Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'année 1886. Tome XIV. Oct., Nov., Dec., 1886. Tome XV. Janvier—Février—Mars, 1887. 8vo. Paris.

The Royal Society of Northern Antiquities :—Aarboger, 1887. II. Række. 2 Bind. 1 Hefte. Copenhagen. 8vo.

From the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze :—Bollettino delle Pub. Italiane. Num. 32, 33, 34, 35.

Tavola Sinnotica. Indice. Pp. 49*, 96, 97*, 113*, 129*, 145*. Title, &c. 1887.

From the Author :—Vocabolario Geroglifico Copto-ebraico del Dott. Simeone Levi. Vol. II. Torino. Fol. 1887.

From Mr. Hall :—A compendious Vocabulary of Sanskrit, in Divanagri and Roman characters, with comparative forms in other languages, and complete indices, &c. London. 4to. 1885.

From the Author :—L'impero di Babilonia e di Ninive dal origini fino alla conquista di Ciro, descritto secondo i monumenti cuneiformi comparati colla bibbia. Dal P. Giuseppe Brunengo. D.C. D.G. Vols. I and II. Prato, 1885. Appendice. La Cronologia Biblico-Assira. 8vo. Prato, 1886.

From the Author, C. de Harlez :—

L'Infanticide en Chine, d'après les documents Chinois.
Extrait du Muséon, 1885.

Le livre du principe lumineux et du principe passif Shang
Thsing Tsing King.

Présenté à la Classe des Lettres. Oct. 10, 1885.

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Extrait du Journal Asiatique.

Livre des Conseils, d'Atērpât î Mansarspendân. (Pand nâmak î aterpâd î Mansarspendân.) Traduit du pehlevi. Louvain, 1887.

From the Author, Prof. G. Maspero:—De Carchemish oppidi Sîtu et Historia Antiquissimâ. 8vo. Paris, 1872.

From the Author:—De Beteekenis van Êa, en zijn verhouding tot Marduk en Nabû: bijdrage van C. P. Tiele. Amsterdam. 1877.

Extract from the publications of the Royal Academy of Holland.

From the Author:—A Trilogy of the Life to come, and other Poems. By Robert Brown, jun., F.S.A. 12mo. London, 1887.

From the Author:—Note sur trois cents nouveaux ex-voto de Carthage. Par M. Philippe Berger.

Extrait des Comptes Rendus de l'Académie. 13 Août, 1886.

From the Author:—Le Bahr Youssouf, d'après les traditions musulmanes. Par M. Cope Whitehouse. Cairo. 1887.

Extrait du Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien de l'année 1886.

From A. Gibbon:—Nehemiah: his character and work. A Practical Exposition. By T. Campbell Finlayson. London. 8vo.

From the Author:—Die Keilschrifttexte Asurbanipals Königs von Assyrien (668—626 v. chr.) nach dem selbst in London copirten grundtext, mit transcription, übersetzung, Komentar und vollständigem Glossar, von Samuel Alden Smith. Heft. I. 1887. Heft. II. 1887. 8vo. Leipzig.

From the Author:—Two unedited Texts, K. 6 and K. 7. By S. A. Smith.

From the Zeitschrift für Assyriologie. Bd. I. Heft 4.

From the Author, Prof. Paul Haupt, Ph. D.:—On the Etymology of Nekasim. On the Pronunciation of *tr* in old Persian.

From the Author:—Entzifferung der Meroitischen Schriftdenkmäler von Heinrich Brugsch. 2 parts.

Auszug aus der Zeitsch. für Aeg. S. 1887. 4to.

The following have been purchased by the Council for the Library of the Society:—

Syrian Folk Lore. By Claude Regnier Conder, R.E. London. 8vo. 1886.

Altaic Hieroglyphs, and Hittite Inscriptions. By C. R. Conder, Capt. R.E. London. 8vo. 1887.

The following were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated at the Meeting on 3rd May, 1887:—

Rev. Henry Marcus Clifford, M.A., St. John's Hill, Ellesmere, Salop.

Rev. T. Witton Davies, B.A., Baptist College, Haverfordwest, South Wales.

Rev. James William Miller, B.A., 43, Evington Road, Leicester.

Charles E. Moldenke, A.M., Ph.D., 124, East Forty-Sixth Street, New York City, U.S.A.

Samuel Alden Smith, Sonneberg, Thuringia, Germany.

The following were nominated for election, and by special order of the Council, submitted for election, and elected Members of the Society:—

Miss Louisa Cavendish, 19, Chester Street, Belgrave Square, W.

Rev. S. W. Canon Allen, The Bishop's House, Belmont, Shrewsbury.

The following Paper, entitled "Palestinian Demonology," was read by Dr. S. Louis :—

There can be no doubt that a belief in demons, evil spirits, or unclean spirits as they are often called, prevailed among the people of Palestine at the time when Christianity took its rise. Indeed, this belief is so universally met with among the nations of antiquity, that it seems to be a natural outcome of human thought when occupied in examining the spiritual economy of the moral world. The Deity being in nearly all religious systems accepted as the essence of goodness, the difficult problem presented itself to account for the existence of evil ; and this problem found its solution in the different demonologies which, notwithstanding many points of contact, present such varieties as the physical surroundings and the grade of mental culture and development of the different races would produce.

In the following observations I shall endeavour to describe the demon-creed, as it existed among the people of Judæa in the earliest centuries of the present era, the information being mainly drawn from the pages of the Talmud, where it is found dispersed and mixed up with an endless variety of subjects of more or less antiquarian value.

It is generally acknowledged that Jewish demonology derived its leading ideas from the beliefs current in the countries under Persian rule, whence the returning exiles imported them into Judæa. Yet some of the main features diverge so characteristically from the Zoroastrian views, and many of the details are so much changed and modified, that they have become as genuine Jewish conceptions, and may be looked upon as productions of indigenious growth. In the very fundamental idea we meet with this important difference, that while in the Persian system the principles of good and evil, as represented by Ormuzd and Ahriman, are *co-ordinate* ; among the Hebrews, the monotheistic view is never left out of sight ; the whole of the spirit-world is in entire subjection to the Supreme Being, by Whom it has been created. In the Mishna,* demons are included in the number of objects said to have been created in the twilight between the sixth and seventh day. According to another version,† they were the offspring of Adam and his spirit-wife Lilith, to whom he was united for 130 years, while he was separated from Eve. There is another account of the origin of demons, which deserves

* Aboth, V, 6.

† Erubin, 18b.

mentioning as the product of a very fantastic imagination. According to this statement,* a male adder after seven years changes into a bat, a bat after seven years becomes a vampyre, a vampyre after seven years becomes a thistle, the thistle after seven years is changed into a bramble, and the bramble after seven years turns into a demon.

The name most frequently applied to demons in the Rabbinical writings is that of **שדים**. Regarding the etymology of this word opinions vary: I am inclined to adopt the one suggested by Fischer in his edition of Buxtorf's Lexicon, according to which **שד** is derived from a Chaldaic verb **שדאה**, formed from the Hebrew **דאה**, which means "to fly," "to be in mid-air," so that **שד** would signify a "Roamer," a being floating about in the air.

Other appellations are: **מזיקין** "hurtful beings," **רוחין** "spirits," or **רוחות רעות** "evil spirits," and **לילין** "spirits of the night." Besides these general terms, a number of special names occur, to which I shall refer further on.

Regarding the nature of demons, they were considered to present a mixture of human and superhuman qualities. Plato† expresses this idea thus: "The whole demon-kind is between the divine and the human." In the Talmud‡ we find the following passage: "In three points demons resemble men, and in three other points they resemble angels. They eat, drink, and sleep like men, they propagate their species like men, and die like men. On the other hand, they are furnished with wings like angels, they know the future like angels, and like angels they are able to move about from one end of the world to the other." Besides these characteristics they possess the power of assuming any shape they like, and they can see, being themselves invisible. They are, however, not supposed to be gifted with any extraordinary degree of vision, *f. i.*, they cannot see well at night when the lights are extinguished.§ Although demons are held to be invisible, yet with the incongruity which is of the very essence of demonologies, physical features of demons are occasionally mentioned, such, *f. i.*, as their having hens' feet,|| or that demons which dwell in the shade of the caper tree have no eyes. Demons have shadows, but no reflex of shadows.**

* Baba Kama, 16a.

† Symposium, 23.

‡ Chagigah, 16a; Aboth di Rabbi Nathan, 37.

§ Sabbath, 29b.

|| Gittin, 68b (Rashi).

¶ Pessachim, 111b.

** Jebamoth, 122a.

The places generally haunted by demons are spots not much frequented by men—dreary solitudes, ruins, the space beneath the gutter of a roof, the shade of a solitary palm tree, the shade of particular trees, viz., the caper tree, the sorb tree, and the willow tree, the shadow of a ship, and the shadow thrown by objects in the moonlight.* They also affect eatables and drinkables which have been standing under a bed, and food touched in the morning by unwashed hands.†

There are male and female demons, and their number is legion, or as it is hyperbolically expressed by the Rabbins:‡ “Every one of us has a thousand demons at his left, and a myriad at his right hand.” They often move about in troops or companies under certain leaders’

Demons are credited with superhuman faculties; they perform many feats of magic, and are not circumscribed as to space. As a rule they are hurtful to men; they are especially supposed to be the causes of all kinds of physical and mental diseases. In the N. T., “the influence of the demons upon their victims was made evident in every case by affections of the body.”§ Animals are also sometimes affected by evil spirits, *f.i.*, a mad dog is considered to be possessed by a demon.|| One of the functions of demons consists in leading men astray from the path of virtue. “Three influences,” say the Rabbins, ¶ “induce men, even against their volition, to act contrary to the will of their maker: Idolators, evil spirits, and the pressure of poverty.”

The power of demons is subject to certain restrictions. The creative faculty, that is, the power of calling any living being into existence, is emphatically denied them; ** they cannot produce anything without proper implements; †† and they are not allowed to touch anything that had been counted, tied up, or sealed. This latter rule is illustrated in the following story:—‡‡

Some porters were carrying a cask of wine. Feeling fatigued, they wanted to rest, and put down their burden under the gutter of a roof, where the cask was broken by a demon. The men went and told their misfortune to Mar bar Rab Ashi, who pronounced an excommunication against the demon. Thereupon the demon ap-

* Pessachim, 111 and 112.

† Joma, 77b.

‡ Berachoth, 6a.

§ Herzog, Encyclopædia of Theology, “Demoniacs.”

|| Joma, 83b.

¶ Erubin, 41b.

** Sanhedrim, 67b.

†† דקפיר אמנא שד, *ibid.*

‡‡ Chulin, 105b.

peared. The Rabbi asked him, why he had broken the cask. "They put it on my ear," was the reply, "I was sleeping in that place." "You were in fault," said the Rabbi, "you had no right to be in so frequented a place, you must pay the damage." The demon consented to pay, but asked for time, and a day for payment was fixed. On the appointed day the demon did not put in an appearance, but he came a few days later and brought the money. When asked why he had not come at the proper time, he said that he had some difficulty in getting the money, as he had no power over anything that was tied up or sealed.

There are certain situations in which men especially expose themselves to the danger of being attacked by demons. Such are, sleeping alone in a house,* setting out on a journey before the crowing of the cock,† saluting anyone in the dead of night,‡ and drinking water in the dark.§ The even numbers are supposed to give demons power over men; and it is therefore enjoined not to stop at even numbers, *f. i.*, not to drink two cups or four cups of wine. The following curious preventive is recommended: || "If a man has taken an even number of cups, let him put the thumb of his right hand in his left, and the thumb of his left hand in his right, and say: "You and I are three." And if he should hear a voice saying "four," let him quickly say "five," and so on, so as not to stop at an even number. An instance is mentioned when this went on as far as 101, whereupon the demon vanished. It is possible that our saying, "there is luck in odd numbers," is connected with a similar idea.

Regarding exorcism, various means are mentioned by which demons can be chased away or rendered powerless. As in the New Testament, spirits are stated to be cast out "with a word;" ¶ so in the Rabbinical writings the Divine Name is said to possess the power of counteracting the evil influence of demons. Persons who went in fear of demons provided themselves with amulets inscribed with the Divine Name, and these amulets varied according to the particular demon or demons against whom they were directed. The following passage supplies an illustration of this practice:—**

The watchman of a town coming upon a sorb tree which stood near the town, was attacked by sixty demons. He applied to a Rabbi,

* Sabbath, 151b.

† Joma, 21a.

‡ Sanhedrim, 44a.

§ Pessachim, 112a.

|| *Ibid.*, 110a.

¶ Matthew viii, 16.

** Pesachim, 111b.

who not being aware of the number of the spirits, wrote him an amulet directed against one demon only. When the watchman came near the tree again, he heard the spirits making merry in the tree, and ridiculing the author of the amulet. The man applied to another scholar who knew that sorb trees harbour sixty demons, and who wrote an amulet for that number. When the watchman approached the tree with this amulet, he heard some voices exclaiming, "Let us get away from here."

Prayer was another remedy against the power of evil spirits (comp. Mark ix, 29). We are told* that the room in which the Talmudical doctor Abajah taught was haunted by a dangerous demon. Acha, a contemporary scholar, once passed the night there, when the demon appeared in the shape of a monster with seven heads. The Rabbi engaged in prayer, and with every genuflexion which the pious man performed, one of the demon's heads fell off.

There are also found in the Talmud a number of disenchanting formulas, the best known of which consists of the words **שברורי**, **ברורי רורי ירי רי**, the idea being that as the word is reduced in letters, the power of the demon is gradually diminished, until he finally vanishes. (It may be noted *en passant* that the term mostly used for the *vanishing* of a demon is the verb **פקע**, which literally means "to burst.")

Several other disenchanting formulas are mentioned; they are a mere jumble of words without any apparent meaning; but according to Kohut, most of the words used bear a striking resemblance to Persian names of demons.

The following passage† contains a curious piece of magic by which spirits are supposed to be rendered visible to the human eye:—"Let the placenta of a first-born black cat, descended from the first-born of a black cat, be reduced to ashes, let the ashes be finely powdered, and apply a little of it to the eye, then you will acquire the power of seeing demons."

The foregoing observations refer to demons in general; besides these, we meet with demons distinguished by proper names, and invested with special functions and characteristics.

Foremost among these we have to mention *Satan*. It is well known that the name Satan occurs in several passages of the Old

* Kidushin, 29b.

† Berachoth, VIa.

Testament; but independently of the book of Job, where Satan presents himself among the sons of God, carrying out the will of God, the passages are too scanty to furnish us with a clear conception of his attributes; in several biblical passages Satan signifies an adversary in battle. In Rabbinical writings, the functions of Satan are represented as threefold; he is the accuser, the tempter, and the angel of death. The leading idea is that of Satan being the personification of the evil passions which lead men astray. It is probably in this sense that he is regarded as the cause of death, as stated in the apocryphal book "the Wisdom of Solomon" (ii, 27), and in the same sense he is identified with the old serpent that deceived Eve (Rev. xii, 9). Possibly the expression in St. John (xii, 31), *ὁ ἀρχὼν τοῦ κόσμου τούτου*, "the ruler of this world," was suggested by the same conception, namely that of man being ruled by his evil passions. In the Talmud,* Satan, man's evil inclination, and the angel of death, are stated to be identical.

The idea of Satan being human passion personified, is illustrated in the following parable (Sanhedrim, 64a):—

The children of Israel were crying unto the Lord, saying: "Alas! alas! Is it not Satan, who destroyed the temple, burnt down the sanctuary, slaughtered the pious, and banished the Israelites from their country? and he is still active in our midst. Didst Thou not give him to us in order that we might earn a reward, we require neither him nor the reward." Thereupon they fasted three days and three nights, when a written message fell from heaven containing the simple word "truth." And a shape came forth from the Holy of Holies like unto a fiery lion. The prophet said to them: this is the evil passion that leads to idolatry. Whilst they were seizing him, one of his hairs was torn out, and he uttered a cry which was heard at a distance of 400 parasangs. They said, what shall we do? The prophet said: Put him into a leaden vessel and close the opening with lead, for lead absorbs the sound. . . . But if you kill him, the world will come to an end. Upon their prayer, he was delivered into their power; they kept him prisoner for three days, and behold! there was not a new laid egg to be found in the whole of Palestine. Thereupon they blinded him and set him free.

(Perhaps the last sentence alludes to the conception of passion being blind.)

* Baba bathra, 16a.

Satan is represented to be well versed in scripture. For instance, the seventh verse of the first chapter of Job is thus amplified: The Lord said unto Satan, whence comest thou? Satan answered: From going to and fro in the earth; I have traversed the whole world, and have not found anyone faithful to Thee like Abraham. For Thou hadst given the promise to him: † “Arise, walk through the land in the length of it and in the breadth of it; for I will give it unto thee.” But when his wife Sarah died, he could find no spot where to bury her, and had to purchase a burying place; yet he murmured not, nor questioned Thy ways. Hereupon the Lord said: Hast thou considered my servant Job, &c.

Synonymous with Satan is Samael, “God’s poison,” who among other exploits is said to have been especially active in persuading the children of Israel to worship the golden calf.

By far the most conspicuous figure in the Jewish demonology is Ashmedai or Asmodæus, the king of the demons. The name appears to be Persian, and as shown by Kohut in his treatise on demonology, there are many points of agreement which connect the story of Asmodæus with Persian beliefs.

In the apocryphal book of Tobit (iii, 8) Asmodæus is mentioned as a malignant spirit who successively killed seven husbands of Sarah, the daughter of Raguel, during their nuptials. In the Rabbinical writings there are many passages which show that the belief in the demon king was widespread in the land. The following is a translation of King Solomon’s encounter with Asmodæus, as it is related in the Talmud (Gittin, 68a and b):—

When King Solomon was building the temple, he was much perplexed about the hewing of the stones, since the law prohibited the use of iron tools. He consulted his wise men, and they reminded him of the Shamir. (According to the ancient myth, the Shamir was a worm, not bigger than a barleycorn, which possessed the magic power of splitting stones. Lines were drawn with ink on the stones, then the Shamir was applied, and the stones divided spontaneously. Ethics, V, 6, Bartenora).

The king having asked where the shamir could be found, his councillors advised to get a male and a female demon; these might know and give the desired information. The two spirits were procured, but when pressed to answer the inquiry they said, We

* Genesis, xiii, 17.

do not know, but Asmodæus the demon king might possibly know and divulge the secret. The king asked, where is he to be found? and they replied: He dwells in a certain mountain where he has dug a pit for himself and filled it with water. Every day he goes up into heaven to learn what is going on in the higher regions, and then returns to the earth to make himself acquainted with what is taking place here below. Before leaving, he covers his well with a stone and attaches his seal to it; and when he comes back, he examines the seal before removing the stone and drinking of the water.

King Solomon sent for Benaiah, one of the officers of his court, and supplied him with a chain and a signet ring, both being engraved with the Tetragrammaton, and also gave him some flakes of wool and bottles of wine. (Here I may remind my hearers that Benaiah is stated [1 Sam. xxiii, 20] to have slain a lion in the midst of a pit.) Benaiah went to the mountain and dug a pit lower down than that of Asmodæus; then he drew off the water, and stopped up the channel holes with his flakes of wool. He afterwards dug a pit higher up than that of the demon, and poured wine into it which he caused to flow down into the empty pit. Having filled up his two pits with earth, he seated himself in a neighbouring tree to see what would happen. Asmodæus having returned from his daily excursion, examined the seal, opened his pit, and found it filled with wine. He made up his mind not to drink of it; but having become very thirsty he could not abstain; he drank, became intoxicated, and fell asleep. Then Benaiah descended from the tree, put the chain on the demon, and fastened it with his seal. When Asmodæus awoke he struggled to shake off the chain, but Benaiah called out to him, "The name of thy Lord is upon thee;" whereupon the spirit acknowledged himself a prisoner and followed his captor. Coming upon a tree on the road, he furiously pushed against it and tore it out of the ground; he also pulled down a house; when he passed a cottage inhabited by a widow, the woman came out and begged him to spare her dwelling, he turned aside to get out of the way of the cottage, and in doing so fractured one of his bones. Meeting a blind man who had lost his way, he led him in the right direction; the same he did to a drunken man who had strayed from the road. Seeing a bridal procession coming along with great rejoicings, he shed tears; hearing a man ask a shoemaker to make him shoes which would last for seven years he laughed; and watching a conjuror perform his tricks, he laughed again. When he arrived at the king's residence they did not take

him into the king's presence for three days. The first day he said, Why does not the king send for me? They answered, he has taken too much drink. Thereupon he took up a brick and laid it upon another brick. When Solomon was told of this, he said: The demon meant to say, Give him more drink. On the next day Asmodæus asked again: Why has not the king sent for me. They replied: He has eaten too much. Upon hearing this he removed the one brick from the other, and placed it on the ground. Solomon interpreted this movement as implying that he should be prevented from eating. On the third day, when the demon was admitted to the king, he took a reed, measured off 4 spans, and said: When dead you will not occupy more than 4 spans of ground; now having conquered the whole world, you were not satisfied until you had also subjected me. The king said: It is not you whom I want; I require the shamir for the building of the temple. Asmodæus replied: The shamir has not been entrusted to my keeping, but to that of the Prince of the Sea, who has given it to the woodcock, and bound him by an oath to bring it back again. And what does the bird do with it? asked the king. He takes it to mountains which are completely barren; and by its magic power he splits a rock, throws seeds into the fissure, and so covers the mountain with trees.

Having received this intelligence, Benaiah searched and found the nest where the young of the woodcock were sitting; this nest he covered with a glass vessel. When the bird came back, and found that he could not lift the vessel, he straightway fetched the Shamir in order to break the glass. Benaiah thereupon raised a loud shout, and frightened the bird so that it dropped the Shamir. Benaiah then pounced upon it, and carried it off.

To Benaiah's question why he had led the blind man into the right road, the demon replied: Because in heaven this blind man had been proclaimed a truly righteous man, and whoever should render him a service, would be entitled to enjoy everlasting bliss. Why did you put the drunken man on the right path? He was declared to be an arch-sinner, and I helped him, knowing that he was doomed to everlasting destruction. Why did you shed tears when you met the bridal procession? Because the husband was going to die within thirty days, and the bride was doomed to remain a widow for thirteen years. Why did you laugh on hearing that man ordering shoes to last for seven years? That man had not seven days to live, and ordered shoes for seven years. Why did you

way: * Formerly Lilith roamed about every night; once she met Rabbi Chanina ben Dosa, and said to him, If I had not heard the warning given in heaven, "Beware of Chanina," I should have injured you. Chanina answered: If I am so much esteemed in heaven, I command thee never again to visit the habitations of men. She begged of him to leave her some little freedom, and he left her the nights of Wednesdays and Saturdays free.—Lilith is described as a beautiful woman with long flowing hair.† The epithet **בת מחלת** is explained to signify "the dancer," a dancing movement being often ascribed to demons.

Other demons mentioned by name, are: Ben Tamalion,‡ in the form of a child, supposed principally to affect women.

Nujaitun,§ a demon producing asthma and madness; according to Kohut, Nujaitun is a corruption of the Persian name of a certain demon.

Kardiakos,|| a demon producing gastric affections, as its name implies, the demon bearing the name of the malady which he produces.

The demon Joseph,¶ who gave some information about Ashmedai.

Bar Sheda,** a young demon, who acted as a sort of familiar spirit to Rab Papa.

The foregoing sketch contains the principal features of Palestinian demonology as it existed, according to Rabbinical sources, in the earliest centuries of the current era. Whether we regard the details as adaptations of Persian beliefs to the views of a people guided by monotheistic principles, or look upon them as independent conceptions, we shall arrive at the same conclusion, viz., that this kind of folk-lore forms the refuge which the mind of man is prone to take from the perplexing dilemmas brought about by its own shortcomings. The three main springs of demonology appear to be, the dark hours of the night, the uncanny character of localities, and grievous maladies. When the light of day, man's friendly guide, is withdrawn, and the earth is wrapt in darkness, man peoples the air with beings of a shadowy order, who carry on their noxious activity under the cover of impenetrable night. Wherever localities are found which are devoid

* Pessachim, 112b.

§ Bechoroth, 44b.

† Erubin, 100b.

|| Gittin, 67b.

** Chulin, 105b.

‡ Meilah, 17b.

¶ Pessachim, 110a.

of, or unfit for, the habitation of man, or characterized by abnormal features, man's imagination makes them the haunts of inhuman demons, whose nature is deemed to be in keeping with these terrifying surroundings. When man's intelligence finds itself baffled at the sight of physical afflictions of which it is unable to trace the cause, and especially of those afflictions which affect the mental condition, it attributes their existence to the operation of malignant spirits, who are considered to be in constant opposition to the happiness of the human species. This connection of demons with incurable maladies is a strong feature in all demonologies, so that magic and medicine become sister sciences, the respective limits of which are imperceptibly blended. Looking at demonology from this point of view, we acknowledge it as a special phase of human thought which has made its appearance among all the nations of the earth. We thus take a rational interest in its incongruous development, and recognize the strength as well as the weakness of the human mind even in its most fanciful aberrations.


Two Papers, by MM. Eugène and Victor Revillout, were read:—

ANTICHRÈSE IN SOLUTUM.

À côté de l'antichrèse-gage et de l'antichrèse-location, les anciens peuples ont connu une autre manière de mettre à profit la jouissance, la *χρησις*, de la chose, en guise de valeur d'échange, contre, *αυτι*, une autre valeur, soit similaire, soit dissemblable. C'était ce qu'on pourrait nommer, par une sorte de néologisme, une antichrèse *in solutum*, quand le but de l'opération était de libérer le débiteur envers son créancier auquel il se trouvait livrer ainsi un laps de temps déterminé de possession complète et de jouissance en guise de paiement. Un acte égyptien du temps des Lagides, acte qui est désigné au British Museum sous le nom de Papyrus Malcom,* fera mieux comprendre cette espèce par un exemple.

Ce papyrus memphite (du règne d'Évergète II) est malheureusement en très mauvais état, vers le haut surtout. Mais en combinant ce

* Cet acte est inédit ; j'en ai seulement dit quelques mots dans mon cours sur *les obligations en droit égyptien comparé aux autres droits de l'antiquité*, p. 126.

qui reste du protocole à l'enregistrement, on peut facilement restituer les premières lignes, d'après les formules ordinaires. “(L'an 39, le 10 phaophi, du roi Ptolémée, le dieu évergète), fils de Ptolémée, (de la reine Cléopâtre sa sœur) et de la reine Cléopâtre sa femme, les dieux évergètes, et sous le prêtre d'Alexandre et des dieux sauveurs et des dieux frères, et des dieux évergètes, des dieux philopators, des dieux épiphanes, du dieu eupator, du dieu philométor, et des dieux évergètes Ptolémée et sous l'athlophore de Bérénice évergète et la canéphore d'Arsinoé philadelphie, et la prêtresse d'Arsinoé philopator, établis à Racoti (Alexandrie). L'archentaphiaste (𓆎𓅓) Pétor, fils d'Horuer, dont la mère est Chémati, dit à la femme Je t'ai loué la part des $\frac{2}{3}$ du 8^e, ce qui fait le douzième, des *sanch* de Kloudj, fils de T'ítaou mmoou, et la part des $\frac{2}{3}$ du 8^e, ce qui fait le 12^e, des *sanch* de T'ítaou mmoou, fils de Kloudj, et la part des $\frac{2}{3}$ du 8^e, ce qui fait le 12^e des *sanch* de Psémaut, fils de T'ítaou mmoou, et la part des $\frac{2}{3}$ du 8^e ce qui fait le 12^e des *sanch* de la femme Tamin, fille de Pahi, et la part des $\frac{2}{3}$ du 8^e, ce qui fait le 12^e, des *sanch* de T'ítaou mmoou, fils de Psenmaut, qui sur la montagne de Memphis, et la part des $\frac{2}{3}$ du 8^e, ce qui fait le 12^e, des esclaves appartenant aux hommes (nommés) sur le mont de Memphis, et de la construction funéraire batié et couverte qui appartenait des chapelles établies à l'occident . . . du jardin de palmiers (*nebes*) qui est au sud, du qui est en elle, de la double demeure qui est placée au Leurs voisins sont : au sud la  de choachyte de T'i . . . qui est là pour ses fils (qui possède au nom de ses fils ; au nord ?) les maisons de Kloudj, fils de Pét(chons), que le chemin en sépare ; à l'occident, les maisons du 𓆎𓅓 Pahi, fils d'Hor Ut'a ; à l'orient les demeures d'Hor . . . fils de (Péte) mont et les demeures de Pet . . . fils de Pétor . . . et de Pasi, fils de Téos, ton fils, faisant partie de la totalité de biens sur lesquels le 𓆎𓅓 Téos, fils de Pasi, ton mari, le père de Pasi fils de Téos, ton fils aîné, t'a fait un écrit de *sanch* et un écrit pour argent.* (Je

* Ou un écrit de *créance* et un écrit de *vente*. Ces deux écrits formaient les titres d'une sorte de mariage, dont j'ai longuement parlé tant dans mon cours de droit égyptien (état des personnes), que dans ma lettre à M. Paturet, publiée en tête de sa thèse à l'école du Louvre. Pour la valeur juridique du mot *sanch*, si souvent répété dans cet acte, voir mon cours sur les obligations en droit égyptien comparé aux autres droits de l'antiquité.

te loue aussi) la part des $\frac{2}{3}$ du 8^e, ce qui fait le 12^e, des demeures de *Kesau* (des salles d'ensevelissement) et des tombes . . . des liturgies . . . appartenant aux hommes dont les noms sont écrits plus haut, et dont la femme . . . fille de T'itaou mmoou, possède le tiers, &c."

La liste de ces biens, soit immobiliers, soit funéraires, soit purement abstraits, comme les créances, se prolonge encore beaucoup dans notre papyrus ; mais elle présenterait peu d'intérêt au lecteur. Notons seulement qu'on voit figurer, parmi les très nombreuses liturgies (*Šeti*) ou sépultures (*Kesau*) sises sur la nécropole de Memphis qui sont ici indiquées, celles de soldats grecs et égyptiens, probablement en garnison au Sérapeum,* comme, parmi les immeubles, certaines maisons et des terrains nus (Ⲡⲣⲉⲗ) situés dans le quartier du sanctuaire de *Tehni d'Anchto*, c'est-à-dire du Sérapeum, ainsi que nous l'avons prouvé depuis longtemps d'après les papyrus du Louvre. Nous voyons en effet que cet acte a été écrit dans l'enceinte du Sérapeum puisqu'il a été enregistré à l'Anubeïum, bureau spécial de ce quartier saint, dont nous avons longuement parlé dans la *Revue Égyptologique*.

Venons en maintenant à la dernière partie de notre document, qui est de beaucoup la plus intéressante au point de vue juridique.

Après l'énumération des biens loués par lui, Pétosor, fils d'Horoer, continue en ces termes :—

“Mes parts de tout ce qui est écrit ci-dessus, comme il est écrit ci-dessus, (parts) dont la description est ci-dessus, sont pour toi et tes gens, . . . ainsi que les revenus et les liturgies qui en sortent, tout ce qu'on reçoit pour elles, tout ce qui viendra en leur nom, tout ce qu'on donnera en leur nom, par jour quelconque, par mois quelconque, soit comme liturgies de Taricheute, soit comme liturgies de choachyte, depuis l'an 35, le 10 phaophi, jusqu'à la fin de trois ans, 36 mois, 3 ans en tout, pour . . . que tu as consenti antérieurement, depuis l'an 27 (1^{er} Thot) des rois à vie éternelle jusqu'à l'an 35, 30 mésoré, à me fournir pendant 9 ans, 109 mois (lire 108), neuf ans en tout. Tu m'as donné (ainsi) 400 argenteus (outen), en sekels (tétradrachmes) 2,000 (8,000 drachmes), 400 outen en tout, en airain dont l'équivalence est de 24 pour $\frac{2}{10}$ (par rap-

* Nous savons en effet par les papyrus grecs et démotiques qu'il y avait une garnison au Sérapeum.

port à l'argenteus-outen d'argent).^{*} Leur *hoti* (l'exercice des droits d'antichrèse qui te sont donnés constituant un tribut ou revenu annuel), par paiement journalier, fait 133 argenteus plus 3 kati (didrachmes) et un tiers (4 oboles) en airain à l'équivalence de 24 pour $\frac{2}{10}$, par an, pendant trois ans, pendant lesquels tu as le *sanch* de Kloudj, &c., trois ans, dis-je, pendant lesquels les *sanch* ci-dessus complètent les 400 argenteus en airain à l'équivalence de 24 pour $\frac{2}{10}$ que tu m'as donnés ci-dessus. Je les ai reçus de ta main, sans aucun reliquat ; mon cœur en est satisfait. Celui qui viendra t'inquiéter à cause du *hoti* des trois ans ci-dessus et du *hoti* des autres années qui te reviennent, ainsi qu'à Teos ton mari, pour ce que tu m'as donné, ainsi qu'à Horuer, mon père, pendant 16 ans, je l'éloignerai de toi dans les 5 jours du mois en question, de force, sans délai. Tu établiras devant moi (tu me rendras) les parts de tout ce qui est marqué ci-dessus, selon ce qui est écrit ci-dessus, en sorte de ne plus être sur elles, de ne plus faire office de taricheute, dans les temps ci-dessus (au bout des 3 ans), et tu m'abandonneras le *hoti* dans les temps ci-dessus, de force, sans délai. Si j'enlève mes parts de tout ce qui est marqué ci-dessus loin de toi et de tes gens (de ta possession ou de la leur), ou que quiconque au monde les enlève loin de toi et de tes gens, en mon nom, dans les temps ci-dessus, (avant la fin du délai de trois ans), je te donnerai 3,000 argenteus, leur moitié est 1,500, 3,000 argenteus en tout, en airain dont l'équivalence est de 24 pour $\frac{2}{10}$, dans les cinq jours du mois nommé, de force, sans délai. Mais si tu ne t'en vas pas hors de mes parts de tout ce qui est ci-dessus, selon l'écrit ci-dessus, dans les temps ci-dessus, ainsi que tes gens, et si tu ne les établis pas devant moi (si tu ne m'en rends pas la possession) quand les trois années ci-dessus se seront accomplies, c'est-à-dire au terme des temps ci-dessus, tu me donneras 5,000 argenteus, dont la moitié est 2,500, 5,000 argenteus en tout, en airain à l'équivalence de 24 pour $\frac{2}{10}$, dans les 10 jours après les temps ci-dessus, et tu les abandonneras (les parts ci-dessus) avec leurs (fruits?) et les placeras devant moi, en outre, dans le mois en question, de force, sans délai. Tu ne pourras dire sur mes parts de tout ce qui est écrit ci-dessus : " J'ai bati, j'ai couvert, j'ai fait changement quelconque au monde dans les temps ci-dessus."

* Voir sur cette proportion légale de la 120 entre l'argent et le cuivre, et les autres questions monétaires, mes articles dans la *Revue Égyptologique*, la *Revue Archéologique*, et l'annuaire de la Société de Numismatique.

Tu ne pourras dire : “j’ai parole (affaire) quelconque au monde avec toi en leur nom.”

“(En ce cas) tous tes biens presents et à venir (seront) en garantie. Mon agent prendra puissance pour toute parole qu’il dira avec toi, en dehors du *hoti* que tu auras à me rendre ou de tout enlèvement fait à mon préjudice. A toi à (me faire) recevoir ces choses, de force, sans délai.

“De mon côté, je ne puis établir mes parts ci-dessus pour personne quelconque au monde intervenante. Je ne puis donner à leur sujet des ordres à une autre personne. Je ne puis les vendre pour argent à une autre personne qui m’en donnerait (le prix). C’est moi qui suis obligé d’accomplir l’écrit ci-dessus et le droit en résultant et d’agir selon toutes les paroles ci-dessus. A écrit Harmachis, fils d’Horsiési.”

Après la signature du notaire on lit l’enregistrement, nous apprenant que l’acte a été transcrit sur le registre du *γραφιον* de l’Anubeium* le 18 phaophi de l’an 39, c’est-à-dire huit jours après l’achèvement de l’acte qui avait été rédigé le 10 phaophi.

En vertu d’une ordonnance spéciale dont nous avons parlé dans notre cours sur les *obligations*, il était alors de coutume à Memphis de faire signer à l’acte la partie qui s’obligeait ou qui cédait quelque chose. Ici l’adhésion est plus développée. Elle se trouve dans une sorte d’annotation écrite en marge et un peu détériorée actuellement. Voici ce que je déchiffre : “l’an 39, (de 10) phaophi du roi Ptolémée (évergète), (Pétosor), fils d’Horuer, celui qui dit : je l’abandonne le *hoti* de mes parts pour toute année, pendant trois ans ou 36 mois. Mon cœur est satisfait, etc.”

Le mot *hoti*, que nous trouvons si souvent dans cet acte, est celui qu’on rencontrait également pour désigner l’antichrèse dès le temps d’Amasis, notamment dans un contrat de l’an 36 dont j’ai parlé dans mon cours sur les obligations. Il s’agissait alors d’une terre possédée en commun par deux frères, et sur laquelle le cadet voulait établir une antichrèse-gage. L’aîné, en qualité de *neb* (ou *κυριος*) de l’héritage, (selon la loi que nous avons expliquée longuement à propos de l’état des personnes), prend alors la parole et dit au créancier de son frère : “Je te donne la puissance, la pleine possession, la prise en mains active et le revenu (le *hoti*) des terres

* Voir pour ces questions la *Revue Égyptologique*, 2e année, No. II-III.

cultivées ou à cultiver au nom de mon frère Reri ; tu es relativement à lui en puissance de gagiste (*ouo*) pour tout le temps où tu feras la culture de mes terres qui sont en tel lieu."

La racine *hetar* (copte ⲬⲧⲠ et Ⲭⲱⲧ) obliger, est bien connue des Égyptologues. En démotique elle est surtout employée dans deux acceptions différentes : 1° pour désigner la *puissance d'obliger*, celle que reçoit, par exemple, l'agent du créancier relativement au débiteur ; elle se rapproche alors comme sens du mot *ouo*, qui désigne la puissance qu'a le lion sur l'être qu'il tient en ses griffes, l'homme sur le gibier en sa possession, et le créancier sur son *gage* ; mais avec cette différence, que le *hetar-hoti* est une puissance considérée à l'état actif, et le *ouo* une puissance passive et subie ; 2° pour indiquer le tribut *exigé* par le roi de ses sujets. Aussi trouve-t-on *hoti*, désignant le tribut dans le décret de Rosette. Cette acception a été conservée en copte pour $\text{Ⲭⲱⲧ} = \textit{tributum}$. Ces deux sens concordent également avec la conception juridique de l'antichrèse, qui a, par conséquent, reçu très naturellement le nom de *hoti*. En effet l'antichrèse était une puissance momentanée donnée au créancier sur la chose qu'il détenait à la place de son argent, et, d'une autre part, elle créait un revenu, une sorte de tribut, sur des biens, qui, en définitive, devaient revenir au débiteur.

UN NOUVEAU NOM ROYAL PERSE.

Darius nous raconte dans l'inscription de Behistun que parmi les nombreux prétendants qui s'élevèrent contre lui après le meurtre de Barzia, il y en eut un qui se proclama roi de Perse, et prétendit être : non pas sans doute le Barzia tué publiquement dans son palais, mais le vrai Bardés, le vrai Smerdis. Ce vrai Smerdis se serait caché quand son frère Cambyse avait donné l'ordre de le tuer, et il n'aurait osé reparaitre du temps du règne du mage Gomatés. Toute la Perse, qui devait connaître ses princes nationaux, se déclara pour lui, et il est possible qu'il ait été momentanément reconnu dans d'autres parties de l'empire à cette époque où presque aucune province ne voulait reconnaître Darius.

Serait-ce à ce Bardés que nous aurions affaire dans une des tablettes de notre collection personnelle, tablette provenant de Sippara ? Dans tous les cas, il s'agit certainement d'un des prétendants à la

couronne *de Perse* à une époque encore très rapprochée des victoires de Cyrus et de l'hégémonie conquise par la Perse sur la Médie. En effet les noms des contrées sur lesquelles ce roi, ou prétendu tel, proclame ses droits se succèdent dans l'ordre suivant : 1° la Perse, 2° la Médie, 3° Babylone, 4° les pays. Or la domination de l'Asie avait suivi un ordre inverse. Elle avait d'abord appartenu au roi d'Assyrie, dont le titre en Chaldée, ainsi que nous le voyons dans une tablette inédite appartenant à M. Leroux, et datée du règne d'Assurbanipal,* était simplement roi des pays. Elle avait ensuite appartenu au roi de Babylone, à partir de Nabopolassar dont nous possédons dans notre collection particulière un grand nombre

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I mana kaspi sa Néboedir (*nebo sur*) ina eli.
 Lisiru (*lisidi*) u Ittia (*Kīa*) Marduk
 abli sa Bel ahi erib (*šu*)
 estin buut sanii nasuu
 sa *Kālaa Kāa* mahar. ultu
 yum 15 kam sa arah sivan ana eli I manie
 1½ du kaspā sa arah ina eli su irabbi
 mimmusu (salmu su) sa ali u tseri mala basuu
 maskanu sa Neboedir (*d*) rasuu (tuku)
 sanamma ana eli ul isallat
 adii Neboedir kaspasu isallimu
 Uruki arah Sivan yum 14 kam sanat 16 kam
 Assurbanipal (*assur ban us*, et non *Assurefus*) sar mat mat

de documents. Elle avait ensuite appartenu à la Médie, ainsi que le montre particulièrement la grande inscription de Nabonid trouvée également à Sippara, publiée dans le 5^e volume des W.A.I., pl. 64, et si admirablement traduite par M. Oppert dans son cours de 1885-6.* Enfin depuis les victoires de Cyrus sur les Médes, victoires dont il est également question dans cette inscription de Nabonid, elle avait appartenu à la Perse.

“ Une mine d'argent créance de Néboedir sur Lisiru et Ittia Marduk, fils de Belahierib. L'un pour l'autre ils répondent.” A côté de cet énoncé est l'énoncé antérieur :—Depuis le jour 15^e du mois de Sivan l'argent produira à sa charge un sekel et demi par mois et par mine. Tous ses biens de ville et de campagne sont le gage de Néboedir. Autre créancier gagiste ne mettra la main dessus jusqu'à ce que Néboedir ait reçu son argent.—Warka, le 14^e du mois de Sivan, de l'an 16 d'Assourbanipal roi des pays.”

La locution à moitié sémitique, à moitié touranienne *sa* (ou *gar*) *Kadaa kaa* (ou *gudaa gua*) *mahar*, peut s'analyser ainsi qu'il suit. La lettre ∇ qui se lit *sa* en babylonien, *gar* en touranien, a le même sens dans les deux langues et veut dire *qui, que, dont*. L'idéogramme $\Sigma|\Sigma$ se réfère aux idées de *bouche, parole*, etc. L'idéogramme $\Sigma|\nabla$ se rencontre sans cesse dans les actes anciens et modernes pour rendre *côté, à côté de*. L'idéogramme ∇ représente notamment une préposition touranienne traduite en sémitique par *ana*, etc. Quant à *mahar*, c'est un mot sémitique qui se présente, ainsi que ses dérivés, très souvent dans les contrats avec les significations *devant, antérieur*, etc. Il ne faut pas oublier d'ailleurs que l'inversion, spécialement des particules, etc., est une règle touranienne.

Remarquons qu'à partir de cette phrase à moitié touranienne les pronoms sont au singulier quand ils se rapportent aux débiteurs, comme si le débiteur était unique. Il est probable qu'en effet Néboedir avait prêté l'argent en question un an plus tôt au père des débiteurs actuels, et qu'en faisant sa novation avec les fils il répétait les termes de l'acte primitif. C'est pourquoi sans doute son nom patronymique, bien précisé par le premier acte, n'est ici jamais indiqué.

Pour en finir avec cet acte, remarquons que l'intérêt est à 30 pour 100 (c'est-à-dire au taux légal égyptien), comme dans un autre acte de Warka également signalé par nous. A Babylone l'intérêt est de 20 pour 100, comme dans les vieilles lois touraniennes. Voir sur ces questions le supplément babylonien de notre cours sur les obligations en droit égyptien comparé aux autres droits de l'antiquité.

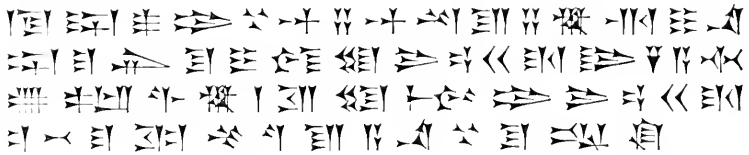
* Nabonid raconte que les Médes, s'étant emparé de Sippara, y avaient détruit le temple de Sin. Au commencement de son règne, les dieux Mérodach et Sin lui apparurent, et Mérodach lui ordonna de rétablir ce temple afin d'y réinstaller le dieu Sin. Tout effrayé, Nabonid dit au dieu : “ Mais ce temple dont tu me parles, l'armée Méde l'environne, et ses forces sont terribles.” Ce fut alors que le dieu Mérodach lui prophétisa la chute de cette puissance Médique si formidable, du roi de ce peuple, et de tous les rois qui allaient à sa suite, dans les trois ans.

Du temps de Darius tout cela était encore assez récent pour qu'il s'élevât des prétendants au trône de Médie, d'après une parenté plus ou moins réelle avec le dernier roi Cyaxare ; d'autres prétendants au trône de Babylone, ceux-là se disant fils de Nabonid ; et d'autres, qui se rattachaient aux grandes nations en lutte à l'époque d'Assurbanipal.

Il était donc tout naturel qu'un titre royal rappelât les 4 dernières hégémonies qui avaient eu la possession de la ville de Sippara. Le prétendant actuel entendait succéder spécialement au roi des Perses, mais, par cela même, au roi des Médes qu'avait remplacé, en qualité de roi des rois, le roi des Perses, au roi de Babylone qui avait joué antérieurement le même rôle dans ce même pays, et enfin aux rois des nations par excellence, à ces vieux monarques d'Assyrie dont les rois de Perse avaient pris ce titre de roi des nations. A l'époque persane ce titre figure d'abord en Chaldée à la suite du titre de roi de Babylone dans la date des actes puis finit par subsister à peu près seul, en remplaçant généralement tous les autres dans le formulaire juridique.

La réunion des 4 titres est certainement archaïque. On ne peut pas la supposer plus tardive que l'époque du règne de Darius. Du reste, dans les documents de la collection de Sippara qui sont parvenus




“Voilà, ajoute-t-il, que Cyrus le roi du pays d'Ansan (Perse), son petit serviteur, avec sa horde infime, subjuguera la grande armée Méde, celle-là. Istuvigou (Astyage), le roi des Médes, il le fera captif, et toutes ses possessions il les prendra pour son pays.”








Kuraas sar mat ansaan ardu su zahiri ina ummani su izutu (*d*) zab manda raba saati usappih. Istuvigu sar zab manda izbat ma kamuutsu ana mati su ilqi.


Il est à remarquer que sur ce point, comme sur tant d'autres, les récits d'Hérodote (contraires ici à ceux de Xénophon), nous racontant que Cyrus vainquit et détrôna Astyage, fils de Cyaxare, le dernier roi des Médes, se trouvent pleinement confirmés par des documents contemporains incontestables.

Un autre document de Sippara, le No. 32 de notre collection particulière, est relatif à l'époque où cette ville, suivant Nabonid, se trouvait enveloppée par les Médes, c'est-à-dire à la fin du règne de Nériglissar et au commencement du règne de Nabonid. Nous aurons l'occasion d'en parler.

entre nos mains, il n'en est pas de postérieur à ce règne. Toute la collection se trouve répartie entre l'époque de Saosdukin frère d'Assurbanipal et les dernières années de Darius. Le document qui fait l'objet de cette note (No. 99 de notre collection) est relatif à la réception par le trésor de Samas des   *gizi*,* "toutes de mouton," données par des bergers  †. Le poids de la laine apporté par chacun se trouve indiqué en talents et en mines.‡

* Conf. גרה *detonsio*, גזא *vellus*; (chald.  *tonsura*  *lana secta*,  *tonsor ovium*  *tonsura*, scilicet proventus lanæ ab una ove annuus, *lana tona*, etc.

† Le mot  est traduit en sémitique par *ri'u*, hébreu רעה faire paître, etc.

‡ Nous connaissons par d'autres documents de notre collection le prix moyen de la laine  à cette époque. Le No. 94, par exemple, renferme un compte de laine livrée *in solutum*, avec estimations en argent. Trois des dettes antérieures se trouvaient constituées par le prix ou le reliquat du prix de bœufs. Nous allons donner ces trois morceaux, en en négligant un 4^e où la laine donnée *in solutum* n'est pas estimée en argent.










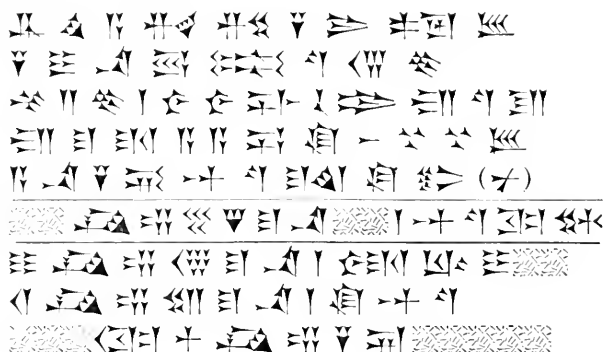







1 bilat (tikun) 12 mana  ana 16 du Kaspi sim alpi (ana) Zaabiia abal su sa Ardia iddina (sena) 1 bilat 52½ mana  ana ½ 5 du Kaspi sim alpi ana Kalba' abal su sa Lubaldai iddina 8 mana  ana 1 du 3 ribaata Kaspi ina sim alpi ana iddina.

Voici le texte en question :



𐎶 𐎠 𐎶 *gizi sa (d) ri'u*
 sa ina arah sivan yum 16 kam
 sanat 2 kam Salsalmarsu sar alu Parsu
 alu Madai Eki ina matmati
 ana saga Samas itdinu
 bilat (tikun) 52 mana Samas kasir
 6 bilat 18 mana Damiki
 11 bilat 42 mana Itti Samas (Ki Samas)
 eli ½ bilat sa bit

Le nom royal est écrit : 𐎶 𐎠 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 et comporte les lectures *Sal rag marsu, Rag sal marsu, Sal sal-marsu, Rag rag*

L'acte est daté du 29 arah samna de l'an 41 de Nabuchodonosor roi de Babylone :













On voit que, d'une part, un talent 12 mines de laine (c'est-à-dire 72 mines de laine) sont vendus pour 16 sekels d'argent, que, d'une autre part, un talent 52 mines et demie (c'est-à-dire 112 mines et demie) sont vendus pour 25 sekels d'argent, et qu'enfin 8 mines de laine sont vendues pour un sekel 3 quarts (ou *ribat*) d'argent. Ce dernier compte ne représente qu'un reliquat sur le prix d'un bœuf (*ina simi alpi*). Les deux autres paraissent représenter chacun le prix complet d'un de ces animaux.

Pour en revenir à la laine, l'estimation moyenne d'une mine en était de très peu inférieure à un quart de sekel. Actuellement la meilleure laine, dans nos pays

marsu. Ajoutons que Marsu peut se lire aussi *varsu*. S'il s'agit bien ici du faux Smerdis on lui aurait attribué en le reconnaissant à Sippara un nom d'avènement ou d'intronisation bien différent du nom de Barzia qu'avait porté Gotamés. Ces noms d'intronisation, assez fréquents dans tous les anciens pays d'Orient, en Égypte comme en Chaldée, ont été, dit-on, en usage dans ce dernier pays pour de rois bien connus d'ailleurs sous d'autres noms. Ajoutons du reste qu'aucun document officiel de ce prétendant ne nous a donné le nom qu'il avait pris.

Deux autres points sont à noter :—D'abord la date : Le 18 Sivan de la 2^e année du règne en question. Ceci suppose un règne d'une certaine étendue ; car les rois Perses, comme les rois Babyloniens, etc., ne commencent leur première année qu'au 1^{er} de Nisam qui suit leur avènement, suivant une des méthodes de calcul, ou, tout au moins, ne commencent la 2^e année, suivant la méthode de calcul développée par M. Oppert, qu'après la première année entièrement accomplie. Nous avons parlé de ces questions dans l'appendice babylonien du cours sur *les obligations en droit égyptien comparé aux autres droits de l'antiquité*. Il est vrai que s'il s'agit d'un prétendu frère de Cambyse, ce frère n'aura pas manqué de prendre pour l'année du commencement de sa royauté, l'année de la mort de son frère Cambyse. Il pouvait donc avoir déjà sur ses protocoles un règne notable quand il a fait valoir ses droits. Si l'on supposait au contraire qu'il s'agit ici de quelque prétendant inconnu n'ayant que les années de son règne effectif, on se trouverait en présence de cette grosse difficulté d'un règne effectif aussi long ne laissant pas de trace dans l'histoire. Si le règne *effectif* du second Smerdis a été très court, et si cette tablette s'y rapporte, il en faudrait conclure qu'il a

représente comme prix un poids d'argent environ quatre fois moindre. Nous reviendrons d'ailleurs sur toutes ces questions d'économie politique.

Les  se rencontrent ainsi dans plusieurs autres Nos. de notre collection. Nous citerons particulièrement le No. 91, où il figure à côté du  du  et des   , parmi les redevances à payer en nature pour une propriété rurale donnée en exploitation. Comme dans d'autres locations, il y avait en outre une certaine somme d'argent à payer. Les fruits proprement dits représentés ici par les dattes   = *suluppi*, les céréales et les plantes oléagineuses représentées ici par le  et le , la laine des troupeaux : voilà bien les principaux revenus d'une ferme antique.

attendu environ deux ans pour se déclarer. Or il est à remarquer que parmi les prétendants énumérés par Darius (après Gotamés) dans l'inscription de Behistun il ne vient qu'en septième ordre. On serait donc tenté de mettre sa révolte encore plus tard, et c'est ce qu'a fait M. Boscawen.

Un autre point à remarquer est l'idéogramme $\Xi||$ *alu*, ici employé abusivement à la place de l'idéogramme $\hat{\Delta}$, avant les mots $\hat{\Delta}||$ $\Xi||$ et $\Xi||$ $\Xi||$ $||$ $||$. On se demande si le scribe du temple de Sippara se figurait que la Perse et la Médie étaient des villes comme Babylone.

Faut-il donc considérer cela comme une erreur pure et simple, ou bien tacher d'y voir une intention, difficile à saisir? S'il s'agit de fautes du scribe cela cadrerait beaucoup mieux avec l'idée que Sippara s'était déclaré pour un prétendant qu'on n'y connaissait que par oui dire.

Thanks were returned for these Communications.

The following Communication has been received from Mr. S. A. Smith:—

ASSYRIAN LETTERS.

One of the most difficult portions of the Assyrian literature is composed of the letters and despatches. It is partly due to this fact that so little has been done in explaining or translating them. George Smith only attempted to translate a very few, and outside of this little had been done until Mr. Pinches gave several in transcription and translation, accompanied where possible by the text. Fourteen such documents are to be found transcribed, translated, and explained in the second part of my edition of the texts of Asurbanipal; in the third part, which is now in the press, the texts of K. 582, K. 514, K. 533, K. 679, K. 686, K. 669, K. 11, K. 525, K. 183, K. 1249, K. 1252, K. 1229, K. 487, K. 549, K. 578, and K. 96, accompanied in the same manner by transcription, translation, and notes, will be given. These numbers represent some of the best preserved, most important, as well as the most difficult tablets in the British Museum collection. The six that are given below are perfect specimens, and may be taken as a type of the others.

Some reasons why these letters are so difficult are apparent :
1. They are torn out of their connection in the circumstances in which their authors were placed at the time, and they belong to a longer correspondence, of which we have no knowledge, but which is necessary in order to a good understanding of any single letter. 2. We are dependent to a large extent on the help afforded by the cognate languages for our ability to explain any Assyrian texts. But we have in Hebrew only the sacred writings giving us the annals of the nation, which corresponds exactly to the kind of accounts we find in the Assyrian historical inscriptions. By this means we are enabled to arrive at the meaning quite clearly and readily. For these reports, which come from all parts of the empire in its most flourishing years, we have no such help. If we had a series of such miscellaneous reports in Hebrew, they would doubtless give us such linguistic help as would materially aid us in better explaining the tablets under consideration. It is as if some one 2500 years hence, studying and deciphering the annals of the rulers of the British Empire, should find some short letters from Yorkshire, Lancashire, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, written by a chief of police, some revenue and tax collector, or army official, whose grammar would not be regular or his style faultless. He would find here dialectic peculiarities and words which he had never seen before, and would often be at a loss to see any meaning in them at all. Words which he had translated readily in the annals would occasion him much trouble, because the writers of the letters employ them in an entirely new sense. Now this is precisely the case with the letters which we have from the library at Nineveh. There seems to me to be no need of hesitating to admit that the reports of Bêl-ibnî, Asurbanipal's general, with reference to the condition of affairs in the camp, or the letters of Nabû-šum-iddin, who so often writes about horses, may contain linguistic inconsistencies which the learned scribe of the court would have condemned. They came from all parts of Asurbanipal's great empire, and are full of dialectic peculiarities, common among the people, but not used at the king's court. In explaining the words, however, we must attempt to explain them grammatically in each instance.

There is a long list of words known only to us in these report-tablets. One of the most common is *adanniš* (S. 1064) *ad-dan-niš* (cf. Part II of my edition of Asurbanipal). It is quite certainly

to be compared with the Aramaic ܣܘܪܝܝܢ "time." The connection as well as the etymology proves it to mean "constantly, all the time." The adjective *adannu* is of frequent occurrence.

The importance of these messages is not the historic references they are supposed by some to contain, for these are generally so slight and indefinite that their value is small. Their chief historic worth is that they enable us to fill up wanting passages in the historical inscriptions, and where they are clear, they enable us sometimes to obtain a better understanding of difficult clauses of the historical inscriptions. Their great importance, however, seems to me to be linguistic; but here and there we find references which are the most valuable for our knowledge of the manners and customs of the people. We are also enabled to settle the readings of many words by the variants given us in these letters; e.g. 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶 of the annals of Asurbanipal is written 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶 in K. 11 mentioned above (*cf.* my remarks in *Zeitschr. für Assyriologie*, 1887, p. 227), which settles the question as to the pronunciation of the name. A great many titles of officials are mentioned in these documents which we meet nowhere else, and of the nature of whose office or functions we know nothing.

Attention may also be called to the fact that two classes of correspondence exist, a familiar or less formal kind, which is not addressed to the king, and the official, which is always addressed to him, if it be not a communication from the king himself; this latter class is by far the most numerous.

It would be intensely interesting and valuable if we could hit upon some plan by which the Assyrian "report-tablets" might be classified according to the province or district from which they came. This we cannot do to any large extent at present, but if we were able to do so, we should then be able to learn the peculiarities of the language used in any particular portion of the Assyrian Empire. If the generals or officials employed scribes to do their writing for them, then these were certainly scribes of the district where they were, but it may easily be true that they were written by the officials themselves.

Any translations of this class of inscriptions which have been made, or which may now be made, will need material revision after a larger number of letters have been published and compared with each other, for it is only by such comparison and study that many of these documents can be, to any extent, satisfactorily explained.

The translations given below therefore are sure to need revision in the future, for some parts the writer has been unable to find a translation or explanation at all satisfactory to himself. The order of the words in the Assyrian has been followed wherever possible, so that the reader may know whence the translations come when there is no note to aid him.

K. 482.

	<i>Transcription.</i>	<i>Translation.</i>
	A-na šarri be-li-ia	<i>To the king, my lord,</i>
	ardu-ka Nabû-naši-ir	<i>thy servant, Nabû-našir.</i>
	Nabû u Marduk	<i>May Nebo and Merodach</i>
	a-na šarri be-li-ia	<i>to the king, my lord</i>
5	a-dan-niš a-dan-niš	<i>constantly, constantly</i>
	lik-ru-bu	<i>be gracious.</i>
	šul-mu a-dan-niš a-dan-niš	<i>Peace constantly, constantly (to him).</i>
	a-na pi-ki-te	<i>By appointment</i>
	ša bêlit par-ši	<i>of the lady of command,</i>
10	lib-bi ša-šarri	<i>may the heart of the king,</i>
	be-li-ia	<i>my lord,</i>
	a-dan-niš lu ta-ab-šu	<i>constantly rejoice him.</i>

REV.

	ša pi-ki-te	<i>By appointment</i>
	ša bêlit par-ši	<i>of the lady of command.</i>
15	šarru be-li	<i>may the king, my lord</i>
	apil aplê-šu	<i>his grandsons</i>
	ina bur ki-e-šu	<i>upon his knees</i>
	li-in-tu-ḫu	<i>rest,</i>
	par-šu-ma-a-te	<i>gray hairs (?)</i>
20	ina zi-iḫ-ni-šu-nu	<i>upon their beards</i>
	li-mur	<i>may he see.</i>

REMARKS.

The characters 𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 are, I think, to be read *be-li-ia*. Previous to this time I have adopted the Haupt-Delitzsch transcription *ê-ni-ia*, in which 𐎶 is held to be an ideogram for *ênu*, "lord," and *ni* the phonetic complement. But the character *ni* has the value of *li* according to W.A.I. II, pl. 48, line 42a, and I much prefer to regard the whole as a phonetic writing of the usual *bêlu*, "lord."

Line 8, *pi-ki-te*. This word is to be derived from the root פקד ; it probably means "appointment."

Line 9, *bélit par-ši*. This expression occurs W.A.I. V, 10, 62, where it is written ideographically $\text{𒀭} \text{𒀭}$. The writing $\text{𒀭} \text{𒀭} \text{𒀭}$ (cf. *Heft II* of my *Asurbanipaltexte*, p. 20, line 37, and the *Nachträge*, p. 85) is probably also to be read thus.

Line 13. Although the tablet is somewhat broken here, there can be little doubt about the reading.

Line 17, *bur-ki-e-šu*, "his knees." The root is ברך.

Line 18, *li-in-tu-ḫu*, comes from the root נוח, "to rest."

Line 19, *par-šu-ma-a-te*. The following passages in which this word occurs are the only ones known to me at present: K. 183, 16, ff., *Am.* par-šu-mu-te i-ra-ḫu-du am. šihrûtê i-za-mu-ru*, "the aged dance, the young sing." For *i-ra-ḫu-du* cf. the Hebrew רָקַד, "to dance, to spring." Eccl. iii, 4, Isa. xiii, 21. W.A.I. V, 53, No. 3, obv., line 15, ff. *Utu da-ba-bi an-ni-i u ik-ri-bi an-nu-ti ša šarri be-li a-na kal-bi-šu ana am. ardi-šu u par-šu-me ša biti-šu iš-pur-u-ni u ik-ru-bu-u-ni*. "From the time of these words and these prayers of the king, (my) lord to his dog, to his servant, and the aged of his house he has sent and has been gracious." In this text (K. 618), as given W.A.I. V, 53, there are two mistakes, which Mr. Pinches and myself were able to correct on comparing the original. In line 11 the first character is 𒀭 instead of 𒀭 , and the one before the last is 𒀭 instead of 𒀭 .

K. 483.

Transcription.

Translation.

A-na šarri béli-ia	<i>To the king, my lord,</i>
ardu-ka Nabû nâdin-šum	<i>thy servant Nabû-nâdin-šum.</i>
lu-u šul-mu a-na šarri béli-ia	<i>Peace to the king, my lord.</i>
Nabû u Marduk	<i>May Nebo and Merodach</i>
5. a-na šarri be-li-ia	<i>to the king, my lord</i>
a-dan-niš lik-ru-bu	<i>constantly be gracious.</i>
ina éli ša šarri béli iš-pur-an-ni	<i>As to what the king (my) lord said</i>
ma-a at-ta-ma	<i>thus: thou also</i>
ša-,al	<i>ask.</i>

* The *am.* which occurs constantly in my transcription is an abbreviation of *Amélu*, "man, officer."

REVERSE.

10. amêlu la u-da	<i>The man I do not know,</i>
ai u-šu-tu-u-ni	<i>has he not fled?</i>
a-na man-ni la aš-al	<i>Of whom have I not asked,</i>
am. lu-šuh-ḥa-ni	<i>the Lušuhḥani,</i>
la aš-al-šu	<i>did I not ask him?</i>

REMARKS.

Line 9, *ša²-al*, is from the well-known root **לשאל**.* The word *aš-al*, line 12, and *aš-al-šu*, line 14, are also from the same root.

Line 10, *u-da*. This word is probably from **ידע**, "to know." The same form also occurs W.A.I. V, 53, No. 3, line 34. Besides this the forms *u-di* and *i-di* occur. For the first of these forms see below K. 691, lines 14, 19, and 20; for the second, see below, K. 82, line 28. Cf. further *u-du-u*, S. 1046, rev., line 7—an unpublished letter.

Line 11, *u-šu-tu-u-ni*. I derive this word from the root **שחט**, "to go to destruction, to flee." The usual form is *išētūni*.

Line 12, *man-ni*. I take this word to be only another form of *mamma*, *manma*, "who." Cf. Heb. **מן**, Syr. **ܡܢ**.

Line 13. I cannot explain this line. The character *ḥa* is perhaps not entirely certain, but it is difficult to see how any other reading is possible. It is probably an official title, but I have met with it nowhere else.

S. 1034.

Transcription.

- A-na šarri be-li-ia
ardu-ka Bel-ikki-ša
lu šul-mu a-na šarri bêli-ia
Nabû u Marduk
5. a-na šarri bêli-ia a-dan-niš
a-dan-niš lik-ru-bu
ina muḥ-ḥi bit zinništi êkalli
ša ina Kal-zi
ša šarri be-li ip-ḳi-da-ni-ni

* I write **N**₁ = Heb. **נ**, **N**₂ = **ן**, **N**₃ = **נ**, *i.e.* **ח**, **N**₄ = **צ**, *i.e.* **ע**, **N**₅ = **צ**₂, *i.e.* **ע**

10. bit up-ta-ṭi-ir
 bit uš-še pa-te
 uš-še a-na ka-ra-ri
 libittê kar-mat
 šum-ma šarru be-li i-ḳab-bi
15. a-na am. rab balâtê
 ṭi-e-mu liš-ku-nu
 lil-li-ka uš-še
 li-ik-ru-ur

Translation.

- To the king, my lord,
 thy servant Bêl-ikkîša.
 Peace to the king, my lord.
 May Nebo and Merodach*
5. *to the king, my lord, constantly,
 constantly be gracious.
 As to the house of the woman of the palace,
 which (is) in the city of Kalzi,
 over which the king (my) lord has appointed me,*
10. *the house is cracked,
 the house—the foundation is open.
 The foundation to repair,
 bricks are piled up.
 If the king, (my) lord, gives command,*
15. *to the chief of the public safety
 order may he give,
 may he go, the foundation
 may he repair.*

REMARKS.

This text has been translated by George Smith in his *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 414, which Mr. Pinches pointed out to me. My translation differs from his in some important respects.

Line 7, *bit zinništi ikalli*. This refers, perhaps, to the harem of the king. G. Smith translates "the palace of the queen."

Line 9, *ip-ki-da-ni-ni*. The ending *ni-ni* appears to be a strengthened form of the 1st pers. sing. Cf. K. 359, line 10, p. 51 of *Heft II* of my *Asurbanipal*. It is not "us," as George Smith renders it.

Line 10, *up-ta-ti-ir*, is an Isteal form from פטר, "to split, to tear to pieces."

Line 11, *uš-še*. The root is אשט₁.—*pa-te*. This word comes from the root פתח, "to open."

Line 12, *ka-ra-ri*. The connection in line 18 below absolutely demands some such meaning as "repair." G. Smith translates "to bulge," which, although it might do here, makes no sense in the line just referred to. He evidently connected it with the Hebrew פָּרַר, "to roll."

Line 13, *kar-mat*. This is the most probable reading. I derive this word from the root כרם, "to heap up." The only difficulty in this explanation is that we have a fem. sing. when we should expect a fem. plur., but such incongruities occur elsewhere in Assyrian inscriptions. Smith translates "bulging." He appears to have read *kar-kur*, and derived it from פָּרַר, as he did *ka-ra-ri* in the previous line; but this seems to me impossible, for Assyrian does not form such parts of the verb so far as we know.

Line 15, *am. rab balâtê*. I am not certain about the correctness of the form of the last word of this group, since I have never met with the plural of *balātu*. This officer seems to me to have had to do with all that pertained to the public safety. G. Smith translates "master of public works."

K. 82.

Transcription.

A-na šarri mâtâtê be-li-ia
ardu-ka Kudurru Bêl u Nabû
šu-lum ba-la-tu u a-ra-ku û-mu
ša šarri be-li-ia a-na da-riš liḫ-bu-u
5 ul-tu i-na mât na-ki-ru a-na-ku
Pu-ḫu-du ina ti-bi bit A-muḫ-a-ni
ardâni ša šarri be-li-ia uḫ-te-it-tu-u
âlâni ša a-na maṣarti ša šarri be-li-ia
u-ša-aṣ-bi-tu-um-ma am. Kal-lu-u
10 ša šarri be-li-ia lu-še-ti-ḫu-u
a-na muḫ-ḫi âlâni i-tib-bu-u
šâbê i-duk-ku u zinnišâte u-šaḫ-ma-ṣu-u
u a-na muḫ-ḫi Ṣa-ba-a-a
am. si-ru-bu-tu it-te-bu-u

- 15 û-mu ša a-na bît A-muḡ-a-ni
 e-ru-bu iḡ-ta-bu-nu
 um-ma am. te-bi-e a-na muḡ-ḡi
 am. si-ru-bu-tu it-te-bu
 šâbê al-tap-ra um-ma
- 20 al-ka-a-ma
 'la-'uṣ-ši-ša'
 maṣartu uṣ-ra-a-ma
 ṣu-ub-bi-ta-niš-ṣu-nu-tu
 i-na muḡ-ḡi nâri šarri a-na muḡ-ḡi
- 25 Nabû-šar-uṣur am. rab ki-šir
 ki-i it-bu-u uṣ-šab-bit-su-nu-tu
 šarru be-li-a a-ki-i ša i-li-'u
 liš-'al-ṣu-ṣu-nu-tu šarru be-li-a i-di
 ki-i bît A-muḡ-a-ni iḡ-tu-ma
- 30 Pu-ḡu-du ina ḡaḡ-ḡa-ri-ṣu-nu aš-bu
 am. Kal-lu-u it-ti-ni ul u-še-it-te-ḡu
 u ṣu-nu-ma am. te-bi-e
 u a-ni-ni ḡi-tu ša ḡaḡ-ḡa-ru
 ni-ḡuṭ-tu šarri be-li-a liḡ-bi-ma
- 35 a-na tar-ši âli ša aš-bu-u
 am. Kal-lu-u lu-še-te-ḡu-u

Translation.

*To the king of the countries, my lord,
 thy servant Kudurru. May Bel and Nebo
 the peace, life, and length of days
 of the king, my lord for ever command.*

- 5 *As into the enemy's country I (entered),
 the Pukudu near by the house of Amuḡâni,
 the servants of the king, my lord, murdered,
 the cities which (were) for the watch of the king, my lord,
 they caused to take—may the Kallû*
- 10 *of the king, my lord, advance—
 against the cities they pressed forward,
 the soldiers they killed and the women they treated violently,
 and against Šabûa,
 the Sirubutu, they advanced ;*
- 15 *the day on which they the house of Amuḡâni
 entered, they announced*

*thus ; the attackers against
the Sirubutu advance.*

The soldiers I sent thus :

20 *Go and*

*(for) the Pla'iusšiša'i
a watch set (lit. watch) and
take them.*

As over the river of the king against

25 *Nabû-šar-ušur, the chief of the forces
they advanced, he captured them.*

*May the king, my lord, as he wishes,
ask them ; the king, my lord, knows,
that the house of Amuḫâni is destroyed and*

30 *the Pukudu in their country dwell.*

*The Kallû with us did not march through
and they also, the attackers*

and we the sin of the country

have cut off. May the king, my lord, command and

35 *to the front of the city where they dwell,*

may the Kallû march through.

REMARKS.

This is a most perfect specimen of this class of tablets. It is written in the new Babylonian character, and the writing is most clear and regular. The preservation of the tablet is perfect, so that there is scarcely a doubt as to the reading of a single character, which is rarely true of any Assyrian documents in our collections.

Line 5, *mât na-ki-ru*, "the enemy's country." Cf. K. 11, line 14, where the same expression occurs.

Line 6, *ti-bi*. I derive this word from תבִּי, "to come near." Cf. the common expression *ti-ib tahâzi*, "rush of battle."

Line 7, *uḫ-te-it-tu-u* is Ifta'al from קתה, "to put an end to, to destroy."—*ardâni*. Perhaps the plural is more properly *ardûtê*, as Strassmaier thinks.

Line 9, *Kal-lu-u*. About this title I know nothing. I have not even found other passages with which to compare it.

Line 10, *lu-še-ti-ḫu-u* is a shaphel form from שתק.

Line 11, *i-tib-bu-u*. This I take to be the correct reading. The root is the above-mentioned תבִּי.

Line 12, *u-šah-ma-šu-u*, is a shaphel form of the root **חִיץ**. This root is elsewhere unknown to me in Assyrian, but it seems to me to be identical with the Hebrew **חִיץ**. The primary meaning of this word is "to be sour" (the same is true of the Syriac **ܫܦܘܢ**) but it also has the meaning "to act violently," from which we have the part. **חִיץִי** "a violent (man)," Is. lxxi, 4. This is the meaning which attaches to the word here; hence my translation. It may be added that this meaning is usually expressed in Hebrew by the root **חָמַס**, which is closely allied to this one.

Line 14, *si-ru-bu-tu*. This name is quite new to me.

Line 16, *ik-ta-bu-nu*, is from the common root **קָבַח**, "to speak, to command."

Line 17, *am. te-bi-c*. This word is a derivative of **תְּבִיא**. Cf. W.A.I. V. 3, 65 (*Asurbanipalttexte, Heft I*, p. 24).

Line 20, *al-ka-a*, is the imper. from **אָלַךְ**, "to go."

Line 20, *uṣ-ra-a*, is the imper. from **נָצַר**, "to watch."

Line 25, *am. rab ki-šir*, "chief of the forces." *Ki-šir* is a derivative of **קָצַר**, "to collect, to join together."

Line 27, *a-ki-i ša*, "how." This expression has the same meaning as *ki ša. —i-li'-u*. This word is from the root **לָוַה**, "to be strong," and then "to wish." *l'û*, "strong," *lētu*, "might," *lû*, "steer," *lētu*, "wild-cow," and the precative particle *lû* all come from this root.

Line 30, *aš-bu*, is from the well-known root **וָשַׁב**; *aš-bu-u*, line 35, below, comes from the same.

Line 31, *it-ti-ni*. This is the preposition *itti* with the suffix *ni* of the 1st person plural.

Line 34, *ni-kuṭ-tu*. Cf. the Arabic **قَطَّ**, "to cut off." See also Job viii, 14, **קָטַט**, which is perhaps to be derived from a root **קָטַט** with this same meaning. The Assyrian word under consideration I derive from this root; the form is 1st person plural.

K. 83.

Transcription.

A-na šarri be-li-ia
am. ardu-ka Kap-ti-ia
lu-u šu-lum a-na
šarri be-li-ia a-na éli

- 5 a-di-e ša Bâbili
 ša šarri be-li-a iš-pu-ra
 ul kir-bi-ka un-ḫu
 ša šarri be-li-ia
 ša Ašûr-ra-mi-im šarri
 10 a-na muḫ-ḫi-ia iš-ša-,
 a-na-ku u aḫê-ia
 ki-i ni-il-lik-ku
 ina mât A-ra-ši ma-šar-ta
 it-ti-šu ni-it-ta-šar
 15 a-da-nu ša a-di-e
 ša Bâbili
 ul ak-šu-du
 ina harranâ a-na
 pa-ni
 20 am. ša pa-ni êkalli
 e-te-la.⁷
 ki-i i-bak-ku-an-ni
 ina Nipur u ina Ur
 ina lib-bi ilâni-ka
 25 u a-di-e ša šarri be-li-ia
 aš-ša-bat u a-na-ku
 a-na a-di-e ša šarri be-li-ia
 ul ḫa-ma-ku u-um-ma
 šâbê aplê-šu-nu u aššati-šu-nu
 30 a-di ilâni-šu-nu a-na lib-bi
 a-di-e ša šarri be-li-ia
 li-ir-bu u a-na-ku
 ina ši-pir-ti ša šarri be-li-ia
 am. ši-bu-tu ki-i
 35 il-lik-ku a-na lib-bi
 a-di-e ša šarri be-li-ia
 ina Bâbili
 i-te-ir-bu

Translation.

*To the king, my lord,
 thy servant Kaptia.*

*Peace to
 the king, my lord. As to*

- 5 *the laws of Babylon*
 (about) *which the king, my lord, has sent,*
not with thee is the signet ring
of the king, my lord.
 (As to) *what Ašur-ramim-šarri*
- 10 *against me has brought,*
I and my brothers,
as we went
into the country of Araši a watch
with him we watched.
- 15 *The oath of the agreements*
of Babylon
I have not taken,
by the roads to
the presence
- 20 *of the chief officer of the palace*
I went up.
Then they took me
to Nipur and to Ur
in the midst of thy gods
- 25 *and the agreements of the king, my lord,*
I took and I
to the agreements of the king, my lord,
am not faithless (?).
The people, their sons and their wives
- 30 *together with their gods into*
the agreements of the king, my lord
shall enter, and I
with the letter of the king, my lord,
when the elders
- 35 *come, into*
the agreements of the king, my lord,
in Babylon
will enter.

REMARKS.

As a reference to the accompanying text will show, this is a beautiful and complete tablet, written in the new Babylonian character. Although there are not many words which are not quite clear, yet the thought and connection of the sentences is not so clear to me in all cases.

Line 5, *a-di-e*, "laws, agreements, stipulations." The root is אָדָּה . Cf. the Hebrew עֲדָה .

Line 7. This seems to be the message that the king had sent to Kaptia; the idea is perhaps: "Thou hast no favor in my eyes, thou hast incurred the displeasure of the king." *Kir-bi-ka* is composed of *kirbu*, "midst, in the midst of," and *ka*, the suffix of the 2nd person singular; *un-ku*, "signet-ring;" cf. the Arabic عَنْق . (See Pinches, *Zeitschr. für Keilschriftforschung* Vol. II, p. 325.)

Line 10, *iš-ša'* is from נִשָּׂא .

Line 14, *ni-it-ta-sar*. This word is the Ifte'al of נָצַר , "to watch." The י has been regularly assimilated to the following ת .

Line 15, *a-da-nu*. The connection seems to require a meaning like "oath." Cf. the Hebrew עֲדָה , "testimony," Gen. xxi, 30; "precept," Ps. cxix, 22, 24. This word is to be distinguished from *adannu*, "time."

Line 21, *e-te-la'* is Ifte'al from אָלָה , "to be high, to go up."

Line 22, *i-bak-ku-an-ni*. I derive this word from the root אָבַךְ . Cf. the Hebrew הָפִיךְ . The Assyrian word has also the meaning "to lead forth." The words (G. Smith, *History of Asurbanipal*, p. 182 c. and p. 187 g.) *i-ba-aḱ-ku-šu* and *u-baḱ-ku-u* I consider to be from a different root.

Line 28, *ha-ma-ku-u*. This is the correct reading; the third character cannot be 𒌦 (Bezold, *Literaturgeschichte*, p. 241). I am not able to say what the derivation or meaning of this word is. The connection seems to require some such translation as I have given.

Line 34, *am. ši-bu-tu*. Cf. the Hebrew שִׁיב .

K. 691.

Transcription.

A-na šarri bêli-ia
 ardu-ka Ag-gul-la-nu
 lu-u šul-mu a-na šarri bêli-ia
 Nabú u Marduk
 5 a-na šarri bêli-ia lik-ru-bu
 di-lil-šu-nu ina muḅ-ḫi-ia
 a-na bu-luḅ napša-ti
 ša-šarri bêli a-da-lil
 is-su-ri šarru be-li i-ḱab-bi

10 ma-a mi-i-nu di-lil
 pi-laḫ-ḫu šu-u-tu
 a-na Dilbat a-na-aš-ši
 III ūma-ti
 šarru be-li lu-u-di
 15 liš-me
 šarru be-li i-ḫab-bi
 ma-a a-ta-a
 ki-i a-na e-pa-ši-ka-ni
 la-a u-di la-a aš-me
 20 u-ma-a šarru lu-u-di
 ki-i e-pa-aš-u-ni

Translation.

*To the king, my lord,
 thy servant, Aggullanu.
 Peace to the king, my lord.
 May Nebo and Merodach*
 5 *to the king, my lord, be gracious.
 Their commission to me,
 to save the life
 of the king, (my) lord, I will carry out;
 the command, the king, (my) lord has spoken.*
 10 *Thus: as for the commission,
 that hatchet
 to Dilbat I bring,
 (in) three days
 the king, (my) lord, shall know,
 15 (and) shall hear.
 The king, (my) lord has commanded
 thus. Now
 whether according to thy doing
 I do not know, I have not heard,
 20 but (?) the king shall know,
 when it shall come to pass.*

REMARKS.

This letter is the best possible illustration of what has been said above about the difficulty of explaining these documents where the circumstances attending the writing of them are all unknown. In

this instance it is very difficult to say what the purpose of the letter was. I am also unable to see how certain words and phrases are to be understood or explained. All these things combine to make it one of the most difficult texts that I have met. My esteemed friend Rev. J. N. Strassmaier, S.J., kindly spent an hour in studying this tablet with me, and what I shall have to say by way of explanation includes his suggestions to me.

From the seventh line it would seem that the king was dangerously ill, and had sent for information as to himself from the writer of this letter. Aggulanu is a name of quite frequent occurrence on Assyrian tablets. We know from several tablets that one Aggulanu was an astrologer, and it is not unlikely that this is the same person. This corresponds to what seems to be said in this letter. Its author had been commissioned to find out how long the king should live, or, perhaps, make inquiry of the heavenly bodies as to his recovery. If these were the circumstances under which the letter was written, then it becomes somewhat clearer. The words and phrases, as far as I can explain them, seem to me to lend themselves to this view. But the translation and explanation must be considered as doubtful.

Line 6, *di-lil-šu-nu*. This word seems to have the same meaning as the well-known *tillu*, "business, work, commission" (see my remarks in *Zeitschr. f. Assyri.*, Vol. II, p. 229, *Assurb.*, *Heft II*, p. 33). Cf. the Arabic ⁵لِئَل. The suffix *šu-nu* does not refer to any one mentioned in the letter, but to those persons who had made known the will of the king to Aggulanu. *A-da-lil*, line 8, is, of course, from the same root.

Line 9, *is-su-ri*. The connection requires some such meaning as "command." The root I take to be ¹אָסַר, "to bind." A parallel use of a derivative of this root is to be found Dan. vi, 8, ²אָסַר, "interdict." Cf. further ³אָסַר and ⁴אָסַר, "obligation, prohibition." For this word see K. 525, line 6 and line 10, *i-su-ur-ri*. These are the only passages where I remember to have noticed this word.

Line 10, *mi-i-nu*. Two words need to be carefully distinguished. The word meaning "number" is written in the same way in very many passages; the root, however, is certainly ⁵מִנָּה, "to number." But the word in this and many other passages corresponds to the Syriac ⁶ܡܢܐ. (Cf. my *Assurb.*, *Heft II*, p. 51.)

Line 11, *pi-lak-ku*. This word certainly means "hatchet." It may be that reference is made to a hatchet used in preparing the victims for sacrifice; there is, however, no possibility of translating this passage with any degree of certainty. Mr. Pinches called my attention to a small fragment—K. 4205—which completes W.A.I. II, 37, 24. The entire line reads thus: $\text{𐎶𐎵} > \text{𐎶} > \text{𐎶𐎵} > \text{𐎶𐎵} > \text{𐎶} \mid \text{𐎶} > \text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶} > \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$. According to this a bird was called among the Assyrians the *pi-lak-ki Istar*, "the hatchet of Istar." This is referred to *en passant*, though I do not see that we are much aided by it in explaining this passage.—*Šu-u-tu*. It seems to me that this is only another form of the word *sū'atu*, "the same." This same form occurs twice in K. 525, viz. line 9 and line 32, where Delitzsch, in his *Assyrisches Wörterbuch* has made such egregious blunders in trying to copy the text, as I understand will be pointed out by an anonymous reviewer in the *Expositor*.

Line 12, *a-na-aš-ši*. These characters seem to me to form one word, although it is possible to read them as two, *ana aš-ši*. The root is 𐎶𐎵 , "to carry."

Line 13, *úma-ti*, is probably an old form of the plural.

Line 17, *a-ta-a*. Perhaps this word means "now," and is to be compared with the Hebrew עַתָּה , yet this is by no means certain.

Line 18, *e-pa-ši-ka-ni*. I can think of no other root from which this word may be derived than 𐎶𐎶𐎶 , but the form of the word seems peculiar.

Line 20, *u-ma-a*. Mr. Pinches explains this word as the accusative of *úmu*, and translates "to-day," but this does not seem to me to fit here. I, therefore, prefer to regard it as a conjunctive particle.

Line 21, *e-pa-aš-u-ni*, is from the root 𐎶𐎶𐎶 .

PLATE I.

K 482.

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PLATE II.

K 483.

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PLATE III.

S. 1034.

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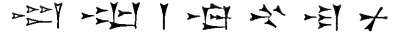
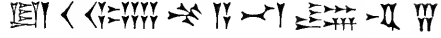

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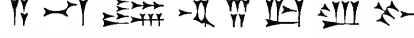
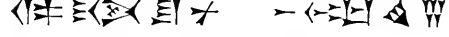


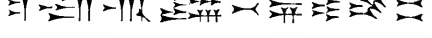
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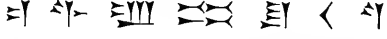

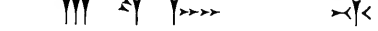
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PLATE VI.

K 691.


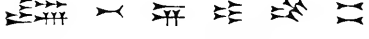

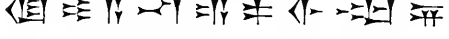
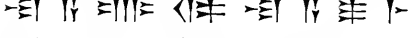





5. 





10. 




REVERSE.



15. 





20. 


The following Communication has been received from Professor W. Wright.

SOME APOCRYPHAL PSALMS IN SYRIAC.

In a Syriac MS., formerly belonging to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, but now deposited in the University Library of Cambridge, I find the following apocryphal Psalms, which, with the exception of the first, have not yet, so far as I know, been printed anywhere. The MS. contains the *K'ethābhā dhē-Dhurrāshā*, **ܟܬܝܒܗܐ ܕܗܝ ܕܗܘܪܪܐܫܐ**, or 'Book of Discipline,' a large theological treatise, composed on a very artificial plan, by Elias, bishop of Pērōz-Shābhōr or al-Anbār (who lived about A.D. 920; see Assemani, *B.O.* iii. 1, p. 258 sq.). At the end of the first section, **ܩܠܝܠܐ ܕܗܝ ܕܗܘܪܪܐܫܐ**, of this work, the scribe has added a few excerpts for the purpose of filling up some blank leaves. These are: (1) the Psalms in question, ff. 115*a*—116*b*; (2) explanations of some difficult words in 'the Book of the Paradise,' **ܟܬܝܒܗܐ ܕܗܝ ܕܗܘܪܪܐܫܐ**, f. 116*b*; and (3) a disputation between a Jacobite and a Nestorian, ff. 116*b*—117*b*. The scribe was the well known Hōmō of Al-Ḷosh, near Mosul, "the village of the prophet Nahum." He has recorded his name, **ܗܘܡܘܢ**, in several subscriptions, but as the MS. is imperfect at the end, the exact date of writing is not given. It must, however, roughly speaking, lie between A.D. 1675 and 1712 (see Hoffmann, *Opusc. Nestor.*, pp. III, IV), and the watermark in the paper—three crescents with a rather small adjunct of this shape **Ⲅ** in one corner of the page—would seem to belong to the latter part of the xviii century.

These same Psalms, five in number, are also found, with the same adjuncts, in the Vatican MS. of Elias of al-Anbār's work, Cod. Vat. Syr. clxxxiii, ff. 117*b*—119*a* (see Assemani's Catalogue, t. iii, p. 385). Professor Guidi has, with his usual kindness, collated this MS. for me. It is dated A. Gr. 2014 = A.D. 1703, and was written at Al-Ḷosh by one Khaushābhā bar Daniel.

The Psalms are five in number, of which the first is that ordinarily numbered as Ps. cli in Greek and Syriac Hexaplar MSS. (see, for example, the *Codex Ambrosianus*, ed. Ceriani, f. 38b). I reproduce the text, so far as possible, exactly as it stands in the MSS.

I.

אֲבָרָה וְאֲבָרָה¹ נִבְרַח² וְדָוִד וְדָוִד חָתָם בְּפָדָה
 וְיִצְחָק וְיִצְחָק מִבְּלִיבְרָה וְדָוִד . וְיִצְחָק אֲבָרָה
 מִבְּלִיבְרָה . וְיִצְחָק אֲבָרָה . וְיִצְחָק אֲבָרָה . וְיִצְחָק אֲבָרָה
 חָתָם דָּאֲבָרָה . וְיִצְחָק אֲבָרָה אֲבָרָה . וְיִצְחָק אֲבָרָה
 אֲבָרָה וְיִצְחָק אֲבָרָה³ . אֲבָרָה חָתָם אֲבָרָה
 וְיִצְחָק אֲבָרָה לִבְיָתָם חָתָם⁴ . וְיִצְחָק אֲבָרָה לִבְיָתָם⁵ .
 מִבְּלִיבְרָה חָתָם חָתָם אֲבָרָה חָתָם⁶ . מִבְּלִיבְרָה
 לִבְיָתָם אֲבָרָה חָתָם חָתָם דָּאֲבָרָה . וְיִצְחָק אֲבָרָה
 חָתָם חָתָם דָּאֲבָרָה⁷ . אֲבָרָה חָתָם חָתָם חָתָם⁸ .

¹ Cod. Cantab. אֲבָרָה .

² This word is wanting in the Cod. Cantab.

³ These two verses are wanting in the Cod. Ambros. The word אֲבָרָה, wolf, is an old error for אֲבָרָה, bear, which might be written אֲבָרָה .

⁴ Cod. Ambros. חָתָם and חָתָם .

⁵ Cod. Ambros. אֲבָרָה, and omits לִבְיָתָם .

⁶ Cod. Ambros. חָתָם חָתָם אֲבָרָה חָתָם .

⁷ Cod. Ambros. חָתָם חָתָם .

⁸ Cod. Ambros. חָתָם .

אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים כְּמִן־נִי־נִי . אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים ¹ לְכִי־נִי־נִי . אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים .
 אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים כְּמִן־נִי־נִי . אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים כְּמִן־נִי־נִי ² אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים .
 אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים ³ אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים .

II.

אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים . אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים .
 אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים . אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים .
 אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים . אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים .
 אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים . אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים .
 אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים . אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים .
 אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים ⁴ אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים . אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים .
 אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים . אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים .
 אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים . אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים .
 אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים . אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים .

¹ Cod. Ambros. אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים .

² Cod. Ambros. אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים .

³ Cod. Ambros. אֲנִי־בְנֵי־כְסֵלִים .

⁴ This word, though found in both Mss., is perhaps a repetition from the previous line.

וְנִתְּנָה לְעַמְּךָ וְזָכַרְתָּ כִּי זָרְתָּ וְזָכַרְתָּ אֶת-יְהוָה
 אֱלֹהֶיךָ מִכָּל הַיָּמִים הַשְּׂמֵרָה הַזֹּאת . וְזָכַרְתָּ
 עֲבוֹתֶיךָ כִּי אֲנִי עֲבוֹתֶיךָ . כִּי אֲנִי עֲבוֹתֶיךָ
 כִּי מִזֶּרְעֶךָ הֵצֵאתָ אֶת-יִשְׂרָאֵל מִמִּצְרָיִם .
 וְהִשְׁמַרְתָּ אֶת-בְּרִיתֶיךָ .

V.

אֲנִי לֹדֶיךָ בְּרַחֲמֶיךָ יְהוָה וְזָכַרְתָּ אֶת-יְהוָה
 כִּי אֲנִי הֵצֵאתָ אֶת-יִשְׂרָאֵל מִמִּצְרָיִם . וְזָכַרְתָּ
 לְיְהוָה בְּיָמֶיךָ : עֲבוֹתֶיךָ הַזֹּאת לְעַמְּךָ
 וְזָכַרְתָּ אֶת-יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ . וְזָכַרְתָּ
 לְיְהוָה כִּי מִצְרַיִם הֵצֵאתָ אֶת-יִשְׂרָאֵל . וְזָכַרְתָּ
 לְיְהוָה כִּי מִצְרַיִם הֵצֵאתָ אֶת-יִשְׂרָאֵל . וְזָכַרְתָּ
 לְיְהוָה כִּי מִצְרַיִם הֵצֵאתָ אֶת-יִשְׂרָאֵל . וְזָכַרְתָּ
 לְיְהוָה כִּי מִצְרַיִם הֵצֵאתָ אֶת-יִשְׂרָאֵל . וְזָכַרְתָּ
 לְיְהוָה כִּי מִצְרַיִם הֵצֵאתָ אֶת-יִשְׂרָאֵל . וְזָכַרְתָּ
 לְיְהוָה כִּי מִצְרַיִם הֵצֵאתָ אֶת-יִשְׂרָאֵל .

¹ Ms. Cantab. וְזָכַרְתָּ כִּי אֲנִי עֲבוֹתֶיךָ .

FIVE PSALMS OF DAVID, WHICH ARE NOT WRITTEN IN THE
ORDER OF THE PSALMS.

I. Ps. cli. *A Thanksgiving of David.*

(1) I was the youngest among my brethren, and a youth in my father's house. (2) I used to feed my father's flock, and I found a lion and a wolf, and slew them and rent them. (3) My hands made an organ, and my fingers fashioned a harp. (4) Who will show me my Lord? He, my Lord, is become my God.* (5) He sent His angel and took me away from my father's flock, and anointed me with the oil of anointing. (6) My brethren, the fair and the tall, in them the Lord had no pleasure. (7) And I went forth to meet the Philistine, and he cursed me by his idols. (8) But I drew his sword and cut off his head, and took away the reproach from the children of Israel.

II.

The Prayer of Hezekiah when enemies surrounded him.

(1) With a loud voice glorify ye God; in the assembly of many proclaim ye His glory. (2) Amid the multitude of the upright glorify His praise; and speak of His glory with the righteous. (3) Join yourselves (*literally*, your soul) to the good and to the perfect, to glorify the Most High. (4) Gather yourselves together to make known His strength; and be not slow in showing forth His deliverance [and His strength] and His glory to all babes. (5) That the honour of the Lord may be known, wisdom hath been given; and to tell of His works it hath been made known to men: (6) to make known unto babes His strength, and to make them that lack understanding (*literally*, heart) to comprehend His glory; (7) who are far from His entrances and distant from His gates: (8) because the Lord of Jacob is exalted, and His glory is upon all His works. (9) And a man who glorifies the Most High, in him will He take pleasure; as in one who offers fine meal, and as in one who offers he-goats and calves; (10) and as in one who makes fat the altar with a multitude of burnt offerings; and as the smell of incense from the hands of the just. (11) From thy upright gates† shall be heard His voice, and from the voice of the upright admonition. (12) And

* Or better, as in Cod. Ambros., *The Lord, He is my God.*

† The feminine suffix seems to be addressed to the city of Jerusalem.

in their eating shall be satisfying in truth, and in their drinking, when they share together. (13) Their dwelling is in the law of the Most High, and their speech is to make known His strength. (14) How far from the wicked is speech of Him, and from all transgressors to know Him! (15) Lo, the eye of the Lord taketh pity on the good, and unto them that glorify Him will He multiply mercy, and from the time of evil will He deliver their soul. (16) Blessed be the Lord, who hath delivered the wretched from the hand of the wicked; who raiseth up a horn out of Jacob and a judge of the nations out of Israel; (17) that He may prolong His dwelling in Zion, and may adorn our age in Jerusalem.

III.

When the People obtained permission from Cyrus to return home.

(1) O Lord, I have cried unto Thee; hearken Thou unto me. (2) I have lifted up my hands to Thy holy dwelling-place; incline Thine ear unto me. (3) And grant me my request;* my prayer withhold not from me. (4) Build up my soul, and destroy it not; and lay it not bare before the wicked. (5) Them that recompense evil things turn Thou away from me, O judge of truth. (6) O Lord, judge me not according to my sins, because no flesh is innocent before Thee. (7) Make plain to me, O Lord, Thy law, and teach me Thy judgments; (8) and many shall hear of Thy works, and the nations shall praise Thine honour. (9) Remember me and forget me not; and lead me not into things that be too hard for me. (10) The sins of my youth make Thou to pass from me, and my chastisement let them not remember against me. (11) Cleanse me, O Lord, from the evil leprosy, and let it no more come unto me. (12) Dry up its roots in (literally, *from*) me, and let not its leaves sprout within me. (13) Great art Thou, O Lord; therefore my request shall be fulfilled from before Thee. (14) To whom shall I complain that he may give unto me? and what can the strength of men add [unto me]? (15) From before Thee, O Lord, is my confidence; I cried unto the Lord and He heard me, and healed the breaking of my heart. (16) I slumbered and slept; I dreamed and was helped, and the Lord sustained me. (17) They sorely pained my heart; I will return thanks because the Lord delivered

* Cod. Vat. *my requests.*

me. (18) Now will I rejoice in their shame; I have hoped in Thee, and I shall not be ashamed. (19) Give Thou honour for ever, even for ever and ever. (20) Deliver Israel Thine elect, and them of the house of Jacob Thy proved one.

IV.

Spoken by David when he was contending with the lion and the wolf, which took a sheep from his flock.

(1) O God, O God, come to my aid; help Thou me and save me; deliver Thou my soul from the slayer. (2) Shall I go down to Sheōl by the mouth of the lion? or shall the wolf confound me? (3) Was it not enough for them that they lay in wait for my father's flock, and rent in pieces a sheep of my father's drove, but they were wishing also to destroy my soul? (4) Have pity, O Lord, and save Thy holy one from destruction; that he may rehearse Thy glories in all his times, and may praise Thy great name: (5) when Thou hast delivered him from the hands of the destroying lion and of the ravening wolf, and when Thou hast rescued my captivity from the hands of the wild beasts. (6) Quickly, O my Lord (Adonai), send from before Thee a deliverer, and draw me out of the gaping pit, which imprisons me in its depths.

V.

Spoken by David when returning thanks to God, who had delivered him from the lion and the wolf, and he had slain both of them.

(1) Praise the Lord, all ye nations; glorify Him, and bless His name: (2) Who rescued the soul of His elect from the hands of death, and delivered His holy one from destruction: (3) and saved me from the nets of Sheōl, and my soul from the pit that cannot be fathomed. (4) Because, ere my deliverance could go forth from before Him, I was well nigh rent in two pieces by two wild beasts. (5) But He sent His angel, and shut up from me the gaping mouths, and rescued my life from destruction. (6) My soul shall glorify Him and exalt Him, because of all His kindnesses which He hath done and will do unto me.

QUEENS' COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
4th May, 1887.

The following Communication has been received from MM. Eugène and Victor Revillout :

LES DÉPÔTS ET LES CONFIEMENTS EN DROIT ÉGYPTIEN ET EN DROIT BABYLONIEN.

Dans le droit romain de la dernière époque, c'est-à-dire dans celui qui se composait surtout d'emprunts successifs au *jus gentium*, au droit des nations environnantes, on nommait *dépôts* les placements d'argent, rapportant d'ailleurs intérêts, qui se faisaient dans les caisses des banquiers. Les interprètes, ne pouvant pas changer le nom ancien en droit romain, y ont adjoint un adjectif. Ce sont là pour eux des *dépôts imparfaits*. Mais il faut savoir que dans les vieux droits, qui ont servi de prototypes aux jurisconsultes romains sur ce point, comme sur beaucoup d'autres, aucune distinction analogue n'était établie : le mot dépôt s'appliquait aussi bien à l'argent dont le dépositaire se servait jusqu'à ce qu'il le rendit qu'à la somme confiée pour être conservée intacte à la disposition du déposant. Une tessère démotique du *British Museum*, relative à un de ces dépôts d'argent, nous montre nettement la différence entre ces deux genres.

Une nommée Tsémouth* prétendait avoir déposé chez son beau-frère et sa sœur une somme de 2 talents et 225 argenteus. Le dépôt fut nié, et les juges ordonnèrent en conséquence que si le beau-frère ne prêtait pas un serment formel au sujet de cette dette, il aurait à en rembourser, non seulement le capital, mais les intérêts, puisque évidemment il s'était servi de cet argent qu'il déclarait n'avoir pas intact entre les mains, et avait ainsi transformé la nature du dépôt. Ici le mot employé $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} = \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}$ ou $\text{𓆓} \text{𓆔}$ *Kelu* (Copte $\sigma\lambda\theta$) est exactement le même que dans d'autres pièces démotiques où il s'agit de dépôts d'objets à rendre

* " Copie du serment qu'a fait Hor, fils de Psenhor, à la porte des dieux de Pamont neb Manun, l'an 15, qui fait an 12, le 23 payni, à Tsémouth, fille de Hélek, à savoir :

" Adjuré soit le Ka de Manun qui repose à jamais ainsi que tout dieu qui repose avec lui : Les 2 talents 225 argenteus au sujet desquels tu as parlé avec moi en disant que je les ai reçus en dépôt $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}$, ainsi que Tadjom ta sœur, tu ne me les as pas donnés, tu ne me les as pas confiés $\text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕} \text{𓆖}$ ainsi qu'à Tadjom ma femme. Il n'y a pas de mensonge dans ce serment."

en nature et sans intérêt. Nous avons publié récemment une pièce de ce genre dans laquelle intervient également un serment, mais cette fois non judiciaire, serment par lequel le dépositaire s'oblige purement et simplement à rendre le dépôt le jour où le déposant le voudra et entre les mains de quiconque rapportera en son nom la tessère le constatant.* Le mot ἱεροκτελυ (ἱεροκτελο) ou ἱεροκτελα (ἱεροκτελο) a pour sens principal celui de confier : et c'est pourquoi ce terme fut même employé à une certaine époque pour désigner la masse des contrats, ainsi que nous le voyons dans les décrets de Rosette et de Canope ; † car il ne faut pas oublier qu'à l'origine du droit contractuel, aussitôt après le code de Bocchoris, les contrats de beaucoup les plus nombreux étaient ceux dans lesquels on confiait sa chose : par exemple en culture, par une location, quand il s'agissait d'un immeuble. Une chose que l'on remettait avec une destination déterminée, obligatoire pour celui qui la recevait, et qui en était personnellement chargé, ‡ constituait dans

Arrêt (en vertu duquel ce serment fut prononcé):

“Qu'il amène sa sœur Tachons en sa main pour qu'ils jurent le serment, serment de sa garantie (à lui). Ils feront le serment pour qu'elle (la plaignante) s'éloigne d'eux. S'ils ne le font pas, qu'ils lui donnent 2 talents et 225 argentes et leurs intérêts.—Le serment a été déposé dans la main de Pséchons, pères.”

On voit que *Kēlou* est employé à la fois dans le sens actif et passif : recevoir en dépôt, confier en dépôt.”

* Copie du serment qu'a fait Pséchons, fils d'Hermoclès, qu'il a fait dans le temple de Chons, à savoir :

“Adjuré soit Chons qui repose à jamais, ainsi que tout dieu qui repose avec lui : le jour où ils apporteront ces (écritures)—les gens—pour le dépôt ἱεροκτελο je le rendrai (ce dépôt), au milieu de Thèbes, à l'homme qu'ils auront choisi (mot-à-mot : pris) pour cela.”

† Voir ma chrestomathie démotique, p. 54, pour le décret de Rosette, et p. 139, pour le décret de Canope :

ΣΥΝ ἱεροκτελα ἱεροκτελο

ΚΑΙ ΕΝΓΡΑΦΕΣΘΑΙ ΕΝ ΠΑΣΙΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΙΣΜΟΙΣ

‡ L'auteur de la pièce démotique du Louvre, dont le titre de chancellerie en grec est ΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΛΥΧΝΩΝ, fait aussi une fondation pieuse assimilée par lui à un ἱεροκτελα ἱεροκτελο et qui est ainsi rédigée :

“Héreijs habitant d'une maison qui est dans l'Asclépeium dit : Je fais savoir ceci au prophète, à l'écrivain du sanctuaire et au peuple de la demeure éternelle d'Imouth (Asclépijs) le dieu grand. (Qu'il fasse votre resplendissement dans son sanctuaire !)

ce sens un dépôt, un confinement, un *t'ala*. Elle se trouvait placée entre les mains de quelqu'un, mais pour remplir les intentions de celui qui l'y avait placée.

L'idée de confinement* et celle de placement dominant dans les temps anciens toute la théorie des dépôts; et c'est pourquoi les dépôts d'argent se rattachent plus spécialement à l'organisation des banques et du commerce.

Chez les banquiers grecs les particuliers, afin de pouvoir faire payer par ces banquiers les sommes qu'ils se trouveraient devoir, comme nous faisons actuellement payer par les banques modernes

“ En l'an 30, le 7 de Thot, en la main du dieu Imouth et de la grande déesse Astarté, j'ai fait mettre de côté (par jour) un kesro d'huile de Tekem (κικι) pour le luminaire. Il n'y a pas à laisser s'éteindre un luminaire à jamais, parmi les 42 luminaires qui existent aujourd'hui. Cela restera éternellement (c'est une fondation perpétuelle). J'ai fait solder cela et ordonner de faire préparer pour Pathot le reste, pour qu'il le fasse remettre à Téos chaque année. C'est en dépôt ḳꜣ ḳꜣ ḳꜣ. Les autres personnes ne pourront pas le prendre en leurs maisons. Le scribe de Nehi est pour ces choses, etc.”

Il faut remarquer que notre pièce fait partie de la correspondance administrative du Sérapeum de Memphis. Aussi n'emploie-t-on pas ḳꜣ ḳꜣ ḳꜣ *Kelou* = σελω comme dans les pièces de Thébaïde, mais ḳꜣ ḳꜣ ḳꜣ = χελω comme dans les décrets de Rosette (redigé aussi à Memphis) et de Canope (provenant de la Basse Egypte). La même différence subsiste encore en Copte : χελω est particulier à la Basse Egypte, et σελω à la Thébaïde. J'ai fait depuis longtemps remarquer que des différences dialectales semblables à celles du Copte existaient en démotique. Notons que si χελω et σελω veulent dire également, *deponere apud aliquem, concedere, commendare*, σελω signifie de plus *hospitio excipere* ou *habitare*, et σελωσ *committre alicui* ou *committi alicui*. (Nous avons déjà remarqué plus haut que ḳꜣ ḳꜣ ḳꜣ avait en effet le sens actif et passif.) Les mots σοιλε et χωιλι, hôte, n'ont pas d'autre origine. Ce dernier est représenté en démotique par la forme ḳꜣ ḳꜣ ḳꜣ, désignant aussi les hôtes (dans le poème satyrique par exemple).

* Cette idée de confinement exprimée par le memphitique ḳꜣ ḳꜣ ḳꜣ (χελω) et le Thébain ḳꜣ ḳꜣ ḳꜣ (σελω) s'appliquait non seulement aux choses en nature, mais aux affaires à suivre, aux procès, aux enquêtes, etc. C'est ainsi que, dans un rapport administratif du sérapeum, traduit par l'un de nous, dans le N^o. 1-2 de la 5^e année de sa *Revue égyptologique*, on voit le stratège dire à l'agent du grand prêtre, qui vient lui parler relativement à une affaire de concussion : “ Qu'on la confie (ḳꜣ ḳꜣ ḳꜣ) à un tel.” Ce document provient de Memphis, et c'est pourquoi la forme est ḳꜣ ḳꜣ ḳꜣ.

nos différentes dettes au moyen de chèques, tantôt déposaient l'argent comptant qu'ils avaient en mains, tantôt, quand ils n'avaient pas actuellement d'argent comptant, mais une position assez en vue, se faisaient ouvrir un crédit pour une somme déterminée, ainsi que le fit Timothée fils de Conon chez Pasion le banquier. La situation était exactement la même dans les deux cas. Le banquier payait au nom de son client, soit sur l'argent confié, soit sur le crédit ouvert par un acceptation donnée d'avance.

Les banques chaldéennes, qui avaient servi de modèles aux banques phéniciennes et aux banques grecques, procédaient de même, et nous voyons ainsi le banquier de Babylone Neboahiiddin payer, d'après un mandat écrit ou comme nous le dirions actuellement un chèque, le prix non seulement d'acquisitions faites par des particuliers, ses clients, mais d'immeubles vendus aux plus grands personnages et au roi lui-même.

Relativement à ces paiements, il n'y avait aucune différence entre le crédit ouvert et le dépôt d'argent. Mais dans ce dernier cas, bien entendu, il ne s'agissait pas d'un dépôt cacheté, d'un dépôt parfait suivant l'école, ne permettant pas à celui qui l'avait reçu d'y toucher autrement qu'en le restituant. Il s'agissait d'argent placé dans la maison et entrant en ligne de compte ; c'était la couverture nécessaire pour se faire ouvrir un crédit à vue, pour avoir dans cette maison l'équivalent de ce que sont aujourd'hui nos livrets de chèques, couverture que, dans certains cas, une acceptation faite par le banquier pouvait suppléer, ainsi que nous l'avons déjà vu.

Aussi avons nous longuement hésité en rencontrant le mot 𐤠𐤏𐤍𐤁𐤏𐤍 dans des textes relatifs à des maisons de banque. Ce mot comporte en effet deux lectures à cause du polysyllabisme du premier signe. Il peut se lire soit *hudu*, soit *pakdu*. La 1^{re} lecture le rattachait à une racine bien connue, celle que nous retrouvons dans la formule *ina huut libbisu*, correspondant exactement à la formule démotique 𐤎𐤏𐤍𐤁𐤏𐤍 𐤎𐤏𐤍𐤁𐤏𐤍 *mati heti*, "content mon cœur."

Chez les Égyptiens, comme chez les Chaldéens, celui qui cédait un esclave, par exemple, déclarait ainsi que son cœur était satisfait : pour indiquer qu'il avait complètement souscrit, sans arrière pensée, à cette vente, et qu'il en avait accepté toutes les conséquences. La même expression pouvait donc admirablement convenir pour un banquier qui acceptait toutes les conséquences de l'ouverture du crédit à vue faite à un client jusqu'à une limite déterminée. L'autre lecture *pakdu* devait conduire à un autre genre d'opération dont,

au point de vue des chèques, les résultats pratiques étaient exactement les mêmes, c'est-à-dire à un placement d'argent fait d'avance chez le banquier. Nous avons adopté d'abord la première lecture, celle que M. Strassmaier proposait dans le volume vii des *Transactions* à propos d'un acte du Louvre renfermant aussi le mot *suhindu*, sur lequel nous aurons bientôt à revenir. M. Oppert nous a exprimé ses préférences pour la seconde, que M. Strassmaier lui-même avait choisie dubitativement pour le mot 𐎶𐎠𐎵 𐎶𐎠𐎵^* dans les transcriptions des Actes de Liverpool et de Londres dont il avait donné le texte et dont nous donnions la traduction pour la première fois, sans nous croire lié le moins du monde par ces transcriptions que nous ne négligions jamais de consulter.

A la lecture du mot 𐎶𐎠𐎵 𐎶𐎠𐎵 et de son féminin 𐎶𐎠𐎵 𐎶𐎠𐎵 𐎶𐎠𐎵 se rattachait intimément le sens attribué au mot 𐎶𐎠𐎵 𐎶𐎠𐎵 𐎶𐎠𐎵 . Il s'agit ici d'un mot très rare que nous n'avions pas rencontré encore en dehors de l'acte du Louvre copié par M. Strassmaier; et nous désespérions d'avoir des termes de comparaison quand, sur une des tablettes de notre collection particulière, ce même mot, mis au génitif 𐎶𐎠𐎵 𐎶𐎠𐎵 𐎶𐎠𐎵 , comme il l'était déjà une fois dans l'acte du Louvre en question, nous a frappé. Le doute ici n'était plus possible, et il était évident qu'il s'agissait d'un versement, d'un encaissement,† ce qui nous rapprochait un peu du sens *deposite*, "dépôt," proposé pour ce mot par M. Strassmaier, dans un essai de traduction malheureusement bien défectueux pour tout le reste. Bien que notre petite tablette, provenant de Sippara, ait perdu quelques signes au bout de chaque ligne, ce qu'il en reste nous montre, d'une manière très claire, qu'elle avait pour objet principal un versement d'argent de 19 mines 3 sekels $\frac{1}{2}$ fait entre les mains du gardien (préposé) (*kipu*) du célèbre temple d'Eparra; voici en effet les trois premières lignes.

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Plus loin, les lacunes devenant beaucoup plus considérables, une traduction suivie serait impossible. Mais il semble que sur la somme en question un premier paiement de trois mines $\frac{2}{3}$ a eu lieu,

* Notons que si, à la page 53 de son index, il met *pakdu* avec un point d'interrogation pour trois tablettes, à la page 25 il transcrit également avec un point d'interrogation *hudu* pour une quatrième.

† Nous reviendrons bientôt là dessus.

et qu'un second paiement d'une demi-mine est effectué par un individu qui semble être le fils du *Kipu* d'Eparra. En tout cas ici n'intervient aucune mention d'immeuble vendu. La forte somme versée entre les mains du Kipu du principal temple a donc du l'être à titre de dépôt, car on sait que les particuliers déposaient dans les temples, soit en Égypte, soit en Asie, soit en Grèce, soit dans tout le reste du monde ancien, les sommes d'argent qu'ils voulaient mettre en sureté, sous la sauve-garde des dieux mêmes. Aristote nous raconte que lorsque les Spartiates se furent enrichis au point de posséder chacun des millions, après les dix ans d'hégémonie qu'eut leur ville, ils avaient eu soin de déposer tout cet argent dans divers temples, la loi de Sparte ne leur permettant pas de le garder chez eux.

Le *Kipu* du temple du soleil (*d'Eparra*) qui avait reçu le versement, le *suhindu* dont il s'agit, paraît avoir joué un rôle important comme principal fonctionnaire du temple.

Nous avons déjà publié dans un numéro précédent des *Proceedings* une tablette de notre collection particulière, relative à une adoption, et où l'on voit un *Kipu d'Eparra*, conjointement avec un autre fonctionnaire portant le titre de scribe de Sippara, créer des liens de famille par un acte de juridiction gracieuse. C'est à eux que la demande d'adoption est adressée. Ce sont eux qui accordent, à titre de fils, l'enfant en question aux époux qui veulent lui tenir lieu de père et de mère.

Dans une autre tablette de notre collection les deux mêmes fonctionnaires, d'une part le *Kipu* du temple principal, et d'une autre part le scribe de la ville, nous apparaissent comme constituant collectivement un tribunal appelé à se prononcer sur un délit, à ce qu'il semble, et sur la responsabilité d'un employé inférieur du temple. Cette tablette, malheureusement très détériorée en diverses places, commence par les quatre lignes suivantes :

(I 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 Nebokasir abalsu sa Nebo idlina ana mahhar

I 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 Neboahiikisa (d) kiiipi eparra

< I 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 u Musesib Marduk (d) tupsar sipparki ikbuu umma

ina sanat 6 kam Nebo naid sar dintirki

. ina musi

Il s'agit ici d'une déposition faite par un nommé Nebo kasir, fils de Nebo iddina, par devant (*ana mahhar*) Nebo ahi ikisa, kipu d'Eparra, et Musesib Marduk, scribe de Sippara, au sujet de laine qui, en l'an 6 du roi Nabonid, durant la nuit, avait été probablement volée. Les deux lignes suivantes sont presque totalement détruites. C'est à peine si l'on distingue, vers le milieu de l'une, un nom propre que l'on retrouve plus tard dans la suite de cette tablette, et à la fin de l'autre les mots *ul teel*, mots qui font partie de la dernière phrase de la

* Dans un article précédent sur "un nouveau nom royal perse" nous avons déjà parlé de la laine et de son prix moyen en l'an 41 de Nabuchodonosor d'après une tablette de notre collection personnelle. Ce prix était de 12 sekels d'argent par talent de laine, ce qui fait un sekel pour 5 mines.


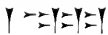





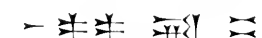
Une autre tablette, qui malheureusement présente de très nombreuses lacunes, et qui n'est pas datée, mais est certainement plus récente (car l'expression *argent blanc—pisu* —est surtout en usage sous le règne de Darius), porte une estimation plus élevée de la laine : 20 sekels par talent, un sekel pour trois mines.

Il s'agit de laine provenant du temple d'Eparra et remise en prix, par ce temple, avec indication de la quantité cédée et de la nature de la dette. Le document se trouve divisé par des lignes transversales en cinq parties ou, pour nous servir d'un terme commercial, en cinq articles. Il ne reste guère de bien net que le commencement de chacun des trois premiers.

Dans l'un la quantité de laine est un demi-talent ; son estimation, 10 sekels d'argent blanc ; l'origine de la dette, une fourniture de bœufs, etc., faite au temple par des . Voici ce commencement :

Ici le commencement de la cinquième ligne est effacé, mais la phrase se termine par l'idéogramme donné.

déposition de Nébokasir, mettant en cause un employé désigné comme scribe des *apaki*, c'est-à-dire sans doute des apports, suivant le sens le plus habituel du verbe *abaku*, apporter, amener, présenter, *adducere, educere, producere, exhibere*.

()   (lu)  da  tupsar 
 pan nebo musetik (lu) ut da (d) tupsar apaki
 
 kii aktabi.

Cette déposition une fois faite devant eux, les deux magistrats, le *kīpu* du temple et le scribe de la ville, rendirent leur sentence. Ils

Dans le second paragraphe la quantité de laine est la même, l'estimation la même ; le nom du créancier ainsi payé a subsisté :




Mais quant à l'origine de la créance elle était indiquée en dernier lieu, et de cette indication il ne reste plus que le commencement :

 Kaspā ana mahiri (*Kīlam*).


Dans le troisième, au contraire, l'origine de la créance se trouve indiquée dans la partie qui subsiste encore :




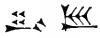



La laine était ici versée sur le prix de .


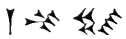



Arrêtons nous un instant sur ce terme, au sujet du quel on a beaucoup discuté.






Les deux composantes de cette expression sont isolément parfaitement connues.






Le signe *lu* est traduit par *tsinu*, "mouton," dans les bilingues. Le signe  représente à la fois en sémitique le mot *ardu*, "serviteur, domestique," et le mot *zikaru*, "male." Aussi Mr. Houghton, dans son étude sur les mammifères en babylonien, avait-il transcrit le signe composé en question *tsinu zikaru*, "mouton male," et Mr. Delitsch l'avait-il transcrit *tsinu ardu*, et traduit "mouton domestique." De notre côté nous nous étions rattachés à cette dernière traduction. Mais Mr. Pinches, dans son étude sur les portes de Balawat, avait soutenu une opinion nouvelle, qui consistait à réunir en un seul idéogramme les deux signes en question, et à voir dans le tout, non point un mouton, mais un bœuf de trait (*draught ox*). Il a consacré au développement de cette opinion une longue note à la page 117 et à la page 118 de la 1^{re} partie du 7^e volume des *Transactions*. C'est cette opinion que M. Pognon a fonderement adoptée dans l'ouvrage qu'il vient de faire paraître sur les inscriptions de Babylone, mais en ne nommant pas plus Mr. Pinches





la rendirent en présence de personnes qui jouaient le rôle d'assesseurs, et qui recueillaient leurs paroles :



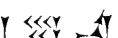
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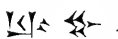

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



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
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  umma

à cette occasion qu'il ne l'avait nommé à propos de l'inscription de Bavian traduite par Mr. Pinches avant de l'être par lui et pas plus qu'il ne nomme encore M. Oppert à l'occasion des traductions qu'il lui emprunte souvent servilement, quelles qu'elles soient, pour des inscriptions de Babylone qui sont foncièrement les mêmes que celles traduites par M. Oppert dans son expédition de Mésopotamie. Ici d'ailleurs M. Pognon avait une excuse, car il avait modifié quelque chose à l'opinion de Mr. Pinches. Il avait transformé en veau le bœuf de trait—ce qui paraît étrange puisque l'animal en question trainait le char du dieu Mérodach.

Eh bien, une tablette de notre collection démontre qu'il en faut revenir à l'opinion de Mr. Houghton. En effet, cette tablette, du règne de Darius, détermine par l'adjonction de la syllable *ru*, servant de complément phonétique, la prononciation de . Il n'est donc pas possible de douter qu'il faut lire *tsinu sikaru*, et y voir un mouton male ou un bélier. L'idée d'un bélier sacré, attaché au char d'un dieu, n'a rien qui répugne. Ajoutons que dans le passage même de l'inscription de Balawat commentée par Mr. Pinches les  sont associés aux  (*alpî*), c'est-à-dire aux bœufs, à titre d'animaux assignés à un temple pour un sacrifice. Or on n'a jamais sacrifié de bœufs de trait. Il est possible d'ailleurs qu'il soit arrivé pour le mot composé  désignant primitivement des moutons males à l'exclusion des brebis d'être pris collectivement, comme le mot mouton l'est en français alors qu'on l'applique aussi bien aux brebis elles-mêmes qu'aux males coupés ou non.

Dans l'acte que M. Strassmaier a publié sous le No. 133, les  figurent également à côté de bœufs dans une créance, et cette même créance por aussi

De cette sentence, la première partie était relative à l'employé incriminé, au scribe des *apaki*. Il est déclaré responsable envers le temple (*ekur*) :

𐎠 𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠
Nebo	musetikudda,	tupsar	apaki,		
𐎠 𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠
mah	.....	u	gabbi,	kii	issaa,
𐎠 𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠
ana	ekur	ittadin			

La seconde partie de l'énoncé du jugement concerne 𐎠 𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠 𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠. Mais elle est tellement mutilée qu'il est impossible d'en saisir la portée réelle.

Plusieurs autres tablettes de notre collection nous montrent également la haute situation du *K'ihu* d'Eparra, qu'on aurait tendance

sur de la laine 𐎠 𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠. M. Strassmaier ne connaissant pas la valeur de ce dernier mot, a très mal copié la seconde ligne, mais il est facile de la restituer ; il faut lire : 5 bilat (*tikun*) 𐎠 𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠 ; c'est la fin d'une énumération comprenant 40 moutons (ce que M. Strassmaier a vu), un certain nombre de bœufs, probablement 10 (ce que M. Strassmaier n'a pas vu), et enfin 5 talents de laine. Là dessus (*ina libbi*), 2 talents et 4 bœufs formaient la créance de Dainu suna iddin sur Bazuzu ; dans le mois de Duzu les moutons exprimés par l'idéogramme 𐎠 𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠, la laine exprimée par l'idéogramme 𐎠 𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠, encore méconnu dans ce passage par M. Strassmaier, et les bœufs, que représentait collectivement l'idéogramme 𐎠 𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠, devaient être livrés. Il était dit que l'argent qui avait servi à les acheter provenait de la société Iddina Marduk, fils de Basai, de la tribu de Nursin, cette société dont nous avons si longuement parlé dans l'appendice babylonien *du cours sur les obligations en droit égyptien comparé aux autres droits de l'antiquité*.

Nous aurons d'ailleurs à revenir bientôt sur les animaux donnés aux temples et destinés au sacrifice ; plusieurs tablettes de notre collection particulière sont en effet relatives à cette question.

Avant de finir nous devons dire que la laine 𐎠 𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠 est souvent mentionnée dans la nouvelle collection de Tablettes dont M. Strassmaier vient de publier les copies depuis l'impression de la note qu'on vient de lire. Dans le No. 174 il est question par exemple de laine pour vêtements 𐎠 𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠 𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠 𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠. Cette laine est remise aux trois commis d'un tisserand 𐎠 𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠 𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠 𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠 𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠. C'est une nouvelle preuve après tant d'autres du sens *laine* que nous avons spécifié les premiers pour 𐎠 𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠. Voir aussi les Nos. 71, 109, etc.

à comparer à l'épistate établi sur chaque temple d'Égypte à l'époque Ptolémaïque, et qui paraît avoir eu la garde du sanctuaire, en qualité d'administrateur et de préposé officiel.

Représentant le temple, il recevait ainsi naturellement entre les mains l'argent que l'on mettait sous la garde des dieux.

Mais, dans un temple, il n'est pas possible de songer à un crédit ouvert par une acceptation formelle, et comme le mot *suhindu* se rencontre à la fois dans l'acte du temple d'Eparra et dans l'acte du Louvre relatif au banquier *Nebo ahi iddin*, cette fois en corrélation avec l'idée exprimée par $\text{𐎠-𐎢𐎽} \text{𐎶𐎵}$, nous sommes amenés forcément à admettre qu'il s'agit bien d'un dépôt effectif et d'un vrai confinement.

Il faut donc lire ici, non point *hudatum*, mais *pakdatum*, et supprimer tout signe de doute pour la transcription *pakdu* dans les cas où le mot se rencontre au masculin.

Voici comment nous traduirions en définitive l'acte du Louvre 1139, publié d'abord par M. Strassmaier :

“ Une mine 18 sekels d'argent, encaissement, cacheté, reste du prix d'une maison de Belrimanni, fils de Musezibbel, de la tribu de Da Marduk, que Belahierib, fils de Niralziribni, tribu d'Egibi, avait achetée : l'argent, à savoir 11 mines, 18 sekels, il avait confié (*iphidu*)* à Nebo ahi iddin comme *tesutum* de créancier investi (hypothécaire gagiste) sur cette maison. Jusqu'à la mort de Bel ahi iddin, l'acheteur de cette maison, nul créancier gagiste, pour ce dépôt, (*suhindu*) ne se présenta.†

* Nous avons déjà corrigé en *iphidu* le mot *ibdidu* qu'avait fautivement lu ici M. Strassmaier, et nous l'avions en conséquence rendu en français par *il lui a confié* dans la traduction que nous avons donnée de cet acte il y a plus d'un an (voir *les obligations en droit égyptien comparé aux autres droits de l'antiquité*, p. 411 et suivantes).

† A partir d'ici la copie de M. Strassmaier, pleine de lacunes du reste, était très défectueuse. Nous l'avions déjà complétée en très grande partie et corrigée sur la plupart des points l'année dernière aux pages 412 et suivantes des *obligations en droit égyptien*. Cependant une nouvelle revue de la tablette originale nous a permis de déchiffrer définitivement certains groupes de caractères. Nous citerons particulièrement le mot *mallat* que M. Strassmaier avait lu *elat*, une fois avec point d'interrogation, et une fois sans point d'interrogation, dans les lignes 19 et 20, le mot qui termine la ligne 20, mot que M. Strassmaier avait laissé en blanc, où nous avons cru d'abord reconnaître *uli*, et qui nous paraît maintenant être certainement le mot *hala*, dont nous avons montré les premiers le sens vrai : part, portion. Le peu d'espace qui restait pour le scribe au bout de cette ligne lui

“L’encaissement, en son cachetage, Itti marduk baladu rendit et remit à Belrimanni, en présence de Kiribtu le *Kīssuu*, d’Edirbel le *Kīssuu*, de Nirgal ahi uzur et de Sumaiukin les juges.”


Il nous paraît évident aujourd’hui qu’il s’agit bien ici d’une somme cachetée à mettre en caisse, telle qu’on en dépose par exemple à la Banque de France et dans d’autres maisons de banque. Ce dépôt cacheté, le banquier le rendit en définitive revêtu des cachets qui le fermaient. Il l’avait mis en sûreté dans ses caisses, comme on mettait en sûreté dans les temples les sommes sujettes à contestation.



L’idée de nos caisses de dépôts et consignations est en effet bien loin d’être nouvelle. Cicéron nous donne des détails très intéressants et très instructifs sur ce qui se pratiquait en pareil cas. Quand Brutus, par l’intermédiaire d’un prête-nom, eût fait recevoir de force, à un intérêt excessif, extraordinaire, une somme d’argent assez ronde au sénat de Salamine,* ce sénat n’eût plus qu’une pensée, celle de s’acquitter au plus tôt. Aussitôt donc qu’Appius Claudius, beau-père de Brutus, eût cessé de gouverner la province romaine dont l’île de Chypre faisait partie, dès qu’ils surent que Cicéron le remplaçait, les représentants des Salaminiens vinrent trouver cet honnête homme en le priant de régler leur compte. Cicéron ne pouvait pas admettre l’intérêt illégal exigé par Brutus ; mais, pour ne point par trop désobliger celui-ci, il empêcha les Salaminiens de déposer, sur le refus du créancier de la recevoir, la somme qu’ils devaient, dans un temple. Si ce dépôt eût été effectué, suivant les formes consacrées, les intérêts eussent cessé de courir, et les Salaminiens se fussent trouvés libérés comme par un paiement proprement dit. C’était ce que ne voulait pas Brutus, qui, par le calcul d’intérêts composés, espérait voir grossir rapidement sa créance. Cicéron donc trouva des prétextes pour s’opposer à ce dépôt libératoire, et, en qualité de magistrat, ayant par l’*imperium* un pouvoir absolu, il défendit aux Salaminiens de l’effectuer.

L’acheteur de la maison de Belrimanni s’était acquitté en partie par un de ces dépôts libératoires, parce qu’on craignait qu’il n’existât sur cette maison des droits réels. Le dépôt fut remis à un banquier

* Cicéron nous raconte qu’à cette occasion plusieurs sénateurs voyant le lieu de leurs séances assiégé par les cavaliers romains mis à la disposition des agents de Brutus, préférèrent s’y laisser mourir de faim plutôt que de consentir à cet emprunt ruineux et sans utilité actuelle.


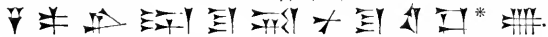
dont la caisse était bien gardée. Mais c'était au temple que devait s'inscrire, probablement dans un délai déterminé à partir du jour de la vente, la déclaration de ces droits réels, tels qu'hypothèques résultant d'actes antérieurs.



Le mot  que nous trouvons ici pour désigner le créancier hypothécaire, est le mot même qui se trouve aussi soit dans les actes d'hypothèque, soit dans les actes d'antichrèse, soit généralement dans la plupart des actes ayant pour but la création d'un droit direct, autre que celui de propriétaire, sur une chose. Nous avons parlé longuement de ce mot, pour en déterminer le sens juridique, dans le volume sur *les obligations en droit égyptien comparé aux autres droits de l'antiquité*. Nous l'avons traduit par *homme possesseur, créancier gagiste, créancier hypothécaire* (voir notamment p. 345).

Le mot sémitique *rasuu* alterne dans les mêmes formules avec cet idéogramme touranien. C'est ainsi qu'à propos du gage (*mas kanu*) ou lit quelquefois *rasuu sanamma ina eli ul isallat*, au lieu de  *sanamma ina eli ul isallat*, "homme possesseur autre ne mettra pas la main par dessus—jusqu'à ce que, est-il ajouté, un tel (le créancier hypothécaire) ait reçu en entier son argent." Du reste  se trouve traduit dans les bilingues par *isu* et, ainsi que nous l'avons montré à la page 382 de l'ouvrage déjà cité, la synonymie d'*isu* avec *rasu* dans le sens de "posséder," se trouve établie par une formule qui se rencontre dans les anciens actes de Warka, "*mala isuu u iraassuu*," tout ce qu'ils ont (tout ce qu'ils possèdent) ou posséderont. Rien de plus naturel d'ailleurs que d'attacher à l'idée de gage celle de possession dans un pays où le gage remis en possession avait précédé tous les autres. De même à Rome le mot *pignus* dérivé "*a pugno*," les jurisconsultes du moins le déclarent, et par conséquent figurant plutôt une prise en mains, s'appliquait également à l'hypothèque sans possession quand cette hypothèque fut introduite par le droit des gens.

Aucun créancier hypothécaire ne s'était présenté durant plusieurs années. Mais quand, après ce temps, nous l'avons vu, le vendeur vint demander au fils et successeur du banquier qui avait reçu le dépôt la restitution de ce dépôt, le banquier prudent, pour se couvrir envers et contre tous, voulut un jugement. Ce jugement solennel avait pour objet la constatation de l'absence de toute réclamation formulée par des tiers.

Ce qui représente la base de ces réclamations c'est le terme *rasutu*. Ce terme se rencontre dans un grand nombre d'actes babyloniens, et pour le traduire nous avons hésité d'abord entre l'idée d'arrangement que l'on avait proposée avant nous, et celle de créance hypothécaire qui se rattachait mieux au sens de possession, que la racine *rasu* avait forcément dans les actes de Warka traduits par nous.


Cette hésitation entre deux significations radicales, dont l'une avait été attribuée à cette racine, et dont l'autre nous semblait certaine, nous l'eûmes également quand il s'agit de rendre compte d'un autre de ses dérivés, le mot *rasutanu*. Ce mot n'est certainement pas un simple pluriel ou un duel de *rasutu*, formé sur le modèle de *sallatani* ou *gallatani*, dont le singulier est *sallat* ou *gallat*. En effet, dans l'acte 132 de M. Strassmaier il est question de mesures de terrain  confiées à la face du *rasutanu* . On ne donne en possession qu'à un homme (et non à une abstraction) un terrain engagé. Le *rasutanu* est donc bien un homme, et comme dans les trois actes où ce titre se rencontre (les Nos. 110, 132 et 134 de M. Strassmaier traduits par nous, p. 382 et suivantes de notre livre plusieurs fois cité) il est toujours question d'un paiement fait au nom de l'acheteur d'un immeuble entre les mains d'un *rasutanu* qui n'est pas le propriétaire, comme dans un de ces actes il est dit que le *rasutanu*, une fois payé, doit s'adresser au scribe du roi pour faire régulariser la chose, il ne reste plus que de savoir à quel titre le *rasutanu* se mêle ainsi de la vente de l'immeuble. Tout d'abord, en nous appuyant sur la traduction traditionnelle du mot *rasu*, nous avons proposé de voir dans le *rasutanu* un "arrangeur," un de ces prête-nom qui agissent pour autrui, comme cela se faisait par exemple très fréquemment autrefois en Alsace où, paraît-il, pour acheter on s'adressait à quelque juif. Plus tard, en conservant toujours la même idée, nous nous sommes attachés davantage au sens de possession, qui nous paraissait être le plus évident du mot *rasuu*. En conséquence, p. 382, nous avons dit: "le *rasutanu*, ce possesseur qui vendait, pouvait être

* M. Strassmaier n'avait pas reconnu ce caractère, mais l'emploi du *saphel* de *dagal* avec le mot *pani* pour dire "confier à" est tellement fréquent non seulement dans les contrats mais dans les textes historiques et les monuments de tout genre, que la restitution de  ou  dans la lacune est ici certaine.

un intermédiaire employé spécialement en vue de cette vente. Il n'est pas impossible que ce puisse être aussi, dans certains cas, un créancier gagiste, qui se faisait confier la chose pour la vendre lui-même et qui se trouvait mis pleinement en possession."

Le mot *rasutanu* est un mot secondaire, qui paraît formé sur *rasutu*. La désinence est celle que l'on retrouve dans *pakiranu*, *mahiranu*, *nadinanu* (*nadinnaan*, au cas construit), *episanu*, etc.

Rasutanu n'est pas plus un pluriel que *mahiranu*, qui s'emploie quand il s'agit d'un seul acheteur, "*Neboahüiddin mahiranu ikli*," etc. Et cependant à côté de *mahiranu* existe le mot plus simple *mahiru*, à côté de *nadinanu*, *nadinu*, etc., exactement avec le même sens. De même, à côté de *rasutanu* existe *rasu*. Le mot *rasu*, quand on s'en sert comme qualificatif d'un individu, est-il ou non pleinement synonyme de *rasutanu*? existe-t-il ou non quelque nuance de sens entre ces deux dérivés d'une même racine? Nous nous le sommes demandé. En tout cas l'idée de créance a dominé de plus en plus dans notre esprit, et aux pages 473—474 nous avons surtout insisté sur cette acception juridique de créancier, de créance, attachée aux mots *rasu*, *rasutu*, en babylonien, et que rappelait une des acceptions des mots: רשה, *mutuavit*, *mutuo dedit*, רשו, רשות, *mutuum*. Il est vrai qu'en chaldaïque ces expressions sont aussi bien employées dans le sens passif que dans le sens actif; pour désigner la dette, que pour désigner la créance résultant d'un prêt. Mais le vocabulaire juridique avait beaucoup plus de précision dans le babylonien vrai. Le chaldaïque ne nous a plus conservé que des traces et pour ainsi dire des thèmes usés de la langue du droit qui s'était créée peu à peu dans la Chaldée. Ainsi l'idée d'*avoir puissance*,* attribuée à la même racine dans le dialecte dérivé, nous paraît provenir de l'idée de *posséder*, d'avoir la chose en sa possession, et par conséquent en sa puissance, que nous voyons attacher à cette racine, dès le 23^e siècle avant notre ère, dans les vieux actes de Warka.

De ce que nous avons traduit *rasu* par créancier, créance, à la page 474, et  également par créance, exactement en face, à la page 475, est-ce à dire que nous avons voulu complètement assimiler la racine sémitique phonétiquement exprimée, avec l'idéo-

* Parallèlement le babylonien, comme le chaldaïque, attribue à cette racine le sens de *donner puissance, d'accorder, de permettre*, sens très fréquent dans les textes historiques.

(copte ⲉⲗⲗⲏⲩ). Nous avons trouvé plusieurs fois *sala** avec ce dernier sens (comme avec l'autre) dans les textes historiques. Malheureusement nous avons égaré nos renvois sur ce point. Mais dans les textes juridiques nous pouvons encore citer des exemples qui établissent bien cette signification. Le No. 129 de M. Strassmaier se traduit ainsi † :—

“Itti nebo baladu, fils de Sulaï, de la tribu d'Egibi, n'ira pas à la campagne sans (*sala*) Belkisir, son frère, jusqu'à ce qu'ils aient établi ensemble (*itti ahames uzaazu*) leurs créances et tout ce qui dépend de l'héritage ‡ de Sulaï leur père. S'il va à la campagne sans (*sala*) Belkisir, et rapporte quelque chose du village (ou de la route, §) tout ce qu'il rapportera de la route, en entier, il le rendra et le remettra à Belkisir. Il a levé ses mains pour cela (il a juré cela).”

De même dans l'acte de Londres qui porte le No. 57 dans les copies de M. Strassmaier, l'expression composée *sala* ne peut être traduite que par *sans, sans le consentement de, en dehors de*. Voici comment nous avons résumé cet acte à la page 349 de notre ouvrage sur *les obligations* :—

“Dans l'acte 57 de M. Strassmaier il est dit qu'un tiers de mine d'argent, créance de la femme Gugua sur Belahi-erib grossira à la charge de celui-ci d'un sekel par mine et par mois ; que sa maison, dont on indique un des voisins, sera le gage de la femme Gugua ; qu'aucun possesseur autre ne mettra la main

* Quant à l'expression composée *sa la pani*, Mr. Pinches y voit le relatif *sa* et la forme babylonienne de l'expression hébraïque לַפָּנִי. Cette opinion présente certaines probabilités, quoique la préposition לַ ne soit pas usitée d'habitude en babylonien, où l'on ne rencontre guère que *eli* = עִלִּי entrant en composition avec une préposition babylonienne proprement dite. Pour *sa la pani*, confer le nouveau No. 245 de M. Strassmaier, etc.

† Voici la transcription de cet acte : “Itti nebo baladu, abalsu sa Sulaï, abal Egibi, sala Belkisir, abu su, ana tseri ul illak adi eli sa uantim sunu u nimmu 𐤔 𐤍𐤎 su sa Sulai abisunu itti ahames uza(az)zu. Kii sala Belkisir ana tseri italka u nimmu ultu šûqu ittassûb, mimmu mala ultu šûqu innaas(ub) gabbi utari ma ana Belkisir inamdin. Qatsu ina libbi teelli. 𐤍𐤎𐤍 V. Str. Liv. No. 55, l. 19.

‡ Le mot 𐤍𐤎 transcrit dans les bilingues par *duppu*, par *minutu*, etc., paraît souvent avoir le sens précis d'héritité, quand il est précédé de 𐤔, formative accadienne très usitée qui en fait un mot composé. Isolé il signifierait notamment *tablette, contrat, compte*, etc.

§ שֶׁרָק, *platea, vicus, forum*.

par dessus jusqu'à ce que la femme Gugua ait reçu complètement (*taslimu*) son argent. Mais il est indiqué de suite que l'intérêt de l'argent (*harra = hubulla kaspi*), la femme Gugua le recevra (*taaddin*) tandis que le capital de l'argent (*kakkada kaspi*), la femme Gugua ne le recevra pas (*ul tamahrū*). Le capital de l'argent était placé sur le banquier Neboahiiddin, fils de Sulai, et Belahierib, ne devait le donner à aucun autre (*ana mamma sanamma ul inamdin*)."

La dernière phrase analysée plus haut est ainsi conçue en son entier : *kakkada kaspi sala Neboahiiddin, abalsu sa sulai, abal egibi, Belahi erib, abalsusa Kinsir, abal Sinemidu, ana mamma sanamma ul inamdin*. "Belahierib, fils de Kinzir, de la tribu de Sinemidu, ne donnera à personne autre en dehors de (ou sans le consentement de) Nebo ahi iddin, fils de Sulai, de la tribu d'Égibi, le capital de cet argent."

La femme Gugua, fille de Zakir,—qui certainement ne paraît pas être la même que celle qui figure en qualité d'*altum*, c'est-à-dire d'épouse, de Belahierib, avec la mère de celui-ci, comme assistant à cet acte, et par conséquent en acceptant les conséquences (de la même façon que les femmes égyptiennes qui apposent leur consentement au bas des actes par lesquels leur maris contractent une obligation hypothécaire, renonçant ainsi par rapport à ce nouveau créancier au privilège de leur hypothèque antérieure et de leurs droits de reprise),—la femme Gugua, dis je, avait confiance dans le banquier Nebo ahi iddin, et elle ne voulait pas que son capital, dont elle touchait les intérêts, pût être perdu par un placement téméraire fait ailleurs. Il nous paraît bien évident aujourd'hui, comme il y a un an, quand nous publions cet ouvrage, que l'acte en question est au fond la constatation d'une donation avec réserve d'usufruit* se rattachant aux dispositions *intra* familiales et *quasi* testamentaires. C'est cette même femme Gugua, fille de Zakir, qui distribuait vers la même époque la majeure partie de ses biens entre ses fils. Dans le No. 55, traduit par nous page 347 du livre cité, et que nous venons de revoir, on lit : "La femme Gugua, fille de Zakir, dans la satisfaction de son cœur, scelle (*taknuk*), et à la face de (*ina pani*) son fils aîné Belziribni


* Si au lieu de la corriger en *taaddir* on admet la version *taakkal* que M. Strassmaier maintient dans ses nouvelles copies, le sens reste au fond le même, mais en précisant davantage dans le sens d'un usufruit alimentaire, puisque cela voudrait dire que la femme Gugua mangera l'intérêt de son argent sans qu'il soit touché au capital.



confie (*tusatgil*) une mine d'argent déposée (*pakdu*) à la face de (*ina pani*) Nebo ahi iddin, une demi mine 5 sekels d'argent créance dont une maison est le gage, un tiers de mine d'argent qui sur la femme Tasmit ramat, un terrain d'un épha 12 ka de semence (48 ka de semence) qui est sur le fleuve de la ville de Kis, dot de la femme Gugua—une mine et demi plus 6 sekels d'argent de la femme Gugua que sans l'assistance (*ina la asabi*) de Belzir ibni* la femme Gugua avait constituée (*tazisi*) à ses fils cadets, c'est-à-dire à Neboahibullit, à Nirgal kintum edir, à Itti samas baladu, et à Zamama marsu uzur. Sur cela (*ana eli*) Belzir-ibni ne disputera pas avec eux (*itti sunu ul idibbub*). Une mine d'argent qui sur (*ina pani*) Neboahi iddin, une demi mine 5 sekels d'argent qui sur Tabnia, un tiers de mine d'argent qui sur la femme Tasmit ramat, la femme Gugua, (en outre) du terrain d'une contenance d'un épha et 12 ka de semence, confie (*tusatgil*) à la face de Belzir ibni son fils aîné. Tant que (mot à mot *jour quelconque, yumu mala*) la femme Gugua vit (*baldat*) sur l'intérêt de son argent (*ina harra kaspi su*) Belzir ibni donnera 10 sahia par jour comme revenu (*sibtum*)† à la femme Gugua sa mère."

Jusqu'ici, sauf en ce qui touche le mot $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$, que nous lisons alors *hudu*, et que nous lisons actuellement *pakdu*, notre traduction actuelle est identique à celle que nous avons publiée l'année

* Dans notre livre nous ajoutons en note: "l'équivalence dans les noms propres des noms divins 'Bel' et 'Ea' est établie non seulement par cet acte où le même fils aîné de la femme Gugua est nommé indifféremment dans l'original tantôt Belziribni tantôt Eaziribni, mais par beaucoup d'autres preuves du même genre. Nous avons donc pris une lecture uniforme."

† *Sibtum* veut dire revenu de l'argent, intérêt, produit. Quant à $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$, ainsi que nous le disons plus loin, au lieu d'y voir 10 $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ (c'est-à-dire un *qa*, évidemment de céréales alimentaires, comme dans certaines fondations, relatives aux temples, où la quantité assurée journellement pour le service religieux était d'un *qa*), on peut considérer ce signe comme représentant le collectif de 𐎶 *pat* = *minutu*. En ce cas cette phrase signifierait que Belzir ibni donnera un compte d'intérêt à la femme Gugua le jour où elle voudrait vivre ainsi sur l'intérêt de son argent. Il est probable que jusque là elle ne touchait pas d'intérêt, vivant chez ce fils et avec lui. On peut aussi couper autrement le groupe *umuzibtum*, et au lieu d'y voir, d'une part, *umu* (prononcé *yumu*) "par jour," et, d'un autre part, *zibtum*, y lire d'une part la conjonction *u*, et d'une autre part *muzibtum*. Ce dernier mot est à peu près synonyme de *zibtum*, auquel se trouve jointe seulement la formative participiale *mu*. Le sens serait alors que le jour où la femme Gugua voudrait vivre sur l'intérêt de son argent, son fils lui en remettrait le compte et le produit.

dernière. Mais ici vient une phrase qui comporte peut-être une explication différente de celle que nous proposons. La voici : *nîm ina libbi Gugûa ana rîmûtu ul târîmi u nîm ana eli ul tanâssâhi Belzir ibni*  *ul iddir.*

La grosse question est de savoir si l'expression  s'applique ou non comme qualificatif à Belziribni. Il ne faut pas oublier en effet qu'au moins une des créances cédées à celui-ci par sa mère Gugua était une créance hypothécaire. Belziribni se trouvait donc par cette cession devenu lui-même créancier hypothécaire. D'après les habitudes de la femme Gugua, qui n'aimait pas à ce qu'on compromit ses capitaux, on pourrait donc songer à traduire cette phrase de la façon suivante : "Tout ce que là dessus la femme Gugua en désir ne désirera * pas et tout ce que là dessus elle ne prélevera pas † (ne recevra pas elle-même), Belziribni ne recevra pas (n'exigera pas) en qualité de créancier hypothécaire." Nous avons cru d'abord que l'expression  ne se rapportait pas à Belziribni, et que la phrase en question signifiait que Belziribni ne recevrait pas comme créancier gagiste quiconque ne serait pas voulu par sa mère, c'est-à-dire qu'il n'hypothéquait rien ou ne transferrait aucune créance hypothécaire sans son consentement. Mais notre dernière traduction nous paraît être la plus probable.

En ce qui concerne *ina la asabi*, un acte de notre collection nous prouve également que le mot *asabu*, avec l'acception juridique d'assistance comportant consentement, s'employait quelquefois relativement à des hommes, comme il s'emploie si souvent relativement à des femmes ‡ intervenant dans les actes sans y figurer à titre de parties.

* Le sens primitif de ce verbe est aimer, par conséquent désirer, vouloir, accepter, se plaire. *Confer. mer* et *ab* en égyptien. Il veut dire aussi quelquefois être satisfait de, consentir à, accorder. Il serait donc possible à la rigueur de traduire de la façon suivante : "tout ce que la femme Gugua, de bon accord, ne lui accordera pas (de recevoir) et tout ce qu'elle ne percevra pas elle-même, Belziribni comme créancier hypothécaire ne le recevra pas," ce qui voudrait dire qu'il n'aurait pas le droit de déplacer et de toucher à lui seul, sans la volonté de sa mère, aucune des sommes à lui attribuées en nue propriété.

† *nasahu*, a comme sens principal dans un grand nombre d'actes celui de recevoir un prélèvement ou un emprunt.

‡ Comme exemple de ces derniers, nous citerons un acte de notre collection particulière où une femme intervient parce que son mari établit une hypothèque

d'une demi mine en sekels pièces d'argent, créance antérieure, dont la femme esclave Nana Kisirat avait été prise comme gage de Gimillu— elle est le gage de Gimillu. Créancier gagiste autre ne mettra pas la main par dessus jusqu'à ce que Gimillu ait reçu en entier son argent.”

Après deux temoins étrangers on trouve :

“En l'assistance de (*ina asabi*) la femme Kudasu, femme de Nebosuma iddin et d'Iddin Nebo, fils de Nebosumaiddin, de la tribu de Belederu.”

L'acte est daté de Babylone, le 28 d'arah samna, de l'an 10 de Nabonid roi de Babylone.

Cet acte rentre dans la classe nombreuse de ceux qui ont pour but la capitalisation d'intérêts échus, avec adjonction pour cet accroissement de capital du même gage qui servait déjà à garantir le capital primitif. Nous avons publié l'année dernière plusieurs con-

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Une demi mine d'argent en sekels pièces (créance) de Sumaidin, fils de . . . , forgeron, sur Nebokanu, fils de . . . Irani. Par an et par mine l'argent produira 12 sekels. Tout ce qu'il possède à la ville et à la campagne est le gage de Suma iddin. Autre créancier gagiste ne mettra la main dessus jusqu'à ce que Suma iddin ait reçu en entier son argent, à savoir une demi mine. Nebokanu donnera l'intérêt par mois à partir du mois de Kiselev. Témoins : Nebo iddannu, fils de Nebokan, de la tribu d'Irani; Balatsu, fils de Kuddinnu, de la tribu d'Iddin Marduk; . . . Nebo, fils de Nebokan, fils d'Irani, écrivain; Neboziriddin, fils de Nebokan, fils d'Irani. Babylone, le 21 d'arah samna, de l'an premier de Cambyse, roi de Babylone, sous lui et sous Cyrus, roi des pays,—en présence de la femme Belitum, femme de Nebokan.

trats de ce genre, en en expliquant le sens et la portée. Ici la somme prêtée primitivement était d'une demi-mine. L'intérêt d'un an était donc de 6 sekels, puisqu'à Babylone le taux de l'intérêt légal était de 12 sekels par an et par mine. La garantie hypothécaire était constituée par une esclave, très probablement attachée au service de la femme du débiteur, et c'est pourquoi à la fin de l'acte interviennent cette femme et son fils.

Pour en revenir au No. 55 de M. Strassmaier, au sujet duquel nous sommes entrés dans cette longue digression, on y voit figurer à la fois deux espèces de confiements : le placement à titre de dépôt sur un banquier, dépôt produisant très probablement intérêts, et par conséquent rentrant dans la classe de ce que les interprètes ont nommé *dépôts imparfaits*, mais confiés à la face (*paqdu ina pani*)* de ce banquier, comme l'était l'encaissement cacheté *suhindu kaniktum*, dont nous nous sommes occupés plus haut et qu'avait opéré ce même banquier Neboahiddin. Le *suhindu* de l'acte du Louvre était un dépôt libératoire, motivé par les demandes possibles de tiers créanciers hypothécaires. Le *suhindu* de notre collection, déposé dans le temple de Sippara, paraît avoir eu ce même caractère ; car, après la mention de la somme déposée, viennent celles de paiements effectués ou promis, probablement sur cette somme, à des tiers qui avaient fait valoir et reconnaître évidemment leurs droits réels.

* Cette expression *paqdu ina pani* ou *paqdu pani* est constante dans les actes de dépôt étudiés par nous. Il faut remarquer à ce sujet que la locution *ina pani* ou *pani* est loin d'être oiseuse ; car elle s'emploie souvent à elle seule pour exprimer l'idée des *confiements*. En dehors des exemples déjà indiqués par nous dans notre volume, nous citerons le No. 82 de la nouvelle collection de M. Strassmaier :—

“ 12 sekels d'argent de la femme Ina Esaggilramat, fille de Ziria, de la tribu de Nabai, sur la femme Haba(zit)tum, fille de Sulai, de la tribu de Nursin. En arah samna de l'an 3 de Nabonid, roi de Babylone, celle-ci donnera l'argent en son capital, en dehors des amphores confiées à (*ina pani*) Dainu suma iddin, fils de Ziria, de la tribu de Nabai, qui sont le gage de la femme Ina Esaggilramat. Témoins : Belnadin, fils de Zirépus, de la tribu de Sintabni ; Nebokan, fils de Sinia, et scribe Dainu suma iddin, fils de Ziria, de la tribu de Nabai. Babylone, le 28 Kiselev, de l'an 2 de Nabonid, roi de Babylone.”

Ici il s'agit d'un prêt sans intérêt fait par la femme Ina Essagilramat, en présence de son frère Dainu suma iddin, lequel, rédigeant l'acte, rappelle à cette occasion avoir reçu en dépôt, comme gage d'une autre créance antérieure de sa sœur sur cette même débitrice, des amphores qui, restant en dehors de la créance actuelle, ne devront pas être rendues après son remboursement.

Nous aurions donc définitivement grande tendance à croire que le mot *suhindu** s'employait exclusivement pour une classe spéciale de dépôts. Cette classe était celle des *encaissements*†—c'est-à-dire des dépôts dans une caisse publique ou quasi-publique—libératoires par rapport à ceux qui avaient versé cet argent,—c'est-à-dire par rapport aux acheteurs,—motivés par les recours possibles de tiers possédant des droits réels sur un bien vendu en qualité de créanciers hypothécaires du vendeur, et devant en définitive être réclamés par le vendeur s'ils n'étaient pas épuisés déjà par l'exercice des droits de ces tiers.

* Ce mot paraît être un nom verbal formé sur le saphel de **הנה** signifiant en hébreu *castrametari* et *diversari, hospitari*, mais qui en chaldaïque s'emploie même pour l'*hospitalisation* de l'argent Conf. **הנוני**, *numularius, qui nummos accipit*, **חנות**, *apotheca, Taberna numulariorum*, etc. **חנוא**, *idem*, etc. Le *tu* formatif du mot abstrait se trouve adouci en *du* dans *suhindu* à cause du voisinage du *n*.

† Depuis que nous avons rédigé cet article M. Strassmaier a fait paraître une nouvelle série de copies de tablettes babyloniennes datées du règne de Nabonid. Parmi ces copies, le No. 228 renferme aussi le mot *suhindu* au génitif et il est certain qu'on ne peut pas l'y traduire autrement que par *encaissement*. En effet il s'agit de revenus du temple, de loyers de boutiques, de produits (*irbi*) du portique où se rendaient les jugements et où s'installaient les *vendeurs du temple*, le tout représentant à ce point de vue l'encaissement de l'an 5. Sur cet encaissement, on avait payé trois des bergers chargés de garder les troupeaux du temple. L'acte débute ainsi: “ $\frac{2}{3}$ de mine d'argent sur l'argent de location de maisons de de Na . . . iddina, tant de sekels de l'*irbi* de la porte: au total $\frac{2}{3}$ de mine tant de sekels sur le *suhindu* de l'an 5, sans compter l'argent antérieur, à . . . Saruzur, Nikudu, et . . . bergers ont été donnés.”

La même racine se trouve, avec le même sens (mais cette fois non plus au saphel) dans le nouveau No. 215 de M. Strassmaier, qui doit se traduire ainsi: “trois mines d'argent de l'*irbi* de la porte sur le *hindam* de l'an 5, à Kudurnu le *rab* . . . données en outre de trois sekels d'argent qui ont été donnés pour les sacrificateurs (ou pour les bouchers).”

Le *hindam* de l'an 5 est évidemment la même chose que le *suhindu* de l'an 5 et l'un et l'autre sont des encaissements provenant, au moins en partie, de l'*irbi* ou des revenus de la porte du temple. On ne saurait désirer une meilleure preuve de l'étimologie que nous avons donnée dans la note précédente bien avant d'avoir connu ces deux nouveaux textes.

Il est incontestable d'ailleurs, comme l'a noté déjà Mr. Pinches, qu'en babylonien le *saphel* prenait souvent la forme de *saphel*, forme, ajouterons nous, qu'il avait régulièrement en Égyptien.

A la ligne 17 du nouveau No. 159 de M. Strassmaier on trouve une légère variante de ce *saphel*: *suhundu*: et ici encore il ne peut s'agir que d'un encaissement et non d'un dépôt, puisque la somme totale dont ce *suhundu* fait partie sert à payer des forgerons qui avaient travaillé pour le temple.

Tel ne devait pas être le cas du dépôt dont il est question dans le No. 55 de M. Strassmaier. En effet la femme Gugua dit céder à son fils la somme d'une demi mine confiée à la face d'un banquier ;* or quand il s'agit d'un *shindu* que des tiers peuvent absorber en tout ou en partie, il n'est pas possible de le céder en estimant la valeur exacte de cette donation, comme on le ferait pour une somme d'argent comptant.

À côté de ce confiement, placement tout à fait semblable à celui que nous exécutons dans les maisons de banque pour avoir un livret de chèque, l'acte de la femme Gugua nous offre un type tout différent de confiement, représenté par d'autres expressions et qui ne rentre plus le moins du monde dans la même série d'idées.

Le verbe *dagalu* veut dire en babylonien, comme le verbe תבל en chaldaïque, *avoir confiance, se fier, se confier à*. Le Šaphel de ce verbe s'emploie pour ce qu'on confie à quelqu'un en ce sens qu'on lui attribue sur cette chose un droit déterminé. Ce verbe s'associe alors le plus souvent dans le langage juridique avec le verbe *kanuku* sceller ; car il s'agit en pareil cas d'une disposition unilatérale tirant sa force de la volonté, et par conséquent métaphoriquement du

* Dans l'acte que Mr. Boscawen a publié (*Transactions*, vol. vi, p. 6), c'est au contraire un banquier qui confie (*fakid*) à un particulier, à titre de confiement (*fukuddu*), une somme de deux mines pour un laps de temps de deux semaines. En effet ce confiement a lieu le 17 Tesrit et la restitution de la somme entre les mains du banquier doit se faire à la fin de ce même mois de Tesrit. Cela fait juste 14 jours en comprenant dans le compte le jour du versement. Ici le confiement nous paraît représenter un prêt sans intérêts ; car les banquiers qui recevaient les dépôts d'autrui, n'avaient pas à en faire eux-mêmes chez des particuliers et pour un délai aussi court.

En outre des assez nombreux *fakdu* déjà étudiés par nous, nous citerons, dans les dernières copies de M. Strassmaier, le No. 55 ainsi conçu : “ $\frac{2}{3}$ de mine d'argent . . . argent de la femme Nadintum, et de Nabustum, son mari, que Sinerib homme . . . avait confié à (*ipqidi pani*) Neboahi iddin : l'écrit (*sibirtum*) et le lien d'engagement (*riksi*) sur le . . . par mandat (*naassipartum*) d'un tel, homme Sartenu, Neboahi iddin l'a remis à la femme Nidintum.” Parmi les témoins figure un *amiri* de l'homme Sartenu. Cette espèce de *fakdu* nous semble un dépôt libératoire fait chez le banquier, probablement à l'occasion d'une vente.

Ajoutons que le mot *paqadu* a non seulement, en babylonien, le sens de *mandavit, commendavit, deposuit*, comme פקד, mais aussi, comme פקד encore, le sens de *préposer, praeficit*. C'est ainsi qu'Assurbanipal parle des rois, des préfets, etc., que son père avait préposés *inpaqdu* en Égypte et qui à l'approche de Tahraka abandonnèrent leurs préfetures, *fikidta sunu*. Assurbanipal les ramena au lieu où ils étaient préposés.

cachet, de celui qui la prend en faveur d'autrui. Ce sont ces confiements qui se rapprochent le plus de nos dispositions testamentaires : et pour en parler on associe avec *iknuku* presque indifféremment *yusaggillu* ou *iddinu*.

Le frère de Sulaï, c'est-à-dire l'oncle paternel du banquier Neboahi iddin, dans l'acte 157 de M. Strassmaier,* assure ainsi à sa femme et à sa fille une valeur de dix mines d'argent, 10 gur de blé et 10 gur de dattes, tout en laissant sa succession aller pour le reste à Sulaï son frère et son héritier naturel. Or, pour rappeler cette disposition testamentaire, on emploie les mots *iknuku* et *iddinnu*, comme, dans le requête de la femme Bunanitim, pour rappeler une disposition tout à fait parallèle, cette femme emploie les expressions *iknuk ma ana yumu zaatar paniia yusatgil* "Il scella et pour les jours futurs à ma face il confia." De même, dans une tablette fort intéressante que Mr. Pinches a publiée en Amérique dans les *Hebraica* et que nous venons de recevoir, nous voyons un fils de famille marié mais sans enfant, exprimant à son père le désir d'adopter, pour fils, un enfant que sa femme avait eu durant un premier mariage et de lui assurer toute sa succession, se servir pour rendre cette idée des termes *mimmuni mala basu (lu) kunuk ma panisu sutgil* "Que tout ce que nous avons soit scellé et soit confié à sa face" (dans sa tablette d'adoption). A coté de ces exemples nous citerons encore le No. 154 de M. Strassmaier, traduit par nous dans notre volume

* Voir cet acte, traduit et commenté par nous l'année dernière, p. 353 de notre livre sur *les obligations*. De cette dernière traduction nous ne voyons aujourd'hui que deux mots à changer : 1° le mot 𐤀𐤊𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 , qui se trouve à l'avant dernière ligne et que nous avons traduit par billet accepté en le lisant *hudu*. Il faut lire *fakdu* et traduire "confiement." La phrase n'en devient d'ailleurs que plus claire dans le sens indiqué par nous. En effet Sulaï ajoute un *post scriptum* ayant pour but d'exprimer son approbation pleine et entière au legs fait par son frère. Il dit donc : "Pour 10 mines d'argent, pour un confiement, à savoir, de 10 mines, Sulaï a souscrit." On peut se demander seulement si par cette expression *fakdu*, confiement, Sulaï se référerait ici au legs lui-même fait sous forme de confiement ou à cette idée que comme investi de la succession, il s'était trouvé avoir en mains 10 mines d'argent dont il aurait un compte à rendre et qui par conséquent n'étaient plus à ses yeux qu'un dépôt à lui confié : 2° le mot 𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 que nous lisons définitivement *iddagal*, ce qui nous amène à traduire la dernière phrase du corps de l'acte aussi qu'il suit : "Le reste de l'argent, du blé des dattes et de l'hérédité (𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍) de Ziria, telle qu'elle se comporte, il l'a confié à la face de Sulaï." Nous avons déjà vu plus haut que le mot 𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 signifie hérédité. *Mala basû*, "telle qu'elle se comporte," précise d'ailleurs ici cette signification.

p. 345 et qui est relatif à la dot attribuée à la femme d'Iddina Marduk. Nous allons reproduire textuellement cette traduction, à laquelle nous n'avons rien à changer.

“Ziria, fils de Nebo ibni, de la race de Nabaï, à Iddina Marduk, fils de Basai, de la race de Nursin, parla ainsi, à savoir :

“7 mines d'argent, 3 esclaves et la jouissance d'une maison, sans compter trois mines d'argent qui en promesse (*ina quubbu* en chose dite), avec la femme Ina Essagil ramat, ma fille, en dot si je te remets, les hommes possesseurs (créanciers gagistes) qui sur Basai, ton père, se sont précipités* les feront être en a compte

“Iddina Marduk à Ziria dit ceci à savoir :

“Comme représentation (*kuum*) de la dot en question (voici ce) que je garantirai : la femme Ubartum et ses trois enfants, la femme Nanaakisirat et ses deux enfants.

“Et tous ses biens de ville et de campagne tels qu'ils sont il les engagea (mot à mot il les scella *iknuk*) et en représentation (*Kuum*) de 7 mines d'argent, dot de la femme Ina Essagil ramat, il les confia à (*Isatgil pani*) la femme Ina Essagil ramat, sa femme.

“Babylone le 13 abu de l'an 34 de Nabuchodonosor roi de Babylone.” †

* Nous ajoutons ici en note : “*nuhuru* confer نحر prendre à la gorge. Ce verbe, selon Castelli, s'emploie à la huitième forme pour ceux qui s'attaquent dans un procès. Quant aux hommes possesseurs, on les trouve mentionnés par les mêmes mots, dans cette phrase du contrat d'hypothèque : homme possesseur autre ne mettra pas la main par-dessus jusqu'à ce qu'un tel (le créancier hypothécaire) ait reçu en entier son argent.”

† Notons que, dans le dernier numéro du *Babylonian Record*, Mr. Pinches, qui avait d'abord, paraît-il, traduit cet acte d'une façon toute différente, a adopté cette fois notre traduction même comme base philologique de la sienne. Nous lui conseillons vivement de faire de même pour un grand nombre d'actes traduits par lui d'une façon singulière dans les *Records of the Past*, et ailleurs. Malheureusement, Mr. Pinches n'a pas pris en même temps notre interprétation juridique : et la sienne est, comme d'ordinaire, absolument inadmissible. En réalité la situation était celle-ci. Le père d'Iddina Marduk, Basai, avait fait de mauvaises affaires et bien qu'il eut eu soin d'émanciper son fils avant sa faillite, on pouvait craindre que la fortune de celui-ci ne fut compromise parce qu'il se trouverait débiteur de son père. L'hypothèque portant sur des biens qu'il possédait à ce moment donnait à la femme un droit réel sur ces biens, placés désormais en dehors des atteintes de tout créancier non antérieurement hypothécaire. Tel fut le procédé que, d'accord avec son beau-père, Iddina Marduk mit en usage pour mettre la fortune de sa femme à l'abri de toute éventualité.


Souvent les fils, quand ils se mariaient, n'étant point encore émancipés, les questions de dot, de gage, donnés en garantie, etc., se traitaient non point avec eux, mais avec leurs pères.

Ici le confiement constitue pour la femme un privilège hypothécaire, et il est à remarquer que, plus spécialement, on lui attribuait

Dans le nouveau No. 165 de M. Strassmaier on voit ainsi des terrains de dattiers, dont la situation et les voisins sont indiqués, être *scellés et donnés* en gage (*iknuku ma itdinu maskanu*), pour la dot d'une bru par le beau-père, qui avait reçu en mains cette dot. Ce beau-père, ayant vendu plus tard le même terrain, ne put en faire la livraison à l'acheteur qu'après avoir rendu aux parents de sa bru la somme totale garantie par cet immeuble.

L'acte commence ainsi : "5 mines d'argent, reliquat de la dot de la femme Beltisedirat, fille de Nebonazir, femme de Neboedir, fils de Nebosumazur, de la tribu des Rabbanu sur Nebosumazur, fils de Nebohili ilani, de la tribu des Rabbanu. Un terrain, d'une contenance d'un cor, de dattiers, situé au bord du canal Ilu banitum, touchant à Banunu, fils de Sillai, de la tribu des Rabbanu, et à Nebo ahî iddin, fils de Sulai, de la tribu d'Egibi, et touchant au terrain dotal de la mère de Nebo(nirik)ilani et de Nebouzur, part de Nebouzur. Celui-ci en fit l'objet d'un acte scellé (*iknuku*) et le donna, en gage (*itdinu maskanu*) de la femme Beltisedirat, à Bania (son tuteur) [avec la clause] : Homme possesseur autre ne mettra pas la main par-dessus jusqu'à ce que la femme Beltisedirat ait reçu en entier son argent."

Le reste est trop plein de lacunes pour permettre une traduction suivie. Mais déjà cette partie est extrêmement intéressante au point de vue juridique. Nous y trouvons en effet : d'une part, comme dans le contrat de mariage No. 243 des nouvelles copies de M. Strassmaier, dont nous allons avoir à parler, la preuve que souvent le beau-père, ayant gardé encore ses fils sous sa puissance, recevait les dots de ses brus, ainsi que cela se faisait à Rome ; et, d'une autre part, que la femme, bien que mariée, avait, à défaut de son père, une épitrope ou tuteur, autre que son mari, chargé de gérer ses affaires et de sauvegarder ses droits. Il en était de même à Rome quand la femme mariée n'était pas *in manu*.

Dans la suite lacuneuse de notre texte l'acte de vente de ce même terrain est rendu par les expressions  dans lesquelles l'idéogramme *Kilam* représente, comme d'ordinaire, le sémitique *mahrin*.

Nous venons de dire que nous aurions à parler de l'acte formant ce No. 243 dans les nouvelles copies de M. Strassmaier. En effet, cet acte nous montre comment les choses avaient dû se passer à propos de la femme Beltisedirat dont il a été question dans l'acte précédent. Dans le No. 243, c'est un beau-père de la fille à marier qui fait la demande pour son fils et qui reçoit la dot convenue.

"Nebo nadin aha, fils de Belahi iddin, parla ainsi à Sungina, fils de Musallimu, à savoir :

"Ina Essagil manaat, ta fille vierge, donne (la) en mariage à Yupallit su Gula, mon fils.

"Sungina l'écoula et il donna Essagil manaat, sa fille vierge, à Yupallit su Gula, son fils.

"Il donna à Nebonadinahi, avec Ina Essagil manaat, une mine d'argent, les servantes Latubasitnu, Inaismibitirbat, Taaslimu, et une *udie bitti*."

Vient ensuite le compte relatif à la dation de cette dot, compte que l'oubli d'un mot par le scribe ou le copiste rend peu compréhensible.

avec leurs jeunes enfants deux servantes, qu'on pouvait attacher à son service afin qu'elle en fut en quelque sorte en possession. Cette idée de possession, exprimée si souvent par les mots *maskanu sabtum* "gage pris," paraît rendue par le verbe *sutgîlu*, dans le No. 132 de M. Strassmaier, dont nous avons déjà parlé dans notre volume. Il s'agit en effet d'un *rasutanu*, dont la créance privilégiée, de 2 tiers de mine d'argent, portait à la fois sur des mesures de terrain, *sa pani rasutanu sutgîlu*, qui avaient été confiées à la face de ce *rasutanu*, et sur une maison vendue au prince Nériglissar. Il cède à celui-ci cette créance de $\frac{2}{3}$ de mine, après avoir reçu du banquier Neboahi iddin, sur mandat de Nériglissar, à titre de recette, effectuée en qualité de *rasutanu*, moitié de la somme en question.

L'expression *usatgil pani* est extrêmement fréquente dans les textes historiques, avec le sens de *confier*; voir dans Norris, p. 355, un texte reproduit par Botta; voir aussi dans le V^e volume de la publication du British Museum le grand cylindre d'Assurbanipal, col. i, l. 37, col. vi, l. 112, etc. Voici, du reste, ce que nous disions, p. 529 de notre volume, sur les formules dont il s'agit :

"Nous aurions encore à parler de cet engagement particulier auxquels se rapportent les formes *iknuku u iusatgilu*. Mais ces confiements rentreront plutôt dans l'étude des attributions soit de propriété, soit de possession, représentant en droit moderne ce que nous nommerions les aliénations à titre gratuit, donations, legs, etc.

"Nous nous bornerons à dire ici que ces confiements, et les formules qui s'y rattachent, remontent très haut, car on les retrouve, relativement à une fondation pieuse, faite par le roi babylonien Neboapal iddin, rappelée dans une inscription gravée sur un monument de Sipara, celui qui porte l'image du soleil, et qui a été publié cette année dans le dernier fascicule du British Museum. Cette nouvelle fondation royale, coïncidant avec le rétablissement du temple—détruit de fond en comble par des ennemis—consistait surtout en un certain nombre d'animaux à sacrifier, et en d'autres allocations, qui, livrées annuellement, devaient servir au culte à certains quantités fixes de tels mois. En pareil cas, les rois se réservaient, dans les chairs des victimes, etc., une part déterminée, dont ils disposaient en faveur de donataires. Ceux-ci pouvaient eux-mêmes les vendre à d'autres, nous en connaissons plusieurs exemples, ou les transmettre héréditairement."

Le principe de l'équivalence exacte entre la somme d'argent représentant la valeur d'une chose et cette chose est un vieux

principe touranien, qui a eu les conséquences les plus considérables dans le droit chaldéen de toutes les époques. Au temps où les immeubles étaient des propriétés de famille, attachées à la descendance de cette famille, à peu près comme le revenu et le casuel du prêtre étaient attachés à son titre de prêtre, on avait permis cependant d'échanger momentanément, sauf droit de reprise, ces immeubles contre la somme d'argent équivalente. Celui à qui on avait ainsi confié sa chose, contre l'argent versé par lui, en jouissait et en disposait comme d'un bien propre, toujours sauf droit de reprise, c'est-à-dire, sauf le droit du propriétaire primitif de rembourser la somme reçue pour rentrer dans l'immeuble, ou, en d'autres termes, de refaire l'échange en sens contraire. Quand, beaucoup plus tard, le gage, proprement dit, vint s'introduire en Babylonie, à côté de l'antichrèse, il se rattacha lui-même un peu au vieux principe national. On put céder le gage que l'on avait reçu—et qui, à la différence de l'antichrèse, n'empêchait pas de courir les intérêts de la dette,—à un tiers vous versant le montant de cette dette. C'était encore un autre genre de confiement momentané, effectué par le propriétaire dans le but de se procurer de l'argent ou de n'avoir point à en verser pour le moment. C'est pourquoi l'on comprend très bien comment l'expression "il confia," *iusatgil*, était souvent employée à propos de la constitution d'un vrai gage. C'est ce qui explique aussi comment la forme de gage put servir en Babylonie, comme la forme de vente en Égypte, à Rome, etc., pour constituer une sorte de mariage inférieur, de mariage servile, ou quasi servile. Les parents, qui confiaient ainsi, en qualité d'épouse inférieure, de quasi servante, leur enfant à un homme qui était censé leur verser pour cela une somme d'argent, ou qui la versait en réalité à titre de quasi don nuptial, avaient toujours le droit de reprendre leur fille, le jour où ils seraient mécontents de leur quasi gendre, en lui remboursant la somme indiquée comme constituant sa créance. Ils reprenaient aussi sans doute les enfants qui avaient pu naître, et qui suivaient leur mère, comme la suivaient aussi les enfants engendrés dans la maison du gagiste par l'esclave vraie mise en gage. C'était même là, sans doute, le but que cherchaient surtout les parents qui employaient cette forme légale pour marier leur fille. Ces enfants, d'ailleurs, devaient être probablement tout aussi légitimes que les enfants provenant à Rome d'un mariage par *coemptio*, ou les enfants provenant en Égypte d'un mariage servile. Mais à Rome, comme en Égypte, les fils, en cas de dissolution de l'union

“ 4 sekels $\{\text{𐤔} \text{𐤕} \text{𐤖} \text{𐤗} \text{𐤘} \text{𐤙} \text{𐤚} \text{𐤛} \text{𐤜} \text{𐤝 \}$ * (créance en) capital de Nebokinziru, fils de Ninipkinabal, sur la femme Tsiraa, fille de Neboahierib, de la tribu de Liknaanu. La femme Rimut Nana, fille de la femme Tsiraa, est le gage de Nebokinziru. Jusqu'à ce que † homme possesseur autre (ou quelconque) ne mettra pas la main par dessus. Jusqu'à ce que l'argent de Nebokinzir lui ait été rendu, la femme Rimut Nana habite par devant Nebokinzir. La femme Tsiraa donnera par jour 5 sahia ‡ pour la femme Rimut Nana. Si cette servante meurt ou s'enfuit, elle (la mère) donnera son argent à Nebokinzir.”

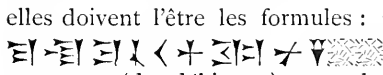
C'était donc bien à titre de gage et en s'appuyant sur les principes de la matière que la mère confiait sa fille en mariage servile à son gendre. Le gage conferait moins de droits au possesseur que l'antichrèse dont il différait surtout en ce qu'il laissait courir les intérêts de la dette. Aussi, dans un postscriptum, ajouté entre lignes

* Ce mot *lummusu* ou *gummusu* se retrouve dans le No. 137 de M. Strassmaier qui commence ainsi : $\langle \text{𐤔} \text{𐤕} \text{𐤖} \text{𐤗} \text{𐤘} \text{𐤙} \text{𐤚} \text{𐤛} \text{𐤜} \text{𐤝 \}$. Il est certain que dans l'acte de M. Strassmaier les sekels désignés ainsi étaient d'argent et non pas d'or. Dans l'acte du Louvre cela n'est pas aussi certain, car la fin de la première ligne est effacée. Dans la nouvelle série de copies de M. Strassmaier il est question d'un sekel *lummusu* d'or. Nous nous sommes demandé si $\{\text{𐤔} \text{𐤕} \text{𐤖} \text{𐤗} \text{𐤘} \text{𐤙} \text{𐤚} \text{𐤛} \text{𐤜} \text{𐤝 \}$ n'était pas un participe passif, se rattachant à la racine *لمس palper*.

† La fin de la ligne est effacée. Mais on croit y voir d'abord *inni* commençant la formule *innidiru kaspa su*, “ que son argent lui ait été rendu ” (ait été reçu par lui).

‡ La pension que fait un mari à sa femme et à son fils dans le No. 113 de la nouvelle série de M. Strassmaier est beaucoup plus forte. Elle se monte par jour à quatre *qa* de $\text{𐤔} \text{𐤕} \text{𐤖} \text{𐤗} \text{𐤘} \text{𐤙} \text{𐤚} \text{𐤛} \text{𐤜} \text{𐤝}$ c'est à dire ici de céréales et à trois *qa* de boisson ($\text{𐤔} \text{𐤕} \text{𐤖} \text{𐤗} \text{𐤘} \text{𐤙} \text{𐤚} \text{𐤛} \text{𐤜} \text{𐤝} = \text{sikaru}$) pour les deux, sans compter par an 15 mines de laine ($\text{𐤔} \text{𐤕} \text{𐤖} \text{𐤗} \text{𐤘} \text{𐤙} \text{𐤚} \text{𐤛} \text{𐤜} \text{𐤝}$) etc. Le mot $\text{𐤔} \text{𐤕} \text{𐤖} \text{𐤗} \text{𐤘} \text{𐤙} \text{𐤚} \text{𐤛} \text{𐤜} \text{𐤝}$ a donc d'abord deux sens : celui de la mesure qui est le dixième du *Qa*, ainsi que l'a prouvé M. Oppert, et celui d'une céréale alimentaire, comme l'a dit Mr. Pinches. Quant à $\langle \text{𐤔} \text{𐤕} \text{𐤖} \text{𐤗} \text{𐤘} \text{𐤙} \text{𐤚} \text{𐤛} \text{𐤜} \text{𐤝} \rangle$, s'il peut quelquefois représenter 10 mesures dixièmes du *Qa*, ce qui est douteux, car on eut de préférence écrit un *Qa*, il paraît le plus souvent être le collectif du signe $\langle \text{𐤔} \text{𐤕} \text{𐤖} \text{𐤗} \text{𐤘} \text{𐤙} \text{𐤚} \text{𐤛} \text{𐤜} \text{𐤝} \rangle$ dont l'équivalent donnée par les bilingues est le mot sémitique *minutu*, compte, mesure. C'est dans ce sens que nous le trouvons dans une multitude de pièces relatives à la comptabilité des temples, dont un grand nombre font partie de notre collection personnelle et dont nous parlons dans le No. actuel de la *Revue Égyptologique*. Citons aussi parmi les tablettes dont M. Strassmaier vient de publier les copies les Nos. 20, 23, 24, 25, 35, 62, 99, 237, etc.

allant chercher la lumière à toutes les sources possibles, que l'un de nous est parvenu à faire sortir complètement du vague le démotique, à le fixer comme une des langues les mieux connues, et à rendre les traductions des contrats, et d'une multitude d'autres textes qu'on n'avait jamais pu aborder, maintenant certaines et définitives. Il reste encore beaucoup à faire en babylonien pour atteindre un tel résultat. Mais la marche à suivre est la même, et si l'on commet des erreurs, il faut savoir les corriger. Ce qu'on voit le mieux tout d'abord, quand on a le sentiment profond des contextes, ce sont les ensembles, ce sont les termes juridiques, qui déterminent le sens général d'un contrat.

Nous avons ainsi indiqué la contexture des actes de gage, en prouvant que le mot *maskanu* y avait exactement ce sens de gage* ignoré† ou nié auparavant, et en traduisant les premiers comme elles doivent l'être les formules :  " tous leurs biens de ville et de campagne (des débiteurs) seront le gage du créancier ;" ‡—dans cette formule on n'avait pas même encore reconnu le mot *tséri*, qui veut dire campagne ;—

* Nous avons découvert ce sens dans les premiers mois de 1885, et nous en avons parlé dès lors. Par écrit imprimé nous avons traité une première fois de l'hypothèque générale et des réponsances solidaires, en en fournissant des exemples, à la page 32 et à la page 38 de la lettre qui précède la Thèse de M. Paturet à l'école du Louvre publiée en Novembre 1885 ; nous en avons fourni d'autres exemples, avec traduction complète, à M. Paturet, qui les a insérés à la page 11 de sa Thèse de Doctorat à l'école de droit, sur le rang des hypothèques, soutenue le 24 Juin 1886, et enfin, vers la même époque, nous avons publiés les leçons faites par l'un de nous sur ce sujet, plusieurs mois auparavant, à l'école du Louvre (voir notamment 5^e leçon, p. 91, et suiv., 7^e leçon, p. 141, et suiv., etc.) et dans l'appendice, nous avons consacré un chapitre spécial aux sûretés réelles en droit babylonien (voir p. 502 et suiv.).

† Voici par exemple comment il faut traduire la première tablette reproduite dans la photographie 129 du *British Museum*, qui avait été traduite tout autrement :

“ Une mine d'argent, créance de Nabubanahu, fils d'Abala, de la tribu des hommes *Kīpu* (*nīgal*), sur Babia, fils de Marduk iddin et la femme Sananasi, sa femme, fille de Nabuzab, homme *kīpu* (*nīgal*) *uki*, dont sa porte (à elle), les terrains et tout ce qui est à lui dans la ville et dans la campagne, tels qu'ils se comportent, sont le gage de Nabubanahu.”

‡ Voir “ les obligations en droit égyptien comparé aux autres droits de l'antiquité,” pp. 332, 347, 374, 518, 519, 521, etc.

terme de loyer pour cette maison, ou pour cet esclave.”* Le mot *idi* n'était pas connu dans le sens de terme de location,† d'argent à payer pour cette location. Or nous avons montré que ce mot ‡

* Voir notamment Obligations, etc., p. 504 et *suiv.* Voir Thèse de doctorat Paturet, p. 10.

† Parmi les actes de ce genre nous citerons le No. K. I. m. 38 du Louvre, non compris jusqu'ici et qui est ainsi conçu :—

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Propriété de rapport (revenu) du soussigné, que Nur, fils de Belbalitsu, propriété que Nur (dis-je) donne, pour prix de loyer de maison (*ana idi bit*) à partir (*ta = ultu*) du 5 Kiselev de l'an 10 pour trois *qa* de céréales et un *qa* 6 *littu* d'*asaan* par jour, à Belbalit, fils de Belsuma uzur, tout ce que (*tilla = mimmu, gamru*, etc.) celui-ci place (*issakan*) et plante (*izakaap*) il en déclarera la déclaration (*nuptum inaabu*) au mois de Nisan, au mois de Duzu et au mois de Kiselev. Le transgressant, jusqu'à trois ans (c'est-à-dire, jusqu'au terme sus désigné), donnera 10 sekels d'argent. Belbalit dira (*idibbi*) les comptes (< 𐤏𐤓 𐤏𐤓 𐤏𐤓 = *minutu*) de Nur.”

L'*asaan* 𐤏𐤓 𐤏𐤓 𐤏𐤓 ou *asnû* était un des produits des exploitations agricoles ; on le voit notamment par le No. 1811 du Louvre où il est question d'une dette relative à un fermage et comprenant 6 gur (cor), 6 pi (épha) de dattes (*kalumma*) 3 gurs, 3 pi, $\frac{3}{4}$ de pi d'*asaan* et dix sekels d'argent portant intérêt. Les dattes doivent être livrées au mois d'arahasma ; l'*asaan*, au mois de Sivan. L'*asaan* figure également dans beaucoup d'autres tablettes, parmi lesquelles nous citerons les Nos. 36 de notre collection particulière, 161 et 209 de la nouvelle série de M. Strassmaier, etc. Nous doutons fort que sous ce nom ou désigne le même fruit que par le mot voisin *asnie* (ou *asnîe* avec un Samech).

‡ Voir notamment “les obligations en droit égyptien comparé aux autres droits de l'antiquité,” p. 374, 396, 417, 429, etc.

se rencontre dans certains actes de location proprement dite, dont nous avons ainsi déterminé la nature réelle.* Nous avons d'ailleurs indiqué comment on pouvait reconnaître, d'après la forme même des actes, chacune des espèces de confiements hypothécaires qui co-existaient en Babylonie et dont personne avant nous n'avait reconnu l'existence. Nous avons déterminé ce qui constituait les actes ordinaires de créance,† après avoir prouvé : que l'idéogramme $\text{𒍪} \rightarrow \text{𒌦} \rightarrow \text{𒍪}$ avait toujours ce sens de créance‡ (comme nous l'avons dit il y a trois ans à M. Oppert); que souvent les paiements se faisaient par à compte et qu'alors l'acte commençait généralement par les expressions "sur une créance de tant (*ina* $\text{𒍪} \rightarrow \text{𒌦} \rightarrow \text{𒍪}$ *sa*) ou sur tant de mines" puis, après l'indication de la somme, reprenait par ces mots "là dessus" (*ina libbi*);§ que les reliquats étaient indiqués par les mots *rihu*, *rihi*, *rihitum*;|| que quand l'acte faisait novation cette novation était indiquée par les mots "la créance antérieure est effacée $\text{𒍪} \rightarrow \text{𒌦} \rightarrow \text{𒍪}$ *mahritum hipaat*¶" ou par une phrase analogue dans laquelle figurait également le verbe *hibu*, *hipu*, *effacer*;** que, dans le cas contraire, quand la créance antérieure subsistait à côté de la créance nouvelle, c'était indiqué par les mots "*elat*†† $\text{𒍪} \rightarrow \text{𒌦} \rightarrow \text{𒍪}$ *mahritum sa*, en dehors de la créance antérieure de tant," ou par des synonymes, avec le mot *elat*;‡‡ que, parmi les créances, les unes portaient à Babylone l'ancien intérêt touranien §§ de 20 pour 100,

* Voir dans notre cours sur les obligations la 5^e leçon sur les locations et le dernier chapitre de l'appendice.

† Voir notamment dans notre cours sur les obligations la 3^e leçon et dans l'appendice le chapitre special sur les créances et obligations en droit babylonien, p. 459 et *suiv.*

‡ Voir lettre à M. Paturet en tête de sa thèse du Louvre, p. 37, etc. Cours sur les obligations, p. 332, 339, 375, 387, 400, 426, etc.

§ Lettre à M. Paturet, p. 36, obligations, p. 346, 409, 477, 491.

|| Lettre à M. Paturet, p. 36, 37. M. Oppert avait une fois indiqué ce sens pour *rihitum*. Voir obligations, p. 346.

¶ Lettre à M. Paturet, p. 33. Obligations, p. 471, 495.

** Ce verbe s'emploie aussi pour les textes effacés.

†† Obligations, p. 419, 497.

‡‡ Lettre à M. Paturet, p. 37. Obligations, p. 498, 499, 500, etc.

§§ Nous avons aussi montré quels étaient les taux de l'intérêt ninivite, taux variables d'ailleurs.

tandis que les autres conduisaient seulement au remboursement ou au versement du capital; que, parmi ces dernières, celle qui était exprimée par le mot sémitique *hubutu*,* correspondait au précaire romain en ce sens; que, d'après le même principe suivant lequel on autorisait la transmission de l'antichrèse et celle du gage, on avait permis celle de la créance, chose d'autant plus naturelle d'ailleurs qu'on confiait souvent ses créances à un mandataire pour les recouvrer, comme on confiait à des mandataires,† parfois salariés,‡ la gestion de toutes ses affaires. Nous avons ainsi fait entrer à jamais dans le domaine de la certitude la traduction de toute une classe d'actes extrêmement nombreuse.

Nous avons aussi, les premiers, établi le sens des expressions fondamentales des actes de société, de partage et des autres actes relatifs aux associations si fréquentes en Babylonie.§ Le sens réel de l'idéogramme 𒊠𒊠 , société,|| dont nous avons trouvé le corres-









* Aux preuves que nous avons déjà données, dans notre volume de l'année dernière, au sujet de ce sens du mot *hubutu*, nous pouvons en ajouter une nouvelle. En effet le No. 183 de la série d'actes dont M. Strassmaier vient de publier les copies est ainsi conçu: "tant de sekels d'argent, *hubutu* (prêt en précaire) de Marduk suma uzur, fils d'Abala, de la tribu d'Egibi, sur Marduk suma uzur, fils de Luutzuananūr, de la tribu de A la fin du mois de Nisan celui-ci donnera l'argent en son capital."

† Nous avons traité très longuement dans notre volume toute cette question du mandat, dont Mr. Pinches avait d'ailleurs reconnu avant nous le nom babylonien *naspartum*.


‡ Dans la nouvelle série de copies de M. Strassmaier nous trouvons, sous le No. 210, l'exemple suivant de ces mandats salariés: "Depuis le 20 du mois de Nisam jusqu'au 10 du mois d'Abu, Zamalmal suma iddin, fils de Samasbalit, de la tribu des forgerons, recevra (prendra *illaqu*) le mandat (*naspartum*) de Nebokanu, fils de Sinia. 10 sekels d'argent, pour son prix de loyer (*idisu*). celui-ci lui donnera. Il lui donnera la moitié de l'argent dans le mois de Nisan et le reste de l'argent à la fin (?) du mois de Duzu. Le contrevenant à cet acte (*nafalkitanu*) donnera 5 sekels d'argent." On voit qu'ici comme en droit romain le mandat payé est assimilé à une *locatio operarum*. En ceci, comme en à peu près tout le reste, le droit romain est tout simplement un emprunt direct au vieux droit de l'Égypte et de la Chaldée.

§ V. lettre à M. Paturet, p. 30, 40, et dans "les obligations," notre chapitre sur les banques, sociétés, et maisons de commerce, p. 374 et suiv. jusqu'à la page 45.

|| Obligations, p. 377, 437, 438, 443.

pondant phonétique, *birinu, birini*,* dans les vieux actes de Warka, —M. Strassmaier le transcrivait par *rasutu*,—a été établi par nous. Nous avons établi, également : le sens du mot touranien *hala*,† part, et conséquemment, de son correspondant sémitique, *Zittu*, où Mr. Pinches, le traduisant par possession, voulait voir un dérivé de la racine *Zanu*, orner ; le sens de l'expression composée *ahi hala*, quotepart,‡ qu'on peut expliquer en se rappelant qu'en touranien l'idéogramme , traduit généralement en sémitique par le mot *ahu*, et qui figurait dans un grand nombre de formules juridiques, à côté de son sens de frère, a le sens d'homme ou de compagnon,     = *amilu kima amili* :§ sens qui, influant sur *ahu*, amena les acceptions de son pluriel    : *ana ahames*, l'un par rapport à l'autre, *Itti ahames* ensemble ; de *ahata*, société, etc.

Nous avons expliqué tout le système des répondances : de la garantie du vendeur, et parfois de cautions surajoutées dans les ventes d'esclaves, garanties qui n'avaient encore été soupçonnées par personne, quand l'un de nous publia, il y a trois ans, un article sur ce sujet dans la *Revue Égyptologique* ;|| et, sans compter tout ce qui concerne les cautions solidaires ou non,¶ cette garantie toute particulière de l'individu qui s'engage à *producere*, ou plutôt

* Lettre à M. Paturet, p. 30, Obligations, p. 296, etc. Ce sens est du reste fort bien prouvé par le nouveau No. 199 de M. Strassmaier portant : "I mana Kaspi sa itti Marduk baladu, abal su sa Nebo ahi iddin, abal Egibi, u Tapikziru, abal su sa Nebo suma iddin, abal Nadin séim, itti ahames ana birini () iskunu : nim mala ina eli ibbusu ahata sunu.—I mine d'argent que Itti marduk baladu et Tapikziru ensemble ont mis en société (*birini*). Tout ce que la dessus ils feront est leur société." Ici *birini* est donné comme synonyme de *ahata*, dont le sens "société, fraternité" est bien connu. *Ahatu, ahata* est d'ailleurs, comme substantif abstrait, le correspondant exact de *itti ahames*, "l'un avec l'autre."

† Obligations, p. 299, 399, et 508.

‡ Lettre à M. Paturet, p. 38 et 39.

§ Voir W.A.Z., v. 40, col. 2, l. 59.

|| Voir aussi lettre à M. Paturet, p. 34.

¶ Lettre à M. Paturet, p. 34 à 38. Voir dans notre volume sur les obligations la leçon sur les accessoires de la dette, p. 141 et suiv., et dans l'appendice le chapitre des créances et obligations, p. 459 et suiv.

exhibere et *præstare*,* en grec *απαδειχθαι*, (voir un curieux acte grec du Louvre, publié p. 66, du No. I-II, de la 5^e année de la *Revue Égyptologique*), à un jour ou dans une circonstance déterminée, le débiteur dont il répond et pour lequel il payera s'il manque à l'accomplissement de sa promesse. Nous avons montré qu'en pareil cas

* A la page 486 de notre volume sur les obligations nous disions : "cette formule : amènera et donnera (*ibakamma inamdin*) est tout-à-fait de règle quand il s'agit d'une caution *sistendi causa*." Page 404 : "l'action romaine *ad exhibendum* que les Babyloniens expriment par le verbe *abaku*, amener, présenter, *producere*," Et ailleurs : "aussi ce verbe est-il celui qui est employé quand on s'oblige à produire, *producere*, soit des témoins, soit un intéressé pour la comparaison duquel on s'est engagé."



Nous avons aussi, déjà dans notre volume, indiqué un des autres sens du verbe *abaku*, celui d'emmener un esclave, par exemple, que l'on a reçu en paiement. En cas pareil très souvent il est dit que la somme d'estimation de cet esclave constitue un prix ou paiement *hariis*, comme dans d'autres cas qu'il constitue un prix *gamrutu* (voir No. 82 de la 1^e série de M. Strassmaier, 244 de la 2^e série). Nous avions d'abord supposé que le mot *hariis* devait être dans ce cas le synonyme exact des mots *gamirtum* ou *gamrutu*, "complet." Nous le supposons d'autant mieux que les sommes indiquées pour le prix *gamirtum* ou pour le prix *hariis* d'un esclave sont en moyenne exactement les mêmes. Depuis lors, M. Oppert ayant rappelé la parenté du mot *hariis* avec le mot hébreu *חָרַץ*, "couper" a émis l'idée que *hariis* devait être opposé à *gamirtum* et signifier, non point "complet" mais "partiel." Nous avons étudié cette hypothèse au point de vue juridique et nous avons vu qu'en appliquant ce mot, non point à la valeur de l'esclave dont l'estimation est bien complète, mais à l'existence d'une dette antérieure dont le prix de cet esclave ne se trouve constituer qu'une partie, elle devient soutenable. Ce serait un prix *coupé* dans cette dette et à en soustraire désormais, en représentant une partie et, à ce point de vue, partiel. Quelquefois, il est vrai, le même mot *hariis* se trouve associé au verbe *iddin* au lieu de l'être au verbe *ibuku*. C'est ce qui arrive, par exemple, dans l'acte de cession lui-même, quand le débiteur, abandonnant son esclave à son créancier, emploie la formule habituelle des ventes d'esclaves, sauf en ce qui touche ce mot *hariis*. Mais une série de deux actes qui portent les Nos. 39, 40, et 42, dans les nouvelles copies de M. Strassmaier montre bien que si le débiteur, qui abandonnait ainsi son esclave, est censé le donner, le créancier qui le reçoit est censé l'emmener alors même qu'il en laisse la possession à ce débiteur.

Voici la traduction du premier de ces actes :

"Nebo Kazir, fils de Nebozirlisir, dans la satisfaction de son cœur, a donné la femme Didinnatum et la femme Asitasulimir, gens de sa maison, pour $\frac{2}{3}$ de mine comme prix *hariis*, à Musezibmarduk, fils de Mardukédid, de la tribu des forgerons, et à Marduksumaiddin, fils de Beliddina (?) de la tribu des forgerons."

Suit la formule de garantie habituelle, que M. Strassmaier ne paraît pas reconnaître encore malgré nos publications qu'il a eues entre les mains, car dans le mot *nasi*, "se porte garant," qui la termine, il a substitué hypothétiquement

le verbe *abaku*, emmener, amener, *ducere*, *adducere*, *producere*, etc., notamment à la troisième personne du futur sous la forme *ibakamma*, répondait, comme idée juridique, très exactement à l'expression latine *exhibere*, malgré la différence du sens originel, de même que le mot *inamdin* associé à cette expression quand il s'agit d'un débiteur, répondait très exactement au terme latin *fraestare*. C'est donc une nuance de sens qu'il convient d'ajouter au mot *abaku** dans le









entre parenthèses le signe  au . Le mot *nazir* ne signifierait rien. Nous nous étonnons d'autant plus de cette erreur que M. Strassmaier, en copiant de nouveau les mêmes actes que nous avons traduits dans notre volume, s'est très souvent servi de nos restitutions pour les introduire dans ses textes; parfois aussi, cela est vrai, il paraît avoir déformé à plaisir ses anciennes lectures pour s'écarter de nos leçons et sans chercher à donner aux nouvelles une signification possible quelconque. Je me hâte de dire que le No. 40 était ici donné pour la première fois et que par conséquent nous ne l'avions pas traduit, mais nous en avons traduit et transcrit tant d'autres, identiques pour cette formule, que cela revient à peu près au même. Revenons en à la suite de cette affaire et au No. 42, daté du mois suivant. Il est ainsi conçu :

“ Par rapport à la femme Didinnatum et à la femme Sitasulumir esclaves servantes (*amilutum*) que Iddina Marduk, fils de Basai, de la tribu de Nursin, avait emmenées des mains (*ibuku ina qati*) de Nebokazir, fils de Neboziralisir, Neboiddin, fils de Nebonaid, de la tribu de Belitu, se porte garant (*nasi*). Il les amènera (*ibakamma*) et à Babylone; avec l'homme d'Iddina Marduk, il les donnera à Iddina Marduk.”

On voit nettement ici l'espèce juridique. Nebokazir, criblé de dettes, avait cédé les deux mêmes esclaves en paiement: d'abord à l'un de ses créanciers, Iddina Marduk; puis à deux autres de ses créanciers, Musezib Marduk et Marduk suma iddin. Quand la nouvelle de cette seconde cession parvint aux oreilles du prêteur sur gage Iddina Marduk, celui-ci, dont nous connaissons l'apreté au gain, se fâcha naturellement et menaça d'exercer des poursuites contre Nebokazir. Heureusement pour ce dernier c'était une coutume babylonienne, dont nous avons trouvé bien souvent des applications, que de se porter fort pour ses amis. Un de ses amis donc se porta fort et s'engagea personnellement, par rapport à Iddina Marduk, à lui amener et à lui livrer les esclaves en question; il prenait en cela un engagement semblable à celui des vendeurs romains qui s'engageaient à livrer eux-mêmes, en pleine possession, à un acheteur, la chose d'autrui; bien entendu, cela ne pouvait se faire qu'en obtenant d'abord du possesseur actuel l'abandon de la chose.

* Le No. 26 de la nouvelle série de M. Strassmaier, relatif à une *cautio sistendi*, contenait certainement aussi, dans une des lacunes, ce mot tant de fois signalé par nous dans des cautions *sistendi* du même genre. Samas suma ukin, fils de Sulai, de la tribu de Mandidi, s'y engage à produire, le 6 ulul suivant, à la porte du temple de Samas, un nommé Neboahi iddin, fils de Asaridu, de la tribu de Belederu, pour le règlement d'une créance au sujet de laquelle il se porte fort. Dans une autre tablette de la même collection, le No. 102, ce n'est plus une

fascicule qui vient de paraître du dictionnaire de M. Delitzsch. La même expression se rencontre, ainsi que nous l'avons montré, alors qu'il s'agit de témoins, par exemple dans l'acte dont nous avons donné la traduction à la page 371 de notre volume sur les obligations dans les termes suivants :* “Le 5 du mois de Kiselev, Sargina produira ses témoins,† de la ville de Pikudu, *mukini su ina ali Pikudi, ibbakamma*), et par rapport à Iddin ilu (?) établira (*ana iddinilu (?) iukanu*, que (*sa*) Iddinilu à Sargina a parlé ainsi : l'affaire de ton esclave qui fut tué (*dini sa galli ka sa diki*) tu ne disputeras pas avec moi (*ittiia la tadibbûb*). Moi, je te ferai recevoir

caution qui promet semblable comparution ; c'est la personne même qui doit comparaître. “Le 6 du mois de Sivan, est-il dit, Satrap iddin, fils de Marduka, viendra et dira son affaire, avec telle femme, par devant les *bela* d'Essaggil. S'il ne vient pas, il donnera (la chose en litige).” Ce contrat représentait un engagement solennel et décisoire analogue dans ses résultats à ces serments dont nous avons parlé assez longuement dans un récent article et que nous avons les premiers déterminés. La collection nouvelle de M. Strassmaier en contient plusieurs de ce genre, nous citerons particulièrement le No. 45. “3 cors, 3 ephas de dattes (créance de) Neboahi iddin fils de Sulai, de la tribu d'Egibi et de Nirgalkanu, fils de Nadin suma, sur Musezib Marduk, fils de Samas ahi iddin, et Nirgalkanu, fils de Tabnie. L'un pour l'autre ils répondent.—Musezib Marduk et Nirgalkanu sur le roi jurent à savoir : à la fin du mois de Sabat (nous donnerons) les dattes à Neboahi iddin et Nirgalkanu.” Notons que cet acte termine la question pour    qu'on pouvait lire *ittemi* ou *ittesib* (ce qui revenait au même pour le sens) ; car nous avons ici au pluriel      *ittemuu*. Les Nos. 83 et 197 contiennent également des serments.

* C'est un des assez nombreux actes que nous avons vu reparaître avec des changements insignifiants sous un autre nom que le notre.

† Nous avons déjà cité dans notre volume sur les obligations plusieurs témoignages. La nouvelle collection de copies de M. Strassmaier en contient d'autres. Nous citerons particulièrement les Nos. (5) 68, et 69, relatifs soit à Iddina Marduk, soit à la faillite de Basai son père. Le No. 68, se trouvait déjà sous le No. 58 dans le précédent volume et avait été traduit par nous. Mais le No. 69 est nouveau ; il est ainsi conçu : “ceux-ci sont témoins qu'en leur présence Rimut, fils de Belnadinabal, parla ainsi à Labasi, fils de Ziria, de la tribu de Nabai : Qui est atteint (*kusdu*) comme répondeur de Basai ? Et Labasi dit ainsi : je ne réclamerai pas” (*ul abakkur*). Suivent les noms. Cet acte est du même jour du même mois de la même année que le No. 68 (ancien 58) contenant un témoignage relatif à une dette de Basai qui aurait été payée. On voit quel soin Iddina Marduk apportait à régler les affaires très embrouillées de son père. On n'a pas oublié que ces affaires embrouillées avaient failli empêcher son mariage et qu'il avait été obligé de donner des garanties très sérieuses à son beau-père. Ici c'est son beau-frère, le frère de sa femme, Labasi, fils de Ziria, qui était créancier du père d'Iddina Marduk et qui s'engage, par des motifs faciles à comprendre, à ne pas inquiéter ses répondants.

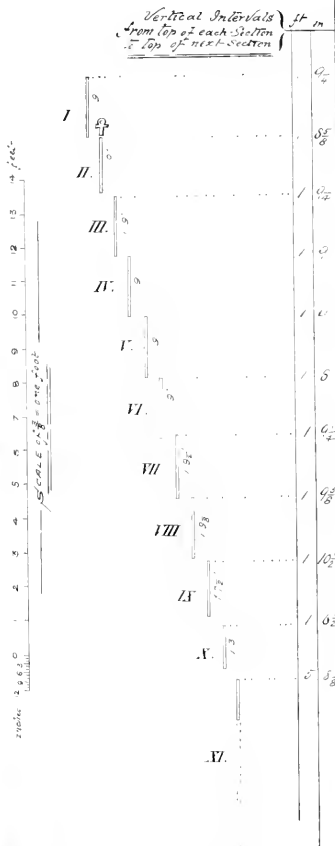
(je te paierai le prix de) la vie de ton esclave (*Anaku napsati sa galli ka usallamaka*). S'il établit cela, Iddinilu donnera à Sargina une mine, prix de son esclave; s'il ne l'établit pas (mot effacé)."* Nous citerons aussi le No. 159 de M. Strassmaier que nous en avons rapproché à la page 468 et qui contient exactement les mêmes formules, sauf qu'à la place d'*ibbakkamma*, on trouve cette fois *ipakamma* et, à la place de *iukanu*, *iukkinnu*. Bien entendu, en cas pareil, celui qui s'engageait à produire ses témoins ne s'engageait pas à les *livrer*, à les mettre à la pleine disposition de la partie adverse, comme le faisait celui qui s'obligeait à amener un débiteur de la comparution duquel il répondait. C'est encore à l'idée, pleinement chaldéenne, des confiements ayant pour résultat d'autoriser celui qui, au fond, n'était pas le propriétaire de la chose, à la livrer légalement, que se rattache, comme origine, cette singulière expression "*inamdin*, il donnera" s'appliquant dans ce cas à un homme libre. Cet homme libre devait se confier lui-même à son répondant, qui devait le livrer au jour dit aux poursuites de son créancier. La théorie des confiements babyloniens est donc importante à bien connaître; car c'est une des bases du droit antique. Si à l'époque secondaire des emprunts faits au droit des gens on a pu vendre en droit romain la chose d'autrui,—soit en qualité de gagiste, et en en transmettant alors la possession à l'acheteur, soit en qualité de créancier hypothécaire n'ayant pas encore la possession mais trouvant dans son droit d'hypothèque un moyen de se la faire donner afin de la transmettre, soit enfin comme tiers dépourvu de droit réel, sauf à s'arranger pour être en état de livrer la chose au jour dit—tout ceci n'est qu'une conséquence des vieilles traditions touraniennes qui attribuaient au confiement des effets analogues à ceux du transfert réel d'une propriété.

Nous ne releverons pas ici nos autres découvertes relativement, par exemple, aux échanges d'immeubles, dont nous avons publié des actes remontant au siècle d'Hammourabi et d'autres actes beaucoup plus modernes; relativement aux servitudes réelles; relativement à l'état des personnes; relativement à une multitude de mots dont nous avons déterminé le sens juridique. Ceci nous amènerait à une parenthèse trop longue, et qui ferait perdre de vue le sujet de cet article; confiements en droit égyptien et en droit Babylonien.

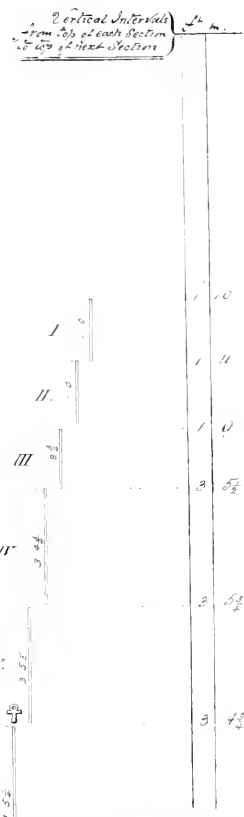
* Comparez dans le dernier volume babylonien des *Records of the Past*, la traduction ultra fantaisiste que Mr. Pinches avait donnée de ce même acte.

— VILOMETER discovered at PHILAE. —

— VILOMETER at ELPHANTINE. —



— LEVEL OF WATER
at Philae on Jan 4th 1854
when the water was 28" 0.2 m down
level of spots at Smith end of platform
of Station opposite Philae.



— LEVEL OF WATER
at Assiout on Jan 7th 1854
taken at the post-hat station. Vilmeter
set level at 15" 0.3 m.

G. S. Plunkett

The following Communication has been received from Major Plunkett :—

THE NILOMETER OF PHILÆ.

Almost the whole of the small island called Philæ, including not only the courts but even the roofs of the temples, has been covered for ages with the ruins of a village which was built by the Christians who took refuge here when driven by persecution from places more accessible and therefore more exposed to danger. In 1885, a certain amount of prison labour being available, Captain Jackson, R.A., who commanded at Shellal, the Military Station and terminus of the railway on the bank of the Nile opposite Philæ, cleared away the ruins and rubbish from the roofs of the temples, and discovered and cleared out a staircase on the west side of the great temple which descended below the lowest level of the Nile, and is supposed by some to lead to a passage under the bed of the river communicating with the island of Biggah. The work of clearing out the courts of the temple and this staircase was continued by Major Grogan, of the Black Watch, from December, 1885, till April, 1886, when Captain Handcock of the Yorkshire Regiment took over the Command, and continued energetically the work of clearing the large court of the temple, and also uncovered a small temple to the east, which had been almost hidden in rubbish. In examining the ground outside the "Mammisi" or temple which stands on the west side of the large court of the greater temple, Captain Handcock found a well constructed staircase, not unlike the one discovered by Captain Jackson; at the top there was a short flight of steps parallel to the river bank, and from the bottom of these the main staircase descended directly to the river.

This staircase is cut in the solid rock, and is in no way injured by time, and on the left hand side when descending there is cut the Nilometer. It consists of eleven vertical lines at irregular intervals from each other, each approximately one dirâ in length, and the bottom of each is on the same level (or nearly so) with the top of the next below it, so that as the water rose above the top of any portion the readings would be continued on the next higher. These sections from I to X are each evidently intended to represent one dirâ or cubit, and it will be observed that they actually vary very slightly in length, the total of the ten being 17 feet 5 inches, which gives an average length for the cubit of

20·9 inches. On reaching the bottom of the staircase one emerges by a doorway through the wall with which this side of the island is rivetted on to a platform of stone. There was no doubt from this place a prolongation downwards of the Nilometer on the face of the wall, or on a projecting buttress or staircase, to the lowest level of the river, but when I examined it on January 7th, the water was up nearly to the level of this platform, so that nothing below it could be seen.





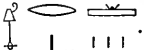












As however nothing was noticed here when the Nile was low in the last and previous summers, it is probable that the scale was cut in some projecting masonry which has fallen away. Each of the marks has been cut in the rock to a depth of about a quarter of an inch, and is again divided by transverse cuts into fourteen subdivisions. On the accompanying plate I have shown the sections of the Nilometer drawn to scale, merely diminishing the horizontal distances between the sections to save space. It will be noticed that the sign $\frac{\circ}{\dagger}$ is placed over the top of the second section, and probably this indicated the ordinary level of high Nile. The top of the Nilometer is 5 feet $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches below the level of the rails by the southern end of the platform at the Assouan railway station opposite to the temples, so it will be easy to compare with the old Nilometer the level of the high Nile. I should say that this is about the same as when the Nilometer was constructed, and that a high Nile would probably come within about six feet of the rails at the present day; but an estimate thus made from memory is not worth much. On this plate I have also shown the well known Nilometer on the island of Elephantine, and have compared the levels marked on it with those on the wooden post fixed as a Nilometer in the Nile bed by the Assouan railway station. I hoped by levelling along the line of railway to have given the differences of level between the high water marks of the two Nilometers, but had to leave Assouan sooner than I expected, and was consequently unable to do this. It will be noticed that this Nilometer is not so accurately divided as the one discovered at Phike, the cubit varies from 1 foot $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches to 1 foot 11 inches in length, and if we take the total of the five upper sections, which represent a length of seven cubits, we find this to be 12 feet $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches, which gives an average per cubit of 21·32 inches. Omitting the upper two sections, we have for five cubits an average of 20·85 inches, which differs by only a twentieth

part of an inch from the value obtained at Philœ. It can hardly have been from carelessness that the uppermost two sections were made respectively 23 and 22 inches long; could it have been to avoid some remission of taxation which should have been made if the river rose above a certain level? On the opposite or right hand side of the staircase at Philœ are two other vertical lines, which were apparently scales or standards of measurement; so far as it is possible to determine accurately their original lengths, the lower one was divided into units of $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and each of these is subdivided into five; the upper scale is about 5 feet long, and is divided into twenty units, of which eight measure 23.5 inches, giving an average of 2.937 inches each. Opposite the eighth division of the scale is inscribed $\bar{\alpha} \bar{\kappa}$.

MALTA, *June*, 1887.

The following has been received from Mr. P. le Page Renouf, *President*.

NOTE ON THE SILURUS FISH    *āba*, AND THE HIEROGLYPHIC SIGN OF BATTLE .

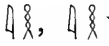




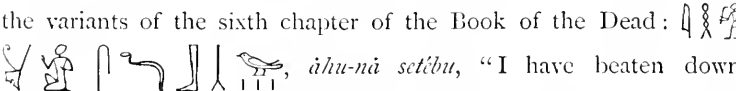



I have shown in these *Proceedings** that the Egyptian sign ideographic of Battle  has for variant another well-known sign , and this sign, when so used as a variant, has very commonly its lower limb crossed with a fish; the same, in all probability, which in the Ebers Papyrus is called . I have moreover proved that  is identical with the well-known expression . These facts lead to the irresistible conclusion that  =  =  =  = *āba*. That  is not in these variants to be read  *āhā* is manifest from the vocalisation of   , which is identical with that of    *āba*.




This reading at once furnishes the radical meaning of the Egyptian word for Battle, and shows its connection in the Vocabulary with a

* Vol. VI, pp. 229—231, and Vol. VII, pp. 100—108.



large number of other words which have the same sound and the same primitive sense, but whose ordinary signification is different.

The evidence upon which this reading rests cannot be overthrown. There are, however, other readings which it is necessary to consider.


A very late, and in other respects untrustworthy, papyrus (B.M. 9911) twice reads , *âh*, instead of  in the opening chapter of the Book of the Dead. It is but natural to identify this reading with ,* which occurs on a well-known monument in the Museum of Bulaq. These forms are, however, identical with , and this is nothing but the well-known  with the prosthetic vowel *â* prefixed.† It occurs among the variants of the sixth chapter of the Book of the Dead: , *âhu-nâ setîbu*, “I have beaten down obstacles,” or ‘obstructions,’ instead of . So again on the tablets of Marseilles, published by M. Naville,‡ we have  instead of , *nuk âh šâu*, “I it is, who beat down the sands.”

Now although  may on some occasions prove synonymous with , the two words are certainly not identical. Their meanings generally diverge, and are evidently derived from different primitive conceptions. I had always therefore considered *âh* to be a genuine different reading—not a phonetic variant of —until some of the ancient texts published by M. Maspero have inclined me to the belief that it rests upon the blunder of a copyist.

The Pyramid of Tetâ has , *âha*, in a passage where the Pyramid of Pepi II has .§

The tomb of Horhotep contains two recensions of the 17th chapter of the Book of the Dead. One of them reads , *âha*, where the other has .

* Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, pl. 90.



† The prosthetic *a* is most commonly prefixed to words beginning with two consonants (as in the Semitic and other languages), with aspirated consonants, and with .



‡ *Quatre Stèles de Marseilles*, p. 14.


§ *Zeitschrift*, 1883, v. 69, and 1885, p. 9.


It may sound paradoxical, but it is a certain fact, that instead of adding strength to the evidence in behalf of $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, the new texts strongly favour the notion that the three readings $\dot{a}h$, $\bar{a}ha$, and $\dot{a}ha$ are all founded on a mistake. The resemblance is too close for us to look upon them as independent, whilst the differences are philologically irreconcilable. The \dot{a} of $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ is purely *prosthetic*, but the \bar{a} of $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ is *radical*. There can be no connection whatever between $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ and $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, or $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, if such a word really exists. There is no interchange between 𓂏 and 𓂏 . The sarcophagus of Nechthorheb has indeed the group $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, but this is to be explained by the addition of the prosthetic 𓂏 to the group $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, not by a weakening of 𓂏 to 𓂏 . It has its parallel in $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ and $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, and several other words which, though commonly written with an initial 𓂏 , are frequently found with 𓂏 prefixed.

Without seeing the original texts it is impossible to speak with full confidence, for it must be remembered that they are written not with our unchangeable type, but in very cursive characters. But if we ask what cursive forms are liable to be taken for others in this case, I answer without hesitation that the confusion of 𓂏 and 𓂏 is not only possible, but demonstrable. It is on the strength of the faulty variant $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} = \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ of the Belmore Papyrus that Birch and E. de Rougé gave to 𓂏 the value $h\bar{a}$, once universally accepted, and to which some Egyptologists still cling, but which has long since been shown to be erroneous. $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ for $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ is another instance of the confusion, which becomes perfectly intelligible if we take for instance the Berlin Papyrus I, and compare the 𓂏 in $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ (line 24) with the 𓂏 in the frequent form $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$. The two hieratic signs for 𓂏 and 𓂏 , carefully written, are not to be mistaken, but when they are negligently written or have been damaged, they become undistinguishable, and are liable to be wrongly transcribed. I cannot give a better







instance of this than by referring to a passage of the tale of Senehat (line 197), where  is transcribed  by M. Maspero.*




In these ancient papyri and other documents of the same character (in the sarcophagus, for instance, of Queen Mentuhotep) the cursive sign corresponding to  approaches very closely to the cursive sign corresponding to .

I do not think therefore that any reading, much less any phonetic variant, of  can be considered as satisfactorily established by the side of *āba*.

Besides the fish called *āba*, there is a bird of the same name, which M. Maspero † conjectures to be a crow. It sometimes appears (as in Todt., 63, 3) as the determinative of , *ābu*, which as the variants show is only one of the forms of the word meaning 'encounter.'

Now it is worthy of note that two gods appear in the lists of Egyptian divinities under the following circumstances:—




At Medinet Hābu (in the time of Seti I) the first of them is called , *ābau urā*, and the second . At Dendera the name of the first Warrior god is ; that of the second is . ‡ It would be interesting to identify the birds. The second bird at Medinet Hābu is shown by the plate in the *Denkmäler* to be partially effaced. Mariette's copy from Dendera sets them down as geese or ducks, but this ought to be verified, as well as the question whether , *urā*, should not rather be written than , Horus.

It is almost superfluous for me to say that  being written after a word in phonetic characters is no reason for assuming it to be more than a determinative. , *beñenu*, is a well-known word. But it occurs sometimes in the same sentence as a different word from .

* *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, III, p. 158; see note 4.

† *Genre épistolaire*, p. 57.

‡ *Denkmäler*, III, 37, *b*; Mariette, *Dendérah*, III, 36, *f*.

To the description of the *Silurus* which I gave from Cuvier, as justifying the Egyptian name   , *āba*, the "Armed one," the "Warrior" (ὁ τευχιστής), I now add a passage, which I had forgotten, from the late Mr. Darwin's *Naturalist's Voyage round the World*.*

"A fish called the 'Armado' (a *Silurus*) is remarkable from a harsh grating noise which it makes when caught by hook and line, and which can be distinctly heard when the fish is beneath the water. The same fish has the power of firmly catching hold of any object, such as the blade of an oar or the fishing line, with the stony spine both of its pectoral and dorsal fin."

The following Communication has been received from E. A. Wallis Budge, M.A.

ON A FRAGMENT OF A COPTIC VERSION OF SAINT EPHRAIM'S
DISCOURSE ON THE TRANSFIGURATION OF OUR LORD.†

The manuscript from which the Coptic version of S. Ephraim's discourse on the Transfiguration of our Lord is taken, is in the possession of Lord Zouche, and has been already described ‡ and partly published.§ I am not able to say when the Coptic version was made, but it is very probably of a fair antiquity; and from the fact of its occupying a place of honour in the manuscript, it must have been much esteemed by the Copts. The translator from the

* P. 136, Ed. 1870. See also the picture of *Callichthys armatus* in Dr. Günther's article "Siluridae," in the recently published volume of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

† For the Greek text see Assemâni, *Ephraem Syri opera omnia quæ exstant*, Romæ, 1743, t. ii, p. 41, and the edition by Thwaites, printed at Oxford, p. Σμζ. A Latin version of this discourse was published by Assemâni and by Gerard Voss on pp. 686-692 of his translation of S. Ephraim's works, printed at Cologne in the year 1603. The pagination of the British Museum copy of Voss's works is defective.

‡ See *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, May, 1886, p. 183.

§ See *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, Vol. IX, pt. I, pp. 74-III. The complete Coptic text and a translation of S. Chrysostom's encomium on Elijah will appear in *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, Vol. IX, pt. 2.

Greek contented himself with turning into Coptic only such portions of S. Ephraim's discourse as agreed generally with the views of the Copts; and having used his arguments up to the point where S. Ephraim discusses the double nature of our Lord, he interpolates without any scruple the Coptic belief that Christ has one nature only. To attribute to S. Ephraim views so different to those which he really held, is, to say the least of it, a "pious fraud." Judging from the Coptic text which we have in Lord Zouche's MS., the translator did not know his Greek very well; for besides the clerical errors which are found in it, there are some mistakes which show that he did not understand many of the passages which he tried to translate. The order, too, of the passages which he has rendered into Coptic differs in his version from that of the Greek. I suspect that the Greek text is a translation from the Syriac, for many of the sentences appear in form to be imitations of a metrical original.

ῤῗῗ. οὔλογος ἢτε πᾶντιος φρεε εἴθε ἴεε-
 τᾶεεορφωσις ἢτε πεποσ ἰνς πᾶχς ριχεν
 πιτωου ἢτε θαδωρ ἐταφοτορηϗ
 ἐπεφραεθῆτης ἢθῆτηϗ πεε
 εἴθε πᾶντιος ἡλιας πιπρο-
 φῆτης εἰωωϗ θεν σουῖ
 εἰπιὰβοτ εεχιρ
 θεν ουρῖρηνη
 ἢτε φῑ
 εἰεηη.

ἐβολθθεν πχαρρεωηηη εεφραϗι ἢτε ἴχωρα
 ϗαϗϗωπι ἢχε ουτορηου ἐβολθθεν πενκαρπος
 ἰουῖεῖελολι ϗαϗϗωπι ἢχε ουεφροϗηη
 ῤῗ. ἐβολθθεν πενσβω ἢἑυραφῆ εἴθεαδ ἢηηϗ
 ἢτε φῑ ϗαϗϗωπι ἢχε ουωηθ ἢηηηηηηηη
 θεν πιχωρα εεη ουκεροϑ¹ ἰουωτ κατα
 σνοῦ εἰωωη εἰπωου (sic) ἑυραφῆ δε ἰθεοϑ

¹ Read ουκαηροϑ.

ἵσνοϋ πιβεν σβεβι ἐπϋωι ἵθῆητς ἵχε οὔσβω
 ἵτε πωπθ εὔτανθο πιχωρα ροταν
 εὔτανπωσθ ἵποϋχπασ εὔτανπωσι σατοτοϋ
 εὔωπ εὔτανπῶλ ἐπιῖδραλολι εὔαφθεβιδ
 φτραφῆ δε εὔωσθ ἐεεοσ ἐεεηπι εὔαρε
 ῥλ̄α. πιθεεεσ ἐτρωοττ εὔερεϋοηηπι ἵτε
 πιερεηηπεϋτῆσ ἐτε ἵθῆητς ἐπαϋεεοηηκ
 οὔοϋ σεβῶλ ἐεεοσ ἐεεηπι οὔοϋ πιεεεϋ
 εὔρολχ ἵτε ηεηπαφῆη ἵφδελπῆσ ἐπαϋ-
 ὄωοσ ἐβολ εεαρεηθῶπτ ἐθῶηπ εὔαι-
 χωρα θαι χε οὔη οὔοϋ εεεσθλωε (sic) ἵρεϋφ
 ἐπωπθ ἵτεπεϋλπολαηηπ ἐεεωοσ οὔοϋ
 ἵτεπωσθ ἐβολ ἵθῆητς ἵπιθεεεσ ἵρεϋ-
 τανθο εὔε πιεαχι ἵωπθ ηε ἵτε ηεη σ̄

ῥλ̄β. ἱη̄σ̄ π̄χ̄σ̄ φῆ εὔαφερπκεχοσ χε οὔοη ραν-
 οὔοη θεη ηῆ ἐτοϋ ἐρατοϋ ἐπαῖ εεη ηῆ
 ἐτεησεηαχεεηφῆπ ἐεφεεοσ εῆπ εὔα πτοὔπαϋ
 ἐπϋηρι ἐεφρωεε εὔηηνοϋ θεη πεϋωοσ εε-
 ηεησα ε̄ ἵεϋοοσ εὔβῆ ἐπετροσ ηεε ἱακω-
 βοσ ηεε ἱωαηηησ πεϋσοη εὔεποϋ ἐπϋωι
 ρῖχην οὔτωοσ εὔβοσι εεεεϋω εὔωοητϋ
 ἵχηρεβ ἐποϋεεθο ἐβολ οὔοϋ πεϋϋο εὔερ-
 οὔωηπ ἐεφῆηφ ἐεφῆη πεϋϋῶσ εὔοὔεϋ

ῥλ̄γ. ἐεφῆηφ ἐπιχῖωη ηῆρωεε ϋαρ εὔαφχοσ
 ἐρῶοσ χε ἐπαϋχεεηφῆπ ἐεφεεοσ εὔατοὔ-
 παϋ ἐπϋηρι ἐεφρωεε εὔηηνοϋ θεη πεϋωοσ
 ἵθῶοσ ηε ηῆπ ἵαποστολοσ ἐὔαφερπκετα-
 εεωοσ πεϋωοσ ρῖχην ηῆτωοσ εὔραϋ ἵχε
 ηῆπροφῆητῆσ ηεε ηῆ ἐὔαϋερπροφῆηηηπ
 εὔῶηητϋ ηεε οὔθελῆλ (sic) ἵτε (sic) ηῆποστο-
 λοσ εὔαϋερπκεϋῖωϋ ἐεεοϋ θεη πιενοϋ
 τῆηϋ εὔωτεε εὔεεη ἵτε φῖωτ εὔερεεεϋρε

ῥλ̄δ. θεη πεϋϋηρι εὔχω ἐεεοσ χε φαι ηε παϋηρι

ται σεη ἴτε φωτ ἐβολθεν τφε εφερ-
 εεορε δε πεφνηρι εεεεπριτ κε φαι πε
 πανηρι εφτασθοϋ ἴχε εωτςνε επεφτοπος
 οτοϋ ἠλιας ετεφχωρα οτοϋ μηποστολος
 [α]τρει ριχεν ποτϋο ἴνε εεεετατϋ πετα-
 φοϋ ερατϋ κε οτηι τσεη ετεεεεεετ ἴθοϋ
 εεεετατϋ πε ετασι επεσνητ οτοϋ ετασ-
 χωκ ἐβολ εϋρηι εχωϋ ετφωτ ἴχε μηπρο-
 φητςνε οτοϋ μηποστολος ετρει ριχεν ποτϋο
 ρεεεβ κε οτηι παρε τσεη χηκ ἐβολ εϋρηι
 εχωτ [αη] οη ετχω εεεεος κε φαι πε πανηρι
 παεεεπριτ ετατφεεετ ἴθνητϋ σωτεεε
 ἴσωϋ ἴϋρηι οτηι θεη παι σαχι εφτςβω πωοτ
 κε εσχωκ ἐβολ ἴχε τοικοποεεεε εβολ θεη
 εωτςνε πεεε ἠλιας ετοταϋσαϋμη πωοτ
 εθοτςωτεεε ἴσα ποε ἴνε εεπερχος κε
 τποτ κε παι μη μη εταφχοτοτ ἴχε εωτςνε
 οτοϋ κε παι πε μη εταφχοτοτ ἴχε ἠλιας
 ρεεεε παι ναρ ραπεδειακ πε εεφρητ ετατοταϋ-
 σαϋμη πωοτ παι ρητ πετατςαχι εεφρητ
 ετατςαχι πεεεωοτ παι ρητ ετατϋιωϋ ποε
 ναρ ἴθοϋ πινηρι εεεεοπονεης ἴτε φτ
 φωτ ἴοτνηρι εη εεεεεεε θεη μη οταε
 ἴοτβωκ εη πε ελλα οτοε πε οτοϋ οτποττ
 ετσοη πε εβολθεη φωτ οτοϋ οταεσποτςνε
 πε ἴτε μηπητηρϋ εεεεοη κε οταε εφοι ποε
 εϋρηι εχωϋ εοτνηρι εεεετατϋ ἴτε φτ
 εφοι ἴβ εη εε πνεπετο οταε φτςις βτ
 ρεεεε. ελλα οτφτςις ἴοτωτ ἴτε μηλοτοε εεσερ-
 σαρϋ εοβε φαι επεροεεολοτηη κε οτποττ
 πε ετα τθεοζοκοε εθοταβ εεαριε εεασϋ
 παι εφοι ἴποττ ἴτελιον εφοι ἴρωεε ἴτε-
 λιον επαι οταε ἴνηρι ἴοτωτ πε εφοι εη

εὐφροσύνης σπουδῆς κατὰ τὴν πλάνην ἢ τε πηφαν-
 τασίας τῆς ἡεφροσύνης ἢ ἑρετικὸς ἐτῶν
 εὐεος εὐφροσύνης σπουδῆς ἐρῆνι ἐχεν πῦνρι εὐφρ.
 οὐτορ πε εφοῖ ἢ ἄ πε κατὰ ποῦλας ἡψοῦσῶν
 ῥεε. ἐβὸλ πως ἢ.....χω¹ εὐεος ἐ ἦν ἐτασ-
 εεσῶν κε θεοδοκὸς οὐτορ τενῶν εὐεος ἀπ
 κε ἀπὸροποτοκὸς οὐτορ ἐπε οὐποῦτ ἀπ πε
 ἐτασῶν σαρξ πως φεονῆς ἐροῦ ἢποῦτ ἢκε
 τὰ βρινλ πεχῶν κε ἀπείσι πωτεν εὐφοῦσ
 ἡοῦσῶν τῆρ ἐτε πῶσ φτ πε ἄεν τπολις
 ἡδῶν εἰπαρῆτ οὐπ εὐπαρῆτ κατὰ τῆα-
 ρεπεσις ἡπιαποστολὸς πεε πιαπνελις τῆς
 ἐτασῶν πῶν παπ εἶρεν παρῆτ ἐοῦποῦτ
 ῥεε. ἡοῦσῶν φωτ πιαπτοκρατῶν πεε οὐσῶ
 ἡοῦσῶν ἡσ πῶσ πῦνρι εὐφρ πιαπονενης
 πεε πιαπῶν ἐθοῦσῶν ἡρεῦτῶν εἰπνοῦ
 ἐβὸλ ἄεν φωτ εἰρεοτεν εὐεοῦ ἐχεν πῦνρι
 ἢτε θαι τε τῆρις ἐθοῦσῶν ἐπατῶν σῶ
 ἐπερ ἢτε πῆπερ παρ ῆτ πε ἐτασῶν ἐρος
 εὐπιαρῆτ ἡοῦδοξὸς ἢκε τῆκαθολικῆ ἡεκ-
 κλησιᾷ ἢτε πιαπὸς ἡσ πιαπ ἡδῶν
 ἐοῦσῶν ἡπενερ εἶρε φαι τὰρ ἐ πῶσ ἐρπ-
 κείνι ἡπιαποστολὸς ἐπῶνι ριχεν πιαπῶν
 ῥεε. κε ρια ἡρεῦτῶν κε πια πε πῦνρι
 εὐφρ ροῦσῶν εἰρεπῶν ἡτοτοῦ κε ἀρε
 πιαπῶν χω εὐεος ἐροῖ κε ἀποκ πιαπ παῦσῶ
 εὐεος πε ριαποτοπ πιαπ κε ἡπιαπῆς πιαπ-
 τῶν πε ριαπκεῶν πιαπ κε κε ἡπιαπ
 ριαπκεῶν πιαπ κε κε ἡπιαπῆς ἡπιαπ ἐβὸλ
 ἄεν πιαπῆς εἶρε φαι εἰρεοῦ ἐπῶνι
 ριχεν πιαπῶν φαι ἢτε ἡπιαπ εἰρεπῶν
 κε ἡπιαπ ἀπ πε ἡπιαπ οὐσῶ ἡπιαπ οὐσῶ

¹ A leaf appears to be missing here.

ρ̄ε̄η̄. ἱερεεεας ἀλλὰ ἰθοοϋ πε φ† ζεν ουεε-
 θεεηι ἰτε ἡλιας πεεε φ† ἰνωαμηνε πεεε
 φ† ἰπερεεεας ἰθοοϋ πε φ† ἐταφερὰνιζιη (sic)
 ἰπερεεεας ιςχεν εϋζεν ἠπεξι ουαε ουαι
 απ πε ζεν πηπροφητη[ς] ἀλλὰ χε πο̄· ἰτε
 πηπροφητης φη ἐταφερ̄κεοτορποϋ ζαχωϋ
 ε̄πεϋβι ἰχι σαρξ ε̄θεεεε ἰοτχαι ἰθοοϋ
 φ† π̄λοτοϋ εσεϋωπι δε παπ τηροϋ ε̄ορεπ-
 ϋαϋπι ἐπεεοϋ ε̄πιτωοϋ ἐθοουαβ ἰτε
 ρ̄ε̄θ̄. π̄οζδωριοη ζεν ἰη̄ς π̄χ̄ς πεπο̄ φαι ἐτε
 ἐβολζιτοτϋ ερε ὠοϋ πιβεν πεεε πταιδ̄
 πιβεν πεεε προσκνηνης πιβεν ερπρεπι
 ε̄φιωτ πεεεαϋ πεεε π̄π̄ᾱ ἐθοουαβ ἰρεϋ-
 ταπζο οτοϋ ἰ οεεοοτςιοϋ πεεεαϋ †ποϋ
 πεεε ἰςνοϋ πιβεν πεεε ϋα ἐπεεε ἰτε πῑπεεε
 τηροϋ ε̄εηη.

φ† παι ε̄φ̄η̄ε̄ταφ̄ε̄ζ̄αι (sic) ε̄εηη :-

Translation.

[ρκθ] The discourse of Saint Ephraim on the Transfiguration of our Lord Jesus Christ on Mount Tabor, in which He appeared to His disciples with Saint Elijah the Prophet, which is read on the sixth day of the month Mechir, (1) in the peace of God, Amen. (2)

From the joy of the gladness of the field shall there be pleasure ; (3) from the fruit of the vineyard shall there be joy, and from the [ρλ] knowledge of the Holy Scriptures of the Spirit of God shall there be light to those who believe. The fields have, however, one period (of harvest) according to their (4) stated time ; (5) but in the Scriptures there bubbles up at all times the knowledge of vivifying life. When the fields have been reaped into their sheaves, they dry up straightway ; and when a vine has been stripped of fruit, it becomes of no account ; but if the Scriptures are stripped daily [ρλα] the fine ears which are in it, and which abound in interpretations, never fail, and if the Scriptures are reaped daily the sweet grass of our

grains of hope never, never comes to an end. Let us draw near then to this field and life-giving furrow ⁽⁶⁾ that we may enjoy them ⁽⁷⁾, and that we may reap therein the vivifying ears which are the words of life of our Lord Jesus Christ, [ρλδ] who said, "There are some among those who stand here who shall not taste death until they see the Son of Man coming in His glory." ⁽⁸⁾ And after six days He took Peter and James and John his brother, and brought them up on to an exceedingly high mountain, and was changed in form before them. And His face shone like the sun, and His clothing was white as snow ⁽⁹⁾. Now the men [ρλτ] to whom He said that they should not taste death until they saw the Son of Man coming in His glory, were the three apostles unto whom He showed His glory upon the mountain. ⁽¹⁰⁾ The prophets and those who prophesied concerning Him rejoiced, and the apostles ⁽¹¹⁾ who proclaimed Him at all times were glad when they heard the voice of the Father testifying concerning His Son, saying, [ρλζ] "This is My beloved Son in whom I am well pleased, hear Him." ⁽¹²⁾ And these three apostles and the two prophets, which were Moses and Elias, were thus sealed in the testimony of the Father concerning His Son Jesus Christ our Lord; for by the testimony of two or three witnesses shall every truth stand. ⁽¹³⁾ So these (apostles) who were standing by Him like servants looked upon this only Son of God, [ρλε] and knew in truth by (the words) from heaven, "Thou art My beloved Son," and from the presence of the manifestation of these two mighty prophets who spake with Him, that He was God who had changed them, and that it was He who had commanded and made them appear in glory. ⁽¹⁴⁾ Then Peter ⁽¹⁵⁾ answered and said to the Lord, "Lord, it is good for us to be here." ⁽¹⁶⁾ "What sayest thou, Peter? If we stand here, [ρλε] who shall fulfil the things which the prophets have foretold? Who shall seal the things which the preachers have spoken? And who shall manifest or fulfil the mysteries of the saints? By whom shall the saying, 'They pierce My hands and My feet, they count all My bones,' ⁽¹⁷⁾ be fulfilled? To whom do (the words), 'The division of my clothes among them, they cast lots for My raiment,' ⁽¹⁸⁾ apply? [ρλζ] To whom do (the words), 'They put gall into My food, and they made Me drink vinegar in My thirst,' ⁽¹⁹⁾ apply? And who shall establish the saying, 'Free among the dead?' ⁽²⁰⁾ If we stand here, who shall tear asunder the handwriting which I have written against Adam? ⁽²¹⁾ Who shall discharge his debt? and who shall obtain

for him the garment of his glory? If we stand here, how shall all the things which I have spoken come to pass? [ρλη] How shall the Church be built upon thee? and what is the need of the keys (²²) of the Kingdom of Heaven which thou hast received? Whom wilt thou bind? Whom wilt thou loose? If we stand here, all things which have been said will become of none effect." And again Peter said to the Lord, "If Thou wishest we will make three tabernacles here, one for Thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elias." (²³) Peter had been sent [ρλθ] to build a Church in the world, and he thought that he ought to make tabernacles upon the mountain. Hitherto he had considered Jesus after the manner of a man, and had numbered Him with Moses and Elias. But in order that He might show them that He had no need of a tabernacle, He told him that it was He that had made to his fathers of old a tabernacle in the clouds forty years in the desert. (²⁴)

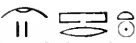
And while they were talking, behold [ρελ], a cloud of light overshadowed them (²⁵). Behold, Peter, a tabernacle built for thee without trouble! Behold a tabernacle which keeps away the heat from thee and which has no darkness in it! Behold a tabernacle which shines and throws out lightnings! And while the disciples were marvelling, behold, they heard a voice from the cloud, saying "This is My beloved Son in whom I am well pleased, hear Him." (²⁶) [ρελζ] And after this voice of the Father from heaven, which testified concerning His beloved Son, saying, "This is My Son," Moses returned to his place, and Elijah to his country, and the apostles fell upon their faces, and Jesus remained standing alone, for it was to Him that the voice alone had descended and was fulfilled in Him. The prophets fled and the apostles fell upon their faces, because [ρελδ] the voice which said, "This is My beloved Son in whom I am well pleased, hear Him," was (not) fulfilled in them.

By these words He taught them that the dispensation had been fulfilled by Moses and Elijah, and He commanded them to hear the Lord Jesus, and did not say, "These are the things which Moses spake," or, "these are the things which Elijah spake;" for these (prophets) were servants [ρελυ], and spake according to what had been commanded them, and they preached according to what had been told them. For the Lord is the only-begotten Son of God the Father, and is neither a house-born child nor a servant; but is Lord and God

together from the Father, and is the ruler of all things, and there is no one who is lord over Him (²⁷), the Only Son of God. He was not two in birth neither had He two natures [p̄eēz], but one nature of the Word that became flesh. Therefore we confess that He whom Mary the holy mother of God bore for us is God, perfect God and perfect man in this Only Son. He has not two natures according to the error of those who believe in the mere appearance of Christ, and the heretical believers in this mere physical form who say, "There are two natures in the Son of God." And if He were two natures according to their tongues, which ought to be cut out, why is it that we [p̄eēz] call her who bore Him "God bearer" and not "Man bearer?" And if He be not God who took flesh (upon Himself), why did Gabriel (²⁸) call Him "God?" for he said, "There is born to you this day in the city of David, a Saviour who is the Lord God" (²⁹). We believe then according to the exhortation of the Apostles and Evangelists who preached that we should believe in One God the Father Almighty [p̄eēh] (³⁰), and in one Lord Jesus Christ the only begotten Son of God, and the Holy Vivifying Spirit proceeding from the Father and resting upon the Son: this is the Holy and Undividable Trinity for ever and ever. In this wise has the Catholic Church of the believers accepted the orthodox faith, being baptized in it unto everlasting life. God brought the apostles up on to a mountain (³¹) that [p̄eēθ] He might show them who was the Son of God. When He asked them, "Who do men say that I am?" (³²) They answered, "Some (say) John, and some (say) Elias, and others (say) Jeremiah, or one of the prophets." Therefore He took them up on to this mountain of Tabor that He might show them that He was neither Elias, nor John, nor Jeremiah, but that He [p̄it] was in truth the God of Elias, and the God of John, and the God of Jeremiah, and that He was the God Who had sanctified Jeremiah in the womb, and that He was not one of the prophets, but the God of the prophets, for whose sake He had sent them, when as yet He, God the Word, had not taken the flesh full of salvation. May we all then obtain the blessing of the holy mountain Tabor through Jesus Christ our Lord [p̄it&], through Whom be all glory, honour, and adoration, meet for Him with the Father and the holy, vivifying, and consubstantial Spirit, now and always and for ever and ever. Amen.

God have mercy upon him that wrote (this). Amen.

NOTES.

- (1) This month began on the 26th of January. Hier. 
- (2) The heading is written in red ink, and has a laced border painted in green, red, and yellow: the side of the page is filled up with a graceful design painted in the same colours, and at the bottom of the page is a bird.
- (3) This clause offers a good example of the mistakes which the translator makes. The Greek has ἐκ τῆς χάρας. θέρους χαρμονῆ.
- (4) Read **ⲉⲉⲉⲉⲟⲩ**?
- (5) Read **ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ** **ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲧ**, Gr. *ἕνα καιρὸν*.
- (6) Read **ⲉⲉⲥⲑⲗⲱⲉ**?
- (7) Read **ⲡⲧⲈ** **ⲡⲈⲡⲔ** **ⲡⲟⲗⲁⲩⲧⲓⲡ**? Gr. *ἀπολαύσωμεν*.
- (8) S. Matt. xvi, 28; S. Mark ix, 1; S. Luke ix, 27.
- (9) S. Matt. xvii, 1. The Greek has *ἕς τὸ φῶς*.
- (10) There is no Coptic for the Greek passages after ἀνήγαγεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος (Assemâni, p. 42, line 10) until we come to ἐχάρησαν οἱ προφῆται (Assemâni, p. 44, line 13).
- (11) Read **ⲁⲩⲑⲈⲘⲘⲗ** **ⲡⲧⲈ** **ⲡⲓⲔⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ**.
- (12) S. Matt. xvii, 5.
- (13) There is nothing like this in the Greek.
- (14) These lines are a very loose paraphrase. Lines 25—42 of the Greek (Assemâni, p. 44) have no equivalent in the Coptic.
- (15) Read **ⲡⲈⲧⲣⲟⲥ**.
- (16) S. Matt. xvii, 4.
- (17) Psalm xxii, 16, 17.
- (18) Psalm xxii, 18.
- (19) Psalm lxix, 21.
- (20) Psalm lxxxviii, 5.
- (21) See Coloss. ii, 14.
- (22) S. Matt. xvi, 18, 19. Read **ⲁⲕⲐ** **ⲓⲧⲟⲩ**.
- (23) S. Matt. xvii, 4.
- (24) Numbers ix, 18.
- (25) S. Matt. xvii, 5.
- (26) S. Matt. xvii, 5.
- (27) There is no Coptic equivalent for the Greek text printed by Assemâni on p. 46.
- (28) See Assemâni, p. 47, line 2.
- (29) S. Luke ii, 11.

- (30) A leaf is wanting here. The whole of S. Ephraim's arguments on the subject of Christ's divinity and double nature are omitted.
- (31) See *Assemânî*, p. 42, line 10.
- (32) S. Matt. xvi, 13; S. Mark viii, 27; S. Luke ix, 18.

The following Communication has been received from Professor Wright :—

KUFIC TOMBSTONES IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

Sixteen tombstones of Muḥammadans have been recently brought home from a ruined and deserted graveyard in Upper Egypt, and are now deposited in the British Museum. They are exceedingly well preserved, considering that they are merely blocks of sandstone and have been exposed to the weather for from 800 to 1000 years or more. Archæologically and historically they are of but little importance, as they are the gravestones of humble villagers, men and women, potters and dyers and goldsmiths and the like. Still it is interesting to see what such folk thought worth recording of themselves; and the record is, on the whole, surprisingly like that of tradesmen or peasants of our own day in a country churchyard—name, profession, date of death, and a verse from the *Ḳor'ān*, in place of the Bible, setting forth the deceased's hope of happiness in the life everlasting.

The character of these inscriptions is generally an ornate flourished Kūfī. The first two, which are likewise the oldest, are exceptions, No. I being more like Naskhī. No. XV is also very cursive.

I should hardly have ventured to offer this paper to our Society, had not some of its leading members expressed a wish to see its range somewhat widened, so as to include not merely things pertaining to "Biblical" Archæology in particular, but to Semitic Archæology in general.

CAMBRIDGE, 8th July, 1887.

I.

About 12¼ in. by 6½.

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ	بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ
هٰذَا قَبْرُ اَزْهَرِ	هٰذَا قَبْرُ اَزْهَرِ
بْنِ عَبْدِ السَّلْمِ	بْنِ عَبْدِ السَّلْمِ
بْنِ اسْتَحْقَ بْنِ قَاسِمِ	بْنِ اسْتَحْقَ بْنِ قَاسِمِ
رَحْمَتِ * اللّٰهِ	رَحْمَتِ اللّٰهِ 5
وَمَغْفِرَتِهِ وَرِضْوَانِهِ	وَمَغْفِرَتِهِ وَرِضْوَانِهِ
عَلَيْهِ تُوْفِي	عَلَيْهِ تُوْفِي
یَوْمَ الْخَمِیْسِ	یَوْمَ الْخَمِیْسِ
لِخَمْسِ لَیَالٍ بَقِیَّةٍ	لِخَمْسِ لَیَالٍ بَقِیَّةٍ
مِنَ جُمَادِی الْاُولٰی	مِنَ جُمَادِی الْاُولٰی 10
سَنَةِ	سَنَةِ
اِثْنَتَیْنِ وَخَمْسِیْنِ	اِثْنَتَیْنِ وَخَمْسِیْنِ
وَمِائَتَیْنِ	وَمِائَتَیْنِ

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. This is the grave of Azhar, son of 'Abd as-Salām, son of Ishāq, son of Kāsīm, the mercy of God and His forgiveness and His favour be upon him! He died on Thursday, when five nights remained (i.e. the 25th) of the first Jumādā, in the year 252 (A.D. 866).

II.

About 15⅝ in. by 6.

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ	بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ
الرَّحِیْمِ ، قُل	الرَّحِیْمِ د قُل †
هُوَ اللّٰهُ اَحَدٌ	هُوَ اللّٰهُ اَحَدٌ

* For رَحْمَةً (as in Kor'an, Sūr. xi. 76 and elsewhere), like ابنت for ابنة (بنت) ابنة.

† This line shows the only attempt at punctuation in this whole series.

اللهم الصمد لم	اللهم الصمد لم
يلد ولم يولد	5 ولد ولم يولد
ولم يكن له كفؤاً	ولم يكن له كفؤاً [و] 1
أحد هذا قبر	أحد هذا قبر
محمد بن صباح مولي	محمد بن صباح مولي
حسن المدلجى توفى	حسن المدلجى توفى
فى سلخ شعبان	10 فى سلخ شعبان
سنة احدى و تسعين	سنة احدى و تسعين
ومائة تين	ومائة تين

In the name etc. "Say, He is God, One; He is the resort (of all); He hath not begotten, and He was not begotten; and there is none His equal." (Kor'an, Sūr. cxii.) *This is the grave of Muḥammad, son of Šabāh, the freedman of Ḥasan al-Mudlijī (of the tribe of Mudlij).* *He died on the last night (the 29th) of Ša'bān, in the year 291 (A.D. 904)*

III.

About 19½ in. by 9¼.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم	بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
تبارك الذي ان شاء جعل لك	تبارك الذي ان سا جعل لك
خيرا من ذلك جنات تجري	خيرا من ذلك جنات تجري
من تحتها الانبار ويجعل	من تحتها الانبار ويجعل
لك قصورا اللهم صلي	5 لك قصورا اللهم صلي *
علي محمد النبي واله الطا	علي محمد النبي واله الطا
هرين وارحم عبدك	هرين وارحم عبدك
اسحق بن يعقوب بن اسحق	اسحق بن يعقوب بن اسحق
بن ابراهيم توفى يوم	بن ابراهيم توفى يوم

* So in all these inscriptions instead of صَلَّى.

الاحد لخمس بقين من
جمادي الاخر سنة
ثمان واربع مائة

10 الاحد لخمس بقين من
جمادي الاخر * سنة
ثمان واربع مائة

In the name etc. "Blessed be He who, if He pleased, could give thee better than that, (to wit) gardens beneath which flow streams, and could give thee palaces." (Sūr. xxv. 11.) O God, bless Muḥammad the prophet and his family the pure; and have mercy upon Thy servant Ishāk, son of Yāḳūb, son of Ishāk, son of Ibrāhīm. He died on Sunday, when five (nights) remained (i.e. the 24th) of the latter Jumādū, in the year 408 (A.D. 1017).

IV.

About 17½ in. by 13.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
قل الله احد الله الصمد لم
يلد ولم يولد ولم يكن له
كنو احد الليم صلي على محمد
5 النبي واله وارحم فاطمه ائمة
جعتر بن محمد الصباغ بوقت بو
م الاحد مسنيل جمادي ا
لاخر سنة النبي وعسرد وار
بع مائة

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
قل الله احد الله الصمد لم
يلد ولم يولد ولم يكن له
كنو† احد الليم صلي على محمد

* Incorrectly for الأخرّة.

† Read كُنُوا.

5 النبي واله وارحم فاطمة ابنت
 جعفر بن محمد الصباغ توفيت يو
 م الاحد مستهل جمادي ا
 لآخر سنة اثني وعشرة* وار
 بع مائة

In the name etc. "Say, God is One"; etc. (Sūr. cxii.) O God, bless Muḥ. the prophet and his family; and have mercy upon Fāṭima, daughter of Jā'far, son of Muḥammad, the dyer. She died on Sunday, the first of the latter Jumādū, in the year 412 (A.D. 1021).

V.

About 17 in. by 13.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 هذا بلغ للناس ولينذروا به
 ولتعلموا ان ما هو اله واحد
 ولندكر الوالائات اللئيم
 5 صلى على محمد النبي واله اوسلم سلما وا
 رحم عندك التقدر الى رحمتك جعفر بن
 احمد بن علي بن محمد بن فاسم بن عند
 الصمد بوفى يوم الخميس لسنة انا
 م حلول من المحرم سنة ثمان مائة عسر
 10 واربع مائة رحمه الله عليه و
 وصوانه

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 هذا بلغ للناس ولينذروا به

* Incorrectly for اثنتي عشرة.

وليعلموا ان ما هو الله واحد
 وليذكر الوا الالباب الليم
 5 صلي علي محمد النبي واله اوسلم سلما* وا
 رحم عبدك التقدير الي رحمتك جعفر بن
 احمد بن علي بن محمد بن قاسم بن عبد
 الصمد توفي يوم الخميس لسته ايا
 م † خلون عن المحرم سنة ثمانية عشر ‡
 10 واربع مائة رحمة الله عليه و
 رضوانه

In the name etc. "This is a sufficient announcement for men; and (it is revealed) that they may be warned thereby, and that they may know that He is one God, and that the discreet may remember." (Sūr. xiv. 52.) *O God, bless Muḥ. the prophet and his family and save (them); and have mercy upon Thy servant that hath need of Thy mercy, Ja'far, son of Aḥmad, son of 'Alī, son of Muḥammad, son of Kāsim, son of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad. He died on Thursday when six days (nights) were past (the 6th) of al-Muḥarram, in the year 418 (A.D. 1027). May the mercy of God be upon him and His favour.*

* These words are rather indistinct on the stone. The engraver was going to carve الظاهرين, but stopped short at the *alif*, which he neglected to erase. سلما should be تسليماً, but I am not certain as to what is on the stone; it might be only سلم. The letters وا at the end of this line, and رحم at the beginning of the next, (making up the word وارحم) are outside of the boundary line. They were evidently omitted by the engraver and inserted afterwards.

† The composer of the epitaph should have written لست ليال.

‡ Incorrectly for ثمانى عشرة. I shall not notice any more of these discords.

VI.

About 19 in. by 12½ in width at the top and 11 in. below.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 ان الذين قالوا ربنا الله ثم
 استقاموا ندرل عليهم
 الملائكة الا يحافوا ولا
 حزنوا واسرروا بالجنة التي
 5 كندم بوعدون اللهم صلي
 على محمد النبي واله الطاهرين
 وسلم فضا حبه ابراهيم بن ا
 لحسين بن اسحق بن يعقوب بن اسحق
 10 يوم السبت لثمان بعدن من
 ربيع الاحرسه عشرين وار
 بع مائه

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 ان الذين قالوا ربنا الله ثم
 استقاموا تنزل عليهم
 الملائكة الا تحافوا ولا
 5 تحزنوا وابشروا بالجنة التي
 كنتم بوعدون اللهم صلي
 على محمد النبي واله الطاهرين
 وسلم فضا حبه ابراهيم بن ا
 لحسين بن اسحق بن يعقوب بن اسحق

10 يوم السبت لثمان بقیین عن
ربیع الآخر سنة عشرين وار
بع مائة

In the name etc. "Verily those who say 'Our Lord is God' and then walk uprightly, upon them shall the angels descend (saying), 'Fear ye not, neither be ye sad, but rejoice ye in the Paradise which ye have been promised.'" (Sūr. xli. 30.) O God, bless Muḥ. the prophet and his family the pure and save (them). There died Ibrāhīm, son of al-Ḥusain, son of Ishāq, son of Ya'qūb, son of Ishāk, on Saturday, when eight (nights) remained (the 21st) of the latter Rabī, in the year 420 (A.D. 1029).

VII.

About 16 in. by 12 in. at the top and 10¼ below.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
كل من عليا فان ويدنا وجه
ربك ذو الجلال والاكرام
م اللّيم صلى على محمد النبي
5 واله وارحم فاطمه ائمت
علي بن عبد الله بن حنادة
يوم السبت يوم الاثنين لثمان بقين
من جمادى الآخر سنة عشرين
واربع مائة

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
كل من عليا فان ويدنا وجه
ربك ذو الجلال والاكرام
م اللّيم صلى على محمد النبي

5 والہ وارحم فاضمة ابنت
 علي بن عبد الله بن جنادة
 توفيت يوم الاثنين لثمان بقين
 من جمادي الآخر سنة عشرين
 واربع مائة

In the name etc. "Every one that is upon it (viz. the earth) perisheth, but the person (literally, face) of thy Lord abideth, the possessor of glory and honour." (Sūr. Iv. 26, 27.) O God, bless Muḥ. the prophet and his family, and have mercy on Fāṭima, daughter of 'Alī, son of 'Abd-Allāh, son of Junāda. She died on Monday, when eight nights remained (the 21st) of the latter Jumādā, in the year 420 (A.D. 1029).

VIII.

About 19½ in. by 13¼, narrowing to 13.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 بسمهم ربهم برحمته منه
 ورضوان وحنان ليم فينا (sic)
 نعم معتم حالدس فدنيا اند
 5 ا ان الله عدد احر عظم الليم
 صلى على محمد النبي وعلى اله الطاهرين
 وارحم عددك القمدر الى رحمدك
 حتى بن احمد بن علي بن محمد بن فاسم
 بن عدد الصمد بن حتى بن بدر بوفى بو
 10 م الانس لدلانه انام بعمى هن (sic) سقر (sic)
 سنة اندس وعشرين واربع مائة

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ
 یُبَشِّرُهُمْ رَبِّیْمَ بِرَحْمَةٍ مِنْهُ
 وَرِضْوَانٍ وَجَنّٰتٍ لِّیْمٍ فِیْهَا [فِیْهَا read]
 نَعِیْمٍ مُّقْتَدِمِ خَالِدِیْنَ فِیْهَا اَبَدًا
 5 اِنَّ اللّٰهَ عِنْدَہٗ اَجْرَ عَظِیْمٍ
 صَلِّیْ عَلٰی عَلِیِّ بْنِ اَبِی طَالِبٍ
 وَارْحَمْ عَبْدَکَ الْفَقِیْرَ اِلٰی رَحْمَتِکَ
 یَحٰیئِیْ بِنِ اَحْمَدَ بِنِ عَلِیِّ بْنِ مُحَمَّدَ بِنِ قَاسِمِ
 بِنِ عَبْدِ الصَّمَدِ بْنِ یَحٰیئِیْ بْنِ بَدْرِ تُوْفِیْ یَوْمِ
 10 مِ الْاِثْنِیْنِ لِثَلَاثَةِ اَیَّامٍ تَبْقٰی * هُنَّ سَفَرٌ [عَنْ سَفَرِ read]
 سَنَةِ اِثْنِیْنِ وَعِشْرِیْنِ وَاَرْبَعِ مِائَةٍ

In the name etc. "Their Lord sendeth them glad tidings of mercy from Himself and of goodwill, and of gardens wherein lasting pleasure shall be theirs, abiding therein for ever; verily with God is a great reward!" (Sūr. ix. 21, 22.) O God, bless Muḥ. the prophet and his family the pure, and have mercy on Thy servant that hath need of Thy mercy, Yaḥyā,† son of Aḥmad, son of 'Alī, son of Muḥammad, son of Kāsīm, son of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad, son of Yaḥyā, son of Badr. He died on Monday, when three days remained (i.e. the 26th) of Ṣafar, in the year 422 (A.D. 1031).

IX.

About 15 in. by 11 at the top and 10 below.

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ
 اصْحَابِ الْجَنَّةِ یَوْمَہٗمْ حٰدِرٌ مُّسْتَقَرٌّ
 اِوَّاحِسٌّ مَعْلٰمِ اللِّیْمِ صَلِّیْ عَلٰی مُحَمَّدِ
 النَّبِیِّ وَعَلٰی اٰلِہٖ الطَّاهِرِیْنَ وَارْحَمْ حَمِیْدَہٗ

* Instead of the usual لثلاث لیل بقیین

† A brother of no. V.

5 ابنت علي بن احمد بن عبد الله
القرموسي الادفوي توفيت
في مستهل شوال من سنة
ثلاث وعشرين واربع مائة

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
اصحاب الجنة يومئذ خير مستقر
واحسن مثيلا اللهم صلي علي محمد
النبي وعلي اله الطاهرين وارحم حبيبة
5 ابنت علي بن احمد بن عبيد الله
القرموسي الادفوي توفيت
في مستهل شوال من سنة
ثلاث وعشرين واربع مائة

In the name etc. "The inmates of Paradise on that day shall be best as to abode and fairest as to resting place." (Sūr. xxv. 26.) O God, bless Muḥ. the prophet and his family the pure, and have mercy on Ḥabība, daughter of 'Alī, son of Aḥmad, son of 'Obaid-Allāh, the potter, from Udfū (Edfū). She died on the first of Shawwāl in the year 423 (A.D. 1032).*

X.

About 15 in. by 11¼.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
ببارك الذي ان سا جعل لك حبرا من ذلك
حناب حبرى من حنابها الانبار ومجعل
لك فصورا اللهم صلي علي محمد النبي و

* القرموسي, from the Greek κερραμεύς.

5 على الله الطاهرين وارحم عبدك بن ع ك
 حسن بن فداال مولى هندرد بن حسدن بن
 هندرد توفي يوم الاحد مستبيل
 سنة اربع وعشرين واربع مائة

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 تبارك الذي ان شاء جعل لك خيرا من ذلك
 جذات تجري من تحتها الانبار ويجعل
 لك قصورا اللهم صلي علي محمد النبي و
 5 علي الله الطاهرين وارحم عبدك بن *
 حسن بن قبال مولى هبيرة بن حسين بن
 هبيرة توفي يوم الاحد مستبيل
 † سنة اربع وعشرين واربع مائة

In the name etc. (Sūr. xxv. 11, as in no. III.) O God, bless Muḥ. the prophet and his family the pure, and have mercy upon Thy servant, son of Ḥasan, son of Kibāl, the freedman of Hubaira, son of Ḥusain, son of Hubaira. He died on Sunday, the first of, in the year 424 (A.D. 1033).

XI.

About 17½ in. by 12½ at the top and 11 at the foot.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 قل هو الله احد الله الصمد
 لم يلد ولم يولد ولم يكن له

* As the word *بن* after *عبدك* seems to be clear, the engraver appears to have misplaced the name of the deceased. The next word is indistinctly cut, and I can read with certainty only *ك*.

† Here again the carving is indistinct. Originally it was, I think, *Rajah*, altered to *Sha'bān*.

كفؤوا احد اللهم صلى على محمد النبي
 5 وعلى اله الطاهرين وارحم مديا بنت
 علي بن احمد بن اسحق بن يوسف
 لعشر بقين من ربيع الاول
 من سنة سبع وعشرين
 واربع مائة

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 قل هو الله احد الله الصمد
 م يلد ولم يولد ولم يكن له
 كفؤا احد اللهم صلى علي محمد النبي
 5 وعلى اله الطاهرين وارحم مديا ابنت
 علي بن احمد بن اسحق توفيت
 لعشر بقين من ربيع الاول
 من سنة سبع وعشرين
 واربع مائة

In the name etc. (Sūr. cxii., as in no. II.) O God, bless Muḥ. etc., and have mercy upon Maiyā, daughter of 'Alī, son of Aḥmad, son of Ishāq. She died when ten (nights) remained (on the 20th) of the first Rabī of the year 427 (A.D. 1036).

XII.

About 21 in. by 12½. It shows traces of decoration painted in black round the edges.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 سارَعُوا* الى عممرد من ركم و

* Originally سارَعُوا (تَسَارَعُوا), but the fourth stroke has been partially erased, leaving سَارَعُوا.

حده عرصيا السموات والارض
 اعدت للممعدن بدارك الذي ان سا
 5 جعل لك حدر (sic) من ذلك حداث حجر
 ي من محدثا الانبار ويجعل لك
 قصور (sic) اللثيم على علي محمد النبي
 واله الطاهرين وسلم وارحم
 عندك التقدير الي رحمتك اسمع (sic)
 10 بن الحسين بن اسحق بن يعقوب بن اسحق
 قضا حده يوم الاثنين لاثنتين وعشرين
 حلون من رحب سنة احدى وبلانس
 واربع مائه رحمه الله عليه و
 معتبره ورصوانه عليه

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 سارعوا الي مغفرة من ربكم و
 جنة عرضها السموات والارض
 اعدت للمتقين تبارك الذي ان شاء
 5 جعل لك خير [خيرا read] من ذلك جنات تجر
 ي من تحتها الانبار ويجعل لك
 قصور [قصورا read] اللثيم صلي علي محمد النبي
 واله الطاهرين وسلم وارحم
 عبدك التقدير الي رحمتك اسمع [اسمعيل read]
 10 بن الحسين بن اسحق بن يعقوب بن اسحق
 قضا حده يوم الاثنين لاثنتين وعشرين

خلون من رجب سنة احدي وثلاثين
 واربع مائة رحمة الله عليه و
 مغفرته ورضوانه عليه

In the name etc. "Hasten unto forgiveness from your Lord and a Paradise the width whereof is (as) the heavens and the earth, which is prepared for the God-fearing." (Sūr. iii. 127.) "Blessed be He who, if He pleased," etc. (Sūr. xxv. 11, as in no. III.) O God, bless Muḥ. etc. (as in no. VI.), and have mercy on Thy servant that hath need of Thy mercy, Ismā'il, son of al-Ḥusain, son of Ishāk, son of Ya'qūb, son of Ishāk. He died on Monday, when twenty and three (nights) were passed (on the 23rd) of Rajab, in the year 431 (A.D. 1040). The mercy of God be upon him, and His forgiveness and His favour be upon him!

XIII.

About 18½ in. by 10½.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 فل هو الله احد الله الصمد
 لم يلد ولم يولد ولم يكن
 له كفوا احد اللهم صلى على
 محمد النبي وعلى اله الطاهر 5
 بن وارحم عديك التقدر الى
 رحمتك هرون بن يحيى الصانع
 بن حكاو بن عريسدنانو نوفي بو
 م الانس ليمان خلون وسنبر* رمضان
 10 وسنة* انيس وبلانس واربع مائة

* The mark ل before شبر and سنة seems to be meant for من.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 قل هو الله احد الله الصمد
 لم يلد ولم يولد ولم يكن
 له كفؤا احد اللهم صلي علي
 5 محمد النبي وعلي اله الطاهر
 بين وارحم عبدك الفقير الي
 رحمتك هرون بن يحيي الصائغ
 بن - - - بن غرتسيانو توفي يو
 م الاثنين لثمان خلون من شهر رمضان
 10 من سنة اثنين وثلاثين واربع مائة

In the name etc. (Sūr. cxii., as in no. II.) O God, bless Muḥ. the prophet and his family the pure, and have mercy on Thy servant that hath need of Thy mercy, Hārūn, son of Yahyā, the goldsmith, son of, son of Graziano. He died on Monday, when eight (nights) were passed (on the 8th) of the month of Ramaḍān, in the year 432 (A.D. 1041).*

XIV.

About 18 in. by 12 $\frac{3}{4}$.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 كل نفس دابة الموت وانما هو
 فون احوركم يوم القامة فمن
 ررح من الدار وادخل الجنة فقد فار
 وما الجهاد الدنيا الا مداع العرور اللهم 5

*⁶ غرتسيانو seems to me to be intended for غرتسيانو, an Italian *Graziano*. But I have not yet succeeded in hitting upon the equivalent of *بحاو*.

صلى على محمد النبي واله وارحم امك القدر
 د الي رحمتك واصلة ابنة محمد بن عبد الله
 بن علي المعروف بالوادي توفيت في اليوم ا
 لثاني والعشرين من شهر رمضان من سنة ثلث
 واربعين واربع مائة 10

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 كل نفس ذائقة الموت وانما توفون اجوركم يوم القيامة فمن
 زحزح عن النار وادخل الجنة فقد فاز
 وما الحياة الدنيا الا متاع الغرور اللهم 5
 صلى على محمد النبي واله وارحم امك القدر
 د الي رحمتك فاضلة ابنة محمد بن عبد الله
 بن علي المعروف بالوادي توفيت في اليوم ا
 لثاني والعشرين من شهر رمضان من سنة ثلث
 واربعين واربع مائة 10

In the name etc. "Every soul shall taste of death; and ye shall receive your recompenses only on the day of the resurrection; and whoso is moved away from the fire (of hell) and made to enter Paradise, hath obtained salvation; and the life of this world is nought but deceitful wares." (Sūr. iii. 182.) O God, bless Muḥ. the prophet and his family, and have mercy on Thy handmaiden that hath need of Thy mercy, Fādila, daughter of Muḥammad, son of 'Abd-Allāh, son of 'Alī, known by (the name of) al-Wādī. She died on the twenty-second day of the month of Ramaḍān of the year 443 (A.D. 1052).*

* Whence named I cannot say. He may have come from Wādī 'l-Ḳorā, **وَادِي الْقُرَي** in al-Hijāz. The name might be read **الوَاكِي**, but the **د** has the same form in **دَابِعَة** (l. 2) and **وَادِحِل** (l. 4).

XV.

About 19¼ in. by 12½.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 تبارك الذي ان شا جعل لك حبرا
 من ذلك حداث محرف من تحتها الا
 نبار ويجعل لك قصورا اللئيم
 5 صلي علي محمد النبي واله الظاهرين
 وارحم عبدك التقدر الي رحمتك
 محمد بن عبد الله بن موسى بن عبد الله
 بن عبد توفي يوم الاثنين الاربعتن (sic) من شهر رمضان
 سنة خمس واربعتن واربع مائة

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 تبارك الذي ان شاء جعل لك خيرا
 من ذلك جذات تجري من تحتها الا
 نبار ويجعل لك قصورا اللئيم
 5 صلي علي محمد النبي واله الظاهرين
 وارحم عبدك التقدير الي رحمتك
 محمد بن عبيد الله بن موسى بن عبيد الله
 بن عبيد توفي يوم الاثنين الاربعتن [read المعشرين] من شهر رمضان
 سنة خمس واربعتن واربع مائة

In the name etc. "Blessed be He who" etc. (Sūr. xxv. 11, as in no. III.) O God, bless Muḥ. the prophet and his family the pure, and have mercy upon Thy servant that hath need of Thy mercy, Muḥammad, son of 'Obaid-Allāh, son of Mūsā, son of 'Obaid-Allāh, son of 'Obaid. He died on Monday the 40th (read, the 20th) of the month of Ramaḍān, in the year 445 (A.D. 1054).*

* The engraver was probably thinking of the number 40 in the following date.

XVI.

About $19\frac{1}{2}$ by $9\frac{1}{2}$. Width of margin about $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. The last four lines are much damaged.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 قل هو الله احد الله الصمد
 لم يلد ولم يولد ولم يكن له
 كفوا احد اللهم صلي على
 محمد النبي واله الطاهرين وار
 5 حم امك القمدر الي رحمتك
 بركة ابيك حسين بن رزق الله بن
 علي بن حسين بن داود الصانع تو
 فديت يوم الا [ثنتين لـ - - - -] خلو
 10 ن من صفر - [من سنة خم -] س و
 خمسين وار [بع مائة]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 قل هو الله احد الله الصمد
 لم يلد ولم يولد ولم يكن له
 كفوا احد اللهم صلي علي
 محمد النبي واله الطاهرين وار
 5 حم امتك التقيرة الي رحمتك
 بركة ابنت حسين بن رزق الله بن
 علي بن حسين بن داود الصانع تو
 فديت يوم الا [ثنتين لـ - - - -] خلو
 10 ن من صفر - [من سنة خم -] س و
 خمسين وار [بع مائة]

On the margin we read as follows, beginning at the upper right-hand corner :—

وهي تسبده ان لا اله الا الله وحده | لا شريك له
وتسبده ان محمدا عبده [ورسوله] ارسله | باليدي
ودس الحق ليطهر على الدس كله ولو كرد المشركون

وهي تشهد ان لا اله الا الله وحده | لا شريك له
وتشهد ان محمدا عبده [ورسوله] ارسله | باليدي
ودين الحق ليطهر علي الدين كله ولو كرد المشركون

In the name, etc. (Sūr. cxii., as in no. II.) O God, bless Muḥ. the prophet and his family the pure, and have mercy on Thy handmaiden that hath need of Thy mercy, Baraka, daughter of Ḥusain, son of Rizk-Allāh, son of 'Alī, son of Ḥusain, son of Dū'ūd, the goldsmith. She died on Monday (?), when . . . (nights) remained of Ṣafar, [in the year] 455 (A.D. 1063). And she testifieth that there is no God but Allāh alone, He hath no companion; and she testifieth that Muḥammad is His servant and His apostle; "He hath sent him with the Guidance and the true religion, that He may make it prevail over every other religion, averse though the polytheists may be." (Sūr. ix. 33.)

To these I may add a stone from the same cemetery, which is in my possession, bearing the same date as no. IV.

XVII.

About 12¼ in. by 5½.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم	سَمِ اللّٰهَ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ
كل من عليتنا فان وبيتنا	كل من عليتنا فان وبيتنا*
وجهه ربك ذو الجلال	وجهه ربك ذو الجلال
والاكرام النبيم صلي	والاكرام النبيم صلي

* The circle at the end of this line seems to have no meaning whatever.

علي محمد النبي وعلي اله	5 علي محمد النبي وعلي اله
الظاهرين وارحم عبدك	الظاهرين وارحم عبدك
عبد الله بن عيسى بن عبد	عبد الله بن عيسى بن عبد
الله بن احمد بن علي بن محمد	الله بن احمد بن علي بن محمد
بن قاسم توفي لسبع خلون من	بن قاسم توفي لسبع خلون من
شعبان سنة اثني عشرة وار	10 شعبان سنة اثني عشرة وار
بعمانه	بعمانه

In the name, etc. "Every one that is upon it" etc. (Sūr. lv. 26, 27, as in no. VII.) O God, bless Muḥ. the prophet and his family the pure, and have mercy on Thy servant 'Abd-Allāh, son of 'Īsā, son of 'Abd-Allāh, son of Aḥmad, son of 'Alī, son of Muḥammad, son of Kāsim. He died when seven (nights) were passed (i.e. on the 7th) of Sha'bān, in the year 412 (A.D. 1021).

The following Communication has been received from Edward Falkener:—

THE SITE OF GETHSEMANE.

Naturally the pilgrim to Jerusalem approaches the Holy City with very different feelings to those which would influence him in going to any other place. We may go to Athens, or Carthage, or Troy, or Nineveh, or Babylon, or Thebes, and ponder upon the history of those cities in their pristine glory, and the people who inhabited them; we may think of the events which took place at Salamis, or Plataea, or Therinopylæ, and strive to realize them; we may place ourselves in the theatre of Ephesus, or on "Mars' Hill" at Athens, or at Konieli (Iconium), or Bin-bir-kilisseh (Lystra), or at Tarsoos in Pamphylia, or at Antioch in Pisidia, or in the "Straight Street" or on the walls of Damascus, or at the numerous other places associated with St. Paul's life and labours; we may now, thanks to the researches of the Egypt Exploration Fund, go to Tel el Maskhuta (Succoth), and

see the real route which the Israelites took in fleeing from the land of Egypt ; we may go to Taphanes in Egypt, and stand on the pavement which Jeremiah was ordered to construct in front of Pharaoh's house, and to declare that Nebuchadnezzar would place his throne there, and spread his royal pavilion over it.* And what is most remarkable, we have photographs of Seti I, the builder of Karnac, the most magnificent temple ever built, the columns of which are 13 feet in diameter ; and of his son Rameses the Great, and the Pharaoh of the Exodus, who built the temple at Luxor, the columns of which are 12 feet in diameter.

But these discoveries and identifications of sites connected with important histories and important personages, are as nothing when compared with anything relating to that city in the streets of which our Saviour walked, in the Temple of which He prayed, to the surrounding hills and gardens of which He often resorted, and in one of which He was buried.

There are two classes of pilgrims to the Holy Land : those who go there with the Bible in their hand, and seek to identify the principal localities ; and those whose religion calls upon them to pay their devotions in the exact spot where everything mentioned in the Bible took place. They must see the house of Caiaphas, the house of the rich man, the house of the poor man at Jerusalem, and the house of Lazarus, and the house of Simon the Leper at Bethany ; descending not only to the minutest things mentioned in the Bible, but even to imaginary things and imaginary persons, as the window out of which Pontius Pilate looked, the house of St. Veronica, and the spot on which the Blessed Virgin's girdle fell at her supposed assumption. At an age when it was considered necessary to treat exoteric worship differently to esoteric worship, all these spots were "discovered" and pointed out in order to increase the devotion of

* Jer. xliii, 8—13. The words in the Authorized Version are : "Take great stones in thine hand, and hide them in the clay, and hide them in the brick kiln which is at the entry of Pharaoh's house in Taphanes." In the Revised Version we read : "And hide them in the mortar in the brickwork." Mr. Petrie, to whom we are so much indebted for the discovery of this interesting site, and for other important researches, "looked for these great stones diligently, and turned up the brickwork in every part." Perhaps the meaning may be that Jeremiah was directed, not to "hide" or bury these great stones, but to *lay* them, or, as we should say, to *bed* them in the mortar of the pavement. If so, they constituted the pavement, which has unfortunately been broken up in many parts (or, as Mr. Petrie says, "in every part") in order to discover these stones which were presumed to be "hidden" purposely underneath.

the ignorant and credulous ; and thus the Church of the Ascension was built on the summit of the Mount of Olives, instead of at Bethany, on its further base.* So also the site of Gethsemane has been established, and this site has been accepted universally by all Christians. The writer in the article in Smith's " Dictionary of the Bible " says of it,† " Of these (sacred) sites Gethsemane is the only one which has any claim to be authentic." But independently of the Bible narrative, the only evidence for the site of Gethsemane is afforded by the eight olive trees-enclosure on the banks of the Kidron. These trees doubtless are of very great antiquity, but no one pretends that they existed 1887 years ago. Not only, as we are told by Josephus, did Titus cut down all the trees within a radius of about ten miles‡ of the city, for the purpose of building his wall of 39 stadia in circumference, which was completed in the incredibly short period of three days, though it took twenty-one days afterwards to strengthen and raise it higher ; but Josephus expressly mentions that in doing so he destroyed all the " places which were before adorned with trees and *pleasant gardens*," and " the most beautiful suburbs of the city." But even if Titus had not laid waste the gardens immediately below the city walls, the Jews themselves would have done so, as besieged cities invariably do to prevent the enemy approaching the walls unperceived. The trees therefore must have been planted afterwards, and probably in the time of Helena when the holy sites were sought for and " discovered ;" though the first notice of them by modern travellers is only about 300 years ago. We are therefore thrown back upon the sacred narrative to ascertain the approximate site. That it was near the Kidron, and not far from the bridge, is evident. We are told that this is all that we can gather relative to it. The object of the following pages is to show that this is not so. The question before us is—Where was Gethsemane, the place of our Lord's Agony in the Garden ?

Gethsemane is mentioned by name by St. Matthew, " Then cometh Jesus unto a place named Gethsemane ;" and by St. Mark, " And they came to a place which was named Gethsemane." St. Luke refers to it, " And when He was at the place ;" while St. John says that our Lord " went forth with His disciples over the brook Cedron, where was a garden, into the which He entered, and His disciples : " but St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke mention that " they went

* Luke xxiv, 50.

† Under article *Mount of Olives*.

‡ " 90 stadia," Josephus, Bell., v, 12, 4 ; " 100 stadia," vi, 8, 1.

out into the Mount of Olives." From all these data Gethsemane has been pointed out from the fourth century to the present time as at the foot of the Mount of Olives. Who that has been to Jerusalem, and been shown a host of imaginary spots within the city, has not felt a relief to go outside the city, to breathe the pure air of the Mount of Olives, to contemplate the city from thence which our Saviour so often looked upon; and who has not thought that he has been treading that same path up the mountain which our Saviour so often trod, that he has been sitting upon that mountain, perhaps in the very place, where our Saviour sat, and thought with awe that on His way thither He had passed Gethsemane, the place of our Lord's Agony in the Garden, and had turned his eyes towards that secluded dell where our Lord was crucified! Mount Olivet does indeed remain; and there are various other sites connected with the Holy City of which we may feel sure. But is the spot called Gethsemane one of them? It is not: But if not, where was it? Let us now consider the objections.

According to the above data it was on the Mount of Olives. We grant that the sides and slopes of a mountain may be called the mountain; just as Bethany (Luke xxiv, 50), which lies in a hollow of the slopes of the Mount of Olives, about a mile from the summit, is referred to by St. Luke as the "mount called Olivet" (Acts i, 12). But can a place which stands in the valley, close to the brook which is in the centre of the valley, be said to be on the mountain? Again, from what St. John tells us—"And Judas also knew the place; for Jesus oftentimes resorted thither with His disciples"—we may infer that it was a secluded place; but how can a place answer to this description which, before it was reduced to its present size by a wall, had a public road running through it, leading to Bethany Bethabara, and Jericho? But there are other difficulties. St. John gives us the parting discourse of our Lord contained in four long chapters, xiv—xvii. There are two suppositions connected with this discourse: one is, that the whole discourse was pronounced in the "upper chamber;" but this is disproved by the words, "Arise, let us go hence"—at the end of the fourteenth chapter; the other that our Lord left the upper chamber immediately after saying these words, and that He continued His discourse in chapters xv—xvii while passing through the busy city, crowded with people who from all parts of the land had come up to the feast, and while descending afterwards the steep path going down to the Kidron. But it is

impossible that such a discourse could have been delivered under such circumstances; or that so short a walk could have occupied the time which elapsed between the Supper and our Lord's betrayal in the garden. But there is another objection, and that a fatal one.

When our Lord said, "Arise, let us go hence," we must believe, as stated by the Synoptists, that our Lord and His apostles "went out into the Mount of Olives," and that *there* our Lord gave that solemn address to His apostles which we read in John xv—xvii; and that "when Jesus had spoken these words, He went forth with His disciples over the brook Cedron, where was a garden, into the which He entered, and His disciples." Consequently our Lord crossed over the Cedron in going to Mount Olivet, and crossed it back again in going to Gethsemane. *The pretended site therefore is on the wrong side of the Cedron!*

Thus so far from Gethsemane being on the western side of Mount Olivet, or even, as has been suggested by one writer, on the south-eastern side, "on the road to Bethany . . . where the family of Lazarus might have had possessions;"* it was on the slopes of the city, and at some little distance from the public path and the bridge; for it was in a secluded spot. On these slopes were gardens all round the city.† On the north side were the gardens "obliquely situated" (made to face the south-east), among which Titus was entangled when surveying the city walls.‡ On the west side was the "Garden Gate" (Gennath), close to which were the gardens of Herod's palace, "containing porticos, and groves of trees, with long walks through them."§ On the south-west corner, below the "Dung Gate" (Porta stercoris, or stercoraria), was Tophet, originally "the Pleasant Valley," or the "Valley of Gardens," "a pleasant spot in the Valley of Hinnom, with trees and gardens watered by Siloam"|| Here I have endeavoured to show in another place, as a "Pilgrim to the Holy Place," was the garden of Joseph of Arimathæa, and the sepulchre in which our Lord was buried.¶ On the south-east

* Smith's "Dict. of the Bible," s.v.

† Jos., *Bell.*, vi, 1, § 1. Lightfoot, *Chorog. Cent.*, xxi, vol. x, 46.

‡ *Bell.*, v, 2, § 2.

§ *Bell.*, v, 4, § 4, Villalpandus, *Appar. Urb. ac Templ.*, 215 b. lib. iii, 26.

|| "Sua primaria significatione voluptuosum, amœnumque locum significat. . . . Locus erat in suburbanis Jerusalem . . . amœnissimus . . . viridaris et hortis consitus, totusque nemorosus ac deliciis plenus." Hieron., *In Jerem.*, vii, 19, 31, 32; Brocardus, *Itin.*, 6; Adrichonius, *Theatrum Ter. Sanct.*, 169 b.

¶ *Mus. Class. Antiq.*, ii, 454—464.

corner were the "King's Gardens" of Solomon's palace,* which stood on Ophel, and the garden of En-rogel.† Consequently the King's gardens occupied the whole valley of Siloam, "between the two walls" (2 Kings xxv, 4) of Ophel and Zion, and extending from the king's palace to the Pool of Siloam, to which steps in the rocks appear to have led down. Gardens still exist in this locality.‡ And lastly, on the east was the Garden of Gethsemane. Of course other gardens existed, but of these only we have mention; but naturally from the nature of the rock on which Jerusalem is built, the eastern, southern, and western slopes would be laid out in walks and gardens having a lovely view; while the level ground to the north would consist of fields and gardens, extending, as Josephus tells us, to a great distance.

So much for facts. If these facts prove the case, there is no occasion to state anything in confirmation. Yet the subject of our Lord's actions upon earth previous to His betrayal are of such transcendent interest to us all, that we would fain dwell upon the incidents, so as to fix the places in our memory: for of what use is it to establish sites, unless we know the incidents connected with them? And more especially are these incidents of interest to the student of biblical archæology.

St. Luke is the only Evangelist who mentions that at the Last Supper "there was a strife among the apostles which of them should be accounted the greatest;" as they had disputed once before, immediately after the Transfiguration; and as on another occasion the two sons of Zebedee sought to have the pre-eminence, to the great displeasure of the others. It seems probable that the place where St. Luke records this is a metachronism, and that the circumstance occurred at the time of their taking their seats at the table; and that in consequence of this our Lord "rose" from the table, and proceeded to wash their feet, as a lesson of humility and brotherly love; after which He "sat down again." For St. John makes the address on humility (v. 12—17), which was given *after* the washing of feet (v. 4—12), to precede the Last Supper; for v. 2 means *only at supper time*, not "supper being ended;" but St. Luke gives the Supper first (v. 17—20), and the address on humility,

* 2 Kings, xxv, 4; Jer. xxxix, 4; Jos., *Antiq.*, vii, 14, § 4.

† Jos. *Antiq.*, ix, 10, § 4.

‡ De Sauley, ii, 244; Schultz, *Jerus.*, 79.

which immediately followed the "strife," afterwards (v. 25—27). Let us now follow St. John.

The supper being ended, our Lord declared unto them that He was about to leave them, but comforted them with the assurance of His going to prepare for them a home in heaven; and that the way there was through Him; and told them that He and His Father were one. He teaches them to pray to the Father in His name, and that He will give them what they pray for. He enjoins them to love, and promises to dwell with them, and that He will send the Holy Ghost to comfort them, and He then gives them His blessing. All this occupies the greater part of two chapters (xiii and xiv), at the conclusion of which they sang a hymn; after which our Lord said, "*Arise, let us go hence.*"

Is not this act of blessing, the singing a hymn, and the invitation to depart, a proof that they did then leave the upper chamber? Accordingly St. Matthew and St. Mark say, "And when they had sung a hymn, they went out into the Mount of Olives." St. Luke however gives us one more incident prior to their so doing. He informs us that our Lord revealed to them that a time of trouble awaited them, and that they must now be prepared to provide for and defend themselves. In token of which He allows them to take the two swords they had with them: another proof that they were about to sally out. And now they leave the room; * St. Luke immediately adding, "And He came out, and went as He was wont to the Mount of Olives: and His disciples followed Him."

The Mount of Olives is intimately associated with our Lord's life upon earth, but more especially with the week immediately preceding His crucifixion; during which He "lodged" at Bethany, crossing the mountain every day to and fro, except the day prior to His betrayal. It was here that our Lord "abode at night time," where He was "wont to go." It was on "journeying towards Jerusalem" that our Lord uttered that touching apostrophe, "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem! thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them that are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, as a hen doth gather her chickens under her wings, and ye would not!" It was on another occasion that when "on the descent of the Mount of Olives . . . He beheld the city and wept over it,

* We naturally call to mind how when our Lord was approaching Jerusalem for His Passion—"Jesus went before them: and they were amazed; and as they followed, they were afraid." Mark, x, 32.

saying, "If thou hadst known, even thou, in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace! But now they are hid from thine eyes," and then foretelling its destruction. It was across the Mount of Olives that our Lord made His triumphant entry into Jerusalem; and now it is from this mount that our Lord is about to go, giving Himself up to His enemies; and it is from this mount that our Lord was to ascend into heaven, after His resurrection; and upon this mountain our Lord is figuratively foretold to come again to Judgment. How natural then that our Lord should, on this awful occasion, proceed, "as He was wont," to the Mount of Olives, that hill which He crossed so frequently to visit the family of Martha and Mary and Lazarus, walking, or sitting down, as when "He sat upon the Mount of Olives, over against the Temple;" where being away from the haunts of man, He might commune with God the Father, enjoying the quiet solitude of the place, the pure air, and the beautiful view of the city. It was from here that the Psalmist sang:—

Great is the Lord!
 And highly to be praised!
 In the city of our God,
 In the mountain of His holiness,
 Beautiful for situation,
 The joy of the whole earth,
 Is the mountain of Sion!

—————
 The hill of God is as the hill of Bashan:
 Even a high hill, as the hill of Bashan.

—————
 The hills stand about Jerusalem:
 Even so doth the Lord stand about His people,
 From this time forth for evermore.

—————
 Jerusalem is built as a city
 That is compacted well together.

* * * * *

O pray for the peace of Jerusalem!
 They shall prosper that love thee.
 Peace be within thy walls,
 And prosperity within thy palaces!
 Because of my brethren and companions
 I will say— Peace be within thee!
 Because of the house of the Lord our God
 I will pray for thy good.*

* *The Book of Psalms of David the King and Prophet*: Longmans.

How natural then, I say, that our Lord should proceed to take a last view of such a city previous to His suffering; a city associated with so many memories, with so many blessings from God; which was God's vineyard, and which was now about to "kill the Son," and to associate itself with ignominy by crucifying its Messiah, the Lord of Glory; but which, notwithstanding this, was, from its former character, the type of a heavenly city wherein all the children of God will dwell hereafter. Here, on this spot, looking up at the city with its beautiful Temple, now lit up by the full moon, shining as it does only in such climates, and looking down upon that garden of Gethsemane, where He had so often, in company with His disciples, prayed unto His Father, when most of the inhabitants of the city were asleep; and when now He was about to deliver Himself up for sacrifice, beholding with His spiritual eye that spot beneath the Porta Stercoris, though hidden from the natural eye by the heights of Zion, where He knew that He was about to suffer, and that adjoining garden where His body was to be laid for three short days. He continues His farewell discourse to His apostles. As the olive trees—with which, in common with cedars and fig trees, the mountain then abounded, and from which it took its name—with their old gnarled stems sending out branches which interlace and entwine together, suggested to David the idea of children living in love and harmony together, being a blessing from the Lord to those who serve Him; so it is probable that the vines which then clothed these hills* furnished our Lord with a picture of the connection between our Lord and His Church, with the description of which He begins His discourse:—

"I am the Vine; and my Father is the Husbandman. Every branch in Me that beareth not fruit, He purgeth it that it may bring forth more fruit." But though the figure was thus made use of to show His disciples their dependence upon Himself, it is evident from His thus speaking of His Father as the husbandman, that He was also thinking in His own mind of His parable of the Vineyard, and of the Master of the vineyard sending at last His "one Son, His well-beloved, saying, They will reverence My Son" . . . but they "cast Him out of the vineyard and slew Him."

* Where Isaiah says: "Now will I sing to my well-beloved a song of my beloved touching his vineyard. My well-beloved hath a vineyard in a *very fruitful hill*," he uses a word which signifies in Hebrew "a horn of a son of oil," probably referring to olive trees; and the name of Gethsemane itself seems to be taken from the olive and vine, viz.: *gath* (a wine-press) and *shemen* (oil).

He then enjoins them to love one another, and to love all men, as being the first requirement of God. He reminds them of His having chosen them, and that they must follow Him, and suffer because of Him, and that they will have to bear witness of Him. He then tells them that He is about to leave them, but that they must not sorrow, but rather rejoice; and that He will send the Holy Ghost to comfort them, to instruct them, and to guide them; and that He will hear their prayers, and will answer them; for though He is leaving them, He is going to His Father. He gently tells them of their being about to forsake Him, and then again gives them His blessing. We then read, "These words spake Jesus, and lifted up His eyes to heaven and said: Father, the hour is come: glorify Thy Son, that Thy Son also may glorify Thee." Then follows the beautiful prayer contained in the seventeenth chapter. After which we read, "When Jesus had finished these words, He went forth with His disciples over the brook Cedron, where was a garden, into the which He entered, with His disciples."

We think our readers will not fail to see not merely that the place now shown as Gethsemane is on the wrong side of the Kidron, but that the sacred narrative gains much by the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth chapters of St. John being connected with the Mount of Olives.

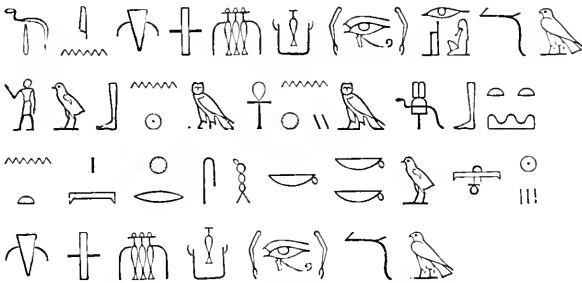
The following Communication has been received from E. A. Wallis Budge, M.A.:—

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

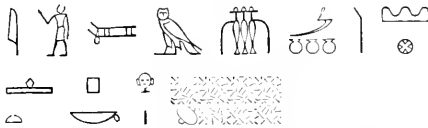
Among the recent acquisitions to the National Egyptian Collection is a limestone sepulchral stele, which on account of the curious names, etc., found in it deserves some notice in the *Proceedings* of our Society. It measures $20\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $13\frac{3}{4}$ in. and was found at Āhmīm; its registration number is 87-4-2, 1431. The top of the stele is rounded, and the whole inscribed surface is divided into four parts. The first contains a representation of the disk of the sun having three pairs of wings, and a figure of the disk shedding rays of light. ☉, on each side of which is a

figure kneeling in adoration. The body of the one remaining figure is painted red, and it wears a long flowing head-dress, the execution of which is very fine.

In the second division the deceased, called Nes-Heru, is standing with both hands raised in adoration before the god Harpocrates, who sits at one end of the first boat. The young Sun-god holds his finger to his mouth and carries a whip over his shoulder, and reminds us of the figures of him which are found engraved on Gnostic gems. In the centre of the boat is a representation of the sun's disk on the horizon ☉. The short lines of inscription above the boat read:—




“ Said by the Visitor, the *am xent*, the *ka* priest, *hept ul'at*, Osiris Nes-Heru. Hail shining in life, hail shining in life in the eastern part of the sky destroying the darkness. The Visitor, the *am xent* the *ka* priest, *hept ul'at*, Nes-Heru.” A second figure of the deceased, in the same attitude as before, stands before a second boat of the sun, which contains a representation of the sun's disk on the horizon with a ram inside it. The inscription reads:—



‘Hail Atmu at the head of Manu
thou restest upon

In the third division the deceased Nes-Heru is represented kneeling before two gods; behind these is a collection of offerings. Next come two seated gods, each holding ☉ in his hands, whose names appear to be ☉☉☉ Net'em-ānchet, *i.e.*, “Sweet life,” and

Net'em-nif, *i.e.*, "Sweet breath." A standing figure of the deceased with his wife is next shown adoring before the god Osiris. The words "Said by Osiris at the head of *Āmenta*"  occur here, but the sculptor seems to have omitted to finish the sentence which would give us what Osiris said. Near Osiris stands Isis, and behind them is a third small boat containing a shrine in which is a seated figure of Osiris; the deceased stands adoring at one end, and at the other stand Isis and her sister Nephthys.


The fourth division contains 13 lines of well-cut hieroglyphs which read as follows:—

"May Osiris at the head of *Āmenta*, the great god, lord of Abydos, Socharis Osiris dwelling in Panopolis, Horus of the double horizon, *Ātmu* lord of the two earths and Heliopolis, *Āmsu* lord of Panopolis, Horus the avenger of his father, Isis the great one, the divine mother dwelling in Panopolis and occupying the throne there, and the great cycle of the gods of the temple of Panopolis, give sepulchral meals of oxen, ducks, incense, and bandages, and all good, sweet, and pure things, the gifts of heaven, the products which the Nile brings forth from his storehouse, and the sweet breath of the north wind to the *ka* of Osiris, the Visitor, the *ām xent*, the *ka* priest, the *hçpt ul'at*,* priest of Horus, royal kinsman, judge of the royal mother, Nes-*Ĥeru* triumphant! He was the son Senet'em-*āb-ur-s'en-t'et-ḥrā* who held the like dignities, the son of Senet'em-*āb-ur-s'en-ārit-Ḥeru* who held the like dignities, the son of Senet'em-*āb-t'et-ḥrā* who held the like dignities, the son of *Ḥeru-em-saf* who held the like dignities, the son of Nutār-un-ren-*em-pet-em-Āptet-t'et-ḥrā* who held the like dignities, the son of Pa-*nes-qa-Šuti* who held the like dignities. He was the son of the lady of the house *Āru-ru*, a priestess of *Āmsu*, the daughter of *T'et-Ḥrā*, the Visitor of Panopolis, the priest of Horus, the royal kinsman, the judge of the divine mother, the son of *Pet-s'es-en-Āmsu-ārit-Ḥeru* who held the like dignities. Says Nes-*Ḥeru* to all the gods of Panopolis, 'Protect ye the son Osiris, this Nes-*Ḥeru*, as a king (?) in the cemetery of Sent† without injury in the underworld for ever!


* I cannot translate these words. *Hçpt ul'at* was a dignity frequently held by the *ka* priest in the later times.

† The name of a very renowned sanctuary of the god Ames, situated in the Panopolite nome. See Brugsch, *Dict. Géogr.*, p. 723, and Brugsch, *Géogr.*, I, pl. 40.


..... with the orders executed by his eldest son who makes his name to live for ever, the Visitor, the *âm* χ ent, the *ka* priest, T'et- η ra, son of a man of like dignity, Nes- η ru, the son of the lady of the house η etep-nes- \dot{A} msu."

1. 
 suten ta hetep Uasâr χent Âmenta nutâr āa
Royal give oblation Osiris at the head of Amenta god great


 neb Âbtu Seker Uasâr her âb Âpu
lord of Abydos, Socharis Osiris within Panopolis,

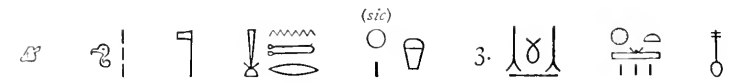

 Heru χuti Âtmu neb taiu Ânnu
Horus of the two horizons, Atmu lord of the two carths Heliopolis,


 Âmsu neb Âpu Heru net' her tef
Amsu lord of Panopolis, Horus the avenger of father [his],

2. 
 Uast ur nutâr mât her âb Âpu âper
Isis the great one divine mother within Panopolis occupying (?)



 uast henut Âpu paut nutâru āati
the throne of the mistress of Panopolis, the cycle of the gods great


 χent pa Âpu tat sen per χeru
at the head of the temple of Panopolis, may give they sepulchral meals,



 ăh ăpt nutâr sentra (sic) ses' ăet nefer

oxen, ducks, incense, bandages, things good




 neb ăb net'emet țața en pet qema en

all pure sweet, the gifts of heaven, the products which



 ăn Hăp em tepeh - f nif net'em en

bring Hăpi from storhouse his, breath sweet of




 meli en ka en Uasâr ut'eb ăm ăent

north wind to the ka of Osiris the Visitor, the ăm ăent,



 hen ka hept ut'at hen Hêru suten rex sab

the priest of the ka, priest of Horus, royal kinsman, judge




 en nutâr mât Nes-Hêru se mâ ennu ut'eb

of the royal mother Nes-Hêru, son of a like, Visitor,*



 ăm ăent hen ka hept ut'at hen Hêru suten

ăm ăent priest of the ka, the hept ut'at prophet of Horus, royal




 rex sab en nutâr mât nutâr hen Hêru

kinsman, judge of the divine mother divine prophet of Horus

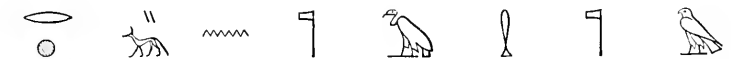
* i.e., of a man who held the like dignities.



 Senet'em-áb-ur-s'en-t'et-ħrâ se ma ennu ut'eb
Senet'em-áb-ur-s'en-t'et-ħrâ son of a like, the Visitor,




 âm xent ħen ka hept ut'at ħen Ĥeru suten
the Chamberlain, the ka priest, the hept ut'at the prophet of Horus, royal




 reḫ sab en nutâr mât nutâr ħen Ĥeru
kinsman, judge of divine mother, divine prophet of Horus




 Senet'em-ab-ur-s'en - ârit - Ĥeru se ma ennu
Senet'em ab-ur-s'en-ârit-Ĥeru son of a like



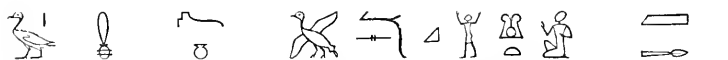
 7. nutâr ħen Ĥeru Se-net'em - âb - t'et - ħrâ se
divine prophet of Horus Se-net'em-âb-t'et-ħrâ son




 ma ennu Ĥeru - em - sa-f se ma ennu
of a like Ĥeru-em-saf, son of a like



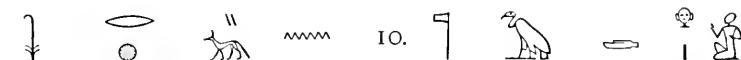
 8. nutâr - un - reu - em - pet - em - Âptet - t'et - ħrâ
Nutâr - un - reu - em - pet - em - Aptet - t'et - ħrâ,

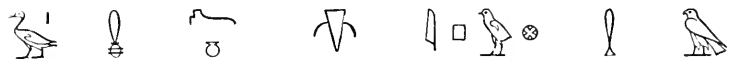



 se ma ennu pa - nes - qa - Šuti mât xeru
son of a like Pa - nes - qa - Šuti, triumphant,

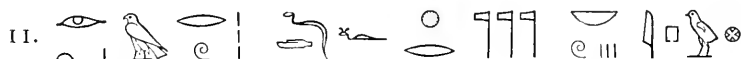
9.  mes nebt pa Àheb en Àmsu
born of the lady of the house the priestess of Amsu


 Àru - ru set - t uteb Àpu hen Hëru
Aru-ru, the daughter of the Visitor of Panopolis, priest of Horus,


 suten rex sab en IO. nutâr mât t'et - hrà
royal kinsman, judge of the divine mother T'et - hrà,

 se mâ ennu ut'eb Àpu hen Hëru
the son of a like, Visitor of Panopolis, priest of Horus,

 suten rex sab en nutâr mât Pet - s'es - en - Àmsu -
royal kinsman, judge of the divine mother Pet - s'es - en - Amsu -

11.  àrit - Hëru t'et - f xer nutâru nebu Àpu
àrit - Hëru. Says he to the gods all of Panopolis,

 nutâr ten se Uasâr Nes - Hëru pen suten suten
'Protect ye the child Osiris Nes - Hëru this king (?) king (?)

 em nutâr - xert Sent ân nek em
in the cemetery of Sent without injury in the

tūat	t'etta	hesu	ennu	unen - f ?	χer	hesu	
<i>underworld for ever!</i>				<i>..... with the orders</i>			

13.							
āri	en	se - f	ur	s - ānχ		ren-f	
<i>executed by son his</i>				<i>eldest making to live name his,</i>			

ut'eb	ām	χent	hen - ka	T'eṭ - hrā	se	
<i>the Visitor,</i>		<i>the ām χent,</i>		<i>the ka priest,</i>		<i>T'et - hrā son of</i>

mā	ennu	Nes-Ḥeru	mes	neb	pa	Ḥetep-nes-Āmsu		
<i>a like</i>		<i>Nes-Ḥeru, born of the lady of the house Ḥetep-nes-Amsu.</i>						

The following Communication has been received from M. C. de Harlez:—

SATAN ET AHRIMAN,
LE DÉMON BIBLIQUE ET CELUI DE L'AVESTA.
ÉTUDE D'HISTOIRE RELIGIEUSE.

La question qui fait l'objet de cette courte étude est certainement d'un haut intérêt ; elle se rapporte à l'un des faits les plus importants de l'histoire des idées religieuses. La Bible et l'Avesta présentent l'une et l'autre la conception d'un esprit du mal, de nature méchante, ennemi des hommes et provocateur de maux nombreux. Entre la notion biblique et l'idée mazdéenne il y a certainement quelque analogie. Aussi les savants se sont demandé s'il fallait y voir une coïncidence fortuite ou si l'on devait considérer ces deux croyances comme dérivant l'une de l'autre.

Beaucoup d'hagiographes et de mythologues n'ont pas hésité dans la réponse ; une analogie partielle leur suffisant, ils se sont prononcés catégoriquement pour la filiation de ces concepts. Bien plus ils ont déterminé avec la même certitude les rapports qui les

unissent, et affirmé que la paternité de la croyance au démon, à l'*arch-enemy*, appartient à l'Avesta, que le *Satan* de la Judée était une copie de l'*Anro-Mainyus* de l'Éran. Pour eux, cela ne fait aucun doute, ils l'enseignent comme vérité indiscutable. Cependant les motifs sur lesquels on peut baser cet arrêt ne sont ni décisifs ni bien solides. Tout se résume en un trait de ressemblance général, et l'analogie entre le nom de *Satan* (l'adversaire) et le terme *paityârem* (opposition, œuvre contraire) qui désigne les œuvres d'Ahriman dans l'Avesta. Cela ne suffit point sans doute ; pour arriver à un résultat incontestable il faudrait analyser exactement les caractères essentiels des deux chefs de démons, et voir s'ils sont identiques ou contradictoires. Il faudrait en outre soumettre à un examen minutieux les titres d'ancienneté du diable mazdéen ; prouver et non supposer l'antiquité de l'Avesta. Nous croyons donc devoir traiter à nouveau cette intéressante question, et l'examiner dans ses points fondamentaux. Nous nous attacherons d'abord à l'étude des caractères essentiels des deux personnages infernaux que l'on a cru pouvoir identifier ; nous verrons ensuite si les faits chronologiques autorisent l'hypothèse d'un emprunt du côté de la Judée.

Une lecture même superficielle permet sans doute de constater, comme il a déjà été dit, entre le *Satan* du livre de Job (c'est lui surtout qui est en cause en cette question) et l'*Anro-Mainyus* ou Ahriman du Vendidad, un trait de ressemblance qui n'est point purement accessoire ; c'est celui qui les constitue, tous deux, de vrais démons dans le sens chrétien, c'est-à-dire d'esprits du mal, adversaires du bien et de l'homme. Toutefois cette similitude d'un trait unique n'est on le verra, plus loin, que partielle, et pour tout le reste nous chercherions en vain la moindre analogie ; nous trouverons même tout le contraire.

Mais procédons avec méthode et critique et examinons attentivement les qualités fondamentales des deux mauvais génies que nous avons à comparer. C'est au livre de Job, quant à la Bible, que nous devons principalement recourir. Voyons donc ce qu'il nous dit du Satan qu'il met principalement en scène.

Le début même de ce livre nous le peint sous les plus vives couleurs :

“ Un jour, ” y est-il dit, “ les enfants de Dieu s'étaient réunis pour paraître devant lui et le servir. Satan se présenta au milieu d'eux, et Dieu lui dit : “ D'où viens-tu ? ” “ D'avoir parcouru la terre en allant çà et là, ” dit Satan. ” Et Dieu reprit : “ ton cœur s'est-il porté

vers mon serviteur Job? car il n'en est point de semblable à lui, parfait, droit, craignant Dieu et fuyant le mal." "(Est-il étonnant qu'il en soit ainsi?) Est-ce gratuitement que Job sert Dieu?" répondit Satan. "Ne l'as-tu pas entouré lui, sa famille et ses biens comme d'une enceinte protectrice. Tu as béni l'œuvre de ses mains, et ses troupeaux se sont multipliés sur la terre. Mais étends un peu ta main, touche ses possessions (et tu verras) s'il ne te maudit pas en face." "Eh bien," dit Dieu à Satan, "tout ce qu'il possède est en ta main; mais ne l'étends pas sur lui." Muni donc de la permission divine, Satan quitta la présence de Jahveh et s'en vint sur la terre accabler Job de maux cruels. Ses bœufs, ses ânes et leurs gardiens sont pris ou tués par les Sabéens, ses troupeaux de brebis sont brûlés avec leurs bergers par le feu céleste, ses chameaux sont enlevés, tous ses serviteurs égorgés, enfin ses enfants même périssent tous, sous les ruines des murs de la maison où ils fêtaient leur frère aîné.

Peu après la même scène se renouvelle. Les enfants de Dieu se rassemblent devant lui, et Satan se présente au milieu d'eux. "As-tu vu," lui dit Jahveh, "mon serviteur Job? as-tu contemplé sa vertu, sa patience? Tu m'as excité à éprouver sa patience, sa soumission à ma volonté, mais cela a été vain. Il est resté fidèle à sa foi." "C'est vrai," répond Satan, "mais je n'ai pu toucher sa peau, et l'homme donne tout pour sa vie. Envoie donc ta main; touche ses os et sa chair, et tu verras s'il ne te maudit pas en face." "Va," reprend le Seigneur; "son corps est en ta main; mais ne touche pas à sa vie."

Là dessus Satan quitte la cour céleste, et s'en va frapper Job de ces plaies horribles qui ont fait du saint homme le modèle humain de la douleur et de la patience, mais reste dans les limites tracées par la volonté du Tout-puissant, et ne cherche pas à attenter à ses jours.

On connaît la suite du récit. Lorsque l'épreuve fût finie, et que la vertu du saint patriarche eût brillé de tout son éclat, Dieu guérit le mal affreux qui dévorait ses chairs, et lui rendit au centuple tous les biens qu'il avait perdus, sans que Satan pût en rien troubler l'œuvre divine, ni même osât l'essayer d'aucune manière.

Il serait difficile de mieux caractériser la nature et les qualités du démon biblique que ne le fait ici l'auteur sacré, quelqu'il soit. Dans tout ce récit, Satan n'est évidemment qu'un esprit inférieur, un agent subalterne, entièrement dépendant des volontés de Dieu. Porté spontanément à nuire à l'homme, il ne pense cependant à mettre ses desseins à exécution, à réaliser ses désirs que quand Dieu le lui a permis; bien plus, l'y a pour ainsi dire provoqué. S'il agit, c'est

dans les limites tracées par Dieu ; impuissant à contrarier ses desseins ou à empêcher la réparation des maux que Dieu lui a permis de susciter, il n'est en réalité que le promoteur involontaire de la gloire divine, l'instrument de la puissance céleste.

En est-il de même du démon mazdéen, de l'Ahriman avestique ? Nos lecteurs ont déjà répondu pour nous ; non, Ahriman est précisément tout le contraire. Pour mettre plus en évidence cette opposition essentielle des deux esprits mauvais, opposons aussi au tableau que nous a fourni le livre de Job, une scène extraite de l'Avesta, où nous trouverons peints d'une manière saisissante les caractères fondamentaux de son génie infernal. Nous l'empruntons au chapitre xxii du Vendidâd ; en voici le commencement et le résumé.

Ahura Mazda dit au saint Zarathustra : “ Moi qui suis Ahura Mazda . . . lorsque je créai cette demeure * d'une beauté, d'une splendeur éclatantes, le déva criminel me regarda. Anro-Mainyus, le meurtrier, créa contre moi 99,999 maux. Guéris moi donc, O Manthra-çpenta, † a l'éclat pur. Je te donnerai en retour mille chevaux, mille bœufs, mille chameaux. . . ” Manthra-çpenta répondit : “ Comment te guérirai-je de ces maux ? ” Alors Ahura Mazda dit à Nairyo-çanha. “ Sage Nairyo-çanha ! vas appeler Airyaman, et dis lui qu' Anro-Mainyus m'accable de 99,999 maux. . . ” Airyaman accourut aussitôt ; il amena une nouvelle race de chevaux, de jeunes chameaux, une nouvelle espèce de fourrages, et traça des sillons pour combattre les maux suscités par le chef des dévas. ” Nous voilà certainement dans un tout autre monde que celui où nous avons aperçu le Satan persécuteur du Saint de l'Idumée. Nous pouvons même dire que la scène est entièrement métamorphosée. Dieu n'est plus le maître tout puissant qui fixe à l'action du démon les limites que celui-ci ne peut franchir, c'est un roi presque découronné tremblant devant un rival qui lui a ravi la moitié de son empire et qui frappe à son gré les créatures. Au génie subalterne attendant la permission divine pour nuire à l'homme, et se conformant entièrement aux volontés du Seigneur, s'est substitué un génie d'existence éternelle, subsistant en soi et par soi, ne reconnaissant en aucune façon les lois de Dieu dont il est presque l'égal, et détruisant quand il lui plaît les œuvres de son adversaire.

* Le monde visible, la terre principalement, comme on le voit plus loin par la nature des remèdes.

† La loi sainte, l'ensemble des formules magiques.

Et ce n'est point là une conception propre à l'un ou l'autre chapitre de l'Avesta. La nature d'Ahriman est partout la même, et le commencement du Vendidâd nous montre, comme la fin, Ahura Mazda se plaignant des maux que son rival détesté, suscite pour détruire successivement chacune de ses plus excellentes créations. (*Vendidâd*, chap. 1.)

Que l'on suppose un instant Anro-Mainyus se présentant au milieu du conseil d'Ahura Mazda et lui demandant l'autorisation de frapper l'un de ses fidèles; puis après en avoir obtenu la permission, se conformant avec une scrupuleuse fidélité aux injonctions du Maître du ciel et l'on sentira, à l'instant, que l'on veut unir deux choses, deux conceptions absolument inconciliables.

Peut-on croire que les Juifs, s'ils eussent précédemment ignoré la conception du démon et l'eussent reçue des Mazdéens, en eussent fait précisément le contrepied de ce qu'ils empruntaient? Cette supposition est absolument improbable, et l'on ne peut l'admettre sans raisons plausibles; or ces raisons font complètement défaut.

Ce n'est point tout; si nous prolongeons l'examen du livre de Job, nous trouverons que toutes les idées religieuses y sont aux antipodes de celles de l'Avesta. Notons les points suivants:

1^e. Pour Job Dieu seul est créateur, et nul ne peut limiter sa puissance. Pour l'Avesta, au contraire, Anro-Mainyus est éternel, et participe largement au pouvoir créateur; en outre les astres, la lumière sont éternels (*anaghra raocâo*). 2^e. Ni Job ni aucun des personnages qui figurent dans la scène biblique, et qui viennent de pays différents, ne soupçonne qu'on puisse attribuer les maux physiques à une autre cause qu'à la volonté divine. Satan ne demande pas même à Dieu de pouvoir frapper lui-même le saint homme. Tout ce qu'il sollicite c'est que Dieu envoie sa main et suscite les maux. Pour Job les maux comme les biens sont des dons de Dieu, qu'il faut accepter de la même manière (ii, 10). "Simple que tu es," lui dit sa femme, "maudis Dieu qui te traite de la sorte et meurs." Ses trois amis dans leurs longs discours n'ont qu'un seul but, ne sont dominés que par une seule idée, lui prouver que si Dieu l'afflige de la sorte, c'est qu'il est pécheur, c'est qu'il est couvert de fautes cachées. Il ne vient à l'esprit de personne que Satan puisse être cause de ces maux. Un mazdéen, cependant, ne pouvait hésiter une minute à en attribuer entièrement et exclusivement l'origine au mauvais génie. Pour un sectateur de l'Avesta, Anro-Mainyus seul est l'auteur des maux tant moraux que physiques; Ahura Mazda n'a

fait que les biens. La mort, la maladie, la brûlure du feu, la suffocation que produit l'eau, et tout le reste, sont non seulement les œuvres mais les inventions du Mauvais Esprit.

Si donc l'auteur du livre de Job eut été simplement sous l'influence des doctrines avestiques; bien plus encore s'il n'eut connu le démon, le chef ennemi, que par une communication de l'Eran zoroastrien, on en trouverait dans son œuvre au moins une trace quelque faible qu'elle soit; d'autant plus qu'au moyen de la théorie avestique, Job pouvait répondre victorieusement à ses accusateurs et leur fermer la bouche.

Et remarquons bien que nous n'usons pas ici d'un argument *a silentio*, car Job professe ouvertement une croyance opposée, destructive même de la doctrine avestique. Quand a-t-on jamais vu un peuple emprunter à un autre une idée religieuse, nouvelle, inconnue, pour la retourner complètement et professer uniquement tout le contraire?

Les autres points d'une importance inférieure présentent le même contraste.

Pour l'auteur sacré nul n'est pur devant Dieu, et l'iniquité atteint jusqu'à certains anges. C'est au contraire un principe fondamental de l'Avesta que les génies célestes sont essentiellement purs, et que les fidèles le sont par nature.

Job ne connaît, pour les cadavres d'autre traitement que l'en-sevelissement sous terre (z. iii, 14, 22. x, 19, etc.), tandis que l'Avesta prohibe cet usage comme un crime détestable, irrémissible.

Le serpent, dans la Bible, est une création de Dieu; dans l'Avesta c'est la créature démoniaque par excellence. Il en est de même de l'hiver. (Cf. Job xxv, 13, et Vendidâd i, 8; Job xxxvii, 6, et Vendidâd i, 8; xix, 43, etc.) Pour le zoroastrisme les maux physiques sont essentiellement mauvais; l'aise et la jouissance modérés sont fondamentalement des biens.

Les idées sur la résurrection des corps sont aussi radicalement différentes. L'Avesta attend à la fin du monde un prophète qui restaurera l'univers (*frashokereti*, restauration, perennisation), mais ne parle pas de la résurrection proprement dite. Ce ne sont que les livres pehlevi des 3^e, 4^e, ou 5^e siècles de notre ère qui l'enseignent et qui pour cela ont dû créer un nouveau mot, inconnu de l'Avesta: *tan i pasin*, le corps ultérieur, dernier. Job, par contre, proclame que son rédempteur est vivant, et que lui-même resuscitera dans sa propre chair.

La même contradiction règne jusque dans les moindres détails.

Le livre de Job n'est point le seul dans lequel elle se manifeste ouvertement. Partout où il est question de démons, de mauvais esprits, elle se montre d'une manière non moins évidente. Nous pourrions citer maints passages; mais quelques-uns suffiront amplement, et nous nous en contenterons.

C'est ainsi que pour l'auteur du chap. xxxii du Deuteronome, les démons ne sont autre chose que les dieux des nations; il ne pense nullement à chercher leur nature chez les peuples qui formaient pour lui l'extrême Orient, si toutefois ils en soupçonnaient l'existence; ce ne sont point des dieux, c'est la vanité même (הבל, *v.* 21), expression qu'un mazdéen ne penserait point à employer pour désigner Ahriman, puissant et redouté. La même idée se retrouve très fréquemment dans les Psaumes et autres livres bibliques.

Enfin au Psaume lxxviii le prophète, énumérant les maux dont Dieu a frappé les enfants d'Israël dans le désert, termine par cette phrase: "Misit in eos iram furoris sui, indignationem et comminationem et angustiam, immissionem angelorum malorum, *mishlahat, malakî râhîm.*" Ces *malakîm* étaient bien des êtres surnaturels, puisque les actes qui leur sont attribués sont tous miraculeux.

Nous avons donc encore ici des esprits mauvais, agissant comme instruments de la volonté divine et dans la mesure de cette volonté.

Nous croyons donc pouvoir déduire de ces faits et affirmer sans hésitation ni restriction que la Judée n'a point emprunté la conception du démon aux disciples de l'Avesta, mais qu'elle l'a acquise d'une manière complètement indépendante.

L'examen des données chronologiques nous conduira au même résultat.

Il résulte, je pense bien, de l'étude des monuments historiques de l'Assyrie que cet empire n'est point entré en rapport avec les Éraniens avant le 8^e siècle de l'ère ancienne. Nulle part avant cette époque on ne trouve dans les textes cunéiformes le nom ni d'un roi, ni d'une ville, ni d'une contrée qui soit certainement d'origine aryane.* C'est aux Annales de Sargon (721—704) qu'il faut arriver pour trouver des noms tels que Khumbanigas, Bagatti, Bagai (ville de Médie?), qui soit de source éranienne. Dans leurs annales de victoire, les monarques assyriens mentionnent toujours les dieux

* La syllabe *ar, har* initiale est toute sémitique.

des peuples vaincus, vaincus avec eux, et nulle part à cette lointaine époque nous ne voyons rien qui rappelle le dieu ou les génies célestes de l'Avesta. L'Avesta, le Zoroastrisme, existaient-ils même avant le VIII^e siècle, c'est ce que personne ne saurait affirmer.

Or la croyance à l'existence du démon se manifeste dans les livres les plus anciens de l'Écriture Sainte, depuis le premier chapitre de la Genèse où l'exégèse, que ne préoccupe aucun esprit de système, le reconnaît avec toute la tradition.

Nous ne nous arrêterons qu'au Ps. lxxviii cité déjà plus haut, parce qu'il suffit à la preuve et contient sa date en lui-même. L'auteur de ce chant sacré se propose pour but de rappeler aux Israélites les bienfaits dont Dieu a comblé son peuple depuis sa sortie d'Égypte et toute sa conduite à leur égard. Il fait des actes divins une énumération complète et détaillée, "afin que leurs enfants ne l'oublient point et ne deviennent point comme leurs pères, une génération mauvaise qui irrite son Dieu, éloigne son cœur de lui, et provoque ses vengeances" (Ps. lxxviii, 1—8). Or cette énumération s'arrête à l'avènement de David, et ne mentionne pas même le règne brillant de Salomon et le temple si splendide qu'il éleva au Très-Haut. Il est évident que l'auteur ne les connaissait pas, autrement il n'eut point manqué de rappeler ces gloires du peuple d'Israël, ces preuves éclatantes de la protection divine.

Le *z.* 61, il est vrai, parle de captivité ; mais il s'agit là évidemment de l'Arche sainte ou des guerriers (תפארתו, *tepartho*, leur force, leur gloire) non de la captivité générale du peuple ; il s'agit d'un fait accompli avant le règne de David, de la défaite des Israélites, de la prise de l'Arche par les Philistins, qui sont racontés au Livre 1 des Rois ou de Samuel, chap. iv, 4 et ss. Le *z.* 69, se rapporte au chap. vi du même livre, où nous voyons David établir l'arche à Jerusalem et en faire le centre du culte. L'auteur était donc contemporain de David ou des commencements du règne de Salomon. Or c'est lui qui nous parle des *Malaki rāhim* frappant le peuple de maux sans nombre (*z.* 49). La croyance aux démons fut donc en Judée de beaucoup antérieure à l'époque des premiers rapports possibles entre ce pays et les contrées éraniennes où l'on abjurait et conjurait Anro-mainyus.

Quant à l'analogie de sens entre le nom de *S'atan* l'adversaire et le *paityārem* (opposition, chose contraire), il est à remarquer que ce dernier mot n'est nullement le nom du mauvais génie, qu'il ne joue qu'un rôle très secondaire dans l'Avesta, et ne faisait point

partie de la terminologie répandue du Zoroastrisme. Il est donc très peu probable que l'auteur du livre de Job ait été le choisir et le traduire en Hébreu pour en faire le nom du héros infernal de son histoire.

Ce qui est encore moins admissible c'est que les Hébreux, entourés, depuis des siècles, de peuples qui croyaient aux esprits mauvais, et allaient même jusqu'à leur vouer un culte, pour adoucir leurs penchants à nuire et se les rendre favorables, eussent attendu leurs rapports tardifs avec les Eraniens du Nord pour adhérer à une croyance qu'ils auraient rejetée jusque là, et pour en faire une partie intégrante et principale de leur religion. Cette considération seule aurait dû suffire, ce me semble, pour empêcher d'admettre la filiation de Satan comme émanant d'Anro-mainyus.

Citons seulement pour l'Assyrie le dragon *Tiamat*, et les sept mauvais esprits toujours prêts à nuire au petit comme au grand, aux hommes comme aux animaux, destructeurs du ciel même ; en Chaldée les *mas* combattants, les *lamma* géants, les *alal* destructeurs, les *telal* guerriers, les *maskim* tendeurs d'embûches, et cette foule de mauvais génies (*utuq*) contre lesquels étaient dirigées les nombreuses prières incantatrices et conjuratoires des formulaires d'Accad, ces *Utug* qui habitent des lieux sauvages et guettent l'homme du fond de leurs déserts.

Voisins de peuples qui s'imaginaient être entourés, à chaque moment de leur existence, de démons et d'influences diaboliques, les Israélites n'avaient nullement besoin des leçons du Mazdéisme, si même leur religion particulière ne leur avaient point appris à craindre et détester la puissance des mauvais esprits.

Remarquons enfin que les termes accadiens *mas*, *alal*, *maskim*, correspondent suffisamment au sens du hébreu *S'atan* pour nous dispenser de chercher au loin une qualification analogue. C'était une idée répandue dans l'Asie occidentale.

Il est donc sans but comme sans motif, pensons-nous, de rechercher l'origine du Satan biblique dans l'Avesta, ce n'est point là qu'on pourra la trouver. Cette conception est d'ailleurs trop originale pour qu'elle ait pu être empruntée quelque part, d'une manière pure et simple. Le démon, entièrement soumis à la puissance divine, instrument des volontés du Tout-puissant, et servant entre ses mains à grandir les mérites des justes, c'est une conception exclusivement propre à la Bible, qu'aucun pays voisin n'a pu lui communiquer.

LOUVAIN, 29 Juin, 1887.

SOUTH ELMS, OXFORD,

June 3, 1887.

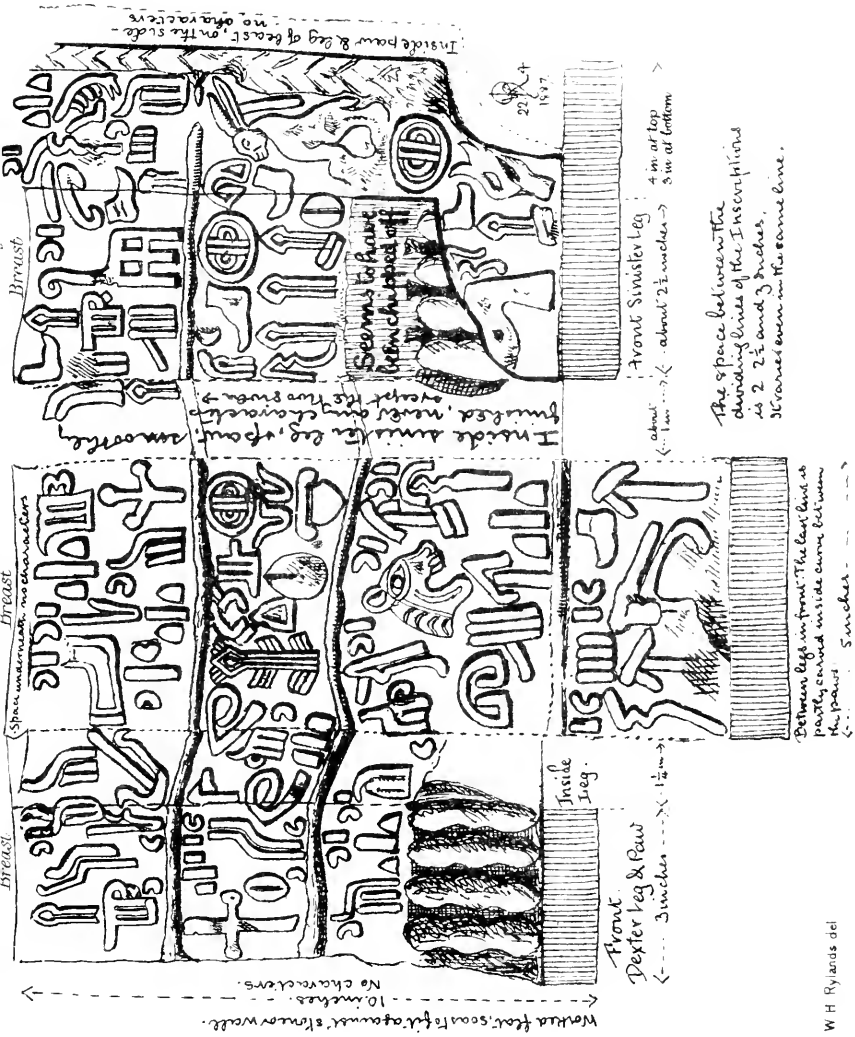
DEAR SIR,

A long absence from home has prevented me from reading Professor Amélineau's important paper on the Sahidic translation of the Book of Job in the *Proceedings* of our Society for March 1. I hesitate to refer to certain omissions in it, lest I should seem to offer a censure on the author. Such is not my intention: he has worked independently, and has left it to us to fill up the lacunæ arising from his own complete absorption in his personal work. The side from which I approach this subject (as a learner) is one only just touched upon by M. Amélineau, viz., the value of these Sahidic fragments for the ascertainment of the original text of the Septuagint of *Job*. It was on October 26, 1883, that an article in the *Moniteur de Rome* made known the existence of the Sahidic version of the Septuagint text, and by degrees Old Testament scholars became aware of the fact, and, as I have done myself in *Job and Solomon*, pointed out the great use which will soon be made of this version in text-critical studies. Dr. Bickell, whose Old Testament researches since 1862 extended to the origin of the present Septuagint text of *Job*, published last year in the *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* (pp. 557—564), a study on the original Septuagint text with special reference to the Sahidic fragments, correcting and supplementing his own earlier results (in his Latin tractate of 1862) in accordance with this version, and remarking that "we may suppose that the Thebaic Job in the edition already begun by P. Ciasca will soon appear in print." Are there to be two rival editions, or have I misunderstood the purport and reference of M. Amélineau's proposal to the Society? I shall be most happy to receive any correction or explanation.

Yours faithfully, T. K. CHEYNE.

THE INSCRIBED LION FROM MERASH.

At the Meeting held on November 3rd, 1885, I had the pleasure of announcing that Mr. F. D. Mocatta had, as well as a complete set of casts of the four inscribed stones taken from Hamath, presented to the Society a plaster cast of the lion preserved with them in the Museum at Constantinople. I am now pleased to be able to fulfil the promise then made, and submit to the Society sketches of the whole of the characters carved upon the front and side of the animal.



W. H. Rylands del.

INSCRIPTION ON LION FROM MERASH, NOW IN THE IMPERIAL MUSEUM AT CONSTANTINOPLE.
 from a Cast presented to the Society by E.D. Mœrthia Esq.

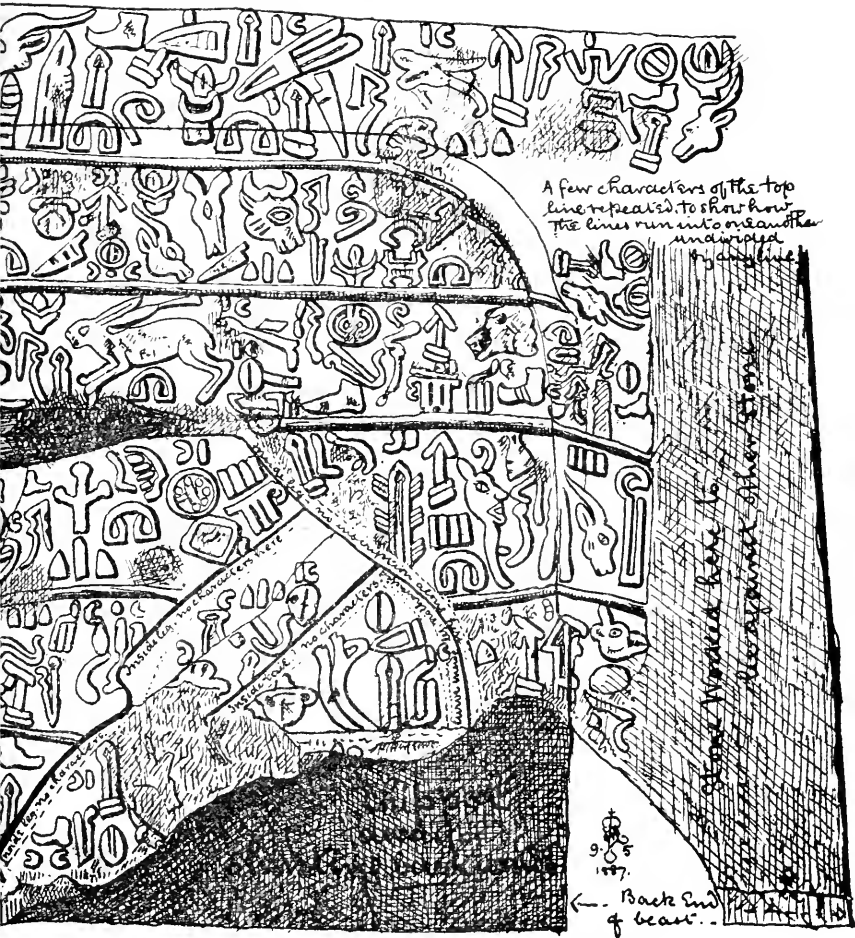


△ H.P., Leeds del.

Just below the round curve of base

INSCRIPTION ON LION FROM MERASH,
from a Cast presented

Proceedings, Soc. Bibl. Arch. June 1887



W IN THE IMPERIAL MUSEUM AT CONSTANTINOPLE
he Society by F.D. Mocatta Esq.

In the second edition of "The Land of the Hittites," by the Rev. W. Wright, D.D., will be found a photograph of the lion, giving the inscription, but necessarily incomplete, from the fact that in the original the characters are carved in the curves and hollows caused by the legs, feet, and tail of the animal.

Two of these lions appear to have been found at Merash; squeezes and photographs were taken by Dr. James Gwyther, of Torquay, who has kindly sent me copies, and informs me, that when he saw them, they were over a gateway.


On the shoulder of the lion at Constantinople is a human figure, cut in cameo, like the characters, doubtless that of a king or priest; he is evidently clothed in a long robe, and holds something erect in his hands, but the carving is much too worn to make out exactly what. It may be a staff or sceptre similar to that borne by one of the figures brought from Jerabis (J. II. *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, Vol. VII.) or an object similar to that borne by the figure from Birejic. (*Trans. S. B. A.*, Vol. VII., p. 250.)

The figure has, I think, evidently been standing upon something, part of which remains, and seems to take the form of an animal; this, in its turn, perhaps resting on a crescent. This figure, most probably a monument of majesty, forms no part of the inscription.




The general form of the lion at once calls to mind the one in the British Museum from the palace of Assurnazirpal (Nimroud), and seems to be worked much in the Assyrian style. The Merash Lions must, I think, have been, as was also customary in Assyria, the bases of columns, probably one on each side of an entrance, or niche *inside*. That they—this is an assumption that they were both cut on the same model—were built with one side against a wall is evident, as the inscription is only on one side, the other being worked flat. One line of the inscription runs along the back-bone, and then there is a slightly raised part of stone also worked flat on the side and top, evidently to be built upon with something, probably the column. The hinder part, to the depth of about six inches, is treated in the same manner, which would, perhaps, indicate the lion with its column being placed in a recess. That from the dexter side of the doorway is the one of which the cast is now in the possession of the Society. It will be noticed that certain spaces underneath the body of the animal, behind the legs, &c., are not engraved, possibly because in facing and *looking down* at the lion these could not be easily seen.

Such blank spaces I have marked on the plates, and owing to the characters being also in some instances carved round curves, the general form has become somewhat distorted. The characters on the side of the sinister fore-leg have been repeated, to show where the lines of the inscription may be really intended to be undivided. If the two plates are placed side by side, and this part be allowed to overlap, the whole of the inscription becomes arranged in continuous lines.

The line of characters along the back-bone runs down to the root of the tail, as far as the top of the third line of the inscription (on the side. Plate I), without any evidence of division, but the fact that the two sets of characters are thus placed at right angles to one another, would be quite sufficient to prevent any confusion in reading.

On the other inscriptions known, the characters *commence* in their general arrangement reading right to left; it will be noticed that the first line in the front of the animal (Plate II) thus commences, and runs across the forelegs for three lines ; then follow a few characters between the claws, running left to right in the same direction as the line along the back-bone, which would perhaps serve to show the way the inscription is to be read. One or two of the heads of animals appear to have been carved the wrong way round, but the general direction of the lines is sufficiently evident.

It is interesting to note that this inscription contains several new and apparently composite characters, as well as, in some instances, forms which would have appeared from the stones either from Hamath and Jerabis alone, to have been peculiar to those districts.

What seems to be the manner of writing one particular composite group may be noticed, as it often occurs here, as well as in H. V. The two characters   appear to be generally conjoined thus .

The inscription is in some places much worn and eaten away by exposure to the weather. I have endeavoured to represent the parts remaining as exactly as possible, and have spent many hours examining the characters in different lights. On going over the original drawings with Prof. Sayce, with the cast before us, only a few small corrections seemed necessary, and therefore I can only hope that few errors will be discovered in my sketches, and these not sufficient to seriously affect the value of this first effort to give in full the whole of the longest and most confused inscription of this class at present known to us.

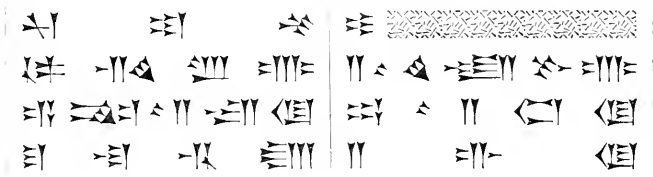
W. HARRY RYLANDS.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

LONDON, *October 4, 1887.*

Allow me to call the attention of your readers to a fragment of an Assyrian "list" in the British Museum, marked K. 2100, measuring 4¼ in. by 3 in. The end of the obverse and the beginning of the reverse are wanting. It contains four columns, having 42, 35, 19, and 27 lines respectively. In one of the early numbers of our *Proceedings* I hope to give you the full text of this tablet, which contains a list of gods, with their ideographs, partly explained by glosses; but for the present it will be sufficient to remark that we find *words of different languages* in this text. Thus, in Col. I, 16 *f*, the god Rammān, 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢, is said to be equal to the god 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 or (l. 17) to 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢, which I restore (in agreement with Mr. Pinches, in my *Zeitschrift*, 1885, 66) to *Addu, Daddu*, in [the language of] 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢, *i.e.*, "Westland," or Phœnicia; see also K. 215, *rev.*, 8. The same god is connected with the god 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 in the [language of] 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢, see Frdr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies*, p. 236; with the god 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 in the [language of] 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢; with the god 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 in the [language of] 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢, *i.e.*, the Elamites; and with the god 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢, *Burias* in the [language of] 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢, *viz.*, the Kossæans. (See Delitzsch, *Kossæer*, pp. 22 and 25.)

In Col. IV, l. 8 *ff*, we read:—



If *ma-la-hu-um* is to be connected with מלח, מלח, the Sumerian origin of the word should be abandoned, and the Babylono-Assyrians must have borrowed their word for "sailor" from Phœnicia, as the Arabs, according to Paul de Lagarde, borrowed their فلك from Greece (ἐφόλιον).

C. BEZOLD.

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- BOTTA, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847-1850.
PLACE, Ninive et l'Assyrie, 1866-1869. 3 vols., folio.
BRUGSCH-BEY, Geographische Inschriften Altaegyptische Denkmäler.
Vols. I—III (Brugsch).
————— Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens, copiés sur lieux et
publiés par H. Brugsch et J. Dümichen. (4 vols., and
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————— 2nd series, 1869.
————— Altaegyptische Kalender-Inschriften, 1866.
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