









*PROCEEDINGS*

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.



*NOVEMBER*, 1890,

TO

*JUNE*, 1891.

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VOL. XIII. TWENTY-FIRST SESSION.

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A few complete sets of the Transactions still remain for sale, which may be obtained on application to the Secretary, W. H. RYLANDS, F.S.A., 11, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

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TWENTY-FIRST SESSION, 1890-91.

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*First Meeting, 4th November, 1890.*

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



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

From Rev. R. Gwynne (*Secretary for Foreign Correspondence*):—  
Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. 8vo.  
Vol. XIII, 1859, to Vol. XIX, 1865, and Vol. XX, 1866.  
Three parts.

From Rev. R. Gwynne:—Kurzgefasstes exegitisches Handbuch  
zum alten Testament. 8vo. Leipzig, Vols. I to XI 1852;  
Vols. XIV to XVI, 1855.

From Rev. R. Gwynne:—Heinrich Ewald, Die Dichter des alten  
Bundes. Göttingen. 8vo. 1837 to 1854. Four vols.

From Rev. R. Gwynne:—Heinrich Ewald und Leopold Dukes—  
Beiträge zur geschichte der aeltesten auslegung, &c., des alten  
Testamentes. Three parts. Stuttgart. 8vo. 1844.

From Rev. R. Gwynne:—W. M. L. de Wette, Lehrbuch der  
historisch-Kritischen einleitung, &c., des alten Testamentes.  
Berlin. 8vo. 1852.

From Rev. R. Gwynne :—Dr. F. Hitzig : Die prophetischen Bücher des alten Testaments. Leipzig. 8vo. 1854.

From F. D. Mocatta (*Vice-President*) :—Arsène Darmesteter. Reliques scientifiques, recueillies par son frère. Paris. Tome I et II. 8vo. 1890.

From Miss Lockwood :—Le Calendrier des Jour Fastes et Néfastes de l'Année Égyptienne, traduction complète du Papyrus Sallier IV. Par F. Chabas. Chalon. Paris. 8vo. 1870.

From Miss Lockwood :—Note sur un foyer de l'age de la pierre polie découvert au Camp de Chassey en Septembre, 1869, par Ernest Perrault. Chalon sur Saone. 4to. 1870.

Extrait des matériaux d'Archeologie et d'Histoire.

From the Author, Dr. A. Wiedemann :—Die Religion der alten Ägypter. Münster. 8vo. 1890.

Darstellungen aus dem Gebiete der nichtchristlichen Religions-geschichte (III Band).

From Dr. Wiedemann :—Nechepsonis et Petosiridis Fragmenta Magica. Ernestus Riess. Bounde. 8vo. 1890.

From Dr. Wiedemann :—Prolegomena ad Papyrus Magicam Musei Lugdunensis Batavi: Scriptor Albrechtus Dietrich. Lipsie. 8vo. 1888.

From the Author, Dr. A. Wiedemann :—Das land Punt und das Mestem. 8vo.

Aus den Verhandl. der Berliner Anthropol. Gessellschaft, 11 Jan., 1890.

From the Author, Dr. W. Pleyte :—Zur Geschichte der Hieroglyphenschrift. Nach dem Holländischen von Carl Abel. Leipzig. 8vo. 1890.

From the Author :—Gio. Batt. Lugari. Sull' origine e fondazione di Roma. Parts I e II. Roma. Folio. 1889, 1890.

From the Author, Rev. C. A. de Cara, S.J. Degli Hittim, e Hethi, e delle Loro Migrazioni. Parts II, III, and IV. 8vo.  
Estratto dalla Civiltà Catholica. Series XIV, Vols. VI, VII. 1890.

From the Author, Rev. C. A. de Cara, S.J. :—The Names of Isis and Osiris (*Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, Vol. XII, Part 6). 8vo. 1890.

From the Author, Leo Reinisch :—Das Zalwort vier und neun in den Chamitisch-Semitischen Sprachen. Wien. 8vo. 1890.

Aus dem Jahrgange 1890, der Sitz. der Phil.-Hist. Classe der Kais. Akad. der Wissenschaften (CXXI Bd.).

From the Author, V. Golenischeff :—Résultats Archéologiques d'un Voyage en Égypte en Hiver 1888–1889. St. Petersburg. 8vo. 1890.

The following Candidates were submitted for election at the next Meeting on December 2nd :—

Charles Heape, Glebe House, Rochdale

Gray Hill, Mere Hall, Birkenhead, Cheshire.

Rev. Joseph Horner, D.D., 525, Smithfield Street, Pittsburgh, Penn., U.S.A.

Rev. J. L. Le Pelley, M.A., Vicar of Ringland, near Norwich.

Rev. L. M. Simmons, B.A., Oker Villa, Upper Broughton, Manchester.

To be added to the List of Subscribers :—

The Young Men's Christian Association, N. R. Hughman, Esq., Secretary, Whittington Avenue, Leadenhall Street, E.C.

P. le Page Renouf (*President*) read a Paper entitled, "Nile Legends."

Remarks were added by Rev. R. Gwynne, Canon Beechey, Sir Charles Nicholson, Rev. A. Löwy, Dr. Gaster, Mr. F. Cope Whitehouse, Rev. Jas. Marshall, Mr. Alex. Payne.

A Paper by Miss L. Macdonald, "Inscriptions relating to Sorcery in Cyprus," was read by the Rev. R. Gwynne, which will be printed, with copies of the original texts, in the next number of the *Proceedings*.

Remarks were added by Dr. Gaster, Dr. Alex. S. Murray, Mr. W. Fennell, Rev. Jas. Marshall, Rev. A. Löwy, and the President.

A Paper by Dr. W. Pleyte, "On the Naya Serpent," was read.


Thanks were returned for these communications.

## NILE MYTHOLOGY.

BY P. LE PAGE RENOUF (*President*).

EVERY one who has given his attention to the subject, is aware that the Nile in Egyptian is called Ḥāpi, or more correctly Ḥāpu. But who will say what is the meaning of Ḥāpu?


A name is the embodiment of a concept, not the conventional sign of an individual thing. Those who first spoke of the *Sky*, *Heaven*, *Himmel*, *Cælum*, ἄραρος, שָׁמַיִם, did not point upwards and say, "Henceforth whenever we mean to speak of that, we shall call it sky," etc. Each of these names came into use because it expressed one of the attributes of the object named. The Hebrew שָׁמַיִם comes from a Semitic root meaning 'to be high;' the Greek ἄραρος can be traced to the root *var*, 'cover;' *cælum* is akin to *cavus*, *cavare*, *caverna*, and implies a hollow vault; *Himmel*, from *ham*, is that which *covers* us; Heaven, the Anglo-Saxon *heofon*, is akin to *heave*, and signifies that which is 'lifted up;' Sky, from the Indo-European root *sku*, 'cover,' and cognate to *scu-tum*, *obscurus*, implies the 'covering' above us. Until our knowledge of the meanings of Egyptian names is as clear as that of the European and the Semitic names of Heaven, we shall make little or no progress in the study of mythology.






I shall here speak of the significations of two or three of the Egyptian names of the Nile, beginning with , *Nu*, which it has in common with the sky.















This name was read by Champollion *Noun*, and translated by 'l'abîme céleste.' Most Egyptologists are still satisfied by this interpretation, because Horapollo says that the Egyptians call the Nile *Noon*, and because the Coptic ⲢⲐⲚⲓ in the translation of the Bible corresponds to the Greek words ἄβυσσος, βάθος and βυθός.

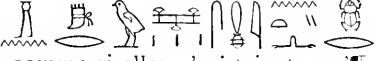
But there is no proof whatever of the identity of the ancient Egyptian word with the Coptic one. The latter never means heaven so that the notion of 'abîme céleste' is not authorized by the Coptic language, and I can find no proof that the Egyptian word was




ever used in the sense of 'abyss.' The *voûv* of Horapollon may be derived from quite another word, .

Moreover, the reading *nun* is unjustifiable. The vase  is phonetically read , but the three vases  are ideographic, and even if read phonetically could never be read as *nun*.\* The only ancient phonetic variant is , which, taken in connection with the late , shows that the name is *Nu*; harmonizing with the feminine name of the sky, *Nut*.



The meaning of *Nu* may be gathered in this way. The vase  when it occurs in the pictures is almost invariably to be seen *lifted up*, as containing sacrificial offerings of wine, beer, milk or water. The three vases  appear as determinatives in the names of festivals and memorial offerings; e.g., , , , . The last quoted word , which is written with the vase  accompanied by the sign of motion, is generally translated *bring*.† It really signifies *ferre, tollere*. The god  Shu, who raises the Heaven over the Earth, is called  *An-heru*, 'Raiser' or 'Lifter' up of Heaven.‡ He is spoken of as , "separating heaven from earth, and lifting it up for ever."§  *Nut* is the deity thus *lifted*, and such I believe is the meaning of the masculine *Nu*. In the frequent expression  *an t'eru*,  has the sense of 'tollere,' 'lever,' 'enlever.'

This sense is well illustrated by a passage|| in which the Egyptian king is described as , 'Enlevant (*tollens*) ses frontières, comme si elles n'existaient pas.'¶

\*  is read *uben*.








† There is a variant of the word, very frequent at Dendera, a man lifting up the vase. See Dümichen, *Rec.*, VI, pl. 131 and following.

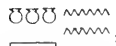

‡ This god has been compared to the Greek Atlas. The latter name is etymologically connected with *tol-* in *tollere*.


§ *Denkm.*, III, 234. Here  'lift up' is the equivalent of ; of which 'amener' is a very inadequate rendering, and utterly erroneous in the present case.

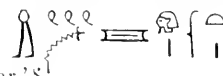
|| *Denkm.*, III, 69, f. 5.

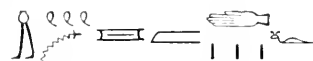
¶ Or, 'so that they no longer existed.'

An additional branch of evidence as to the ideographic sense of  will be found in the word , which so frequently occurs in the pictorial representations at Dendera and Edfu. The king is represented lifting up an offering, either a figure of the goddess Maât, or a lily or a lotus. The action is recorded as , , in the title of the picture, and from the accompanying text  is explained by  *sa*, to 'bear,' 'lift up,'\* and  *se-âr*, to 'cause to ascend,' to 'lift up.†


A variant of , namely , which is very common in the later texts, but is already found in the inscriptions at Bâb-el-molük, represents a *nursling*, one who is carried on the arm,‡ *un élève*. From the same root as that of *φῶρε*, we have the Teutonic *bear*, *barn*, *bairn*, *birth*, and the Lithuanian *bernas*, a child.

All this tends to the conclusion that etymologically  conveys exactly the same notion as our word *Heaven*, that is, the 'raised,' the 'lifted up.' That this name should be as appropriate for the Nile as for Heaven, will be obvious on the study of the extremely numerous and well known texts which speak of the Nile as being raised up from its source by a divinity, sometimes called Isis, sometimes Sothis, and sometimes Hathor.

 'Raising the Nile at the beginning of the year.'§

 'Raising the Nile from its sources.'||

Or, as the great inscription at the temple of Hibe says¶

Cj.  'lifter of the hand,' a title of the god Amsu.

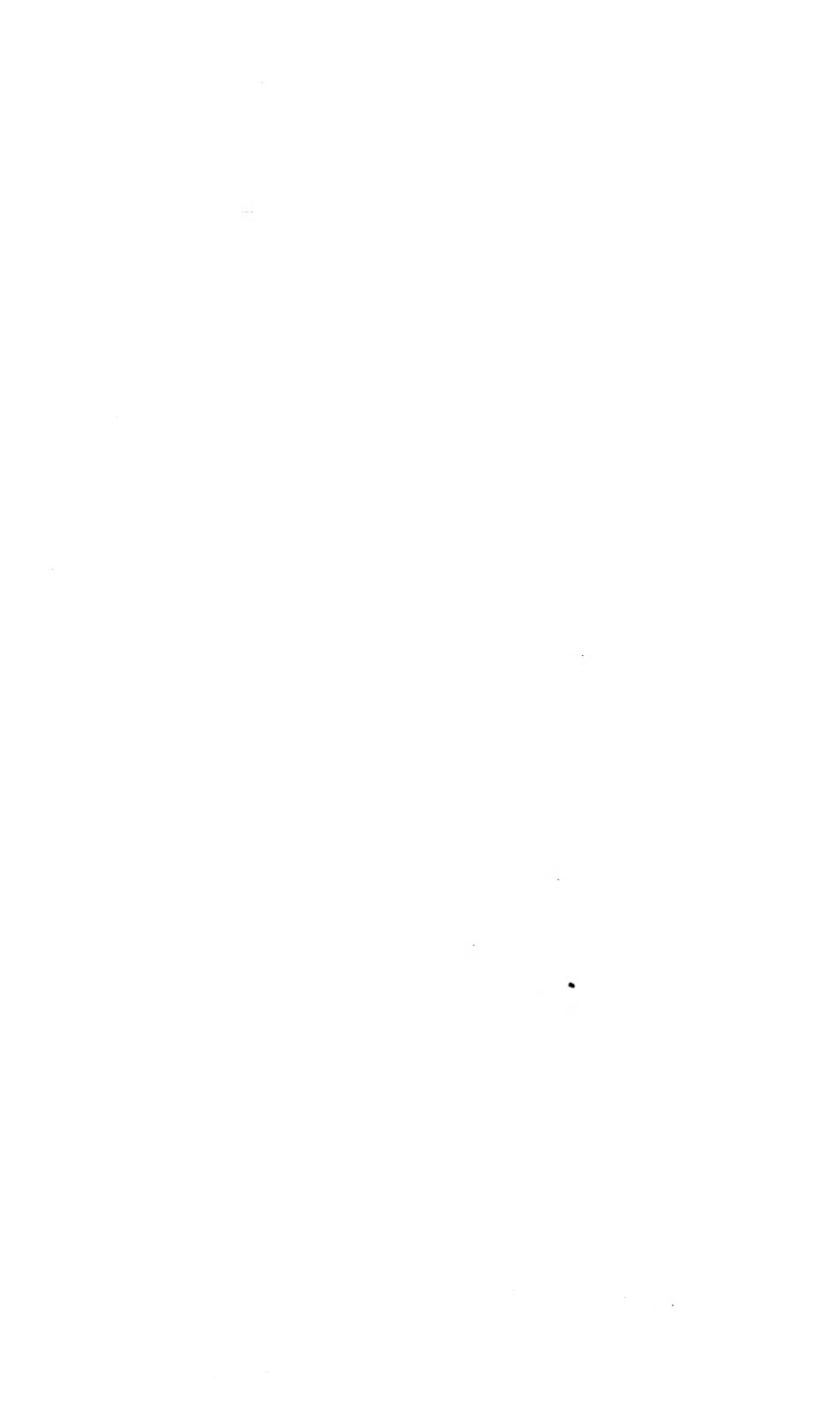
† Compare the Hebrew עלה in Lev. xiv, 29, and רום in Numbers xv and following.

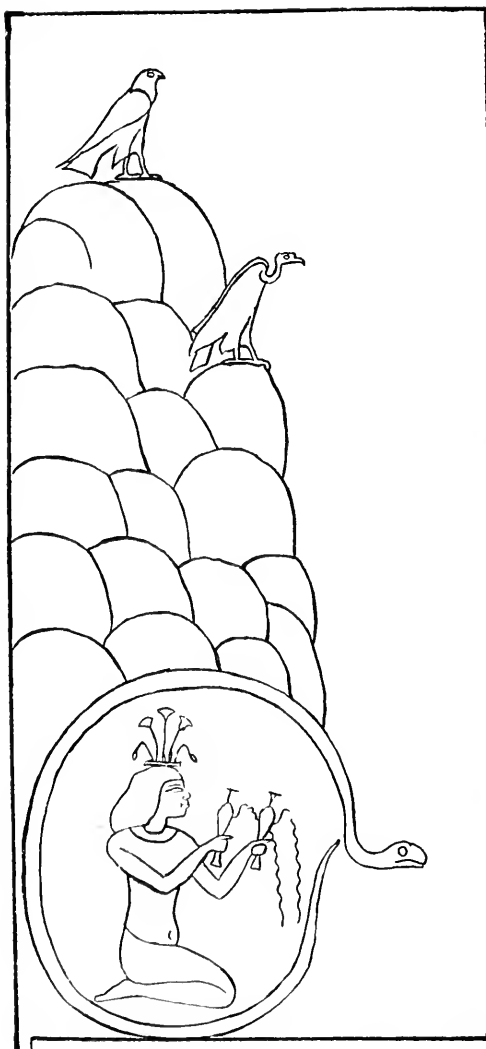
‡ Perhaps carried in another sense. 'Bear' may signify 'bring forth.' "With the Teutonic and Slavonic words for 'child' (what is born) we may compare φῶρ-κ-εῖς: νιοσσοί, Hesych." Curtius, *Gr. Et.*, I, 361. Eng. Tr.

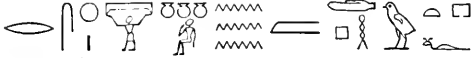
§ Mariette, *Denderah*, I, 33, b.



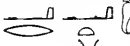


*Ib.*, 36, a.


¶ Brugsch, *Reise nach der grossen Oase*, Taf. xxvii, l. 34.

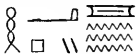
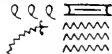






















 'to lift up Nile from his cavern.'



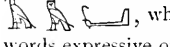

2. Another frequent name of the Nile,  *Artâ*, has a very similar meaning.  *ar* signifies 'ascend,' 'mount up,' 'rise.' The Uræus serpent is called  *arâit*, 'she who riseth by degrees.' The goat is called  *ar*, 'the climber,' and the name of the Nile is found with the variant .


3.  *uka*, a third name, is with great probability explained, as in Brugsch's Lexicon, by reference to the Coptic  $\text{ϬOC}$  and its numerous forms, rendered in Greek by  $\alpha\nu\alpha\pi\eta\hat{\alpha}\nu$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ ,  $\epsilon\acute{\xi}\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ . The word expresses the rushing forth and the springing and leaping up of the inundation.

4.  (written  in the later texts) *Hâpu*, belongs to a group of kindred words,  *hapu*,  *hapu*,  *hapu*,  *hapu*,  *Hâpi* (the Bull Apis),  *Hâpi* (one of the divine sons of Horus),  *hepû*,  *hepêt*,  *hepêt*,  *hetep*,  *hotep*, and others.

The primary sense of all these words is, as I have elsewhere said, best expressed by the ideographic sign , or by , which convey the sense of 'embracing,' 'covering.'

This group of words is very remarkable for the phonetic changes which the root has undergone. The vowel following the first consonant is  in one word,  in another, and  in a third.\* And in other words the consonant  is intruded, either before or after the , not as a suffix, but rather as what Curtius and other philologists call a phonetic determinative.

\* Cf.  *am* and  *am*, which are possibly connected with , which has for variant . It has been proved that the words expressive of *eating*, both in Indo-European and Semitic, have a still more primitive sense in the vocabulary. The Egyptian word seems to be connected with the concept of *seizing*. Cf. *præda*, *prey*, etymologically akin with *prehendo*.


It is worthy of note that the vowel  $\bar{a}$  is very frequently omitted in the name of the Nile, from the Pyramid texts down to the latest periods. And it is also worthy of note that in some inscriptions, especially in those from Panopolis, the name of the Nile is written .






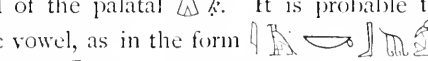





The identity of etymological meaning between the different groups is evident from expressions like the following:—

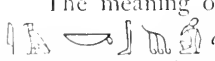

 Denderah, I, 18, 5.

 ib., l. 3.

 ib., I, 35, 5.

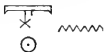
The name *Hāpu*, therefore, as applied to the Nile, signifies ‘he who covereth,’ or ‘overspreadeth’ Egypt. This is of course in reference to the inundation. But we can easily understand how such a predicate is applied to a god, e.g.,  *Ptah pa hāpu āa*, ‘Ptah the great Compasser,’ and even to One, “der Allumfasser, der Allerhalter,” greater than Ptah in hymns such as that to Hāpu, in the Sallier and Anastasi papyri.

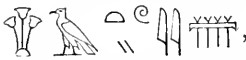
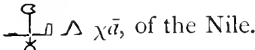
5.  *akbā urā*, is another important name given to the overflowing of the Nile. The variants of the name are numerous, especially in the later texts. The initial vowel is often  *ā*, and  *k* is often found instead of the palatal  *k*. It is probable that the  is really a prosthetic vowel, as in the form  *āakeb*, and that after it the vowel  is often omitted in the orthography. The interchange of  and  is extremely frequent, and very naturally so,  *k* merely indicating that a palatal vowel (*e* or *i*) follows  *k*.


The meaning of the root of *akba* is undoubtedly indicated by  *āakeb*, ‘weeping.’ This meaning is clear from the passages where it occurs, and a reference to Brugsch’s Lexicon will show how in the hieroglyphic orthography streams of water flowing from the eyes appear in  the determinative of the word. We may turn to the Bible for an illustration of the connection between the

overflowing of a river and the notion of weeping. We read in the Book of Job (XXVIII, 10, 11), according to the authorized version,

“He cutteth out rivers among the rocks . . . He bindeth the floods from overflowing.”

This last sentence in the Hebrew is מִבְּכֵי נְהָרוֹת הַיַּשׁ, where בְּכִי (literally ‘weeping’) signifies the overflowing of rivers. This is just the kind of metaphor which gives rise to mythology. Pausanias\* tells us that the Egyptians spoke of the Nile, at the beginning of the inundation, as being swollen by the tears of Isis for Osiris. This is unquestionably a genuine Egyptian tradition. Isis and Nephthys are called “the Weepers” in the Book of the Dead, and there are numerous texts in which the rise of the Nile is ascribed either to Isis by name, or to a goddess, like Sothis, who is identical with Isis. And it is a most interesting fact that, down to the present day, both Christians and Moslems in Egypt hold, that on the 11th of the Coptic month of Bauneh, a miraculous drop falls into the Nile and causes it to rise. This night is called by them *Laylet en Nuqtah*, “Night of the Drop,” † and Brugsch ‡ thinks that he has found a corresponding expression in the later Egyptian texts, 

, which he translates “the Night of Tears.” The last Egyptian word has, sometimes undoubtedly the sense of ‘weeping,’ but the text itself speaks not of the rise but of the *fall*, , of the Nile.

Perhaps the Night in question is alluded to in the most ancient mythological texts we possess. The Pyramid texts mention “the Night of the *great flood of tears* proceeding from the Great Goddess,”  “*Kereh en akbâ urâ* per em urit.” § *Akbâ urâ*, literally ‘the great weeping,’ is the recognised name for the Nile Inundation. *Urit*, the great goddess, is one of the most usual appellatives of Isis.



\* X, 32.

† See Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, II, p. 255.


‡ *Thesaurus*, p. 293.

§ Pyramid of Unas, line 395. M. Maspero here reads “cette nuit ou pleure le grand issu de la Grande.” But he elsewhere translates *akbâ* as a substantive. See e.g. Tetâ, lines 335 and 338. In the latter passage the *akbâ* (the flood of tears) of Nephthys is in parallel with the milk of Isis,



So much at present for some of the most important Egyptian names of the Nile. It will be understood that I object to such translations as 'l'océan céleste,' 'l'eau primordiale,' 'das Urigewässer,' and above all 'Chaos!' as conveying radically false conceptions of Egyptian mythology. It may be quite true that the Egyptians fancied like other people that there was water above the sky, but this fancy has nothing to do with the concept implied in the names Nu and Nut, which simply mean 'lifted up.' When the sign  accompanies , as a determinative, an attribute is added which is not that from which the name was derived.

When the Egyptians call either Nu or Hâpu 'father of the gods,' it must be remembered that they gave this title to several other personages, and most certainly never dreamed of the doctrine which has been ascribed to them—that water is the primeval element of all things. Their language was mythological not metaphysical. Mythology speaks of the gods (sun, moon and stars) as been born from the sea or from a mighty river out of which they appear to rise. It may with equal propriety speak of them as being swallowed up by the sea or by the earth, or by Darkness. But the moment we begin to interpret this literally in a physical sense, we talk nonsense, and impose upon ourselves and upon those who listen to us. The Book of the Dead speaks of the Sun as washing his face in a river or lake. Some 'anthropologist' who happens to get sight of the passage in a translation will no doubt explain it by an ancient or modern traveller's tale about similar ideas entertained by savages in Asia, America, or Polynesia.

Those who think that the Egyptians believed the Sun to be a man who washed his face every morning after rising, will not be surprised to learn that they spoke of the Nile as a serpent, and actually represented him so in art. A well-known picture at Philæ (see plate) shows the Nile issuing from its cavern in the form of a serpent. The human figure who is pouring out water from two vases is the double of the serpent, and equally represents the Nile. Sometimes the Nile is supposed to proceed from two sources, and these sources are frequently represented by two serpents, , front to front, with the water streaming from their mouths.

Here we have clearly one of those metaphors which run through all languages. The turnings and windings of a river have at all times been compared to the tortuous course of a reptile. The

geographer Strabo,\* who says that the Cephissus runs through Phocis *σκολιῶς καὶ ἔρακοντοειῶς*, quotes Hesiod as saying *εἰλιγμένος εἶσι ἔράκιον ῥῶς*. The serpentine course of the Nile has been noted by ancient and modern writers. *Καμπὸς ποιεῖται μεγάλας*, says Diodorus,† *ποτὲ μὲν ἐλίσσεται πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ ποτὲ ἐὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέραν*. And M. Litré illustrates the use of the French verb ‘serpenter’ by quoting Rollin’s description of the Nile. “Après avoir traversé l’Ethiopie en *serpétant* beaucoup, il se rend enfin en Egypte.”‡

My reason for touching upon the subject at present is that in every one of the nomes of Egypt a divine serpent was worshipped, which is commonly called its agathodaemon. And it was indeed a good genius, being in fact that portion of the Nile which flowed through the Nome.

Besides the myths of which I have spoken, there were many others; and of the most important of them I shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

\* IX, 3.

† I, 32.

‡ The late Dean Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, chap. VII, speaks of the Jordan as “‘a gigantic green serpent’ as seen from the adjacent heights threading its tortuous way through its tropical jungle.” Shortly before this he has (in a note) quoted Van de Velde’s description of the Leontes—“A monster serpent chained in the yawning gulf . . . where she writhes and struggles evermore to escape her dark and narrow prison, but always in vain.” Every one understands this, but it is mythological language, and if found in ancient texts it would be explained by imaginary ideas attributed to savages.



## LE NAJA.

PAR DR. W. PLEYTE.

Un des textes qui m'a occupé depuis mes premières études égyptologiques, est celui du Sarcophage M.L. 6 de notre Musée de Leide, écrit au-dessus du couvercle ciselé en hiéroglyphes magnifiques, couvrant le contour supérieur, ou le bord de la cuve, du monument précieux de l'époque Saïtique de la XXVI<sup>ème</sup> dynastie.

Le couvercle contient le texte du Chapitre 72 du *Todtenbuch*, et des variantes, que j'ai publiées depuis longtemps dans la *Zeitschrift*. Deux chapitres inconnus, mais dont on retrouve les rédactions plus complètes dans les publications des derniers temps, sont écrits sur le contour. C'est surtout M. Maspero, à qui nous devons tant de révélations dans notre science, qui nous a mis à même de faire aussi un pas d'avance sur le chemin, qui nous doit mener par le séjour obscure de la Tuaut égyptienne.

Là dans ce séjour, le soleil, ayant parcouru pendant la journée le ciel de l'orient à l'occident, cheminant par le Sud ou le ciel méridional, entrait les portes de la Tuaut par un canal, qui débouchait dans la mer du Nord voguant durant la nuit jusqu'au matin en 12 heures. Après qu'il avait quitté la terre et ayant terminé sous la forme d'Atoum son cours terrestre, il entrait en forme de *χeper*, ou le dieu qui devient, qui se renouvelle, le séjour de la nuit, parcourant le ciel septentrional. N'étant pas vu de la terre, il passait parmi les étoiles le ciel, combattant les puissances, qui voudraient le faire perdre, ayant à son assistance des génies conducteurs et toujours victorieux, renaissant au matin comme Harmachis.

Les puissances nuisibles sont les serpents vénimeux, les ennemis de l'homme depuis son existence dans ce monde. Toutes les formules font allusion à la morsure brûlante ou au venin des serpents. Elles paraissent être cadencées et destinées à être chantées : ce n'étaient peut-être à l'origine que des chants des charmeurs de serpents. Elles se retrouvent d'ailleurs ou d'analogues sur les parois des pyramides. Peut-être doit-on conclure du nombre de ces formules que le nombre des reptiles vénimeux était plus considérable

dans l'Égypte primitive qu'il ne l'est dans l'Égypte de nos jours. Les formules magiques, dirigées contre les serpents, couvrent le pignon de la face ouest au-dessus du Sarcophage L. 300-339 du pyramide d'Ounas. Elles se retrouvent en entier dans le tombeau de Bok-en-ranef, mais séparées en deux groupes, l'un d'eux équivaut aux vingt et une premières lignes du texte d'Ounas 300-321, publié dans Lepsius' *Denkmäler*, III, pl. 264, C, l'autre est sur la planche 261 de Lepsius. Cette version est de la XXVI<sup>ème</sup> dynastie, et une partie au moins en a été reproduite dans un autre tombeau du même époque, mais elle a dû être copiée sur un texte fort ancien, qui présentait à peu de chose près la même orthographe que le texte d'Ounas.

Les *Aelteste Texte* de Lepsius renferment deux chapitres de repousser le serpent, l'un gravé sur le cercueil de Sobkâu, l'autre gravé sur celui de Mentou-hotpou. La version de Sobkâu ne concorde que pour quelques mots (l. 300-304) avec celle d'Ounas (*Aelteste Texte*, pl. 35). À partir de la ligne 304 les formules deviennent différentes. La version de Montou-hotpou est plus importante; elle nous donne l'équivalent des vingt et une premières lignes (300-320) du texte d'Ounas (*Aelteste Texte*, pl. 15) avec quelques variantes intéressantes. Enfin un cercueil de la XXVI<sup>ème</sup> dynastie, conservé à Stockholm, donne les premières phrases du début.\* Maspero compare les textes d'Ounas, Mentuhotep, Stockholm, et Bakenranef entre eux: à la ligne 317 commence Bakenranef. De même le musée de Stockholm possède le texte sur le sarcophage Tapert.

Nous possédons alors les textes d'Ounas, de Mentuhotep, de Sebakâa pour l'ancien empire, Bakenranef, Tapert,† Ahmes, et deux autres, publiés dans la magnifique publication française de la mission à Caire, celui de Setbasti ‡ et de χeperkara.§

Tachons de reconstruire le texte de l'époque des pyramides et de la renaissance.

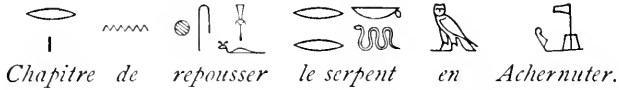
Le titre du texte est conservé en Mentuhotep, Sebak, Setbasti, χeperkara.

\* Piehl, *Petites études égyptologiques*, p. 33. Maspero, *Recueil de travaux*, iii, 1882, page 219, etc.

† Comparez pour la texte de Tapert l'étude de Mr. Piehl, *Zeitschrift*, 90, p. 10.

‡ *Mission, etc.*, ii, 1881-84, p. 225.

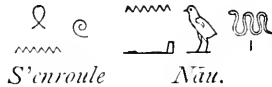
§ *Mission, etc.*, ii, 1881-84, p. 236.



L'Acheron ou le souterrain divin. Le déterminatif du serpent ne se rencontre que dans Setbasti.

*Rorok* ou *Lelk* comme nom de serpent ou vipère se rencontre *Zeitschrift*, 1874, 84.



Le texte commence par :



Sebakāa a le déterminatif de la corde, signe pour indiquer les centaines dans le même texte, derrière le mot *s'en* enrouler. Le serpent comme déterminatif de *nā* ou *nāu* se rencontre dans tous, excepté Mentuhotep. Tapert a *nā* au lieu de *nāu*. *Nāu* s'enroule. *Nā* rappelle le genre des vipères ou serpents vénimeux, *Naja*, le *Naga* des Indiens et *Haia* des Egyptiens, deux espèces des plus redoutées, qui causent la plus grande perte de vie de tous. "Ce nom, employé pour la première fois par Laurenti comme celui d'un genre, a été adopté dans ces derniers temps par le plus grand nombre des naturalistes, Wagler excepté. Il est probable, que cette dénomination avait été empruntée à Kaempfer par Séba en disant, qu'aux Indes et à Ceylon, ces espèces, que les Portugais nomment *Cobras*, sont appelées par les Indigènes des Nojas. Telle paraît être l'étymologie des *Najas*, que quelques auteurs, comme Cuvier, écrivent *Naïas*." Duméril et Bibron, *Histoire des Reptiles*, t. vii, p. 1275.

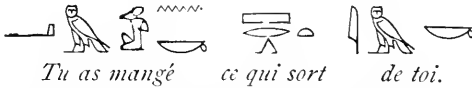
C'est le vipère, qui est conjuré, encore de nos jours, par les magiciens et sortilèges de l'Asie et de l'Afrique. Nous en trouvons des descriptions dans le grand ouvrage des Français, *la Description de l'Égypte*, et encore dans Brehm, *Thierleben*. C'est donc du *Naja* ou *Nau*, qu'il s'agit dans le texte : la variante est *Nāi*.




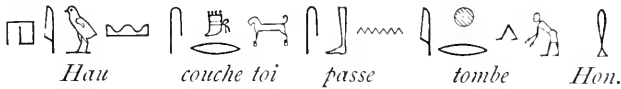
Mentuhotep n'a pas le serpent, Sebakāa a de nouveau la corde, le veau est remplacé par la tête de veau, dans Tapert, *hh* est remplacé par le couteau  ; Ounas, Mentuhotep, Sebakāa, Mentuhotep manque le déterminatif de *χabu*. Ounas et Bakenranef ont seulement .





Après cette phrase suit une allocution. C'est pour cela probablement, que M. Maspero met une pointe derrière *behs*. Je ne crois pas, que c'est strictement ordonné, et qu'on peut traduire par veau et l'hippopotame *behs-χabu*. Le veau et l'hippopotame sortent alors du bassin de la terre, et l'allocution est donc adressée au serpent et non pas à l'hippopotame. Le veau revient *Todtenb.*, chap. 109 : c'est l'étoile du matin ; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, I, 73. L'hippopotame, Brugsch, *Aegyptologie*, p. 343 ; *Thesaurus*, pp. 124-127 ; étoiles dans le voisinage du grand ours, en Égypte le taureau.

Le Naja entoure le veau qui monte du bassin :—



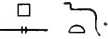


Sebakāa a le déterminatif . Sebak, Mentuhotp, Bakenranef, lisent *pert*.



Hau n'a pas de déterminatif. Seulement à la fin du texte d'Ounas se trouve , série de montagnes, ce qui me semble être une faute pour , le serpent qui se retire. *Set'r* a le déterminatif dans Ounas et Bakenranef ; il manque partout à *Seben*. L'homme tombant est remplacé par les deux jambes  renversées. Les variantes de  me paraissent être des fautes. Ounas, Ahmes, Tapert sont en faveur de cette leçon.

Je crois qu'ici la conjuration est terminée, et que la lutte entre le monstre et le dieu bienfaisant, doit commencer. M. Maspero joint *hon* aux mots suivants :—



Ounas, Mentuhotp lisent . La variante de , Ahmes, Tapert est . Ounas, Mentuhotp, Setbasti, *χeperkara* et Bak,

ne l'ont pas. Le dieu luit dans l'eau. C'est donc le dieu lumineux, qui abimera le dieu des ténèbres.



Tapert se termine au commencement de la phrase. Le déterminatif de *hfu* manque à Mentuhotp, au lieu de *Ra* on lit :  $\odot$   $\uparrow$  Ahmes,  $\odot$  Setbasti, Bakenranef,  $\overline{\text{---}}$   $\uparrow$  Ment :  $\odot$   $\downarrow$   $\chi$ eperkara. Lorsque le dieu des ténèbres, le serpent voit le dieu *Ra*, il se plonge dans la mer, où il est bouleversé :—



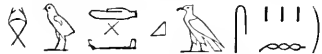
Le couteau, déterminatif de *hesek*, se trouve par une faute de transcription dans Tapert  $\overline{\text{---}}$ , dans Bak,  $\uparrow$  l'oreille. *Tap* avec le trait de l'unité dans Mentuhotp et  $\chi$ eper. Tapert n'a pas le taureau. *Kam* ne se rencontre que dans le texte de  $\chi$ eperkara, Mentuhotp lit  $\overline{\text{---}}$  *ur*, Setbasti, *m*, *ur*, le taureau du grand *Hannu*. Je crois qu'il s'agit de la constellation du grand ours appelé le taureau ou la cuisse du taureau en Egypte.\*

$\overline{\text{---}}$   $\uparrow$   $\overline{\text{---}}$ , dis cela! Maspero: te dit-on. Je considère cette forme comme un impératif.



$\odot$   $\uparrow$   $\uparrow$ , *Ra est  $\chi u$* , ou Ra protège *Saak*. Les variantes de Ra sont  $\uparrow$ , Mentuhotp,  $\uparrow$   $\downarrow$ , Ahmes. Le signe  $\chi u$  est lu fautivement, *sr*,  $\overline{\text{---}}$ . Ounas, Mentuhotp, Setbasti,  $\chi$ eperkara, Bakenranef, Ahmes ont  $\uparrow$   $\downarrow$ . Le signe, qui suit le mot  $\chi u$ , est déterminé par M. Piehl et Maspero comme étant le scorpion. Toutefois les textes bien écrits et les originaux, que je connais, nous montrent tous une espèce de *homard* ou *langouste*, selon d'autres une *Nepa* ou punaise. Partout il manque de queue. Ounas aurait  $\uparrow$   $\downarrow$ , ce qui prouve que ce texte aussi représente un animal, dont le corps finit par deux nageoires, comme le poisson en général et le homard aussi, ou par deux franges des branchies à respirer. Nous connaissons le mot  $\chi u$  comme indiquant l'espèce des poissons du calendrier de Dümichen et Brugsch, *Dict.* On rencontre le même

\* Comparez par exemple Lauth, *Zoliquas*, pl. VI; Brugsch, *Aegypt.* et *Thesaurus*.



animal au centre des tableaux célestes en rapport avec le taureau, l'hippopotame, la déesse Selk, etc. M. Brugsch y voit le scorpion femelle. Or, dans le texte du Sarcophage de Seti, pl. 111, on voit bien que c'est une momie femelle, appelée du nom inconnu, prononcé *Serek* par Lefébure. (The Book of Hades, *Records*, XII, traduit p. 6, en ces termes : "The serpent which is in this scene, *Serek*, flings away his chain, ). Cet animal est nommé *Sak* dans les textes, qui ont rapport au ciel du Nord, rassemblés par Lauth, *Zodiacs*, et Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, p. 126.

Seulement un des textes présente notre animal, les autres un scorpion ce que je ne crois pas être exacte, puisque c'est probablement le nom du crocodile, qui se montre aussi dans ces scènes.

Dans le Ramesseum, VI, C., le nom est écrit , et non pas , selon Brugsch, *Aegyptologie*, p. 344 ;

, Brugsch, *Recueil* : , Biban el Molouk.

Je crois que la première leçon est la meilleure, et que le mot *Sak* est un des noms de notre animal et non pas *Serek*. *Serek* ou *Selk*, ayant son propre rôle dans ces représentations.

Je n'insiste pas sur la détermination de l'animal comme langouste ou écrevisse, homard ou punaise, mais je crois qu'il faut le distinguer du scorpion.

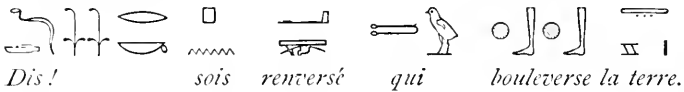
Je crois donc que, puisque l'animal est armé de deux griffes, et qu'il a la queue fendue, il doit être le homard ou la punaise, appelé *χου* ou *Saak*, peut-être dérivé de *χου* brillant, luisant, ou *C&Z&K* piscis. Ici il représente le dieu Ra, le soleil, qui doit étrangler le serpent.

Ahmes, Mentuhotp et Bakenranef ont dessiné la bête très correctement. Il est le plus reconnaissable sur le sarcophage et dans le tombeau de Seti. Comparez Maspero : *Les Hypogées Royaux de Thèbes*, et les divers auteurs mentionnés, pp. 3 et 8. À la p. 52, Maspero dit que les trois premiers gardiens d'une certaine scène sont appuyés d'un gros scorpion *Onkhit* (la vivante), et d'un superbe uræus. Or si on compare les dessins des sarcophages et des parois, on verra que le serpent uræus est appelé *Onkhit*, et non pas le dit scorpion, que moi je crois être un homard ou une punaise. Dans le texte du sarcophage il rejette les chaînes du serpent enchaîné. Comp. Champ., *Not.*, p. 768, et Lefébure, I,

pl. 23. Dans le *Thierleben* de Brehm, No. II, 1878, p. 25, on lit au sujet des homards et des langoustes de la Méditerranée : "Der gemeine Hummer der Europäischen Meere findet sich von der Norwegischen Küste an bis in das Mittelmeer, ist jedoch hier nicht besonders häufig. Die gemeine Languste *Palinurus Vulgaris* die in einzelnen Riesenen exemplaren zwölf bis fünfzehn Pfund schwer werdende Art, ist, im Mittelmeere viel häufiger als der Hummer, und daher für die Tafelfreuden der gewöhnliche Stellvertreter des mehr dem atlantischen Nordseegebiete angehörigen Hummers."

Nous connaissons les langoustes de la Méditerranée aussi par Pline, qui ne les distingue pas des homards. Il dit qu'on les employait contre la morsure vénimeuse des serpents. Pline, IX, 5, "ils sont un spécifique contre la morsure des serpents. On prétend, que lorsque le soleil passe dans le signe du Cancer, les corps du cancer mort se change en scorpion."

Peut-être que c'est à cause de cela qu'il est ici le représentant du dieu bienfaisant.

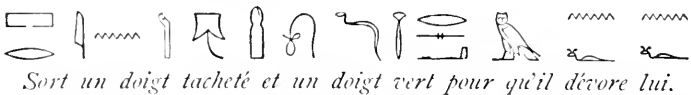


Ounas, Tapert, Bakenranef ont  $\chi e b e \chi$ .



Variantes de  $\text{scorpion}$  sont  $\text{Ounas Setbasti}$ . Au lieu des deux faces, *Sebak*, *Setbasti* et  $\chi e p e r k a r a$  en ont trois "face sur face."

L'attaque est violente, homme contre homme. Suit la description de l'animal qui est vainqueur.



Ounas, *Setbasti*,  $\chi e p e r k a r a$  ont *per-an* Tapert, et Bakenranef *per-n*. Mentuhotp *per*. Tapert a deux doigts ot'. Au lieu de *r-sam*, *Setbasti* et  $\chi e p e r k a r a$  ont *ari-sam*.



Il y a des langoustes qui ont une serre tachetée, et l'autre plus petite, couleur vert d'émeraude.

La même querelle est mentionnée, *Rec.*, No. 64, Ounas.

O serpent Haki ô guivre Hakrit, etc.

  
Et tombe le taureau sur l'aspic.

  
Tombe l'aspic sur le taureau, tombe retire.

  
Tombe face sur face sortent deux doigts un tacheté l'autre vert pour  
  
qu'il devore lui.






Il me semble que le texte, traduit de cette manière, est assez clair.

  
O, il a goûté lui.

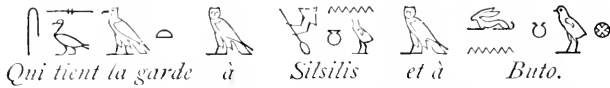
Si l'animal est le représentant de Ra, il l'est aussi du dieu Toum ou Atoum.

  
Ce sont les griffes d'Atoum maître du collier de perles

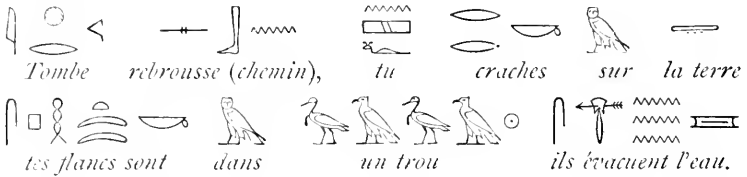
  
de Nehabkau.


Nen se trouve seulement dans Ounas. Le déterminatif d'Atoum manque. Ahmes , *cheperkara* . *Ts* est remplacé par . Baksu, manque le déterminatif en Ounas, Ahmes, Setbasti, Bakenranef. Je ne crois pas que *baksu* soit un bracelet; l'autre Signification est un poignard, le déterminatif du mot;  et  qui que peu facile à reconnaître, indique le chaînon ou la perle, l'ornement en vitre, porté au cou et partie d'un collier. *Baksu* est peut-être le Copte, *ΒΑΧΗΠΙ*. Le serpent *Nehabkau* remplace quelquefois les autres forces redoutées. *Nehabkau* joue aussi son rôle dans le monde inférieur ou la Tuaut, ainsi que dans le *Livre des*




*Morts* représenté par un serpent à deux jambes et portant des ailes. Nous y reviendrons :—

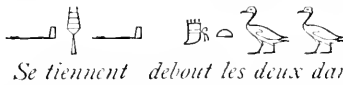


$\chi$ eperkara a seulement m- $\chi$ ennu. Ni Saat ni  $\chi$ ennu ont des déterminatifs. On pourrait donc traduire comme moi je l'ai fait :—



Les variantes sont , les deux lèvres; Mentuhotp, Sethasti,  $\chi$ eperkara, Ounas, Ahmes, Bakenranef ont *Sphet*. Les lèvres, ou les flancs émettent l'eau, c'est-à-dire, l'eau sort des deux cotés de la bouche du monstre.

La variante de  est simplement la peau , Mentuhotp  $\chi$ eperkara. Ce texte reçoit son explication dans les représentations des cataractes d'Eléphantine, d'où le Nil prenait sa source, selon les anciens Egyptiens, sortant des vases tenus par le dieu Nil.\* Or ce dieu était entouré par un serpent, qui faisait la garde. D'autres représentent les cataractes par deux serpents vomissant l'eau, et formant ainsi le Nil, . C'est donc un serpent, ou deux serpents, ou un à deux têtes, qui vomissent le Nil.



Ounas et Ahmes ont *ha*. Sethasti,  $\chi$ eperkara et Bakenranef ont seulement les deux oiseaux.



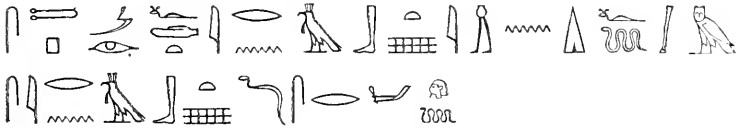
Ounas a *tmro*. Ounas seul a *sés*et les autres textes *sés*; Ounas a une fois de trop les mots *tmro-n-sés*et.



\* See Plate in the present number.

Ounas, Mentuhotp, Bakenranef n'ont pas de déterminatif. Ahmes a le chat très bien ciselé, Mentuhotp seulement a le déterminatif de *pesh*. Il manque partout à *Sebak*; les variantes sont, Ounas,  $\chi$ eperkara  $\Delta$ , Setbasti, Bakenranef  $\Delta$ .

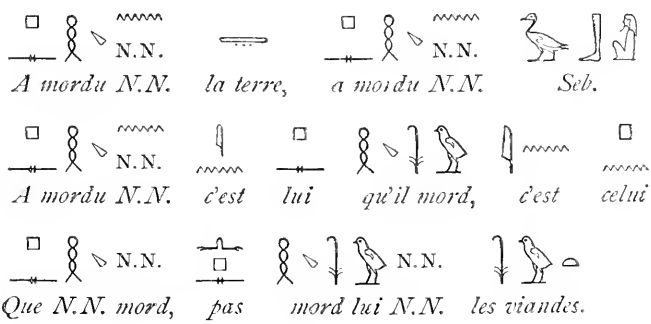
Ounas, No. 65, 548, représente la formule suivante :—



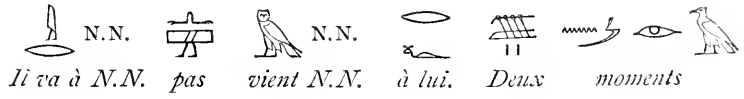
Mafet coupe dans le cou du serpent Antef, elle le répète dans le cou du serpent t'osrertap. *Rit.*, 34, 2, représente la même idée, ainsi que 39, 3. Mafet est un dieu mâle, le représentant du dieu Ra. Comparez *Todtenb.*, 17, 45.







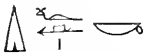

Bakenranef *an nau peshu* . C'est le serpent qui mord Nemert?

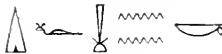

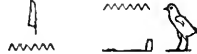


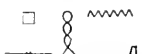
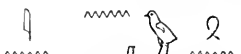

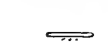
La variante d'Ounas est qu'il omet le déterminatif de *pesh*, *atu* au lieu de *an* est probablement une faute. *Sepen* me paraît aussi une erreur pour *pen*. *Sut* est le mot ordinaire pour l'offrande de viande, un morceau d'os avec la chair .








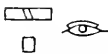



 qu'il voit N.N.
 
 Deux moments
 
 Qu'il il regarde N.N.,



 tu mords N.N.,
 
 il donne un à toi.
 
 Tu vois N.N.,



 il te donne deux.
 
 Mord Nau,
 
 c'est Nau qui

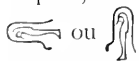


 mord Nau.
 
 C'est Nau qui enroule
 
 le ciel, qui enroule
 
 la terre,


 qui enroule ce qui est devant et derrière.
 
 Ce sont les genies intelligents,
 


 qui enroulent
 
 le dieu
 
 dont la tête est aveugle,
 
 enroules
 
 toi


 même ce scorpion (homard ou punaise).

Les variantes de Bakenranef sont des fautes. Mentuhotp en a deux, qui nous intéressent; c'est celle de *rechiu*  et du homard au lieu du scorpion, quoiqu'ici le signe est aussi mutilé.

Ce que l'on pensait en parlant de l'enroulement du serpent, on le voit sur le sarcophage de Seti, planche 15. Une figure mâle est recourbée en cercle; les pieds touchent la tête; les mains en haut, tiennent la déesse Nu, qui reçoit le dieu *χeper* dans ses bras. C'est Nu dit le texte qui reçoit Ra, et dans le cercle formé par le corps du dieu mâle on lit que c'est Osiris, qui entoure la Tuaut. Ainsi le serpent, entourant le cadavre du mort symbolise l'éternité *l'eta*  ou . Le texte parle ensuite d'Éléphantine et les deux chaînes de Horus pour les deux serpents, ou le serpent à deux têtes, des cataractes.


 Deux chaînes
 
 sont à Éléphantine
 
 dans la bouche
 
 d'Osiris.



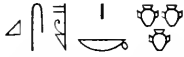
*Horus les a appliqués*



*le chef des colliers,*



*tu enveloppes,*

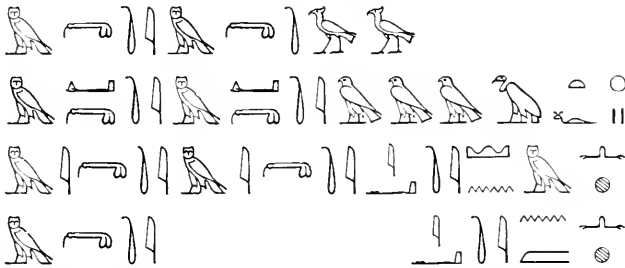


*tu enveloppes les cœurs.*

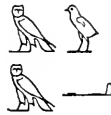


*Les colonnes qui sont dans la pylone fait tomber ce Hemen.*

Bakenranef, et Ounas, présentent la même lecture. Mentuhotp semble avoir une légende plus courte, *kes-k kesu-k abu*, aussi le lion de *terau* semble être un oiseau dans Mentu. *Hemen* se trouve le mieux écrit dans Mentu. Ounas et Bakenranef sont incompréhensibles. Le dieu *Hemen* connu sous l'ancien empire (voyez Lanzone) n'a pas de rôle précis dans le panthéon Egyptien.



*Étant en présence de. En présence des dames, des dieux, sa mère.*



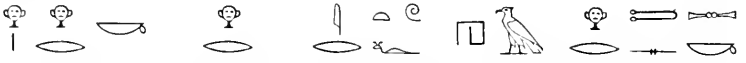
*En présence de aâta qui est inconnu.*



*Tombe corps sorti de la terre.*



*Tombe feu sorti de Noun (abyssus), tombe passe*



*sur ta face. Le maître de son chaîne se dresse pour l'en chaîner,*



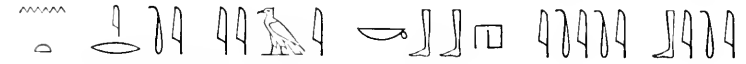
*celui, qui est dans ses feuillages recule, en acclamant*



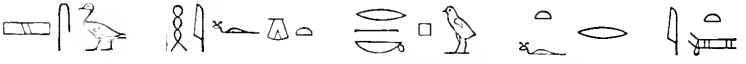
*de tes têtes deux, quitte la caverne, la caverne,*



*tu as forniqué la gardienne du battant de la porte de granit,*



*qui gardait, oui (la gardienne oui), replie*



*c'est ton nom, crache Atoum*



*contre la maison de sa mère,*



*serpent, couche toi. La nourriture de ton père est à toi,*



*un gobelet en or rempli d'onguent, levès dieu (?) ce,*



*on loue le travail de sa main. Sort la couronne blanche,*




*elle a dévoré la grande. La langue a dévoré,*




*de la couronne blanche grande, la langue n'est pas vue.*

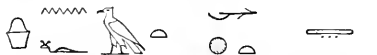


  
*Le corps c'est le ciel, la larve de Horus c'est la terre, la valeur*

  
*de Horus il laboure la terre. N.N. a laboué à Seben.*


  
*Horus ignore N.N., inconnu est N.N. Sur ta face*

  
*qui est dans son feuillage, passe, passe qui est dans sa caverne.*

  
*Pain enflé\* est sur le sol.*

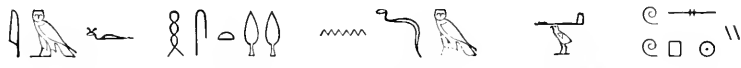
  
*Ô fait que le serpent recule.*

  
*Evacue l'enceinte de cristal de roche,† l'eau*

  
*sort de ta bouche, éteint toi même le feu,*

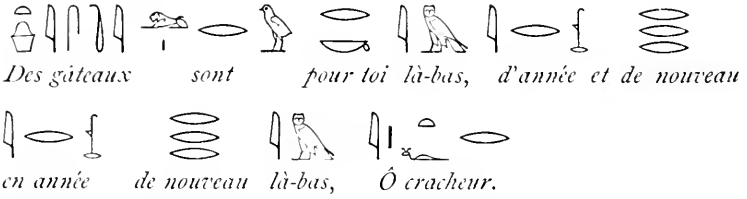
  
*pas se trouve l'étincelle dans le souterrain de Nubut, le serpent*

  
*mord qui recule de la maison, il mord qui se cache*

  
*en elle. Des vignes délicieuses sont données 200 bis.*

\* Ment. 10, 14, des choux.

† ΒΑΧΗΠΙ, cristal.



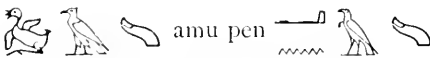
La nouvelle phrase se rapporte à la précédente. Je l'ai restaurée des deux textes. Ce sont des variantes de comme il me semble. Il s'agit de l'acte de *Hemen* et la place où il a lieu.

Le mot *tt* est traduit par M. Maspero par huile, plus tard par corps. Le monstre est conjuré de se courber, car Horus est là, pour l'enchaîner. La couronne blanche représente l'uræus du Midi, et la couronne *ur* encore l'uræus soit du Nord, soit les deux uræus ensemble. Le texte n'a pas de valeur précise pour la question, qui nous occupe, mais il me semble que ce sont tous des conjurations adressées à un seul et même serpent, qui garde avec ses deux têtes les cataractes d'Eléphantine, décrit comme un palais où Horus sera accueilli.

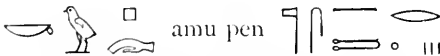
On voit encore dans d'autres textes que le serpent *Nau* et *Nehabkau* sont identiques, *p.e.*, dans le texte du sarcophage d'Amu (*Amamu Birch*), XXVII, 18. C'est un chapitre de transformations en *Nehabkau* dans l'*Achernuter*. Voici le texte :—



Birch lit *Nahab*, mais le signe remplace le pluriel de *ka*.



*Cet amu prend l'instrument.*



*Cet amu fait une fumigation d'encens.*



*Cet amu repand une libation sur les mains d'Isis et de Nebtha.*

*Qu'elles donnent* *intailles* *sur les mains* *des amulettes,*

*à cet amu,* *qu'elles lient* *son mot*

*amu pen.*  
*à cet amu.*

*Amu pen* *est Nau,* *ce* *taureau de Nu.*

*Amu pen* *est ce grand,* *assistant de Toun,* *qui mange*

*les sept Uraeus.*

*est élevé* *amu pen* *justqu'à* *Nehabkau.*



*Cet Amu est venu* *vers vous* *Ô dieux* *serpents*





*qui sauvent* *les esprits lumineux.*






*Cet Amu se fait monter* *sur* *la jambe (canal)*





*du bassin* *grand.*




□  ~~~~~ amu pen      
*S'est envolé cet Amu vers le grand glousseur.*

~~~~~ amu pen    
*Cet amu est l'oie.*

  ~~~~~ amu pen    
*Cet amu s'est tenu debout chez elle.*

   amu pen    
*Cet amu reste chez elle.*









  ~~~~~ amu pen    
*Cet amu a été assis chez elle.*





 amu pen    
*Cet amu se manifeste en dieu.*

 amu pen    (probablement  )  
*Cet amu mange la nourriture.* *Kufi.*

Amu pen       
*Cet amu est dans le champs (de repos) des offrandes.*

  amu pen         
*Cet amu fait des voyages dans le bateau.*

   ~~~~~ amu pen       
*Et cet amu a ouvert les deux battants de la justice.*

 ~~~~~ amu pen     
*Cet amu a passé les deux portes de l'eau céleste.*

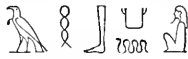
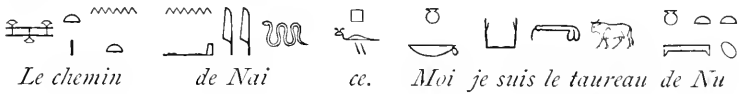


*Il abat cet amu et se sauve de ses ennemis.*



*Ô hommes et dieux, c'est cet amu.*

Par un autre texte, nous sommes instruits que ce *nau* s'appelle aussi *nai*, chap. du *Todtenb.* 149, 41. Nous lisons: "vous-avez dessiné pour moi le chemin de ce Nai."

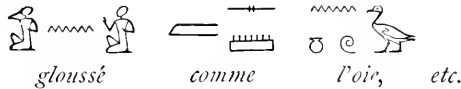
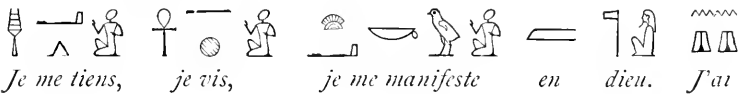


*Nehab-ka.*

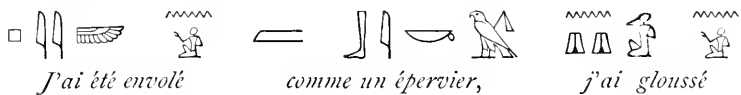
Précisément comme dans les textes traités. Le chap. 98, 1, nous indique encore mieux la place où tout se trouve:—



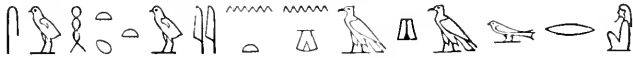
*dans le grand bassin . . . .*



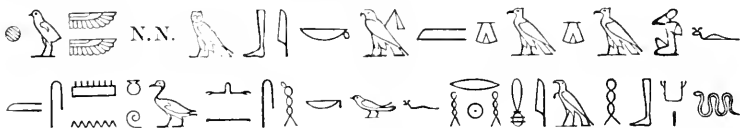
Chap. 82 nous informe au sujet du glousseur.



Cette oie était le grand glousseur, qui avait pondu l'œuf d'où est sorti le ciel et la terre. Chapitre 59 nous représente le sycomore de Nu, d'où sortent les bras de la déesse, présentant au défunt les eaux fraîches et les gâteaux et fruits, comme les arbres des oasis du désert les présentent au voyageur. C'est le chapitre de boire de l'eau en Achemuter. Le défunt dit : "Ô cet arbre de Nu ! donne moi l'eau qui est en elle. Moi j'ai atteint ce siège à l'heure précise. Je tiens la garde sur l'œuf de ce grand glousseur.



Ce glousseur se rencontre encore chap. 17 :—



Il s'envole en épervier il glousse comme l'oie ; il n'est pas abattu pour toujours comme Nehabka.\*

Tout ceci prouve que le Naia redouté est la puissance avec laquelle s'assimile l'individu pour le vaincre et pour annihiler son influence, ou, pour le rejeter s'assimilant à d'autres dieux forts. C'est surtout dans la mer septentrionale de l'Egypte, qu'il joue son rôle quoiqu'il semble entourer tout l'univers, comme le serpent Nāga des Indiens, avec lequel il paraît être parenté. Ce ciel, et cette mer du nord comprennent la région de la nuit. Lorsque le soleil est descendu dans l'amenti, il monte dans le ciel et la mer du nord, pour descendre dans l'orient.

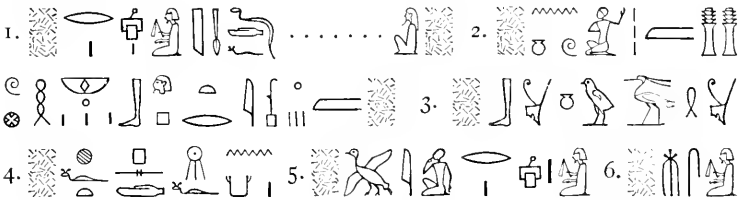
\* Comparez Brugsch, *Religion*, p. 173 ; surtout Kal. Inscr., p. 394.



STELA AT FREIBURG IN BADEN.


BY DR. A. WIEDEMANN.


In the small ethnographical collection at Freiburg in Baden there is the fragment of an Egyptian limestone stela (nr. 104), sent about 1830 by Schimper, giving a curious proper name. As the collection will seldom be visited by an Egyptologist, it will be well to publish the text now. The stela is executed in the style of the 19th dynasty; the edges are mutilated all round, only six vertical lines beginning at the left remain, and underneath the four last lines two hands in the position of adoration. Between the second and the third line a line is left uninscribed. The inscription runs:—



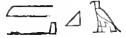






“[Pa-à]resa. He says . . . . . Praises may be at Mendes, the festivals of the beginning of the seasons at . . . . . [It may be given to make his transformations in] the phoenix and in the heron . . . . [to adore Rā] at his shining to the person [of the] . . . . . Pa-àresa . . . . . [the son of . . . . .] mes.”

The transformations here named are selected likewise in other texts (p. ex., Leps., D., III, 13a) out of the long series given in the rituals, to show that the dead are permitted to take by choice any form.

The name Pa-àresa is formed like Pa-neḥsi, “the negro,” Pa-chal, “the Syrian,” etc., with the article and the name of a country, giving probably a hint as to the origin of the family, not of the person itself. Àresa is a town in Syria, known by a land-list of Seti I (Leps., D., III, 131a nr. 12; cf. , in the time of Thutmes III, in Mar. Karnak, pl. 20–21, nr. 213, where the comparisons of Golenischeff, *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, 1882, 145 sqq., and Maspero,


*Rec. de trav.*, VII, 94 sqq., have shown the publication of Mariette to be correct in its reading). Pa-âresa is found again as the name of a  on the tablet 166 at London, dated from the time of Ramses II (*cf.* Lieblein, nr. 888). On this monument it is given as a female name, but the formation with the masculine article pa, as well as the title, make it probable that it is here a mistake of the scribe, and that this Pa-âresa also was a man. His father was a priest of Râ Hu-nefer, so he cannot be the same person as the owner of the stela at Freiburg, the name of whose father ended in -mes.





Besides Pa-âresa two wives named  appear on the London tablet.\* This designation is formed with the feminine article and the word  found in several texts as the name of an animal coming from Kusch, having to bear  vessels (? *cf.*  found as name of a vessel, Leps., *Aelteste Texte*, pl. 43), and able to learn dancing. It has been taken for the mule (*cf.* Maspero, *Rec. de trav.*, VIII, 85), the goat (Maspero, *Guide*, p. 417), and more often for the camel (*cf.* Houghton, *Proc.*, XII, 83), an idea founded only on the unproved hypothesis of Chabas, that  could be taken as *mal*. The origin of the animal and its docility make it more probable that it was a kind of monkey (Erman, *Neuaeg. Gr.*, p. 137). On dated monuments the camel is figured only in Ethiopic times (Leps., D., V, 28); older are, as their style shows, two statuettes at Bulaq (nr. 6146-7; *cf.* Maspero, *Guide*, p. 417) of the Greek period, and a small statue found at Abydos, belonging probably to the Saitic time (Mar., *Ab.*, II, pl. 40 u; III, p. 587), and showing a camel loaded with four vessels and bearing an Egyptian driver. The Greek authors show the camel to have been common in Egypt, Arabia, and Ethiopia (p. ex. Her., III, 9; VII, 86-7, 184; Callixenus Rhod., fr. 2; Diod., XVIII, 33; Heliodor., *Aeth.*, X, 5; Philostr., *Vit. Ap.*, V, 43; *cf.*

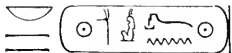

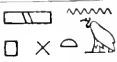
\* The  quoted on the same stela will be identical with the  to whom belongs the stela C. 96 of the Louvre (Lieblein, nr. 897; Pierret, *Inscr. du Louvre*, II, p. 41), showing the man before Osiris. The title occurs in nearly the same form for a Hui in the papyrus I. 349 at Leyden (*cf.* Virey, *Mém. de la Miss. du Caire*, I, p. 485).





Horap., II, 100); the Old Testament quotes it as being found in the Nile-valley in much earlier times (Gen. xii, 46; Ex. ix, 3).

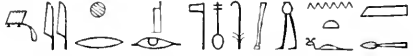

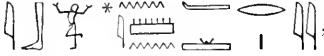
The only passage in which the name camel appears to be fully written Kamāair, is found in Papyrus Anastasi I, 23, 5, but there it is a ἄπαξ λεγόμενον, the translation of which, if even I do not approve the idea of Erman (*Aeg. Z.*, 1877, p. 36), that  has to be taken here for the Hebraic אלהים, "god," must remain doubtful.

The proper name Ta-Kāri shows at the end the sign  of duplication, the same which is found behind the verb Kari for a gymnastic exercise, to which Mr. Renouf called attention, *Proc.*, XII, 84. From this verb the name of the god  (Todtb., 165, 3), will have been derived rather than from the Semitic קָרַבָּ, *oppidum munitum* (Pleyte, *Chap. suppl.*, 164-74, p. 39). The variants of the passage, given by Pleyte, l. c. pl. 91, have three times  and once , of which the last shows that the writer did not understand his original, and tried to make out of the name an Egyptian sentence, "thy doings."


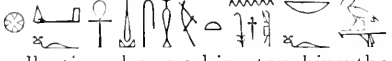



The other Egyptian monuments in the Museum at Freiburg are a stone fragment (nr. 799) with , a granite fragment with  and a cone from Thebes bearing an inscription relative to , the wife of the prophet of the third class of Amen Pe-ṭu-Amen-neb-nes-t-ta-ui. The text has been rendered by me in the *Altaegyptische Grabkegel*, IV, 16 (*Actes du Congrès des Orient. à Leide*, p. 150), as found on cones in the Louvre S. h. 443, Sèvres (publ. Prisse, *Mon.*, pl. 27), and collection Eisenlohr. To this list has to be added another example now in the Musée Fol at Geneva, nr. 753.



To the list of cones given in the above mentioned memoir, and to the list given by Petrie, *Season in Egypt*, pl. 21-3, I may add two cones preserved in the collection Stroganoff at Aachen. They are nr. 329 in the Museum: 


\* The hook at the top of this sign is missing in the original, and the quadrangular part has the form .

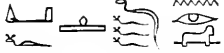




and nr. 330, . The latter man will be identical with the , to whom was devoted the beautiful stela C. 26 in the Louvre (publ. Pierret, *Inscr. du Louvre*, II, 25; Piehl, *Inscr. hier.*, pl. 5-9; Gayet, *Mus. du Louvre*, pl. 14-22; cf. Lieblein, nr. 92), which belongs to about the 12th dynasty. Of a third cone, quoted by Loret, *L'Egypte au temps des Pharaons*, p. 159, I owe the knowledge of the hieroglyphic text to the kindness of Mr. Loret, who possesses several examples of it found at Qurnah. It bears the title and name , "the dancer of Amon H̄u-rei." The institution of religious dances was very old in Egypt, they played a large part in the funeral cultus (cf. my *Herodots Zweites Buch*, p. 256), and we see them also executed in honour of divinities till the time of the Roman emperors, when Trajan is represented dancing before two goddesses at Dendera (Leps., D., IV, 83 b; cf. III, 162-4, 212-3).



VARIA.




I. The Museum of Darmstadt possesses a monument of the renown Thutiä, who lived in the time of Thutmes III, and of whom the papyrus Harris 500 tells a legend. It is a beautiful bronze dagger with a wooden handle, bearing the inscription . A leathern leaf of the same collection shows a king touching the figure of Amon-Chem; the first is named . The latter . A painted wooden stela at the same place in the style of the monuments of the Month-priests at Thebes represents under the winged disk a man adoring Rā, who holds  and , and bears the disk on his hawk-head. Between the two is an altar with

\* In the original the dancing man holds the two hands to one side as the man  does.  
 † The sign  is standing in the original on o.

offerings. Above the god is written , above the man


1. , 2. , 3.   
 4. 

2. Amen-em-ânt, known by a group of statues at Naples (*cf.* Brugsch, *Gesch. Aeg.*, p. 541; Liebl., nr. 905), to have belonged to a distinguished family under Ramses II, has left a monument, now in the museum at Trieste. It is a painted stela of sand-stone rounded at the top, showing a man in the act of adoration before a small altar with a vase. Behind it sits Osiris with the crown of Upper Egypt, holding  and .

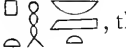

Above the god is written , above the man 1. , 2. 


3. , 4. . In my *Aegyptische Geschichte*,

p. 450, I quoted as identical with this man an Amen-em-ânt, found on a monument at St. Petersburg; the titles show this combination to be erroneous. An Uschebti at Trieste bears the inscription

, and names a priest of Šu and Tefnut. Two Uschebs of the same priest are in the Gewerbe-museum at Pest.

3. In 1881 was offered for sale in Luq̄sor a stela of calcareous stone, showing a man offering two libation vases to Ptah. The

god is called , the defunct .



Between the two is written . The name H̄ui-nefer appears on


two monuments given by Maspero in his list of the functionaries of the ást Maā, *Rec. de trav.*, vol. ii, pp. 188, 193. One gives as the name of his father Kaḥa, the other has no filiation; the father of our H̄ui-nefer was H̄or-á, perhaps nr. 72 of Maspero's list.








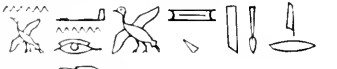


4. The collection Stroganoff at Aachen contains a large blue scarab (nr. 80) bearing the name of Scheschenk I; small monuments of this biblical king are very rare. There are on the scarab two


vertical lines, the one 








, the other 

. A bronze fragment belonging to the second king of the 22nd dynasty was in 1882 in the collection Ivanovitch at Cairo, since dispersed. It says in one horizontal line running from left to right 


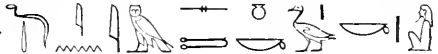
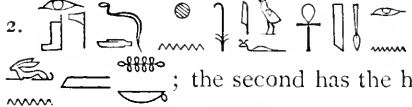

. The third king's name of the same dynasty is given in the under part of a stela of calcareous stone copied in 1881 in the collection of Dr. Grant at Cairo, having a very curious final formula. The first remaining line, which appears to have been preceded by another, containing the date, is not quite clear in its reading, the upper part having suffered:—

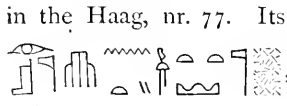
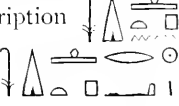
1.  2.   
  3.   
 4.   
 5.   





5 The sister of Sabakon, the mother-in-law of Psammetich I, was called by Lepsius Amuniritis, and then ordinarily Ameneritis. In later time Maspero gave her the name Amenertas, and similarly Erman and Meyer call her Amenerdas. A stone stela in the Saitic style, at Frankfurt a. M. proves the old reading to be the better one. The monument—25 cms. large, 22 cms. high in the middle and 17 cms. at the sides—bears at the rounded top end the winged disk named twice 







Below the figure of the deceased adores a boat, in which Rā, Tum, Isis and Nephthys are sitting. Then follows a line formed by the several times repeated ornament , and below the inscription in horizontal lines: 1.   
 2.  3.   
 4. . The



name of the mother of Hor-ut'a is formed quite in the same way as that of Ameneritis, and proves by its writing the middle element to be not *âr*, but *iri*.


6. The sense of the name Psammetichos is unknown, only the first sign, *p*, is shown to be the masculine article by the feminine form of the name  (*Aeg. Z.* 1881, p. 68). A similarly formed name occurs on two canopic vases in the collection of the Castle Cattajo near Battaglia. The first, bearing the head of a man, has the inscription: 1.  2. ; the second has the head of a monkey, and gives as name of the genius , the rest of the text being the same as on the first vase.


7. The similarity of the fate of Osiris and of Rā, their dying and resurrection, and the habit of comparing the life and death of man with the one or other god, resulted in the two divinities being often confounded in the texts, and caused one to receive the titles and qualities of the other. A good example of this mixture is offered by the large painted wooden statue in the Museum Westreenianum in the Haag, nr. 77. Its front side has the inscription , the back side runs  giving thus to Rā one of the specific designations of Osiris.










8. In the celebrated collection of gems in the Library at the Haag is a large scarab (43 : 33 mm.) showing on the under side the adoration of Osiris by a man with long hair and clothes. Above the god is written , above the man . The word *t'aa* occurring in these lines will be identical with , "amulet." The style of the engraving and the clothes of the man point to about the 19th dynasty.

9. In the Geographical Papyrus of Tanis, published by Mr. Petrie (*Two Hierogl. Pap.*, London, 1889), the names of metals are brought together in frag. 16 with divinities. There is written *māfek* above Osiris, *ba-pet* above Set, *ba* above Set, *tek* above Horus. The last metal name, , is unknown, but its combination with Horus reminds of Plutarch, *de Is.*, 62: τὴν σιδηρῆτιν λίθον ὀστέον Ὄρου, Τυφῆρος ἐὲ τὸν σίδηρον, ὡς ἰστορεῖ Μανθεύς, καλοῦσι (οἱ Λιγύπτιοι). The relation of iron with Set-Typhon is proved by a passage of the Book of Funerals, quoted already by Devéria, *Mé. d'arch. ég.* i. 8 (*cf.* Schiaparelli, *Libro dei funerali*, pp. 106, 162):  "the iron coming out of Set, the instrument *meschet* of iron." The Egyptians made evidently a difference between the *ba en pet*, Copt.  $\delta\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$ , ferrum, and the  found in later texts. This *ba en ta* will correspond to the  of the Tanis text, being also in connexion with Set. Following the above quoted indication of Manetho we must see in  the magnet, occurring thus for the first time in an Egyptian text. The sense "magnet" suits very well with the sense of the root , "come near, be near," *cf.* Copt.  $\tau\epsilon\sigma$ , *adjungere, conjugere, cohaerere*. The word *tek*, "magnet," was lost in Coptic, where this stone bears in a list published by Heuglin, *Acg. Z.*, 1868, p. 55, the name  $\mu\epsilon\upsilon\pi\iota\theta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ , taken out of the Greek.

The lines under the names of the quoted divinities have nothing to do with them. The first of these gives the names of sacred animals, the second the name of the place, where each of them was adored. There is found the Apis [of Memphis], and the perfectly black bull of  "the large bull," with the town-name Heliopolis; it is evidently the  Mnevis, occurring under one of his titles, this animal being, as Eusebius (præp. ev. III, 13) shows, quite black. Then follows the bull *beχa*, "Bacis" of Hermonthis, and then the *ba anχ*, the holy ram of Mendes.

Fragments 17-19 give the continuation of this list. Of interest is the appearance of , the greyhound, quoted here for the first time in an hieroglyphic text as an holy animal, but the Greek

authors speak very often of his cult (*cf.* my *Herodots Zweites Buch*, pp. 285, *sqq.*). A monument found by Wilkinson (*M. e. C.* vi, 43) at Thebes shows the greyhound holding between its forelegs a cowering man; it plays thus the part usually given to the jackal of Anubis. The quadrupeds are followed in the papyrus by the birds, in the middle of which appears the scarabæus, therefore probably looked upon as a bird. The animal was adored at  Mendes, where it will have been, as well as the ram, considered to be a manifestation of Osiris, who appears as a scarabæus also in texts relating to Abydos (*Düim. Rec.*, III, 99, l. 22) and to Abaton near Philæ (Brugsch, *D. G.*, p. 845, corrected *l. c. p.* 1344).

10. The syllabary published in the same work on the Tanis Papyri by Mr. Griffith has on pl. 14, 2 the indication  . . . . .    *netet* . . . embalmed. This explanation cannot have anything to do with the ordinary signification of  "god," which forms rather an antithesis to the embalmed. The writer no doubt thought of the word    *netet*, the Hebrew , the Greek *νίτρον*, used for natron. This substance being so essential in mummification, the connection of the ideas between "natron" and "embalment" was easy and very natural.








## NOTES DE PHILOGIE ÉGYPTIENNE,

PAR KARL PIEHL.

*(Suite.)*\*

18. L'équivalent hiéroglyphique du mot copte  $\text{ϣϥ}$  fils; 19. Passage d'une stèle, datant de la XII<sup>ème</sup> dynastie; 20. Double d'un texte de Hamamat; 21. L'idéogramme  $\text{ϣ}$ ; 22. Le mot  $\text{ϣϥ} \rightarrow \text{ϣ}$ ; 23. Deux prétendus termes d'architecture égyptienne.

18. Comme équivalant hiéroglyphique du mot copte  $\text{ϣϥ}$  "fils," on a cru pouvoir regarder le très-fréquent , qui notoirement signifie aussi "fils." Cette opinion a été admise entre autres par M. Stern (*Koptische Grammatik*, page 25), et nous avons dernièrement énoncé la même manière de voir.†

Dans le numéro qui vient de paraître de la *Zeitschrift*,‡ M. G. STEINDORFF, s'appuyant en partie sur l'autorité d'ERMAN, s'exprime de la manière que voici: "eine Zusammenstellung von  $\text{ϣϥ}$  mit  ist lautlich ganz unmöglich, da einem alten s, wenn nicht ganz besondere Gründe der Assimilation vorliegen . . . immer ein kopt.  $\text{ϣ}$ , niemals aber ein  $\text{ϣϥ}$  entspricht." Selon le dit auteur, le copte  $\text{ϣϥ}$  est une forme abrégée de l'ancien mot   , qui dans la langue-fille de l'égyptien serait reflété tant par la forme pleine  $\text{ϣϣϥϥ}$ ,  $\text{ϣϣϣϣ}$ , que par la forme sus-mentionnée  $\text{ϣϥ}$ .

L'opinion de M. STEINDORFF paraît très attrayante, car elle est basée sur des lois phonétiques incontestables, et dans les recherches étymologiques, il faut évidemment tenir compte, *autant que possible*, de ces lois. Mais il y a aussi d'autres lois qui dominent le développement des langues comme des mots, et ces lois ont également des prétentions légitimes à notre attention. Ce sont les soi-disantes lois






\* Continued from *Proceedings*, Vol. XII, p. 438.












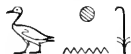




† PIEHL, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques*, 1<sup>ère</sup> série, II, page 49. L'analogie qu'en cet endroit nous avons citée, manque d'à-propos.

‡ *Zeitschrift*, XXVIII, page 51.





psychologiques ou (comme on les appelle également) analogiques. Suivant nous, c'est par le moyen des dernières que l'origine du mot copte  $\omega\epsilon$  trouve son explication.

Les textes des basses époques nous fournissent très souvent l'expression , dans le même rôle que celle de , "fils du soleil." Mais les deux expressions ne doivent pas se transcrire, l'une et l'autre, de la même façon,\* car tandis que la seconde s'en lit *se rā*, la première est nécessairement à rendre par *še rā*. C'est que le signe  partout ailleurs a la valeur de *š*, d'où il semble évident qu'il doit offrir la même lecture dans l'expression  des textes ptolémaïques et romains. À ce sujet, on peut du reste consulter l'expression suivante : † , "Je suis le fils aîné de son père."



Je ne prétends pas résoudre le problème de l'origine de l'expression , mais il se pourrait qu'elle dérive par une espèce de jeu de mots de l'appellation très-fréquente du dieu Schu :  "Schu, fils du Soleil." Maintenant si d'un côté, nous avons trouvé des traces certaines de la transition de la lettre *s* en celle de *š* du mot ancien  "fils," nous connaissons de l'autre côté un second mot égyptien qui ait pu engendrer le copte  $\omega\epsilon$ , fils. C'est le groupe hiéroglyphique  var.  [de Rougé, *Edfou*, XIV], qui dans les textes de Dendéra et d'Edfou a revêtu partout le sens de "fils." Je n'hésiterais certainement pas à lui reconnaître la paternité du sus-dit mot copte, à moins que la langue ancienne ne présentât de nombreux noms propres, introduits par , , comme , , , , , , ,  etc., tandis que  à ma connaissance ne se rencontre jamais dans un pareil emploi.


\* Comme on le fait en général. Voir BRUGSCH, *Hiér. Gram.*, page 120, No. 43.

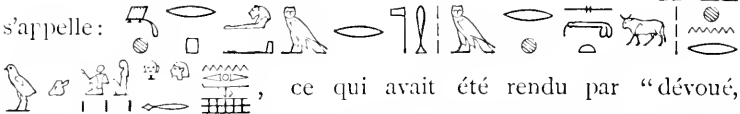
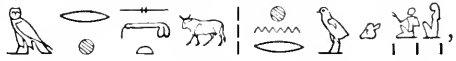
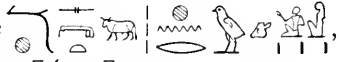
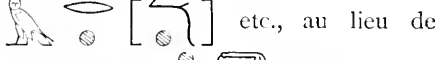





† PIEHL, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques*, seconde série, pl. 84, l. 6.

Selon moi, le mot copte  $\alpha\epsilon$ , "fils," doit donc se regarder comme un *compromis*—"Kompromiss-form"—de  et  anciens.

19. Le Musée de Boulaq possède une stèle de la XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie, dont la forme ressemble de très-près à celle des monuments d'Abydos de la même époque, bien que la dite stèle provienne en réalité d'*Akhmim*. Je n'entreprendrai pas d'en donner ici une reproduction, M. G. DARESSY s'étant dernièrement très bien acquitté de cette tâche.\*

Si j'excepte la seconde moitié de la ligne 10, où il faut lire   "Sa femme aimée *Er-tet-et*, enfantée par *Tet-t*" (M. DARESSY: "Sa femme qu'on a mis (!), faisant ses délices, N-tu-tu"), ainsi que deux noms propres, les inscriptions de notre stèle ont été publiées d'une manière fort satisfaisante.

C'est concernant une particularité du fond de cette stèle que cette fois j'ai cru opportun de prendre la parole. Le défunt  s'appelle:


 , ce qui avait été rendu par "dévoué, chef héréditaire, directeur des prophètes, *surveillant de la virginité des recluses*, gouverneur du nome panopolite." C'est la partie soulignée de la traduction qui me paraît susceptible d'une modification légère. L'expression  , dont notre document offre la variante  , renferme une anomalie:  etc., au lieu de  etc., car un groupe  , ayant le sens de "virginité" ou n'importe quelle autre signification, n'a pas jusqu'ici été relevé. En intercalant de la sorte la lettre  , nous obtenons le mot bien connu  , variante de  , qui nous est surtout connu par des textes de l'ancien et moyen empires. Un monument de Turin † contient parmi d'autres objets d'offrandes



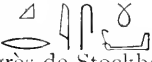
\* *Recueil de Vieweg*, XI, la page 84, d'un article intitulé "Remarques et Notes."




† PIERRE, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques*, 1<sup>ère</sup> série, pl. 82, l. 2.




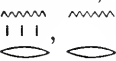



“des bœufs sacrifiés, égorgés,” ce qui nous donne deux des mots de l'expression qui nous occupe.

Les “directeurs de l'abatage des bœufs des recluses”—c'est ainsi qu'il faut rendre le titre en question—occupaient une fonction, jusqu'ici inconnue, du culte du sanctuaire d'Akhmin. Sans doute, celui qui avait la charge de surveiller le dépeçage du gros bétail des recluses du dieu , devait jouir d'une situation considérée, parmi les membres du dit sacerdoce.

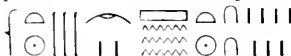

L'omission que nous venons de constater pour la lettre , ne peut guère être fortuite, puisqu'elle a été observée dans les *deux* cas où se voit, sur notre stèle, le titre sus-mentionné. L'explication, la plus simple de ce phénomène, c'est, je crois, d'y voir une preuve de l'existence de la *liquida sonans*, comme p. ex. dans les deux formes  et  d'un même mot. J'ai dernièrement, au Congrès de Stockholm, attiré l'attention des égyptologues sur d'autres cas de cette particularité que jusqu'ici on n'a pas reconnue en égyptien.\*

La manière inusitée dont s'écrit sur la stèle de Boulaq le titre si fréquent  mérite aussi d'être signalée. Partout ici nous en trouvons la forme , par omission de la lettre . C'est là évidemment une sorte d'assimilation.

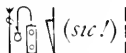

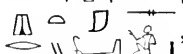
20. Le même numéro du *Recueil de Vietweg*, auquel nous avons fait allusion dans la note qui précède, renferme [page 91] sous le § XL, la reproduction d'une stèle égyptienne de très grand intérêt. Le document en question, qui se conserve au musée de Boulaq, est malheureusement fragmenté, car non seulement le registre supérieur, ayant contenu une scène d'adoration, en a été enlevé, mais encore toute la partie inférieure a disparu, d'où il est résulté que l'inscription qui anciennement ornait la dite stèle se trouve actuellement dans un état bien incomplet. Telle qu'elle est, notre stèle nous réserve néanmoins une petite surprise. C'est qu'elle présente le double d'un

\* J'ai cru de même rencontrer des traces de la *nasalis sonans* en égyptien. Selon moi, le  que nous rencontrons dans la combinaison de lettres , p. ex. , , , etc., doit être considéré comme une bonne preuve de l'existence de la dite particularité dans la langue en question.

texte bien connu dans la science—j'entends l'inscription, relative aux carrières de Hamamat, qui a été publiée par LEPSIUS,\* et dont M. BRUGSCH dernièrement a examiné le fond, au point de vue de la composition de l'hierarchie militaire en Égypte.†


La différence la plus notable qu'il y ait entre les deux copies, porte sur la date, qui dans le texte de Hamamat est celle-ci :  "l'an 3, deuxième mois de récolte, le 27," tandis que le monument de Boulaq est daté de  "l'an 3, troisième mois de récolte." Cette divergence s'explique sans doute par la circonstance que le monument de Boulaq, qui provient de l'ancienne ville de Coptos, a été exécuté après le retour en Égypte de l'expédition, envoyée aux carrières. Mais si cette observation est exacte, la date qui introduit le texte de Hamamat, n'indique pas l'époque où Pharaon a fait transmettre ses ordres, concernant le transport et les travaux qui devait immédiatement le précéder, mais plutôt celle à laquelle les dits travaux ont été terminés. En effet, le temps qui s'écoule du 27 Payni jusqu'à un quantième quelconque du mois d'Epiphi, est suffisamment long pour permettre d'aller des anciennes carrières de Hamamat à la ville de Coptos, où l'autre texte avait été déterré.

À moins d'admettre cette manière de voir, je ne conçois pas, comment on pourra considérer la date, donnée par le monument de Boulaq, comme parfaitement authentique.

Le principal fragment de la stèle de Coptos correspond aux lignes 1 à 4 et à la première moitié de la ligne 5 du texte de Hamamat. Des bouts de textes qui couvrent les tranches de la première, l'un correspond à un passage de la ligne 12, l'autre à un passage de la ligne 18 du document de Hamamat. Ce dernier fragment renferme une donnée qui n'existe pas dans l'autre double. Après  (sic!)  on lit , après quoi il y a une lacune. Cela semble montrer, que la différence

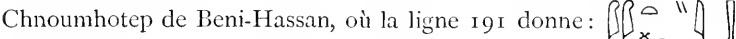
\* *Denkmäler*, III, 219 e.

† *Die Aegyptologie*, pages 228—232.

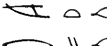







‡ C'est ainsi qu'il faut lire, et non pas  comme il y a dans le *Recueil*. La traduction qui accompagne la publi-




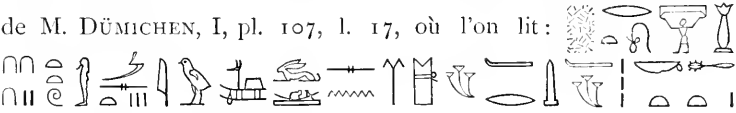


ment “ce qui est là,” ce qui par étymologie populaire a été remplacé par le sens de “ce qui danse,” sens qui paraît le mieux convenir à la forme *âbes*. Comparez, à ce sujet, l’inscription de Chnoumhotep de Beni-Hassan, où la ligne 191 donne: 


“ses deux tresses dansantes.”

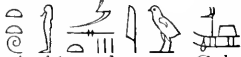
La transition d’un vieux *m* en un *b* plus jeune est très fréquente en égyptien. À cet égard, nous pouvons citer des exemples, comme , “yeux,” à côté de , *δελ*, *δελ* ; , “voiture,” à côté de *δερεσωωτ* ; , *δρεζι*, *asphaltus*, *bitumen* ;  à côté de , “poignard ;” , *εεποτ*, *εεποτ*, *ubera*, *mammae*, à côté de  ; etc.





23. Le Dictionnaire (BRUGSCH, *Wörterbuch*, V, page 419) confère au groupe , *bâ*, entre autres sens, celui de “Kapital auf einer Säule,” “chapiteau d’une colonne.”\*


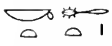
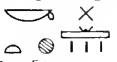
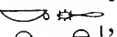
Il n’y a qu’un seul passage de texte qui ait été invoqué en faveur de cette acception que, pour ma part, j’hésite à reconnaître comme exacte. Le dit passage se retrouve aux *Tempel-Inschriften* de M. DÜMICHEN, I, pl. 107, l. 17, où l’on lit:  ce que je traduis: “avec (?) trente-deux colonnes. L’aspect en ressemble à une merveille. Une partie d’entre elles étaient (composées) de fleurs

\* Je ferai observer une fois pour toutes, que les critiques que je me permets quelquefois d’adresser au magnifique dictionnaire de BRUGSCH, aspirent à être un hommage, offert à ce travail qui, quoique déjà vieux—les parties I-IV ont paru en 1868, où tel égyptologue portait encore la jaquette—nous rend toujours d’immenses services, comme il reste toujours le seul vocabulaire vraiment scientifique de notre science. Que le Nestor de l’égyptologie veuille bien regarder, à ce point de vue, nos petites remarques.

hen et de fleurs menh, d'autres de branches de palmiers et de fleurs ouot'. Les surfaces bien ajustées, en portèrent l'image de l'habitant d'Edfou." M. BRUGSCH, ayant coupé les phrases d'une manière différente de la mienne, fait de  le début d'une proposition indépendante, qui a cette teneur-ci: "es ist das Kapital an ihnen in Gestalt von Blüten und Blumen, der Schaft ist in Gestalt der Palme und der Pflanzenstengel." Mais, comme je viens de le dire, cet arrangement me paraît moins acceptable.

D'ailleurs, l'expression  doit nécessairement former une seule phrase indépendante. Cela est prouvé d'un côté par l'existence d'exemples, comme le suivant:\*

 "L'aspect en ressemble à Chebi, qui protège le petit garçon" (Horus), de l'autre côté par l'emploi du mot  "merveille," dans des expressions, comme celle-ci: †   
, "C'est une merveille de le voir."


Selon moi la proposition, relative au détail des colonnes, débute par le signe , qui probablement se lit *un*, et doit se rapprocher du Copte *ouon*, "quelque chose, quelqu'un" dans des expressions comme *ouon ououon*, "jemand von uns," *ouon nteige*, "etwas der art," etc. (STERN, *Kopt. Grammatik*, § 265). Le groupe  *ket-chet* de notre passage de texte me semble être une variante du très fréquent  *ketechu*. ‡ Il est vrai, que le dit groupe, dans le Dictionnaire [BRUGSCH, VII, page 1284] est expliqué comme substantif, ayant les sens de "Schaft einer Säule"—"Torso einer Bildsäule" ("fût d'une colonne"—"torse d'une statue"), mais aucun de ces deux sens n'a été prouvé jusqu'ici, et les deux seuls exemples cités l'un en faveur de la première, l'autre de la seconde des dites deux acceptions de sens, admettent selon moi le sens de "d'autres." Cela doit être évident pour le passage de texte que nous venons d'examiner, et qui est l'une des deux preuves, alléguées en faveur de l'existence d'un substantif , cette fois ayant la

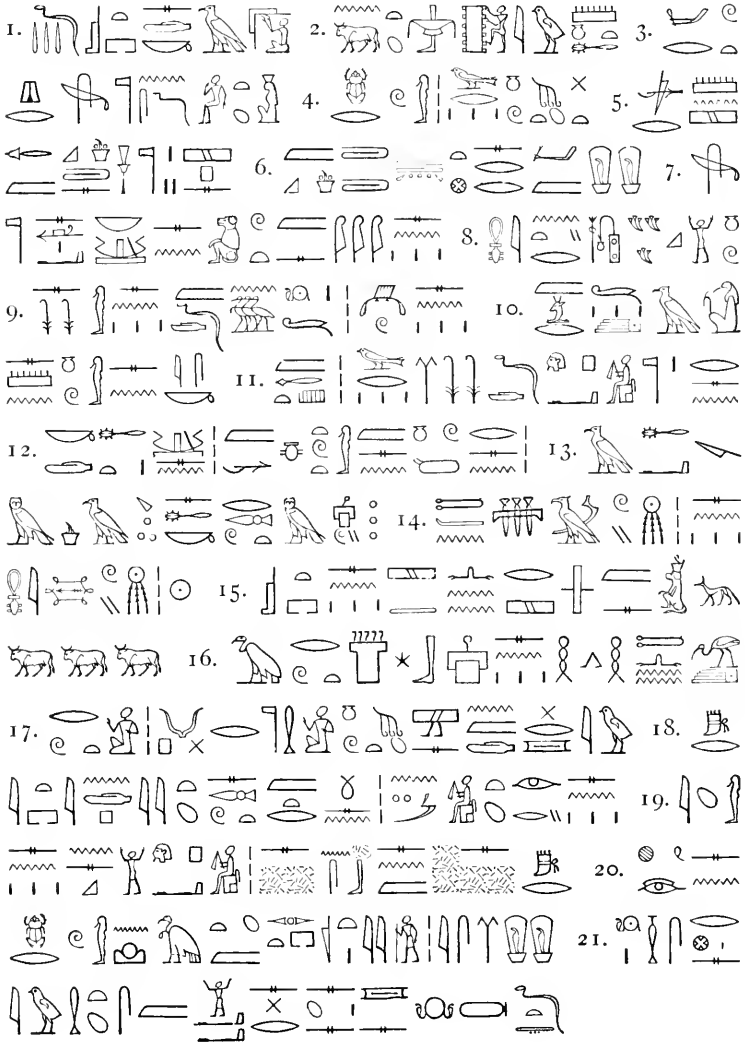
\* DE ROUGÉ, *Inscriptions et Notices d'Edfou*, pl. XXXIV, l. II.

† *Loc. laud.*, LXXVI.

‡ Je sais qu'il y a des savants qui pour ce mot recommandent la lecture *ket-sef*. Je n'ai jamais su pourquoi.



signification de "fût de colonne." L'examen du second exemple d'un substantif —dans ce cas ayant le sens de "torse de statue"—doit aussi se faire, si nous voulons être complets dans nos remarques. Je reproduis et traduis intégralement le petit texte où se voit le dit passage afin que le lecteur soit à même de juger impartialement. Voici le texte en question :




ce qui signifie : “ La crypte de la maîtresse\* a été construite avec soin, elle a été rendue splendide par l’image de la ‘jeune fille.’ Les formes puissantes de la ‘grande supérieure’ sont soigneusement gravées à son intérieur. Les simulacres augustes des dieux qui sont à *Kebou-Taou*, ont été tracés des deux côtés de l’image de la déesse. Chacun d’entre eux a été exécuté au burin, suivant ses propriétés, conformément à de vieilles prescriptions, la hauteur de leurs images étant conforme aux livres de Ra, leur largeur aux ordonnances de Sa.† Leurs corps‡ sont en grandes pierres précieuses, selon les prescriptions des anciens relativement à eux. D’autres parmi eux sont en bois précieux, et ont été figurés suivant les mêmes prescriptions.§ Ils sont incrustés de fer, ornés d’or. La splendeur en miroite comme les rayons du disque solaire. La place qu’ils occupent est secrète, ce qui s’y trouve n’est point connu par qui que ce soit (?) au dehors.

“ Quand on en cherche la porte, elle reste introuvable pour tout le monde, à l’exception des prophètes de ‘la Supérieure’ qui marchent, purifiés, vers le domicile de *Tepit* (= Hathor). Ils sont parés de leurs vêtements (lesquels doivent être mis) lorsqu’on va voir ‘la majestueuse.’ Ils font leurs cérémonies, en exaltant les ancêtres . . . . . après avoir regardé la figure de ‘l’habitante de l’horizon’ dans son sanctuaire, entourée de ses compagnons, celle, dont le Soleil visite la possession, sa Sainteté à elle étant en joie. Elle va élargir la puissance de son fils aimé, le Pharaon X, éternellement.” ||

Le texte qui fait pendant à celui que nous venons de traduire et qui a été conçu dans des termes très ressemblants à ceux employés dans le dit document—ce texte ne parle non plus de “tronc de statue,” ce que l’on devait supposer, si cette notion avait trouvé de la place dans l’autre. Pour ne pas être reprimandé de prendre les choses à

\* Surnom de la déesse Hathor, qui dans la suite du texte s’appelle aussi “jeune fille,” “la grande supérieure,” etc.

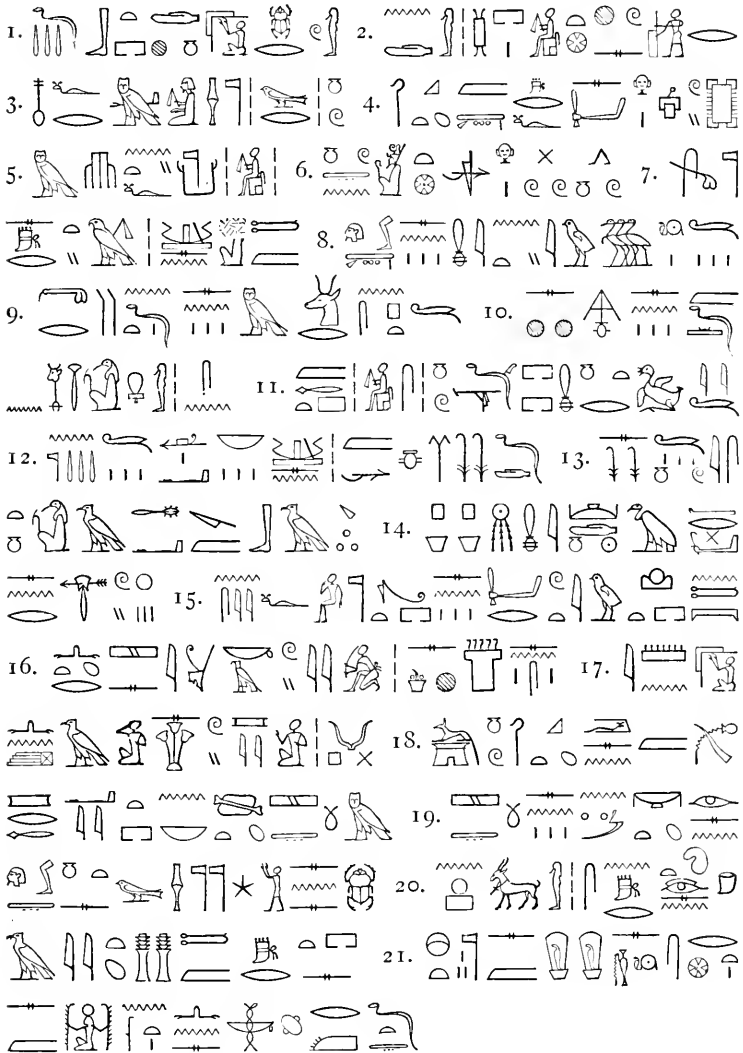
† C’est là une forme de Thoth ou plutôt une divinité apparentée à ce dieu.

‡  signifie un monument, fait à l’image de quelqu’un, c’est-à-dire cette dernière comme objet palpable.

§ Littéralement : “ils ont été modelés à l’égal d’eux,” c’est-à-dire de ceux, exécutés en pierres.


|| DÜMICHEN, *Resultate einer archäologisch-photographischen Expedition*, Pl. XI, XLI, Cfr. de même, MARIETTE, *Dendérah*, III, 30. Les deux copies se complètent mutuellement, quoique celle de Dümichen soit la meilleure des deux.

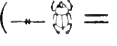
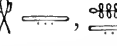

la légère, je crois aussi devoir reproduire et traduire ce second texte. En voici la forme :



ce que je traduis ainsi : “ L’endroit, secret de nature, des simulacres de ‘ la maison auguste ’ a été bien construit par Ptah. Les images puissantes de ‘ la princesse du pays entier ’ en ont été sculptées sur

les parois de l'intérieur. Les *ka* des dieux augustes du 'pays d'Atmou' ont été tracés autour de son image à elle. Les divinités en forme d'oiseaux (?) qui y sont, ont été représentées, quant à leur extérieur, suivant les livres du Soleil. La mesure de leurs corps est conforme aux ordonnances de 'l'arrangeur,' leur largeur aux prescriptions de Thoth. Les enveloppes en sont en pierres précieuses d'Aphroditopolis, suivant le livre des paroles sacrées. Chacun d'entre eux (= les *ka*) est fait en bois de prix, selon les paroles du livre de Thoth, ils sont incrustés de fer et brillent comme le disque solaire. Ils sont comparables aux splendeurs du jeune garçon divin. Le sanctuaire en est plus auguste que l'horizon du ciel. Les étrangers ne le connaissent point. La porte de la crypte est cachée, elle est inconnue pour le monde en général, à l'exception des stolistes de 'la princesse,' qui entrent, purs, dans la maison de la maîtresse du récompense, étant revêtus de leurs costumes (lesquels doivent être mis) lorsqu'on va voir la 'maîtresse.' Ils font les cérémonies d'exalter les simulacres divins, ils adorent celle qui en fait subsister \* les formes lorsqu'ils ont vu Taït qui est solidement établie dans sa demeure, entourée de son cycle de dieux. Le Soleil se rend à sa possession à elle, pour des milliers d'années, sans anéantissement à tout jamais."†

Comme on peut le voir, nulle part, dans les deux textes, il n'est question de "torses de statues," dont l'agencement aurait été différent de celui des têtes, des bras ou d'autres parties des statues divines. Si nous prenons la peine d'examiner les courtes légendes‡ qui accompagnent les représentations de simulacres divins, attenantes aux textes que nous venons de traduire, nous verrons que ces légendes, qui décrivent chacun des dits simulacres, n'en mentionnent nulle part le *torse* par opposition à d'autres parties du corps. Ainsi, par exemple, la déesse  est décrite comme étant "en bois, les yeux remplis" (d'une matière non-nommée) "une coudée de long." Le même formulaire a été mis à contribution par rapport à l'image d'Isis-Schenit, d'Horus, et de beaucoup d'autres. Au sujet de Uotit, il est dit que son l'image est "en bois, les yeux en or, une coudée de long," et dans les mêmes termes nous voyons décrire celles d'Abi, de Nout-Schenit, etc. Quelquefois, on parle aussi de la figure ou du

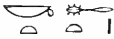
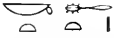




\* Ou peut-être: "ils adorent, se prosternant ( = , ) devant leurs formes."


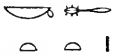
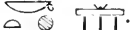
† DUMICHEN, *Resultate*, XXXVI, XXXVII; et MARIETTE, *Dendérah*, III, 30.

‡ Pour ces légendes et les représentations qu'elles accompagnent, consulter DUMICHEN, *loc. laud.*, Pl. XXXIV-XXXVI et XXXVIII-XL.

visage, comme, par exemple, lorsqu'il est dit que l'image d'Ani est "en bois, le visage et les yeux recouverts d'or, une coudée de long."

Dans ces circonstances, on n'a aucune raison de s'attendre à trouver des expressions, désignant "torse de statue," dans les textes relatifs aux cryptes, ou au moins à *la crypte* dont nous venons d'examiner certaines parties.

Il faut donc pour le moment abandonner les sens "fût de colonne," "torse de statue" qui ont été attribués au mot . Cela me paraît d'autant plus nécessaire, que, jusqu'ici, ce groupe n'a pas été rencontré, ayant un déterminatif qui rappellât une telle signification. Le rapprochement de  avec  est d'ailleurs facilité par la chute du *t* final du groupe . Déjà, à l'époque de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie, cette chute est devenue une réalité, comme le prouve la forme  que nous offre la stèle d'Amada (LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, III, 65) pour le mot qui communément s'écrit .

Disons donc que les deux prétendus termes d'architecture  et  — l'un aussi en partie terme de sculpture — se réduisent à être, l'un le substantif fréquent *ba*, "merveille," l'autre une forme du pronom indéfini .



DISCOVERY OF BABYLONIAN ANTIQUITIES IN  
THE CITY OF LONDON.

By B. T. A. EVETTS.

IF it was a surprise for archæologists when tablets inscribed with the cuneiform character were recently discovered on the banks of the Nile, or when an Assyrian inscription of Sargon II was found this year among the foundations of a convent at Jerusalem,\* how much astonishment should be caused by the news that Babylonian monuments have been disinterred in the City of London itself! Such, however, is actually the case. During the destruction, in the course of the past year, of some old houses in Knightrider Street, dating from the seventeenth century, the workmen came upon some fragments of black stone bearing marks that looked to them like ancient inscriptions. These stones have now been acquired by the British Museum, and prove to be Chaldæan monuments belonging to the earliest period of which we have any knowledge, namely, the pre-Semitic age of Ur-Nina and Gudea, when the Accadian language was alone in use, and the characters employed in writing were of the most archaic form.

The first question which naturally arises is: How did these fragments arrive at the place where they were found? The answer to this, however, can only be conjecture, and fortunately the value of these undoubtedly genuine relics of antiquity does not in any way depend upon it. It would seem that the stones must have been in Knightrider Street at the time of the great fire of London, and that they must have been buried among the foundations when the street was afterwards restored. Some Dutch tiles which were likewise discovered, may point to the occupation of the house by a Dutch merchant, who, perhaps, owned ships which traded with the East Indies and the ports of the Persian Gulf. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the Dutch East India Company had founded a factory at Bassorah, † the port of Bagdad, where the English company also

\* *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement* for October, 1890, p. 265.

† Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce, ad ann.* 1605.

carried on a considerable trade towards the middle of the same century; the Portuguese, who had established commercial relations with this city as early as 1520,\* having been to a great extent driven out of the field. Either by a Dutch or an English ship then, it is conceivable that the mysteriously inscribed stones may have reached the Port of London, and have been landed at Paul's Wharf at some time before 1666. They may have been shipped at Bassorah as ballast, or as objects of curiosity. Fragments of Chaldaean monuments were and are occasionally found above as well as below ground in Southern Babylonia, on the banks of the rivers and ancient canals. In 1782 M. Michaux,† travelling on the Tigris in pursuit of his botanical studies, and resting a day's journey below Bagdad, lit upon the famous monument of black marble which now bears his name at the Louvre, and was thought till the present moment to be the first Babylonian boundary-stone that had reached Europe. The Abbé Beauchamp,‡ Vicar-General of Babylon, writing in 1790, says that black stones with inscriptions upon them were frequently met with near the Euphrates, especially at Broussa. M. de Sarzec,§ on his first sight of Tello and the neighbouring mounds, was struck by the number of sculptured fragments which strewed the surface of the ground. Stones similar to those lately discovered in the City, might therefore naturally offer themselves for use as ballast. On the other hand, on arrival in port they might be taken into the merchant's house as objects of curiosity.

It is of little use, however, to form conjectures of this sort, or to wonder why the inscriptions did not come under the notice of some antiquary, perhaps a member of the recently founded Royal Society, which in the very year of the Fire|| showed so great an interest in the cuneiform characters at Persepolis. In 1666, indeed, there were probably no Babylonian antiquities in Europe, except the bricks which Pietro della Valle,¶ as he tells us in his entertaining letters from Bagdad of December, 1616, picked up during his visit to the

\* Barros, *Asia*, Decada IV, Bk. II, c. 13.

† *Magasin Encyclopédique*, 1800. Tom. III, p. 86.

‡ *Journal des Savants*, December, 1790. *European Magazine*, May, 1792, p. 341.

§ *Découvertes en Chaldée*, p. 4.

|| *Philosophical Transactions*, Vol. II, p. 420, March, 1666. *Ct.* Vol. XVII, p. 775, June, 1693.

¶ *Viaggi*, etc., 1661, Pt. III, p. 615. First published, 1650.

Mound of Babil, and one of which, on his return to Rome, he presented to the learned Athanasius Kircher, then at the height of his celebrity. Kircher accepted the brick as a precious memorial of the Tower of Babel, and placed it in his Museum as one of its greatest treasures.\* No mention, however, is made of the inscriptions upon the bricks. Nevertheless, the ruins of the palace of Persepolis, with the cuneiform writing upon them, had already been visited by many travellers in Persia during the first half of the century, beginning with the Portuguese missionaries† at the court of Shah Abbas in 1602, and including Della Valle himself, who in a letter from Shiraz publishes some specimens of the unknown characters. In 1620 the Spanish ambassador Silva y Figueroa, wrote a Latin letter from Ispahan to his friend the Marquis de Bedmar at Antwerp, in the margin of which he gave a figure of the element of which the Persian writing is composed, so ►. Later in the seventeenth and throughout the eighteenth century, antiquaries were on the alert to receive any information they could obtain about these strange nail-shaped or pyramidal characters, and, in the absence of any real clue to their interpretation, formed most remarkable theories concerning them. On one side Dr. Hyde,‡ Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford, concluded that the inscriptions at Persepolis were not inscriptions at all, but simply a form devised by the architect for decorating the walls of the palace, a view which Witte,§ Professor at Rostock eighty years later, independently developed so far that he was able to identify some of the flowers which the ornamental incisions were intended to represent, and suggested that the idea of wreaths of carnations and convolvuli had been in the architect's mind. Others thought that the Persepolitan character was a special form of writing for magical or talismanic purposes, while Raspe|| unhesitatingly recognized it as Chinese. In order to obtain proofs for his theory, Raspe paid a visit to the British Museum, and consulted Dr. Morton, the Librarian, who allowed him to look at a Chinese Dictionary in his possession; a brief examination of which enabled the ingenious investigator to form the conclusion that the Chinese character had formerly been in use on this side of the Ganges, but had afterwards been given up

\* A. Kircher, *Turris Babel*, 1679, p. 95.

† A. de Gouvea, *Relaçam*, etc., 1611, fol. 30 ff.

‡ *Hist. religionis vet. Persarum*, etc., 1700, p. 516, ff.

§ *Ueber die Bildung der Schriftsprache*, etc., 1779, p. 83, ff.

|| *A Descriptive Catalogue of Gems*, etc., 1791, p. 64.



in favour of the Pahlavi. Such were some of the strange views held with regard to the nature of the cuneiform script before Grotefend found the real clue to its decipherment. If, therefore, our fragments had not been buried beneath the soil of the City of London for the last two centuries, they might have furnished material for similar fancies. At the present day, however, it is scarcely probable that anyone will recognize these old Accadian inscriptions as Chinese!

The objects thus unexpectedly disinterred are three in number. The material of all is the same black diorite, so largely employed by the ancient Chaldæans, and all may have come from the southern district of Babylonia. They belong, however, to three different periods.

No. 1 is the most modern of the three. It is part of a boundary-stone, so much defaced that no trace of an inscription can now be detected upon it, but clearly showing the fantastic figures of animals and the disks of the planets carved in low relief upon the surface. These animals are met with on other boundary-stones in the British Museum and other collections, and have been recognized as representing the signs of the zodiac, the names and figures of which were probably invented by the Chaldæan astronomers. They were, perhaps, placed on these landmarks to show the astrological influences under which the land was divided. The stones of similar form and design to our fragment are, for the most part, of the 13th or 12th century before Christ, and to this period the monument must be referred. The *Caillou Michaux* at the Louvre, alluded to above, is of the time of *Marduk-nadin-ahî*, who reigned towards B.C. 1100. The British Museum possesses boundary-stones, resembling the present example, respectively of the times of *Ramman-šum-ušur* (about B.C. 1253), *Meli-sihû* (about B.C. 1230), *Nebuchadnezzar I* (about 1120), and *Marduk-nadin-ahi* (about 1100). The stones bear inscriptions of some length concerning the donation or purchase of the land which they served to mark, and it must be supposed that the origin and purpose of the mutilated monument under discussion were formerly indicated in the same way.

No. 2 is a block roughly hewn into the form of a cube of 11 inches. Its upper surface, which is slightly convex, is smoothed and polished, and is hollowed out in the centre to form a round cup shaped socket 3 inches in diameter, in which the metal pivot of a door once moved. By the side of the socket, an inscription in archaic cuneiform characters is engraved, which informs us that the stone was part of

a building erected by Gudea, the famous ruler of Sirpurla or, as the Assyrians called it, Lagash. The inscription is enclosed in a frame, 9 inches long and  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches broad, and each line of writing is divided from the next by a horizontal incision in the stone. The word "horizontal" must be understood here to refer to the manner in which the later Assyrians would have read the writing, for in the time of Gudea the lines were written perpendicularly from the top downwards, as Hager already inferred in 1801, from the position of the characters in relation to the human figures engraved on archaic seals.

Door-sockets such as the present one have been found in considerable numbers at Tello on the site of Sirpurla, and among other ruins of Chaldaea. The doors of these early palaces generally consisted of one leaf only, and therefore only required one socket. In the north-eastern or principal façade at Tello, however, M. de Sarzec found a doorway with two stone sockets still in position, one on each side of the opening, showing that the state-entrance was provided with a two-leaved door. The pivot turning in a stone socket which rested on the ground, was the most primitive form of hinge, and a substitute for it was introduced, through the development of civilization in Assyria, as early as the 9th century before Christ, in the bronze ring fastened to the doorpost, such as that which Sir H. Layard\* found at Nimroud, and which is now in the British Museum (Nimroud Gallery, No. 276). Examples of diorite or alabaster door-sockets at the British Museum bear the names of Entena and Ur-Bau, to whom dates must probably be assigned somewhere before B.C. 4000, of Gamil-Sin, son of Gudea, and lastly of Amil-Ninip.

The Louvre also contains several examples of door-sockets brought by M. de Sarzec from Tello, and bearing the names of Entena, Ur-Bau, and, more frequently, of Gudea. Our newly discovered door-socket of Gudea is the first bearing his name that has reached the British Museum, which, however, contains many inscriptions of the time of that prince on cones, tablets, and bronze statuettes, which served in various ways as charms, or talismans to protect the palaces. The metal pivots which were attached to the door itself have not been so frequently found as the stone sockets in which they turned. The British Museum possesses one (Assyrian Room, No. 12062) made of bronze in the form of a cup, with three holes at the top, by which it was fixed to the wooden door. M. de Sarzec† found one at Tello still remaining in its original position in the socket.

\* *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 163.

† *Découv.*, p. 59.

On the upper surface of these blocks there is always an inscription, the purpose of which was partly religious and partly magical. The lines are often written in a circle round the socket, but sometimes, as in the present instance, they are engraved by the side. Three door-sockets of Gudea have been published,\* but the inscription is different in each case from ours. On a brick † from Tello, however, there is an inscription identical with ours, except that it concludes with line 16, and wants the remaining three lines, so that we can hardly be wrong in inferring that our door-socket also came from Tello.

The date of Gudea depends upon the answer given to the two questions, whether he lived before Sargon and Naram-Sin, and whether we can accept the date of the latter, namely about B.C. 3750, furnished to us by the testimony of Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon (B.C. 555-537). To answer the second of these questions with certainty, we ought to have access to the complete series of chronological tables stored at Babylon from which Nabonidus drew his information. For the present we must measure our confidence in the native Chaldæan records, so far as they are still unknown to us, by the little that we already know about them. The Chaldæan astronomers were probably the first of mankind who kept a careful record of the years of their kings, for the purpose of dating their observations of the heavenly bodies. Such dated astronomical records, covering a period of many thousands of years, were carefully preserved at Babylon according to the testimony of Berossus, Epigenes, and Diodorus, who seem to speak independently of one another. We cannot, perhaps, believe, any more than Cicero, Diodorus, or Africanus, that 470,000 years before Antiochus Soter (B.C. 280) represent the true length of the period, unless indeed with M. Oppert we suppose that solar years are not intended. But it is a different thing to admit that there may have been continuous observations of the stars from about B.C. 4000, to which M. Oppert's system of reduction would bring the high figure stated by Berossus and Diodorus. Indeed we actually possess astrological texts at the British Museum referring to Sargon and his son Naram-Sin, and connecting their actions with certain phases of the moon. Meanwhile our confidence in the diligence and accuracy of the Babylonian astronomers has been much increased by the discoveries lately made by Fathers Epping and Strassmaier, who with the very records on baked tiles of

\* De Sarzec, *Découv.*, pl. 27.

† *Ibid.*, pl. 37, No. 3.

which Pliny \* speaks before them, have proved that the Chaldæan priests had registered observations of the movements of the moon and planets which are exact, sometimes to the fraction of a minute. †

An argument for the priority of Gudea to Sargon, in answer to our first question with regard to his date, may be drawn from the different forms of characters used in the inscriptions. The kings and *patesis* of Sirpurla, whose monuments have principally been found at Tello, although scattered memorials have been discovered in other parts, seem to have formed a continuous series or dynasty, at the head of which Ur-Nina, or perhaps his father Haldu, appears to stand. Among the successors of Ur-Nina were his son A-kur-gal, and, no doubt with long intervals between some of them, Ba (?)-du, Uru-kagina, Entena, En-anna-du, and Nam-uru (?) -ni, who all seem to be older than Gudea. ‡ Now the inscriptions written in the names of the two first of these princes are composed of a character far more primitive than that used in the few contemporary monuments of Sargon and Naram-Sin that have come down to us, although these are closely approached by the character of Gudea. We may infer, therefore, that this continuous series of prince-pontiffs reigned at Sirpurla from times considerably anterior to Sargon, and, as they cannot have continued to rule in the time of this conqueror of Babylonia, that the dynasty to which Gudea and his son Gamil-Sin belonged had ended before B.C. 3800.

In our fragment No. 3 we have an actual instance of the primitive character in use at Sirpurla at the earliest period, to which allusion has just been made. This fragment, roughly 1 ft. 2 in. × 1 ft. 2 in. × 1 ft., was part of a basin of black diorite, square on the outside, but hollowed out into a circular form within. The interior diameter of the basin must have been about 22 inches, the circumference 5 feet 8 inches, and the depth 11 inches. The outer dimensions would be about 2½ feet for the length and breadth, and 1½ feet for the height. There were inscriptions on two sides at least, for of these our fragment retains considerable traces. The characters are those named linear, in distinction from the strictly cuneiform character, and since the outlines took the shape of wedges in consequence of the employment of clay as writing material, a

\* H. N., vii, 57.

† Epping and Strassmaier, *Astronomisches aus Babylon*; also, *Zeitschr. für Assyriologie*, V, 341 ff., etc.

‡ Cf. Hommel in *Zeitschr. für Keilschr.*, II, p. 179, ff.

shape which was adopted for inscriptions on stone also as soon as it was introduced, it must be inferred that as long as the linear form was in use the custom of writing on clay had not yet been invented. Thus the fragment must at once be set down as older than the inscriptions of Gudea. There are other characteristics of the writing which mark it as belonging to a remote period of palæography. The character for "king," for instance, is divided into two elements, one meaning "great" and the other signifying "man;" while in the time of the later *patesis* these two characters are united. Some of the characters too seem to retain the form of the pictures or hieroglyphs out of which they were no doubt developed, but which they afterwards lost through the exigencies of the material employed for writing. No name of a known king or *patesi* occurs in the inscription No. 3, but the name of the temple of E-anna-du is already familiar to us through the famous Vulture-Stela at the Louvre, an inscribed and sculptured monument discovered in three fragments by M. de Sarzec at Tello, and belonging to the time of A-kur-gal, son of Ur-Nina. The name of Vulture-Stela is derived from the battle scene carved in low relief upon it, in which vultures are represented, carrying human limbs in their beaks and claws. The form of character employed in this stela is identical with that on our monument, and since M. Oppert\* does not hesitate to assign to the former a date of 4500 or 5000 years before Christ, we may be allowed to refer the latter to a period not far from this remote date.

The religious character of the inscriptions obliges us to suppose that the basin of which our fragment formed part was dedicated to some religious purpose. It perhaps contained lustral water for ceremonial purifications, like the highly decorated trough, 8 ft. 2 in. long and 1 ft. 7 in. broad, which stood at the principal entrance of the palace at Tello, and which Mr. Heuzey † supposes to have been placed there for such purposes. The vases found at the entrances of the Cypriote temples, the most celebrated instance of which is the great circular basin of limestone at the Louvre, called the "Vase of Amathus," were of a similar character. On each side of the door of the temple of the god Haldia in Armenia stood two circular basins supported on tripods, as we see them represented in a bas-relief of the 8th century before Christ from Khorsabad.‡ The

\* *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, 1883.

† *Un palais chaldéen*, pp. 59-117.

‡ Botta, pl. 141.

molten sea in the Temple of Solomon, though much larger, was designed for a similar purpose.

A small basin of diorite, with a religious inscription in the name of Ur-Bau, king of Ur, who dedicates it to his deity, was already at the British Museum. Another basin bearing an inscription of Gudea, at the side of which was the head of a lion carved in relief, was found among the ruins of the palace at Tello.

With regard to the translations of the inscriptions upon these primitive monuments, it is understood, of course, that in many passages the interpretation is provisional. Our knowledge of the old Accadian is not yet sufficient to allow of certainty. The city of Nina mentioned in II, 9, and in other inscriptions from Tello, is perhaps not Nineveh.\* Lines II, 14 and 15 may refer to one of the colossal lion-statues found at Tello. The inscription III, *a*, is so small a fragment that it has not been transcribed here, but it has been published on the accompanying Plate, in order that no part of the inscriptions may be omitted. The expression, "his ears have been filled with knowledge," is familiar to us from some of the Gudea inscriptions, and even from phrases on the cylinders of Sennacherib and other Assyrian kings.






















TRANSCRIPTION INTO ASSYRIAN CHARACTERS OF THE PERIOD OF ASURBANIPAL.






































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































- (Compartment 1) (2) (3)   
 (4) (5)   
 (6) (7) (8)   
 (9)   
 (10)   
 (11) (12)   
 (13) (14) (?) (?)   
 (15) . . . .








































\* *Zeitschr. für Assyriol.*, III, 94.























No. III, *b*.

Col. I (Compartment 1) ...  (2) ... (?)  (3) ...     
 (4) ... (?) (5) ...     (6) ...    
 (7) ...   ...  (8) ...    (9) ...    
 (10) ...  .

Col. II (Compartment 1)     (2)     
 (3)     (4)     (5)     
  (6)    (?) (7)    (?)  
   (8)     (9)    

Col. III (Compartment 1)    (2)       
 (3)    (4)   (5)      
 (6) (?)     (7)     (?)    
 (8)    (9)    .

Col. IV (Compartment 1)    [  ] (?)      
 (2)    (3) (?)    (4)      
  (5)     (6)      
 (7) (?)    (8)     (9)    

Col. V (Compartment 1)  . . . . (2)    [  ]  
 (3) (?)    (4)    (5)      
 (6)   (7)     .

## TRANSLITERATION.

## No. 2.

(1) Dingir Nina (2) nin en (3) nin in dub-ba (3) nin-a-ni  
 (4) Gu-de-a (6) pa-te-si (7) Šir-pur-la-ki-ge (8) nin ul bur pamu-  
 na-ud-du (9) Nina-ki uru ki-aga-ni (10) E-ud-ma Nina-ki tak  
 (11) kur E-ta-gil-la-ni (12) mu-na-ru (13) ki-bi mu-na-gi (14)  
 ur ?-mah ?-ni (15) . . . mu-na-ru

## No. 3 b.

- Col. I. (1) . . . Nina (2) . . . (?) ši (3) . . . na-du (4) . . . (?)  
 (5) . . . ut-tar-ra-du (6) . . . Nina (7) . . . nin . . . bi  
 (8) . . . bi-si (9) . . . ra (10) . . . Nina
- Col. II. (1) nin kur el (2) dingir Nina (3) nin-en-ra  
 (4) E-an-na-du (5) mu-na-dim-ma (6) lu na ab ku (?)  
 (7) nam ur? bi te da (8) mu taḥ ra bi (9) tak tak ba
- Col. III. (1) na-dib-bi (2) gal lu nir-bi-ki (3) na-dib-bi  
 (4) dingir Nina (5) nin kur el (6) ? ma dingir Nina  
 (7) ki-du-ba-bi-ku ? si (8) pa-te-si (9) Šir-pur-la-ki
- Col. IV. (1) nam ur ? bi te da (2) gis ku pi ni (3) ? zu zu a  
 (4) mu taḥ ra bi (5) ab bi gir a (6) gis ku pi ni  
 (7) ? zu zu a (8) ne mu si se (9) gis ku pi ni
- Col. V. (1) mu . . . . . (2) gis ku pi ni (3) ? zu zu a  
 (4) si dingir Nina ku (5) dingir ra ni (6) na-dib-bi  
 (7) a ni na dib bi

## TRANSLATION.

## No. 2.

*To the God Nina, the supreme Lord, the Lord of the written tablet, his Lord, Gudea, prince-pontiff of the city of Sirpurta, . . . after proceeding to the city of Nina, his beloved city, has built and established the Temple of E-ud-ma-Nina, and has erected in it the figure of a lion.*

## No. 3 b.

Col. II. . . . *to the Lord of the high land, the God Nina, the supreme Lord, he has built the Temple of E-annadu; he has appointed the chief of the priesthood (?) His sins . . .*

Col. III. . . . *he has captured. The king of the city of Nirbi he has captured. To the God Nina, the Lord of the glorious land Ku . . . si, prince-pontiff of Sirpurta [has dedicated] . . . ma-Nina, his dwelling-place.*

Col. IV. . . . *his ears have been filled with knowledge; his ears have been supplied with knowledge . . . his ears . . .*

Col. V. *His ears have been filled with knowledge; He has received the favour of the God Nina, his God. These things he has received.*

N.B.—The plate illustrating these inscriptions will be issued with the December number of the *Proceedings*.












## NOTES ON EGYPTIAN TEXTS OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM.—III.























BY F. L. GRIFFITH.





For several months past I have had the Prisse Papyrus in view, and as the English reader probably knows little beyond the name of the document, I propose to “translate” the first pages in order to show the style and setting of the two treatises which it contained. Unfortunately translation in the strict sense of the word would be impossible under any circumstances in the present stage of our knowledge, and though three or four years’ study with an eye to it would undoubtedly give more satisfactory results, it is perhaps better to put down the few hints that have already been gathered without waiting for so long a period to elapse.

In 1887 Mons. Ph. Virey published a useful little book on the subject called “Études sur le Papyrus Prisse,” in which is given a conspectus of the different renderings proposed, together with a new translation by the author. Virey’s transcription of the hieratic is reproduced, with a few alterations, in Mr. Budge’s Reading Book.

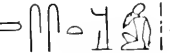


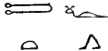
In my notes on the Khnumhotep inscription I found it necessary to draw attention to the abundance of clerical errors; but in hieratic documents (at least such as are not original compositions but copies of originals, likewise written in hieratic) mistakes are much more common than in monumental inscriptions. In the case of the Prisse Papyrus the original was evidently more cursive than the copy; the latter is written in large and thick characters, in a style which would have enabled a conscientious scribe to differentiate his signs satisfactorily; instead of this we find terrible confusion. In cursive hieratic we can let pass many slight *substitutions* of signs, and we do not look for regular *distinctions* between , etc., but when a fine style is adopted and distinctions are made we should expect them to be correctly applied. Unfortunately there are examples in the Prisse Papyrus that could be used to prove not merely that the scribe was ill-versed in hieratic, but that he was also ignorant of his mother-tongue! How could any one with a know-

ledge of Egyptian of the XIIth Dynasty make  into  (vi, 2)? although I admit that  or  in cursive hieratic resembles ; how could he similarly write  for  for  *lib* for *utb*, xv, 3? Yet such mistakes are found in every literary text.

From these examples we must conclude that the *ἄπαξ λεγόμενα* of the papyrus are not to be accepted without question, and that we must not put too much faith in the distinctions between , , , , though they are well worth noting.  generally shows no plain centre;  in three or four cases has the distinctive dash at the back,\* but generally is indistinguishable from , which is more prolonged than , and has a very clear plain centre; the upper stroke in  starts from a point *within* the lower stroke and not from its end. *The misreading or actual retention of vague cursive forms*, is the real cause of confusion. Thus with *hms*, 'sit,' we frequently have the determinative  instead of .  and  seem to be written as if , ; occasionally  is retained as the plural sign; sometimes  and  are confused; final  probably stands sometimes for ; the short straight dash of cursive  is also found, and in some cases through carelessness has become practically the hieratic .

We can now proceed to the text. In the hieroglyphics I have not distinguished  and  from ; but in the case of  it seemed advisable to give the special sign, not only because the hieroglyphic texts regularly do so, but also to guard against further mistakes; the word *χᾶν* has already found its way into a dictionary, together with a number of other impossibilities from the Prisse.

I. The first work in the papyrus is usually known as the Proverbs of Kaqemni. The absence of any introduction shows at once that a page or more has been torn off at the commencement. Such an event is only too common, and it is strange that any one should have doubted the truth of this remark of Chabas.

\* In , xvii, 6, owing to the existence of the word  ; and in , vii, 8, etc.





I. 11.



I. 12.



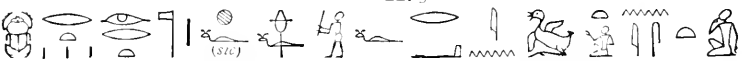
II. 1.



II. 2.



II. 3.



II. 4.



II. 5.

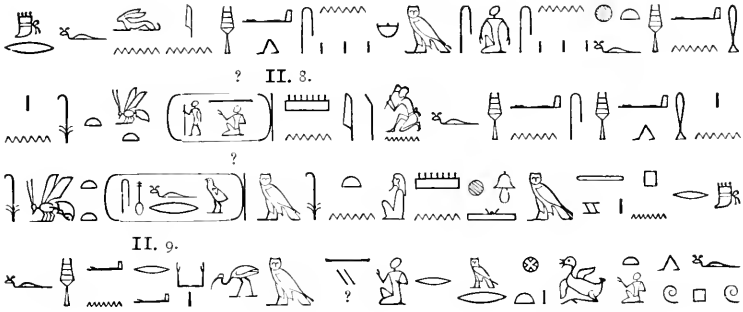


II. 6.



II. 7.





*ut'a sn̄tu: ḥs mt: un ḫn n ḫru: usḫ āst nt hr m m̄tu? sp̄t̄ tsu  
r th-mā0n: àn ḥn, àn às ḥr sp-f.*

*ār ḥms-k ḥnā āsat, ms̄t ta mrr?-k, at pu ktt: t̄aar āb, ḫu pu  
afā: àu t̄bāt (?)\* àm: àu àkn n mu āḫm-f ābt, àu m̄ht-r m šuu  
s-mn-f āb: àu nfr̄t ātn bu nfr, àu nh n ktt ātn ur: ḫs pu ḥnt n ḫt-f,  
s-ua tr s-mḫ-n-f us0n ḫt m pr-sn.*

*ār ḥms-k ḥnā afā, àm-k, aḫf-f, sua.*

*ar surā-k ḥnā tḫu, šp-k àu āb-f ḥtpu.*

*m atu r āuf r ḫs skn: šp tu-f nk: m uàn-st: ka s-sft pu.*



*ār šuu m srḫnf?, àn sḫm-n mtt nbt àm-f, ḫ0r n? ḥr r t̄fa-āb  
āmam nf: kahs r nt-f mru-f pu: bu nb, "āmā pr rn-k, àu ḫr-k m r-k,  
nāst-k."*


*m āa āb-k m ḥr āb t'amu-k: sau ātn-k, àn rḫ-n-tu ḫprt, ārt n0r  
ḫsf-f.*

*r̄tu àn t'at nāst nāif n ḫrtu, mḫt ārq-f sḫr r0: bāt-sn m it ḥr-f,  
t'r-n t't-n-f usn, "ār ntt nbt m ān ḥr pa šftu, st'm st mà t't-à st: m sn  
ḥau ḥr šaat." un-ān-sn ḥr rdut st ḥr ḫt-su: un-ān-sn ḥr št̄t st mà ntt  
m ān: un-ān nfr̄ st ḥr āb-su r ḫt nbt nt̄i m ta pu r tr-f: un-ān āḥā-  
sn ḥms-sn ḫtf? āḥā n ḥn n sutn nt? H-ni?: mnā-n-f, āḥā-n s āḥā ḥn  
n sutn nt? S-nfr-u m sutn mnḫ m ta pu r tr-f: āḥā-n r̄tu K-ḫm-ni?  
r mr nut t'at.*

*iū?-f pu.*

I do not know whether the moralist is the person Kaḫemni(?) named at the end of the document; possibly he is, but as he was already a *t'at* it may be that Kaḫemni(?) who was not raised to the dignity of *mr nut t'at* until afterwards, was the eldest son of the

\* Or *kāt* (cf.  | ).

philosopher who gave him the benefit of his teaching. At the beginning may have been a long story, like that of the eloquent  in the Berlin papyrus, or a shorter introduction like that to the second document in our papyrus. The outline may perhaps be restored thus :—

[The Instructions of the *mr nut t'at* X which he wrote down that his son Kaḫemni(?) and his son Y and his son Z might read them.


[Beginning of the words of the hereditary prince, etc., etc. the *mr nut t'at* X: he says :—

[“ . . . . . ”]

The existing portion begins with advice that would seem to refer to a man's conduct (1) as president of a council, (2) as host at a sociable gathering, (3) as a teacher in a school, or (4) we may suppose :—

“[If thou art sent on a mission to decide a dispute in which many witnesses have to speak, seek to find out the truth . . . .] let the timid be encouraged ;\* let the correct (speaker) be praised, let the sack (?) of the silent be opened, let the place of him who is quiet (?) in speech be wide, let knives be directed against the transgressor,† let no one approach out of his turn (or who is not concerned or authorized).

“ If thou sittest (at meat) with common people : hate (or desire not) the bread that thou lovest, it is a little moment ; restrain your desire, greediness is base ; *there is satisfaction* (enough to satisfy) *there* (or *there is only a frugal meal with them*) : a cup of water quenches the thirst, a mouthful of herbs strengthens the heart : good replaces a good thing (one good thing replaces another ?) a little scrap replaces a big thing. He who is driven by his stomach ‡ is

\* Cf.  “(a man who) encouraged the fearful.” Benihasan, Ameni, L. D. II, 121.

†  “the perverse and transgressors,” is found in the Brit. Mus. Pap. 5495, 2nd document, obverse, page 3, according to a tracing kindly made for me by Mr. Newberry.

‡ Cf. perhaps  Benihasan, Ameni, L. D. II, 121.

ignoble, who leaves (his hosts) when he knows not how to fill his stomach in their\* house.

“If thou sittest with a greedy man, eat thou, *let him take his fill?* (then) go away.

“If thou art drinking with a wine bibber, take thou what he offers (it will?) please his heart.

“Shrink not from meat in the presence of a glutton, take what he gives thee, refuse it not, lo! it would be *disappointing*.

“If (thou art with) a man devoid of *sociability* who heeds nothing that is said to him, *sulky of countenance to him who would soften his heart* by being gracious to him; he is a disgrace to his mother and his *friends*; every one (cries) tell us they name, thou who art silent with thy mouth, *thou that I am calling to* (or speak out!).

“Do not magnify thy heart on account of thy valour in the midst of thy young men; † *beware lest thou be superseded* (i.e., lest another be put in thy place?), *for the future is not known: God can overthrow such an one* (or,



“Beware lest thou . . . .? for the future is not known: God overthrows such an one”).


The governor (*t'at*)‡ called his children after he had completed the rules of man's conduct: they marvelled in coming to him when? he said to them: ‘verily as to everything written upon this roll, obey it as I have said it, do not imitate? beyond what is *commanded* in it (do not forge or introduce more than exists)’: they threw themselves on their bellies,§ they read it as it was written, it was pleasant within them more than anything which is in this whole land: their

\* The occurrence of pronouns without a definite antecedent is frequent.

† This may belong to the preceding paragraph, a fresh piece of advice beginning at “beware.”

‡ This paragraph is very interesting as a very pure specimen of the ancient popular dialect. It closely resembles the middle Egyptian of the Westcar and Kahun Papyri, and cannot be much earlier than the XIIth Dynasty. The title

 is often substituted for .

§ This is a constant phrase, see Sancha, l. 200, and Piankhi-stela *passim*. I was at first inclined to translate, “they placed it upon their bodies” (in token of submission). For the use of , cf. Erman, *Sprache des P.p. Westcar*, § 18.

uprising and their sitting was during the existence of the king Huni(?),\* when he died then the majesty of king Seneferu was raised as king *established* in this whole land: then Kagemni was made *mer nut tat*. That is the course of the story (lit. its course).

After an erasure, which extends from the second to the fourth page, the second document is reached.

II. The Proverbs of Ptahhotep.

IV. 1.



IV. 2.



IV. 3.



IV. 4.



V. 1.



V. 2.



\* I have thought of reading the ideogram as "the quarryman" = \*ΑΧΥε, but the Saqqâreh list is against this, reading . Yet \*ΑΧΥε may be due to a doubt as to the pronunciation of the ideogram or =.





*Sbait nt mr nut t'at Pth-htp* χρ ην n sutn nt? *Assà, ânχ t't r nhh.*

*mr nut t'at Pth htp,t' t'f:—*

*àoi nb-à, θnà χpr, àau hau. uka iu ?, àhu hr mau: sṭr-n-f χtr  
rā nb: maui? nt'su: ânχui àmru: pḥti hr aq: urṭ àb: r kr, àn  
mṭu-n-f: àb tmu, àn sḫa-n-f sf: qs mun-f n fuu?: bu nfr χpr m bu  
bàn: tṭt nbt śmt. àrt àau n rθ bàn m χt nbt: fut ṭh, àn s-su-n-f:  
ntnu (?) àhā hmst.*




*ut'ut n bak àm àrt . . . : àχ t't nf m̄tu s̄tm̄iu s̄χru àmu h̄āt, pau s̄tm-n n̄Oru : àχ àrt nk màtt, tr-tu šnu m r̄χīt bak nk àt̄bui."*



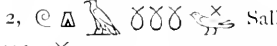
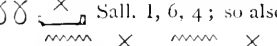
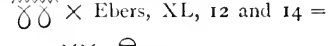


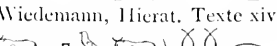

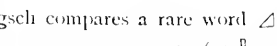
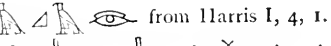
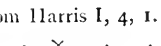
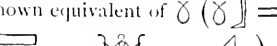

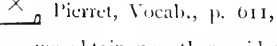
*t't-àn hu n n̄Or pn : "sba rk su r m̄tt χr h̄āt, àχ àr-f bàu n msu sru, àq s̄tm àm-f : m̄tt àb nb, t't-n-f "àn ms̄i sau'."*

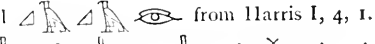











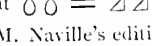

*h̄ā m Osu n m̄tt n̄frt t't-n r̄pāt? h̄ā, àtf n̄Or mr̄i n̄Or, sa sutn ur n χt-f, mr nut t'at, Pth-h̄tp : m sba χmu r r̄χ r t̄p(?) h̄sb n m̄tt n̄frt : m χut n s̄tm̄t-fi, m kat n uti r tht st. t't-àn-f χr sa-f:—*

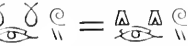
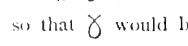


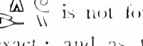
The instructions of the governor Ptahhotep delivered before the majesty of the King Assa, who lives for ever to eternity.\* The governor Ptahhotep says, "O king! my lord! when old age begins, when senility falls (upon one), when feebleness † approaches, and


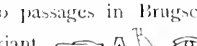
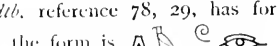
\* This implies that Assa was alive when the book was written.

†  seems to read . , Prisse, Sancha, 168-9, Ebers,

c. 16, c1 II =  Pap. Bul. IV, Pl. 22, l. 1 =  Anast. V, 16, 2,  Sall. I, 5, 6, cf. Anast. V, 23, 5; and  Sall. I, 6, 4; so also  Ebers, XL, 12 and 14 = ; and ; and ; and  Prisse, V, 8 (if not a mistake for  = . The word  Pap. Koller (Wiedemann, Hierat. Texte xiv. 2; for the first determinative of the word ,   Naville, Goshen, Pl. 2, l. 3, raises a difficulty.








First, Brugsch compares a rare word  from Harris I, 4, 1.  is a well-known equivalent of  ( =  = ); and , though sometimes  =  = ): but with the exception of the rare  Pierret, Vocab., p. 611, which might possibly be compared with , we obtain no other evidence that  = .




Secondly, the variants of *Tiltb.*, ch. 64, 25, in M. Naville's edition, etc., seem to point to  = , so that  would be = : I believe that  is not found elsewhere, Brugsch's quotation from the Saft shrine being inexact; and as the variants in the Book of the Dead are more suggestive than authoritative, the word requires confirmation.







Thirdly, in support of my reading,  can be found quoted from two passages in Brugsch's great work. The *Tiltb.* reference 78, 29, has for variant . The other, in which the form is , see us more satisfactory, but I have not traced it to its source at Medinet Habu.






weakness comes a second time, he sinks and weakens every day, the eyes are contracted, the ears dull, the strength diminishes with sluggishness of the heart ; \* the mouth ceases † and does not speak. The heart is choked (?) and remembers not yesterday : the bones ache throughout, good becomes evil, taste of every thing (lit every taste) has gone ; the old age of a man fares badly in every way ; the nostrils are stopped and smell not : standing or sitting alike are wearisome ? It is commanded to thy servant here † to act as tutor (?) ‡ Lo ! let him tell that which was said by those who obeyed the rules of former time, even those which the gods obeyed ; Lo ! if thou didst likewise misery would be expelled from amongst the living, the two lands would labour for thee.” Spake the majesty of this god, “instruct it (the two lands (?)) according to the words of former times, lo ! it will do marvels to the children of the nobles, when they enter and hear (any) of it, every heart will be rectified and say (?) “it begets not satiety.”

Beginning of the composition (?) of good words spoken by the hereditary prince, the father of the god, beloved of the god, son of the king, of his body, the governor Ptahhotep, in teaching the ignorant


 with the Ptolemaic variant  is also difficult : it might be read q(û)qsi, but perhaps  is only a graphic blunder for , and *qasi* gives a good origin for the Arabic *Qûṣ* coptic *κωϥ δερδρ*,  and  being allied. Yet  usually corresponds to Coptic *Ϯ* and not to *K*.

The two loops , I suppose, convey the same idea as , having the sense of knotting, entanglement, or of binding hand and foot, so “weakening,” “rendering helpless,” etc.  seems to point to a dual origin. This form occurs as early as the MSS. of the *Todtenbuch* edited by M. Naville.


\* The parallel passage in Sanehat, l. 170, suggests that  as usually read would here be out of place : also    is always spoken of as an affliction ;  after  is probably only a determinative incorrectly used.

   is a regular phrase (*cf.* Saneha 259) and is not a mere tautology.   may mean to cease any kind of action.

† For this expression see Borchardt, in *A.Z.*, xxvii, p. 122.





‡ The reading of the first sign, which resembles the cursive ligature for  is unknown to me. It occurs also in Petrie’s *Kahûn Papyri*.

to know according to the regulation of good speech, as excellent for him who obeys, as harmful to him who transgresses it: he spake in the presence of his son. (*Here begin the instructions.*)

It will be observed that in one passage Ptahhotep is said to pronounce his instructions "before the king Assa"; in another "before his son";\* from which it seems that Assa was his son, whether literally so or only in a special sense (*e.g.*, as pupil of Ptahhotep in his capacity of  I cannot tell.

There is another interesting point. On pp. 351 to 356 of Mariette's Mastaba there is given the description of a very fine and beautifully sculptured tomb at Saqqâreh, whose occupant was a certain Ptahhotep. Of several cartouches which occur in the inscription Assa is the latest, and although the titles which are preserved are quite different from those of our philosopher, it is possible that the two personages are identical. The writer of the proverbs can hardly have outlived Assa, and in fact he seems to state (p. xix, l. 7) that he had already lived 110 years.

In Ptahhotep's proverbs, the audience are addressed as "thou" in the singular number, yet the rules evidently are for the benefit of "children of the nobles," and even inferior persons, and not for the king. According to my theory, therefore, the king authorizes his father or else his tutor to deliver a kind of public lecture which he graces by his presence.

\* . The preposition  is appropriate to a subject addressing a king, or a worshipper addressing his god. In contrast to this, Duaufsa Kheti "makes his instructions *to* () his son." Sallier II, 3, 9, and so even does king Amenemhat, speaking *to* his son king Usertesen (Millingen I, 2, and all the texts). But  is used in introducing the complimentary addresses exchanged between the god Ptah Totunen and his "son" Rameses II. (Stela of Abu Simbel, *Trans. S. B. A.*, VII, 119.)

† "The father of the god" seems actually to mean the non-regnant "father of the king" in the early and middle empires; compare especially the family-inscriptions of the king Neferhotep and the scarabs of Neferhotep and Sebekhotep II (Petric, *Historical Scarabs*, 292, 293). Haânkhef, the father of Neferhotep, is named next to the king and before the king's mother, notwithstanding the Egyptian rule of inheritance through a princess. The expression 'god' for 'king' seems appropriate enough in this phrase. The well-known priestly title, "father of the god" or "divine father" is rarely found before the New Kingdom. A "divine father of Amen" would be a priest who performed certain paternal functions in the ritual of Amen.

THE FIRST THREE OF THE FIVE AUTOCRATS  
(*Wu Ti*).

BY THE REV. C. J. BALL, M.A., Oxon.

The identification of the emperor Hwang-ti with the Elamite Nakhunte is open to doubt upon several grounds. As to the Elamite name, I say nothing, as I do not know Elamite. But if I wished to make Hwang-ti and his successors historical, I would compare him with Gu-di-a, Shau-hau with Sargon, and Chuen-hieh with Dungi. But Hwang-ti may be a divine title, like Shin-nung and Fuh-hi. It is true that Shin-nung has been compared with Sargon (Šargāni) of Accad. The forms, however, do not agree very closely, whether we take the spelling Shin-nung (*Spirit* or *god* + *to dig, to till* the ground) or Sien, sin (= Accadian *SI, SUN*, 'old'), *old* + *nung*. Shin-nung invented the plough, and is worshipped as the god of husbandry and healing. These are not characteristics of Šargāni of Accad (reigned B.C. 3800), whose story beyond, perhaps, the details of his birth and exposure, hardly presents mythical features.\* I think Shin-nung may be the god Ea. Ea or Aë, as he is called on a small chalcedony mace-head in my possession, was 𒂗 𒂗𒂗, EN-KI, 'lord of earth' or 'the ground'; in the watery deep beneath it he had his abode. As the god of the garden he was named GANA-SI and SIG-ZIZIDA. His son Mardug consults him in the legend, about the healing of the sick man (4 R. 7); a representation which is repeated over and over again. He bore the title 𒂗 𒂗 𒂗 𒂗, pronounced 𒂗 𒂗 𒂗 𒂗, ŠE-EN-NU or ŠÍ-ÍN-NU, *i.e.*, Shín-nu; upon which the Assyrian gloss simply remarks that it is a title of Ea. Further, there is evidence that NU(N) meant 'to till' in Accadian. *Cp.* the term NU-ŠAR, 'gardener'; and the cognate NUN, 'to peel,' DUN, 'to dig the ground' (*hírú ša iršitim*). Lastly, another Chinese name of Shinnung, viz., Yen-ti, reminds us that 𒂗 𒂗 𒂗, EN TI, was another title of the god Ea.

I feel the greater confidence in these comparisons, because the evidence for the divine character of Fuh-hi, the predecessor of Shinnung, appears to be conclusive. Fuh-hi "separated the people into classes or tribes, giving to each a particular name," discovered

\* It is no more a mythical assertion that Ishtar "loved" Shargani, than that she loved Assurbanipal or Nebuchadrezzar.

iron, and was in many other ways a culture-hero. I should not, however, have identified him with his Accadian original or prototype, had I not been struck by the resemblance of a name associated with his, to the name of a divine being which occurs in an old Babylonian hymn. A Chinese legend tells of Nü-kwa-shi, or Nü-hi-shi, a goddess (or god; for one account says of this deity that it "was not a woman at all") whom Dr. Williams calls "the Chinese Pandora." She is said to have melted five coloured stones to mend the heavens with. She had the body of a serpent with a humanhead, and the virtues of a sage; and she was *the sister* of Fuh-hi.

Now the name Nü-kwa-shi at once put me in mind of a divine being, of whom I had happened to read again lately in one of the oldest Accadian hymns, I mean Nin-ka-si, of whom Bil-gi or Bi-gi, the god of fire, to whom the hymn is addressed, is called 'the companion' or 'brother.'

If Nin-ka-si is Nü-kwa-shi, I suppose Fuh-hi (older Puk-ki = Bug-gi, Biggi, or perhaps rather Pakki, Baggi, = Bal-gi, with dissimilated vowel) is Bil-gi.

Now among the praises of Bil-gi in this old Babylonian hymn we find these:

"All that is called by a name—the fate (of it) he fixes;  
Copper, lead, smelter thereof (art) thou;  
Gold, silver, refiner thereof (art) thou;  
Of Nin-ka-si his (her)\* companion (brother) art thou."

I think these facts will speak for themselves. (See 4 R. 14, No. 2, Rev., lines 10, *sqq.*) I will only add that the compound ideogram  $\langle \text{𒌦} \text{ 𒌶} \rangle$  (KU-GIN), 'gold,' when written in linear form and restored to its original position thus  $\downarrow$ , is immediately seen to be identical with the Chinese  $\text{金}$ , 'gold.' This fact shows that the native Chinese analysis of compound characters is sometimes untrustworthy, and that the sign  $\text{𒌶}$ , 'reed' is no exception to the rule that the Accadian symbols should be set up from left to right.

\* The Accadian pronoun includes both genders.

† Dr. Lacouperie has informed me, since this was sent to press, that he has remarked upon this equivalence of characters in his unpublished notes. I am happy to find myself in agreement with the learned Sinologist, who has laboured so long and so earnestly to establish the fact of the western origin of Chinese civilisation.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 2nd December, 1890, at 8 p.m., when the following papers will be read:—

REV. C. J. BALL:—The Accadian and Chinese Characters.

REV. A. LÖWY:—The Falashas, and their Liturgy.



## NOTICES.

SUBSCRIPTIONS to the Society become due on the 1st of January each year. Those Members in arrear for the current year are requested to send the amount £1 1s. at once to the *Treasurer*, B. T. BOSANQUET, Esq., 54, St. James's Street, S.W.

PAPERS proposed to be read at the Monthly Meetings must be sent to the Secretary on or before the 10th of the preceding month.

Members having NEW MEMBERS to propose are requested to send in the names of the Candidates on or before the 10th of the month preceding the meeting at which the names are to be submitted to the Council. On application, the proper nomination forms may be obtained from the Secretary.

Vol. IX. Part 2, of the "Transactions" of the Society is in the press. Only a few complete sets of the "Transactions" of the Society now remain; they may be obtained by application to the Secretary, W. HARRY RYLANDS, F.S.A., 11, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

The LIBRARY of the Society, at 11, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., is open to Members on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, between the hours of 11 and 4, for the general business of the Society.

As a new list of Members will shortly be printed, Members are requested to send any corrections or additions they may wish to have made.

Members are recommended to carefully preserve their copies of the "Proceedings," as they will not be reprinted at the end of the Volume of "Transactions," and if lost can only be supplied at a charge for each Part, or for the Volumes.



SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY PUBLICATIONS.



# The Bronze Ornaments of the Palace Gates from Balawat.

[SHALMANESER II, B.C. 859-825.]

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Parts I, II, III, and IV have now been issued to Subscribers.

In accordance with the terms of the original prospectus, the price for each part is now raised to £1 10s. ; to Members of the Society (the original price) £1 1s.

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# SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

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P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

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*PROCEEDINGS*

OF

**THE SOCIETY**

OF

**BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.**



VOL. XIII. TWENTY-FIRST SESSION.

*Second Meeting, December 2nd, 1890.*



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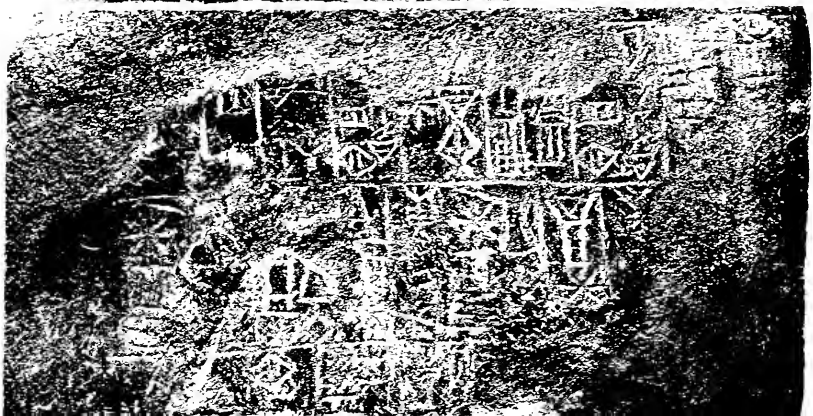
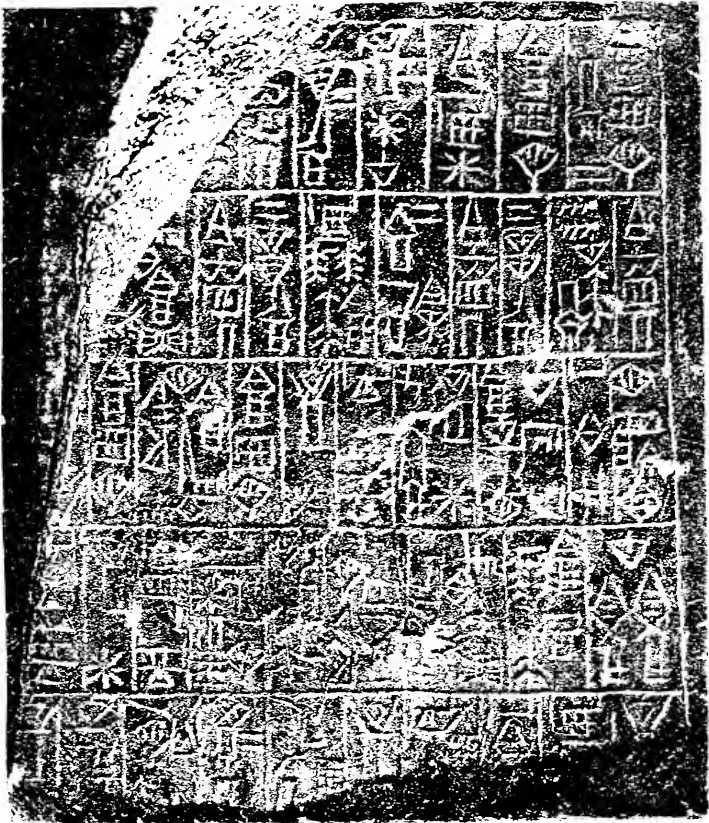
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| "       | VI, "              | 1883-84 | 5 | 0 | 6  | 0 |
| "       | VII, "             | 1884-85 | 5 | 0 | 6  | 0 |
| "       | VIII, "            | 1885-86 | 5 | 0 | 6  | 0 |
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PROCEEDINGS  
OF  
THE SOCIETY  
OF  
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

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TWENTY-FIRST SESSION, 1890-91.

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*Second Meeting, 2nd December, 1890.*

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



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

From M. de Clercq:—Collection de Clercq, Catalogue Méthodique et Raisonné, Antiquités Assyriennes, cylindres orientaux, cachets, briques, bronzes, bas-reliefs, etc. Publiée par M. de Clercq, ancien Député, avec la collaboration de M. J. Ménant, Membre de l'Institut. Tome II, livre I, fasc. I, Paris. Folio. 1890.

From the Author, Professor G. Maspero:—Monuments Divers Recueillis en Égypte et en Nubie. Par A. Mariette-Pacha, Directeur Général des Antiquités de l'Égypte. Parts I and II. Paris. Folio. 1890.

From the Author, Professor G. Maspero:—Lectures Historiques. Classe de Sixième. Histoire Ancienne Égypte, Assyrie. Paris. 8vo. 1890.

From the Author, Ernesto Schiaparelli :—Studi sull' Antico Egitto.

Vol. I. La Catena Orientale dell' Egitto. Roma. 8vo. 1890.

From the Author, Rev. C. A. de Cara, S.J. :—Degli Hittim e Hethi e delle loro migrazioni. Part VI. 8vo.

————— La Religione Degli Antichi Egizii. 8vo.

Estratto dalla Civiltà Cattolica. Serie XIV, Vol. VIII. 1890.

The following Candidates were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated at the last Meeting, 4th November.

Charles Heape, Glebe House, Rochdale.

Gray Hill, Mere Hall, Birkenhead, Cheshire.

Rev. Joseph Horner, D.D., 525, Smithfield Street, Pittsburgh, Penn., U.S.A.

Rev. J. L. Le Pelley, M.A., Vicar of Ringland, near Norwich.

Rev. L. M. Simmons, B.A., Oker Villa, Upper Broughton, Manchester.

To be added to the List of Subscribers :—

The Young Men's Christian Association, N. R. Hughman, Esq., Secretary, Whittington Avenue, Leadenhall Street, E.C.

F. C. Burkitt, M.A., 12, Harvey Road, Cambridge, was nominated for election at the next Meeting on January 13, 1891.

A Paper was read by Rev. C. J. Ball, "The Accadian and Chinese Characters."

Remarks were added by Dr. Gaster, Mr. W. Boscawen, Rev. J. Marshall, and Rev. C. J. Ball.

Rev. A. Löwy read a Paper entitled "The Falashas," which will be printed in a future number of the *Proceedings*.

Thanks were returned for these communications.



## IDEOGRAMS COMMON TO ACCADIAN AND CHINESE.

BY THE REV. C. J. BALL.

## I. 𐎗, (1) SUN, DAY; (2) WHITE.


In Accadian the same character, 𐎗, stands for the terms UD (UT), Sun, Day, and BAR, BABBAR, BABAR (= BAR + BAR) white, strictly, glistening white, the Latin candidus. The Chinese character for Sun, Day, is 日 pronounced *yut* (with *u* as in the English words but, butt), *jit* (French *j*); sounds implying an earlier *gít, gut* (gud), *dít, dut*, respectively. The character for "white" is 白, read *pak, pai*; where the figure is as clearly related to 日, Sun, as the sounds *pak, pai*, are to the old Accadian BAR, PAR. Moreover, the original form of the Accadian sign 𐎗 was a circle (*cp.* the old Babylonian form 𐎗, and see *Amiaud and Méchineau*, No. 212), to which figure the old Chinese writing merely adds a transverse stroke.


It will have been noticed that in the modern Chinese writing the character for "white" differs from that for "sun" only by a slight stroke at the top of the figure, corresponding to a diacritical sign. The same is the case in the old writing (*Chambers*, No. 143.) Now every student of Accadian is aware that UD, Sun, Day, and BAR, BABBAR, white, are written with the same sign, 𐎗, which, as its old Babylonian forms show, was originally a figure of the solar disk; and every person who has given the slightest thought to the matter, must be ready to concede that in pictorial writing a circle will naturally be used for the sun, and that such use does not of itself prove any connection between different hieroglyphic systems. But our case is not so easily disposed of. We have, as is evident, a fourfold coincidence: (1) the characters for *sun, day*, and the colour *white* are the same in Accadian, and virtually the same in Chinese; (2) the Chinese characters are seen to be ultimately identical with the Accadian; (3) the Accadian word for "sun," "day," is clearly related to the Chinese term, which also includes these two meanings; and

(4) the Accadian word for "white" is as clearly related to the Chinese word for the same idea.

We have already seen in the instance of the character which means "gold" (*Proc. Nov.*), that the Chinese *literati* sometimes give artificial explanations of compound ideograms which a knowledge of Accadian enables us to reject decisively. In the present instance, the *Shwoh-wan* informs us that the character for "white" consists of 干 (*kan*), "to violate" claspng 二 (*er*), "two," adding that both the colour "white" and the number 2 are "female" (*yin*, *yim* = Accadian GIN, GIM); an explanation worthy of the Kabbala, upon which Chambers rightly observes that it is "rather too much for even an admirer of Hū Shan to believe." The *Phonetic Shwoh-wan* correctly states that the character for "white" is formed from the character for "sun." The importance of comparing Accadian for the successful explanation of Chinese characters is shown by the fact that Chambers, while pronouncing this to be "a better suggestion," rejects it in favour of the idea that 白 is "a cocoon of silk, with a mark inside to show the intention for which it is used" (see *Chambers*, No. 16). The simple and self-evident truth is that, as in many other cases where a single Accadian sign served for two or more different sounds, the old Chinese scholars have made a distinction by modifying the original character, thus creating a distinct symbol for a distinct word. In the present instance the modification is so slight, that it is recognized at once.

2.   GOLD.

We have seen that this ideogram, compounded of the elements KU + GIN, exactly answers to the Chinese 金 *kin*, gold. No person with eyes will dispute the likeness of , the original form

of the Accadian ideogram, to this Chinese character, even in its modern shape, from which, however, the old form differs but slightly. The gloss on the Accadian ideogram suggests the pronunciation *guš-kin*. Modern Chinese, therefore, appropriates an ideogram which originally expressed two sounds, *i.e.*, a dissyllabic compound, to the expression of one of them. This agrees with what we have noted in the case of  GIDIM and 獬 *hiat*, *hai*, or *yé*.

The Accadian original proves that the Chinese scholastic analysis of 金 *kin*, "gold," into the elements 今 *kin*, "now" + 土 *t'u*, "earth," is erroneous; a fact to be remembered when we deal with other compound characters. The real meaning of KU and its cognates appears to have been "bright," "glittering." It is likely that the Accadian ideogram was also read KU-GIN as well as GUŠ-KIN; *cp.* ŠU-LUB = SUS-LUG. A trace of the fact is preserved in the Japanese *ko-gane*, "gold," lit., yellow metal; *cp.* *shiro-gane*, "silver," lit., white metal; and perhaps in the Chinese *hwang-yin*, old sound *ku(n)-gin*, "yellow silver," a designation of gold.† At any rate, the compound term *hwang-kin*, "gold," which points to a primary *ku(n)-gin* or *gu(n)-kin*, approximates very nearly to an Accadian KU-GIN. *Cp.* also 金 *yun*, "gold."

Ancient names of colours are in general vague and indeterminate.‡ Every student must have noticed that "white" and "bright" are expressed by the same Accadian term. It will be found that "brightness" is the fundamental idea in other cases also. The vagueness of the terms used does not prove that the people who used them were imperfectly sensible to differences of colour; it only proves the antiquity of the terms themselves.

The sign 𐎠𐎵, read AZAG and KU, meant "bright," "pure," "to be bright" (*ellu, alálu*). It is applied equally to gold and silver. The ideogram for "gold," which might also be read AZAG-GIN, recalls the Chinese *tsuh-kin*, "pure gold"; *cp.* also the Accadian ZU, "gold" and "silver" (ZUG?). Pure silver (*šarpu*) was certainly called 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎴𐎠𐎴, AZAG-GA, *i.e.*, *azága*, and the Chinese 足 *tsuh*, *tsòk*, is used of pure, unalloyed silver and gold.


The term 𐎠𐎵 KU, "bright," "to be bright," is evidently related to 𐎠𐎴 KU-N, "to shine," 𐎠𐎴 KU, "to shine" (S<sup>b</sup> 267), and, as *k* presupposes an earlier *g*, to GUN (in GUNNI, a brazier), 𐎠𐎴𐎠𐎴, GUN, in GUN-GUN-NU, "particoloured," and perhaps "yellow" (2 R. 24, 35 f.), GIN, "bright," in 𐎠𐎴 𐎠𐎴, ZA(G)-GIN, a precious stone, 𐎠𐎴, "to look up," GU, "bright," in DUMU-GU, a name of the Moon, and, again, to GU-š, "bright" (yellow, of gold), in GUŠ-KIN, *cp.* 𐎠𐎴 in ŠU-𐎠𐎴, "to flash," and KUS, "bright" (KU-US, *ellu*). As




\* Shiro = Accadian *shir, sir*, "light."


† Wells Williams, *s.v.*, *yin*.







‡ *Cp.* the Greek *glaukos, chloros, kuaneos, oinoψs, porphyreos*, etc. See also Prof. de Harlez, *La Perception des Couleurs*, etc., Louvain, 1890.

R = ḡ, we have also RUŠ, "bright," of gold, and ŠU-RUS, "to flash," just as in Chinese *rung* = *yung*. Cp. also the Chinese *yun*, "gold," and *yun*, *wǎn*, *ín*, *yün*, "dark-red," "orange."\*


These relations may be further elucidated by an examination of the Chinese 黃 *hwang*, *wong*, *hong*, old *gun*, *mun*, "yellow." It is said to be composed of , an old form of *kwang* (= *kun*, *gun*), "light," and 田 *t'ien*, *t'in*, "field"; because yellow is the colour of the soil.




This form of *kwang* appears to be composed of *mouth* + *fire*; cp. the Accadian  (mouth + fire), an ideogram denoting the flashing of fire (*hamātu ša išāti*). The "field" may be a perversion of  GUN, which we have seen reason to think might mean "dun," "brown," or "yellow," an ideogram which also denotes the land (*mātu*), or ground, and of which the linear form is , which might easily be mistaken for a field or similar enclosure.



That this last ideogram, called *Si-gunû* and *Gun-nû*, from its two proper values, really meant not only "particoloured" (*burrumu*; cp. Arab. *barîm*, "a thing of two colours mixed, as red and yellow, or red and white," etc.), but also a *yellow* or *golden* tint, appears from its use in the ideogram  (god + fire + golden), a title of the gods Sin (the Moon), Nin-ib, and Nebo, which very curiously resembles the name of Hwang-ti, the legendary Yellow Emperor, whose original may thus have been the wandering moon.




The character  SI, SIG (= ZIG), that is  in Gudia's writing, from which  was formed, meant "light," "brilliance," "to shine"; and both are also explained *sâmu* (fem. *samtu* or *santu*), which specifies a colour, and is apparently applied to a precious stone, viz., the  (na) GUG, which is rendered *santi*, and *sandû*; cp. also  GUG, *samtu*. This answers exactly to the Chinese 玉 *yuh*, *yuk*, Annamite *ngok*, "a precious stone"; "jade"; just as  U-GUG, "to glitter or sparkle, of fire" (*kabâbu ša išāti*), answers to 燿 *yuh*, *yuk*, "the bright blaze of fire."



\* This series of terms is clearly related to the words for "fire" discussed, No. 5 *infra*. If fire is red, flames are yellow or golden.

3.  TU(D), TO GO OUT.



The linear form of this character  has a well-known sign of vegetation at the top (*cp.* No. 4). What the lower half represents is not so obvious. The upper symbol is naturally used to suggest the senses of "to bear, bring forth, beget" (TU=*alâdu, banû*); in which uses the word appears to be a worn form of TUD, as   TU-UD-DA, TUDA, is "to bear," "to be born," and "offspring" (*alâdu, ilittu*). *Cp.* also UTUDA, "offspring."

With this idea of *coming forth, being born*, agrees the expression   UT-TU, "sunrise" (*šî šamši*), 5 R. 30, 21c.

Both the word and the ideogram correspond sufficiently to the Chinese  *ch'ut, ch'u* (= *tut, tu*), "to go forth," "to spring from," "to beget"; of which the original form  represents stalks thrusting themselves upward out of the ground\*; or as Chambers says, "it figures the advance of vegetation, one sprout following another upwards." It is evidently related to  *ch'it, ch'e*, old *tit*, only used as the 45th radical, to indicate (1) *vegetable growth*, or (2) the appearance of *rising up*, elevated, etc. *Cp.* No. 7.


The old   UD-DU, "to go out," "to shine," "high," "full-grown," of a plant (*ašû, šupû, namâru, êlû, šîlu*), is obviously related to the Chinese *ch'ut* and *ch'it*.


4.  SIG, GREEN; TO BEGET.

Parallel to the t-forms TUD, *ch'ut*, "to beget," etc., we have also s-forms in both languages; in Accadian SIG, "to beget," "to make," "to be born or made" (*banû* and its passive); in Chinese  *shing, seng*, "to bear, produce, beget, live, come forth," etc. The Accadian sign is called *Igi-gunû*, implying that it is a compound of *gun*, probably meaning "hair" or "herbage," "grass" + *igi*, "eye." *Cp.* the Babylonian figure, Amiaud and Méchineau, p. 144; and the ideogram  GA-SHAN (*shan*, "mountain," *shang*, "high"), UGUN, GUN,† "high" (*šakû*). The Chinese figure is said to be a *shoot*








\* In both the Chinese and the Accadian signs the lower part may represent the *hole* out of which the plant emerges. See *Chambers*, p. 175, 17th radical.






† This UGUN, "high, lord, lady, king," etc. = UMUN in the like senses, is the Chinese *hwang*, "exalted," "sovereign."

or plant rising above the *earth*. It may be simply a plant;\* *cp.*  SHÍG, SHÍ, "corn"; and šī(G), "life."

In the sense of "green," the ideogram , *herbage* + *eye*, appears to have survived in the Chinese 青 *ts'ing*, "green" (=zig, sig), where the components are considerably modified, but not beyond recognition.

5.  ,   𠄎, BRIGHT; 6.   , FIRE.

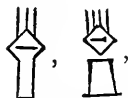
The first two signs here are *sun* and *mouth*. The latter,  KA, was also read GU(G), DU(G), in the sense of "to speak." But the same symbol also denoted *brightness*, as in   (mouth + fire), an ideogram explained to mean *to flash* or *sparkle of fire* (No. 2 *supra*; 5 R. 30, 64a). *Cp.* also    , "to be bright, of a man" (*namâru ša amîli*), meaning probably to be glad.

The instances in which the sounds GUG, GUŠ, GUD, GUN, ĠUL, GU, on the one hand, and their dialectical cognates DUG, DU, etc., on the other, mean various modes and degrees of *brightness*, are so numerous in Accadian that I need not refer to them more particularly here. And that KA also included the same idea is evident not only from the gloss KA-IZI (5 R. 30, 64a), but also from the consideration that, as shown at large by Professor Hommel, words with initial *g* in the oldest stage of Accadian gradually came to have by-forms with initial *k* as time went on (*cp.* KUŠ, KUN, "to shine," with GUŠ, GUN). The fact is especially evident in the instance of   KI-PIL =   GI-BIL, "burning," "blaze," "fire" (*kilîtu*), and in KI-BIR, another (dialectic) variant of GIBIL. And considering the ordinary course of vowel-variation in Accadian, in virtue of which we find NA, NI, NU, "man," MA, MÍ, MU ("speak"), "name," we might reasonably infer that KA, KI, KU existed in the sense of "to shine, blaze, fire," etc., and that KI in the above ideogram meant not "place," but "brightness," "fire," or something of that kind, even if we had not the positive evidence afforded by KI-LI, "star," GUŠ-KI(N), "gold," KU, "bright" () and other words.

We thus see that the Chinese 火 *hwo*, Annamite *hwa*, old sound *ka*, "fire," of which the dialectic sounds *hò*" (Amoy), *hu* (Shanghai),

\* With the lower leaves or branches straightened; *cp.* the Chinese treatment of GUŠKIN, No. 2 *supra*.

presuppose a primary *kun*, *ku*, is not so remote from the old Accadian as might at first sight appear. The Cantonese *fo* (=pa, ba) points us to BAR, which we see in the Accadian GIŠ-BARA, MU-BARA, "fire" in (𐎶), BAR, "to sparkle, of fire" (*kabābu ša išāti*), "to be bright" (*namāru*), in 𐎶 𐎶 ZA(G)-BAR, "brilliant," and other words; as well as to BIL(PIL), BI(PI), the second element in GI-BIL, "fire" (=GA-BAL = El-Gabal, the Syrian sun-god? KA-PAL). It may be added that the datum 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 (*dingir*) GIŠ-BAR = 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 (*dingir*) BIL-GI, "The god Giš-bar = the god Bil-gi" (4 R. 24, 53 a) or Gibil, should be compared with the Chinese Fuh-hi = Paggi = Bar—or Bal-gi; and that the old Chinese character for "fire," 火, is clearly the top of the archaic Babylonian



"fire," representing flames; *cf.* also the four dots of the Chinese contracted form.\* In the same way the old Chinese 口,

*k'au*, "mouth," omits the lower half of Gudia's 𐎶 KA, "mouth" (besides opening the figure at the top, carrying the cross-line through, and omitting the four small uprights, *i.e.*, the teeth, inside).

Now the ideogram 𐎶 𐎶 is involved in the compound 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 (U-DUG-DU-A), "brightness," in 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 (U-DUG-NINNU?), a title of the Moon-god (2 R. 57, 67 a), and in 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 (U-DUG-BAR), which is equated with 𐎶 𐎶 ZA-BAR, "bronze," and with ZABAR-RUM, which is explained to mean "bronze," and various other things, including *ellu*, *ibbu*, *namru*, "bright," and finally 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶, 𐎶-UD, *i.e.*, 𐎶-UD, "to shine" (= 𐎶, *namāru*) † = 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶, 𐎶-ID, 𐎶-ID, "glistening white," 2 R. 26, 57 e. The sound of this ideogram appears to have been DUG or UDU, and the meaning "bright," "brilliant" (*cf.* 𐎶 DUG, "to smelt metal," DU, *šamū*, "heaven," 2 R. 50, 52 c), so that it was synonymous with 𐎶 BAR, in the compounds ZA-BAR, ZABAR-RUM. 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 DU(G)-BAR, "bright," would be to ZA(G)-BAR as DUG, "good," is to ZIB, "good," or as TAL, "bright," is to ZAL, "bright." In any case, whatever the Accadian pronunciation may have been, the same ideogram, *sun* +


\* See the forms used by Gudia, Amiaud and Méchineau, Nos. 106, 107.

† See my note on 5 R. 23, 11 *sqq.*, in *Proc.*, June, 1889.


mouth (or to say),\* is preserved in the Chinese 昌 *ch'ang*, old *t'ung*, *dung*, Amoy *che'ung*, Shanghai *ts'ang* (= *zag*), "effulgent," "brilliant." This supports the reading DUG-BAR as against GUG-BAR.

### 7. 𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢, THE NEW MOON.

This group consists of 𐎢𐎣 UTU, † "moon," + 𐎠𐎡𐎢, a sign called NISIGÙ, from NI-SIG, "that which is green." The sounds given by the syllabaries and glosses, are SHAR, SAR, etc. The group UTU-SHAR is explained *māhir pani*, "meeting the face," "confronting," "opposing," "opposite," as well as *Nannaru*, and *azkaru*, *izkaru*, the New Moon. The last two words, being derivatives from *zakāru*, "to be pointed or peaked," denote the crescent, which the Chinese call "The Silver Hook."

The ancient form of 𐎠𐎡𐎢 SHAR, corresponding to this sense, was , a linear picture of vegetable growth, two plants shooting up out of the ground. This figure is abridged in the Chinese 艸 *ts'ao*, Japanese *so*, "grass," "herbs" (*zar* = *šar*); *cp.* ŠARA (𐎠𐎡), "grass." Read MA, the sign is explained, "to come forth" (*ašû*), and read MU, "to come forth, of tree and plant" (*ašû ša išî u kanê*). In the above ideogram, therefore, it corresponds to the Chinese 𠄎 *ni(k)*, *yik*, *geh*, *niäk*, "to oppose, encounter, go to meet," for which 逆 is now used, and which involves the character 𠄎 *ch'eh*, *ch'it*, "a sprout," and enters into the compound character 朔 (opposing + moon), read *shoh*, *soh*, *shw'oh*, *shok*, *sok*, old sound *shak*, "the new moon"; "to begin" (so 𐎠𐎡𐎢, read SAR, is *šurrû*, "to begin"). ‡

### 8. 𐎠𐎡𐎢 𐎠𐎡𐎢, GARLICK.

The sign 𐎠𐎡𐎢 was called SUNNU, from its primitive value, SUN. Later sounds are SUM, SIM, SIG, SI. The oldest known linear form, , obviously represents two bulbous plants. The second element (SHAR) in the compound ideogram appears to be a determi-

\* The difference between the Chinese signs for "mouth," and "to say" consists in a single stroke. *Cp.* Gudia's two forms of the character KA-GU (Amiaud and Méchineau, No. 222).

† The Chinese *üt*, *yueh*, "moon."

‡ SAR is also "to write," and MU-SAR is "a writing"; *cp.* Chinese *mu-sie*, "to write." The sign *ts'ao*, old *tsa*, *tsak*, is also used of writing.



native of plants (𦉰) SHAR = *arku*, "green"), and is therefore not pronounced.

The word SUN, SUM, garlick, reappears in the Assyrian *shûmu*, and the Hebrew *shûmîm* (plur.), Num. xi, 5. It is identical with the Chinese 蒜 *suan, sün*, "garlick." In this group the determinative of plants, 艹 or 屮, answers to SHAR, for the original form of which see No. 7. The two small signs corresponding to the Accadian picture of the plant itself have been greatly modified in combination.

### 9. 𦉰 - 𦉰, TO GIVE ORACULAR DECISIONS.

This group involves the element 𦉰 BAR, "to divine," or "practise divination."\* Written in the style of Gudía, and set up in its original position, this character appears thus 𦉰, which agrees very well with the 25th Chinese radical 卜, anciently written 𠄎, *puk, pu*, old pok = pak = bag = bad = bar, "to divine."

The other elements in the Accadian group are 𦉰, *the mouth*, and 𦉰, *one*.

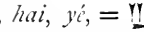

Now in Chinese we have 𠄎 𦉰, *mouth + to divine* (*k'au + pu*) read *ki*, "to divine by lots"; and 𠄎 𦉰, *to divine + mouth + one* † (*pu + k'au + yih*), also read *ki*, "to divine." This differs from the Accadian group 𦉰 - 𦉰 (ka + iš + bar), *mouth + one + to divine*, only in the order of the last two elements.

The sign 𦉰 (*mouth*) has, among other meanings, that of *parâsu*, "to decide," e.g., a matter by oracle or divination. The Chinese *ki* may represent either KA or GU, of the possible readings of this sign. The transitions ka, ke, ki, or gü, gi, ki, are too common to require special notice.







As 𦉰 - 𦉰, 𦉰 - 𦉰, *išBAR*, "an oracular decision" (*purussû*), exists independently, it would seem that 𦉰 - 𦉰 was really pronounced KA - Aš (iš) - BAR or GU - İš - BAR: *cp.* also the reduplicated form KA - Aš - BAR - BARRA, in the same sense. The Chinese have appropriated the entire complex ideogram to the expression of one syllable; as in many other cases, of which I have already specified

\* *Ušsubu*; also *pirištu*, "an oracle," Í-BARRA, "House of the Oracle"; *cp.* 𦉰 MAš, *ášibu*, "diviner."






† The fifth radical *yueh* or *yih*. See Wells Williams, s.v.





𧀂 *hai*, *hai*, *yé*, =  GIDIM, and 金 *kin* =  KU-GIN, GUŠ-KIN, "gold." The Japanese *ko-gane*, "gold," however, shows that the Chinese once said *ku-gin*.\*





### 10. $\equiv$ , BEAT, STRIKE.



The ideogram consists of the two signs, *hand* + *strong*, *violent*. It was read ŠU-UG - , *i.e.*, ŠUGBAR, and occurs in the compound GIŠ-MA-NU -   $\equiv$   (GIŠ) MANU-ŠUG-BAR, which means *šabbītu*, "beater," "whipper"; *cp.*   BAR-ŠUGGAL, *gallābu*, "flogger." Similar is the Chinese 拈 (*shau* + *pu*, *hand* + *to divine*: see No. 9), *bak*, Peking *p'u*, Canton *p'ok*, "to beat, cudgel." *Cp.* also the 66th radical, 攴 *pu*, *pok*, "to strike with the hand," which is compounded of *pu*, "to divine" + *yu*, "hand" (= Accadian  $\langle$  U, *ḫātu*, "hand;" *cp.*  GUB, *šumelu*, "left hand"). †

### 11. , GOD.

The sign , originally , a conventional representation of a star, was used in various applications (see *Proc.*, June, 1890, p. 403). In the sense of "god," "king," it was pronounced DINGIR, dialectic DIMMER, DIMER. The term DINGIR was written phonetically    DI-IN-GIR; and that it is really a compound of the two terms DI(N or G) and GIR (NGIR) is shown by the dialectic form, which is spelled DIM-ME-IR and DI-ME-IR, *i.e.*, DIM-MÍR, DI-MÍR. In other instances MÍR is the dialectic sound of GIR (= ngir). *Cp.* also the Assyrian imitation *dī-girū*.

Now  DI (= dig, ding?), as an independent word, is "to judge";  IN, is "herbage," "grass," etc. (*tibnu*), in upright linear writing  (*plants in a pot*); and GIR (ngir), linear  is

\* The Chinese 占, *chen*, *chim*, *tsé* (= *tím*, *dim*, *zin*, *zim*), "to divine," "observe signs," "divination," may suggest that ZIM-BIR, whence Sipar, Sapharvaim, was named from the oracle of its famous temple (BIR = BAR = *pu*). *Cp.* Í-KA-AŠ-BAR KI, Place of the Oracle House, as the name of a town, 2 R 52, 64 d.  ( $\rightarrow$  ) "a seat," "chair," should be read, I think, DIL-TE, DIL-TI; a phonetic writing of   DUL-TE (i).

† For present purposes it is not needful to discuss the meaning of   $\equiv$  , when read GUB-RUM or GUB-RU. But I may note that I cannot believe, with Jensen, that such syllables as GEAR, GUBER, SLAG, etc., existed in Accadian, or are indicated by the writing.

“dagger,” “scorpion,” “lightning” (*paṭru, zuḫaḫīpu, birḫu*)—things which have this in common, that they all *prick* and *pierce*. The Chinese 帝 *ti* (tik, dig), “to judge,” “a god,” “the king,” preserves in its actual structure a reminiscence of the meaning of these ideograms.

According to the native tradition, the phonetic element in this compound symbol is 東, old 𣎵 *ch'i* (= di), *ts'ze* (zi), a *prickly plant or shrub*; *cp.* 刺 (*prickly plant + knife*), “to stab,” “prick,” etc.; “thorn,” “sting.”





The old form of 帝 is 𣎵; and the two lines at the top of the figure are said to stand for *shang*, “supreme.” But it is clear that if the rest of the figure is, in fact, a reminiscence of the composition of the term DINGIR, the top of it must have some reference to 𣎵, the first character in that word.



The old form of 𣎵 is 𣎵; and as Chinese writing reduces the square to the round, this would naturally come to be written 𣎵. If we amalgamate this character with *di, zi*, “a prickly plant,” thus 𣎵, we see how the hitherto mysterious 帝 *ti*, “god,”

is an actual transcript of the Accadian 𣎵 𣎵 𣎵 DINGIR “god.” (The dotted lines indicate calligraphical omissions.) The Accadian term is phonetically written *judge + plants + prick*; the Chinese is written (*judge*) + *prickly plant*.




As regards the spoken word, I suppose that the progress of phonetic decay may have been *dingir, dingi, ding, dig, tik, ti*. When the last stages were reached, confusion with *di, ti*, “judge,” became inevitable.














The ideogram 𣎵, 𣎵, read *iššu*, meant “ear of corn,”—the prickly bearded wheat of Babylonia. (*iššu* = *giš-sug*, stalk + grain; *cp.* Chinese *yih, yit*, “stalk,” and *shu, shut, suk*, “millet” and “rice”). It is possible that the character has been restricted to the like sense by the Chinese improvers of the syllabary. *cp.* the 119th radical 𣎵 read *mi*, “rice,” “millet,” “maize,” etc. So *sui* (*sud*) is used of both rice and paniced millet. However this may be, we can hardly fail to see a relation between the 193rd radical 𣎵 *ch'ang, ch'eung, t'iong, ts'ang*, old *t'ung* or *dung*,



“sacrificial wine” (spirits), made of fermented millet and fragrant herbs,—a character composed of *grain* in a *dish* with a *ladle* beneath (*pi, bi*),—and the Accadian  GÍŠTIN, “spirits,” composed of  BI, GAŠ, “fermented liquor,” and  TIN, DİN, “spirits.” The original form of  was apparently a *ladle*, like the bronze specimens found in Egypt. (See *Amiaud and Méchineau*, No. 75.)

For  in the senses of “ear of corn,” and “palm-branch,” we have an analogy in  *ti*, “stalk, stem, calyx,” of flowers or fruit; a character composed of *plant* + *god*.





## 12. , RAIN.

Among the compounds of *ti(k)*, “god,” Chinese presents  *ti(k)* “drop of water,” “to run by drops.” This character, being posed of *water* + *god*, answers exactly to  , *water* + *god* (heaven), read śÍG, “rain,” “to rain.” The dialectic transition from *s* to *t* is seen in the Accadian MU-ŠÍN, MŪ-TIN, “bird,” and other words. It is also characteristic of the Annamite dialect of Chinese.

This *ti*, used in the sense of *weeping*, is a synonym of  *ti*, “tears,” “to weep”; a compound of *water* + *brother*. Now as *ti*, “younger brother,” old sound *tít*, may be compared with the Accadian šÍŠ, SÍŠ, “brother,”\* we may further compare this last Chinese word with the Accadian  -ISÍŠ, “grief” (*nissatu, śih̄tu*),  -ISÍŠ, “to weep,” “grief” (*bak̄t, nissatu*), ideograms composed of *water* + *eye* (see No. 14 below), and with  - śÍŠ, “tears” (*dimmatu*),  - - (ISÍŠ-)śÍŠ, “to weep” (*bak̄t*).

Now the ideogram  SIG means “hair” and “clothes” (covering); while  LAM is “to sprout” (*šš̄bu, ušš̄bu*, of grass, etc.). Both in Accadian and Chinese the hair and beard are naturally compared to vegetable growths. Delitzsch quotes an Assyrian phrase, *ziḫnášū ašia*, “his beard is budding” (3 R. 65, 20 b),†

\* SÍŠ, = SÍ-SÍ, IS, on the other hand, related to *hsiang*, = *sin*, Japanese *se*, “elder brother,” and to SŪN, SÍ, Chinese *sin, sūn*, “old.”

† ŠÍŠ or SÍŠ and SIG being Accadian terms for “hair,” I am reminded of the Assyrian term for “horse,” *šišū*, which by its form indicates that it may be a loan from an Accadian SÍŠÍ, “the hairy animal,” referring to the mane. The ideogram is  ; a compound of  (SIG), “to strike” +  “foot”; thus, *Strike-foot*, not a bad suggestion of the animal. (See *Amiaud and Méchineau*, No. 205).

which aptly illustrates the idea. Cp. also Ovid's, Prataque pubescunt variorum flore colorum.

Accordingly, 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 šiš-šig (?) is "hair" (of the body: 5 R. 50, 51 a), and 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 (su, "body") + 𠄎𠄎𠄎 (SIG) + 𠄎𠄎𠄎 is "hair of the body" (the last two signs together being read MUNŠUB, "hair," šartu).

We are not, therefore, surprised to find in Chinese 鬃 (hair + brother) read t'i (= tit) "to shave"; or 鬚 and 鬣, ti, "loose hair," "to shave."

13. 𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎, A WATERED FIELD, A DITCH.

We have here 𠄎, water + 𠄎𠄎𠄎, heart (= middle, inside). The ideogram is defined by the Assyrian eklu, "field," and iku, "ditch" or "canal." The husbandry of ancient Babylonia, like that of modern China, depended largely on artificial irrigation by means of a network of canals, "some of them navigable and of a great size, their banks in some places being from twenty to thirty feet high. The long-deserted lines of mounds which even now exist in hundreds, marking the lines of these artificial rivers, form far more remarkable objects than the ruined cities and palaces," in the landscape of Babylonia at the present day (George Smith). In citing these words, Prof. R. K. Douglas declares that "no more accurate description could be given of the aspect which China would present, were she to reach the same state of ruin as Babylonia" (*Lippincott's Magazine*, June, 1890, p. 851). Mr. George Smith's words forcibly illustrate the Accadian phrase—



rendered in Assyrian, šubburu ša iki, "to bank up, of a canal," 2 R. 20, 1 c.

The sound of the ideogram 𠄎 𠄎𠄎 is not given; but it is found written with the phonetic complement 𠄎𠄎𠄎 GA, so that judging by analogy, and the known sounds of the two elements, we might infer E-ŠAGGA, or rather, with vowel harmony, í-šIGGA (= í-shinga). What is the Chinese evidence?

In Chinese we find an identical group, 汶, composed of the signs for water + heart, and pronounced ts'in, tsäm, Amoy sím, Shanghai sing. It is the name of a large affluent of the Hwang-ho,

thus agreeing with the Accadian group in the sense of "canal" (for the great Babylonian canals were called "rivers"), and also means, "to sound the depth of water," and "to soak through," "to get wet" (Canton use).

We see that the ancient ideogram has come to be somewhat restricted in its application. In the course of the five thousand or more years that have elapsed since the Chinese migrated from Western Asia, taking with them the language and the writing of Babylonia, their learned classes have enormously enlarged the stock of symbols with which they started. Not only have many of the primitive characters been modified. New signs have been freely invented for numerous words which, in Accadian, were represented by one and the same sign; and this is true of homophones, as well as allophones, included under the same Accadian symbol.

Accordingly in this, as in many other cases, we find the sound and meaning of the original ideogram spread out, as it were, over a number of younger characters: 浸 *tsin*, "to overflow," "immerse," "laid under water, as an inundated field"; 漸 *ts'ien*, "a ditch to lead water in irrigation," "a moat," "to dig a ditch"; and several other cognate characters.

#### 14. 𣶒 𣶑, TO WEEP; TEARS.

This ideogram consists of *water* + *eye*. It might be read *e-ši* or *iši*; but the sounds actually given are *îš*, *ir*, shortened, as in many similar instances, from *iši*, *iri*; *cp.* also 𣶒 𣶑 *iši*, "to weep."

In Chinese we find the same ideogram, 泪, *water* + *eye*, read *lei*, *lui*, *lé*, "tears," "to weep" (*l* for *r*); and further 泪, *water* + *sides of the face*, read *ir*, "flowing tears."



The consonantal changes involved in passing from *iši* to *lei*, are *iši*, *iri*, *ili*, *li*. *Cp.* the like changes in Assyrian *maštakal* = *martakal* = *maltakal*; *ištânu* = *iltânu*; *pîru*, "elephant" = Aramean *pîlâ*; Lat. *casmen* = *carmen*, etc., etc.





#### 15. 𣶒 𣶑, FAVOUR.




This ideogram (𣶒 𣶑) *GA*, *GAL*, *house* + 𣶑 *GAL*, etc., (*woman*) is explained by the Assyrian *rîmu*, *rêmu*, "favour, clemency, mercy," and *rîminû*, "merciful," terms used of gods as propitious to their worshippers. The Accadian word may have been *GAL* (*ngal*);


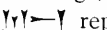


in which case the sound as well as the symbol agrees with the Chinese 安 *ngan*, "peace," "peaceful," "to soothe, quiet," composed of a *roof* + a *woman* under it. The Accadian term, in that case, is like *ša-kušša*, "heart-still" = tranquil, appeased, propitious towards worshippers.

The old form of the Accadian character has not been found; but that fact hardly invalidates comparison in an instance like the present, where the component parts are certainly known, and we have abundant analogies (*see* Nos. 87-90 in Amiaud and Méch.). How would it strengthen the argument to give the oldest known mode of writing the Chinese symbol *ngan*? The complex *roof* + *woman* is equally suitable for our purpose, whether we give it in the seal-writing or in the common character, as above.


16. , GIDIM. , UTUG.





In my last paper (June, 1890) I analysed the first of these two symbols, denoting evil spirits, into  +  +  + , dog + horn (*sikkatu*, projecting point) + knife + ox, on account of the Chinese 獅解, *hiai, hai, yé*, a symbol which combines those four elements in the same order, and denotes a horned demon of the desert.

The only point open to doubt was the assumption that the final  of the Accadian symbol might be an abbreviation of  GU, ox. But it happens that the sign  GU actually occurs alone in the sense of *ekimmu* or *edimmu*, that is, the GIDIM, or at least a similar fiend (4 R. 2, col. 4, 14/15, and elsewhere). This settles the matter.

The other symbol, , UTUG, a kindred demon, has an additional wedge, to indicate the pronunciation; that is to say, I think  represents a combination of , dog +  TUG, to seize (= *choh, chuk*, "to seize"), the upper cross-wedge of TUG being set upright between the two which are common to the two elements. TUG means *ahāzu*, "to seize"; *cp.* *ahhāzu*, "Seizer," the Assyrian rendering of DIMMÍ-GUR (?), the name of another demon.






That the Semitic Babylonians had but a vague knowledge about these demons, or that the Accadian traditions were confused and conflicting, appears likely from the fact that the sign for GIDIM is also explained by *šēdu* and *utukku*, while that for UTUG is also












rendered *râbišu* (lie-in-wait) and *šêdu*. But *râbišu* is the definition of another demon, , the MAŠ-KIM; while *šêdu* equally belongs to the spirits called ALAD.

The ideogram for the MAŠ-KIM consists of  +  PA + GIR. The latter sign is called Aradu-gunû, *i.e.*, the character for *walking + hair* or *grass*, and means "bottom," "foundation" (*cp.*  (G)UR, "foundation"), and "to cover" (*halâbu*). PA occurs also in the name of the demon called *Ishum* by the Assyrians, PA-SANGA. The sign  may have meant "to strike" or "wound" in both instances (= SIG, PA, *maḥâṣu*). But whatever the import of these two ideograms, it seems clear that the Chinese 魔 (*ma + kwei*) read *mo*, "a demon," corresponds to MAŠ-KIM. The first element in this character is *ma*, Amoy *ba*, "hemp"; the second is *kwei*, old *ki*, "a spirit," "ghost," "devil."

The combination *mo-kwei*, old *ma(t)-ki*, denotes "the evil spirit."\*



### 17. , DI, TO JUDGE.

The significance of this character as a compound ideogram has not, I think, been explained. The Babylonian name SAL-KUD or SALLA-KUDDA indicates that it is composed of  SAL, *woman* +  KUD, *to cut off, stop, decide*, etc. The linear form of DI, *viz.*, , may easily be supposed to consist of an amalgamation and re-arrangement of the seven wedges of the linear forms of these two elements  +  SAL + KUD (and SIL). The addition of the


\* There are other indications that GI, KI meant "spirit," "god," in Accadian. The sun-god was called Utu-ki, perhaps "sun-spirit," and the moon-god, among other titles, SIS-KI, where SIS = SUS, "bright," originally (in SUS-LUG, "to shine," *namâru*: *cp.* SI-LAG, "bright," and the name *Sin*, probably the Shining One), though it was afterwards apparently confused with ŠIS, "brother." Bil-gi was perhaps, to begin with, "fire-spirit"; and        or     IGIGI, defined "the gods of heaven," may answer to the Chinese *yang, yéung*, "the powers above," as opposed to the *yin, yám, lm, yáng*, "the powers below," also called the 鬼 *kwei* or *ki*, "spirits," Manes, who may ultimately answer to the Anunna-ki, or "gods of the earth." (3 R. 66, Rev. 25/26 d.)




No where does the original unity of gods and ghosts appear more plainly than in Chinese. *Shin* = "god, spirit" (= Annamite *ʹiín*), and *shin-ming* (Japanese *iin-mei* = *din-me* = Accadian DIMME) is "the gods." *Kwei-shin* = Japanese *ki-jin* = *ki-din* (*din*), is "the gods," both good and evil. *Cp.* also TIN, "living." May not *ki-din* = *din-ki* = *din-gir*?






second element to the first completes the parallelogram, and one wedge is apparently omitted. At all events, the Babylonian analysis into  +  is confirmed in a totally unexpected manner by the Chinese evidence, which I now proceed to give.

The character 姊 read *tszě, ché*, that is, *zi, di(de)*, comprises the two elements *woman* + *to stop*. The second element here originally represented a plant coming up out of a pot of some






kind, as will be seen from the ancient form, which is . But the


word is also written *woman* + *market*, thus 姉. It means "an elder sister," "a woman who has experience," and is, moreover, "an old term for mother." The idea underlying the symbolism may be that an elder woman anciently decided the disputes of the market. I should however be disposed to think that the character with *market* (also *square, crowd*) had arisen out of a confusion of the sign for *market* with that for *to stop*; were it not the fact that the second element of the Accadian ideogram, viz., , not only meant "to stop," "hinder," but also, when read *SIL* or *SILA*, "street," "square" (*sulû, sùku, SILA DAGALLA = rêbitu*), "broad place," where buying and selling went on. The name of the character is *Silû*, and *SILA* means "to rule" or "govern" (*šalûtu*), as well as "street" or "market." Not only so, but when read *KUD* the sign means "to judge" (*dânu*) as well as "to stop" (*parâsu*). Lastly, I observe that  was also pronounced *TIM, DIM*; a fact which further connects it with its synonym  *DI*, and with the Chinese ideogram.



As  was read *SA*, in the sense of "to advise or counsel," and  (*KUDU*) had the same meaning (*malûku, milku*), we may be inclined to think that *SAL, woman = SA, SIL, ruler, counsellor, judge*, and that women were the original advisers and judges of the Accadian clans; in short, that this curious character, with its double Chinese representation, is a vestige of the ancient institution called the matriarchate.




If these comparisons are just, we may say that the ideogram  has been preserved in Chinese in its primitive sense. The sense of "to judge" is transferred to 帝 (*tî, god*) or 諦. Cf. also 咨 *tszě*, "to deliberate, consult, plan."



18. , MALUS, MALIGNUS.



The well-known and frequently occurring Accadian symbol , which denotes "evil" (both subst. and adj.). "to be evil," "hurtful," or "hostile," and "to harm, hurt," is composed of the signs  "eye" +  "dog." The combination suggests the familiar Eastern superstition of the evil eye, and its baneful effects. Accordingly, one of the Assyrian glosses on the ideogram is "to fall or drop, of the eye," and another, "to turn, of the eye," and another "to curse." The sound was *ġul*, with spirant *g*, as appears from the compound   IM-ĠUL, "noxious wind," borrowed by the Semitic Babylonians in the form *imhullu*, and from the ordinary use of the character for the sound *hul* in writing Assyrian.



The sound *ġul* is evidently weakened from *gul*, as in other instances; and, indeed, we have , GUL, "to perish, destroy, break in pieces," "to carry off (captives)": a sign which also had the syllabic values KUL, ĶUL, in Assyrian use.



Now it happens that Chinese has preserved the ideogram  in , a character composed of 目 "eye" + 犬 "dog," one above the other, in the same vertical position as the Accadian signs originally occupied. The two characters, however unlike they may appear in their modern forms, are absolutely identical in every respect. The sound, moreover, of the Chinese character is *k'üh*, Canton *k'wik*, Amoy *k'eh*, Shanghai *h'ieh*; and it is plain that neither phonetic decay nor dialectical transformation has abolished all trace of connection with the more ancient *ġul*, *gul*, *kul*, of the Accadian.




The meanings assigned to this ancient character are "A species of ape, with thick lips, said to be of a greenish hue," and "hawks opening their wings." It is pretty clear that these definitions cover mythological reminiscences. The green ape, symbolized by the character *Eye-dog*, recalls the cynocephali or dog-headed apes of the Egyptian Hades. The connexion between apes and demons is further illustrated by  *yü* "monkeys," a character composed of  *demon* +  *foot*.

It should be observed that here, as in other instances, the Chinese *l'etrati* have invented new characters expressing the various meanings of the same homophone. Thus  *k'üh* is "bent down or awry, grievance, wrong, afflictions, evil fate"; *k'üh-shah* is "to kill wrongfully," and other compounds denote "oppression," "ill-treated"; which agrees very well with Accadian G'UL (KUL) "bad, hostile, to injure." The character  *k'üh*, Canton *huk* (guk), "crooked, bent,

false, to oppress, to wrong," originally representing a modification of the sign for *dish*, is very similar to the oldest known form of  GUL, "to destroy" (see Amiaud and Méchineau, p. 96); a symbol which obviously involves , "copper," of which the linear figure is that of a copper plate or dish.

In Accadian  *gul*, "evil," "harmful," is naturally an epithet of malignant gods and spirits or demons (*ilāni limnuti*, 4 R. 5, 69 a. *Utukku limnutum*, 4 R. 27, 22 b.). One of these, the  GIDIM, or *ekimmu*,\* I have already identified with the 猓解 豸 *hiai-chai*, of the Chinese tradition. It will be observed that the Chinese have added the second character *chai* (=di), appropriating the whole of the original ideogram (dog + horn + knife + ox) to the expression of the first element in the compound name, viz., *hiai* (=ki, gi). The reason is to be found in the fact that Chinese writing has become uniformly monosyllabic; consequently, wherever in the primitive language a compound term like GIDIM, LUGUD, or TIMMEN, was represented by a single ideogram, it either had to be represented by two characters in the developed script of the Middle Kingdom; or only one of the two sounds was retained in common speech.

There is a likeness almost amounting to identity between the characters 臭 *k'üh*, "a green ape," and 臭 *ch'eu*, "smell, stench," "unsavoury," "vile," *hiu* (=kin), "to smell," "to injure." The ape is a noisome beast; and the metaphor "stinking" = "bad," "evil," is widespread both in ancient and modern languages: *cp.* the Assyrian *bi'shu*, "bad," "wicked," *bu'sānu*, "a bad smell," the Syriac *bîsh*, "bad," "wicked," and the uses of the Hebrew  *בַּיִשׁ*,  *בַּיִשׁ*. We are not, therefore, surprised to find in Chinese the further characters *ch'eu* "to hate," "enemy," "enmity," and 醜 (*spirits + demon*) *ch'eu*, "abominable," "ugly," "vile," etc. These *ch* (=t, d) sounds are related to the *k* (=k, g) sounds *k'üh*, etc., in the same way as Accadian *dar* to *gar*, or, in the instance before us, *dul* to *gul*. The ideogram for *ch'eu*, "stench," is modified from that for *k'üh*, "a green ape," as 自, "self," is modified from 目, "eye," or as 白, "white," is modified from 日, "sun" (see No. 1).

\* Considering that *êkêmu* means "to seize," and *ekimmu*, "the seizer," I cannot help mentioning the strange likeness between G'UL (GUL) GU, and the Arabic  *غَال*, "he destroyed," "took, seized a man, took him away unawares";  *غَوْل*, "far extent of the waterless desert,"  *غُول* the *ghoul* or goblin who destroys men in the desert.

## TWO CHINESE RADICALS.

9. 人 *jän*, "MAN."

The relation between *n* and *d* is a marked feature both of Accadian and of Chinese. Thus in Accadian we find NI and TÍ, "to fear," NI and DI, "bright," NI and TU, "body," NA(G) and DAG, "stone" (also DIĜ),\* Í-DIM and Í-NIM, "heaven." When treating of the comparatively few Chinese words with initial *j* (*Proceedings*, December, 1889), I failed to appreciate the full significance of this relation; consequently, some of my remarks and suggestions on that head must be modified. The Chinese *j* answers immediately, as I now think, not to an Accadian *g*, but rather to a *d* (or *dj*), as the dialects appear to show. And this being the case, we understand why *n* is assigned by Sinologists as the older sound which preceded initial *j* in the Mandarin dialect. The two sounds, *n* and *d*, are physiologically related, both being fore-palatals formed in exactly the same way; except that in the case of *d* the nasal passage is closed, whereas in sounding *n* it is left open. The sound *n* is to the sound *d*, as *m* is to *b*.†

The 9th radical *jän*, "a man," presents a striking instance of agreement between the dialects of Accadian, and the dialects of the modern language. The old sound of *jän* (= *din*) was *nin*; a sound still preserved in the Japanese *nin*, "man." In Chifu the sound is *yín*, which, like the Canton *yän* (= *yin*; ä = e or i), points to a primary *gin*, identical with the Accadian 𐎮𐎠 GIN, "male," "man" (*sikaru*).

But the sign is also called *jín* in Japanese; which agrees with the Amoy *jín*, and the Mandarin *jän*, in pointing to *din* (*dyin*?) as its prototype; that is, to the Accadian 𐎮𐎠 DIN, "male," "man" (*sikaru*), of which the ancient form 𐎮𐎠 is like enough to the old form of the Chinese 人. (See *Chambers*, No. 14.)

\* Besides DAG and DIĜ, we have ZA(G) and ŠI(G), and, finally, ŠHĜ (𐎮𐎠 >> 𐎮) "stone," in Accadian. The last in the Chinese *shih*, *shok*, "stone."

† This correction does not vitiate all or most of the comparisons suggested in treating of *j*; because in most instances Chinese and Accadian both present a *g*-form corresponding to the *n*- and *d*-forms.

Lastly, the Shanghai *niǎng* answers to the Japanese *nin*, and the Accadian 𒌒 NIN, "lord" (e.g. in 𒌒 𒌒 NIN-SIG, a title of Ea),\* 𒌒 NI, "male," "man" (*sikaru*). Thus we have the parallels:

|            |               |     |       |        |
|------------|---------------|-----|-------|--------|
| Accadian : | GIN           | DIN | NI(N) | "man." |
|            | Chinese :     | yin | jin   | niǎng  |
|            | Old Chinese : | gin | din   | nin    |

The 10th radical, 𠤎 *jǎn*, "a man," is a double of the 9th. In the dialect of Shanghai, however, it is pronounced *zǎng*, implying an older zing, which would correspond to an Accadian ZIG (zig = zing) or ZIN. Perhaps we have here ZI(G), "to be," "life," "soul"; or, as terms denoting multitude also mean "people" (MULU = *amelu*, "man," and *mšû*, "people"; *min*, "the many," "the people"), ZUN, "multitude." It is to be remembered that *jǎn* is not only a man, but also "human beings," "the human race"; neither number nor gender being connoted by the Chinese term in itself. At all events, we may say that an Accadian ZIN is implied by DIN, even if the term cannot yet be identified.

#### 104. 疾 *nih*, "DISEASE."




The original form is said to have represented a bed with a man lying upon it. The old sound was nik (= nig), and the dialects have *nik*, *bék*, *niäk* (= nig, big, or pig). Further, as the character is also given under TSIH, it once had also the sound of *tsih* (tsik) = zig and zid: cp. 疾 *tsih*, Canton *tsät* = zid, "sickness," with Accadian AZAG, "fever," *ašakku*, and 𒌒 𒌒 𒌒 AZAD, "fever," *šuruppû*.


Now, looking at the dialectic sequence considered above, gin, din, nin, zin, "man," and noting that in the present instance we already have nig, zig, we expect to find the other members of the series, viz., gig and dig. The former is found in 疫 *yih*, old sound yik, dialectic *yik*, *ék*, *yèk* = gig, ig, gag, "an epidemic," "a pestilence."† This Chinese *gig* is certainly identical with the very


\* That NIN means both "lord" and "lady" is parallel to the fact that GIN is both "man" and "maid" (𒌒). So in Chinese *jǎn* is simply "human being"; and *nan-jǎn*, *nü-jǎn*, "male man," "female man," are said for "a man," "a woman."

With NIN, "man," "lord," cp. also 𒌒 NIM, "high," and DIM, DING, "great."



† The phrase *chu yi-kwei*, "to expel the demon of the contagion," is thoroughly Accadian.



common Accadian term  GIG (GIG-GA), "sick," "sickness," "to be sick" (*maršu, muršu, marāšu*). And as GIB was a dialectic form of GIG (NU-GIG = MU-GIB!), we may compare  *yih*, old *yip*, Canton *yǎp*, Amoy *íp*, "short breath," with this secondary form; and *sin-yih* (= sim-gib), "palpitation of the heart," with  *šim-gig* in the like sense (*kiš libbi*) in the Accadian psalms.

The form *dig* I cannot at present identify in Accadian. But its correlate *zig* is the Accadian  SIG (and ZIG), "weakness," "weak," "ill," "to be ill" (*enšûtu, enšu, enišu*), and the Chinese *tsih* (tsik = zig), now read *nih*, "disease which makes one take to his bed." *tsih* (tsit = zid), Canton *tsät* (= zid), Amoy *chít* (= dit), Fuhchau *chik* (= dig), "sickness," "calamities."

The Accadian  PIG, "sick," was also pronounced *ping*, which agrees with the Amoy pronunciation of the 104th radical *bék*, and with *ping*, "ill," *tsih-ping*, "ailments," "maladies."

We have thus established both in Accadian and Chinese the series GIG (GIB), PIG (PING), SIG (ZIG), in the sense of "disease" and "diseased." To these one more common member may be added.

I think that  (NIG), in the compound  NIG-GIG, "sickness" (*marūtu*) may possibly be identical with *nih*, *nik*, "sickness." There is, however, another and more certain trace of an *n*-form in Accadian. It is found in *NAM, NAG*, "fate"; the presupposition being that fate as a rule is unlucky, or that the dispensations of heaven are predominantly unfavourable to man; a "pessimistische Weltanschauung," which, as Jensen has pointed out, is characteristic of the old Accadian philosophy of life. Hence *NAM-TAR*—which might also be spoken *NAG-TAR*—means both "fate," and "sickness."

Now in Chinese we find a sound *nioh*, anciently *nok* (= *nak, nag*), expressed by two characters. The first is  *nioh*, "cruel," "natural (or heaven-sent) calamities"; and the second is  *nioh*, "fever," "febrile complaints" (*nih*, disease + *nioh*, cruel). I do not think that I need enlarge upon this curious correspondence of ideas.\*


The first of the two characters is also read *yoh* (*yak* = *gag*) and *nih* (*nik, nig*). The dialectic *yéuk, giok, nièk*, point to primary *gig, nig*. The second character, *nioh*, "fever," is also sometimes read

\* The expression *kwei-nioh*, "demon-fever," that is, "an irregular fever," the demon being supposed to pay periodical visits to his victim, is also a transcript of Accadian ideas.

*yoh*, *gag*; and the dialectic sounds *yéuk*, *giók*, *nok*, point to *gig*, *nag*. The Swatow *ngiak* is *gig* (*ngig*), and the Fuhchau *ngiòk* is *gag* (*ngag*).

As I have already pointed out, *NAG* is in Accadian a by-form of *NAM*, "fate," and *GIG* is the common term for "disease"; and the connexion between the two may be illustrated by the Accadian phrase: *NAM-TAR-GIGGAKID*, which is paraphrased by the Assyrian *šimatu šar marša*, "Fate, king of ill," or "cruel lord."

It is interesting to find in Chinese traces of an apparently older form *gag* = *gig*, answering to *nag* = *nig*, like *MAN* = *MIN*, "two," *SAR* = *SIR*, "light."





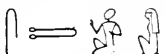



Chinese has several other related terms, *e.g.*, *yéh*, old yet (= *gid*), dialectic *ít*, *yat*, *ih*, "sun-stroke"; but I will only remark, in conclusion, that as *nih*, "disease," is also "to lie on a bed," we may further compare  *NA*, *NAD* (also *NU*), "to lie down," "a bed" (*iršu*, *rabāšu*).


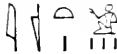



## NOTES DE PHILOGIE ÉGYPTIENNE.

PAR KARL PIEHL.

*(Suite.)\**





24. La lecture du groupe  et varr.; 25. Nouvelle valeur phonétique de l'hieroglyphe , à propos de la lecture de quelques mots égyptiens; 26. Le signe ; 27.  = €; 28. Le prétendu groupe ; 29. Le groupe  de l'ancien empire; 30. Le véritable sens de l'expression ; 31. Passage de l'inscription de Berscheh; 32. Que représente le signe hiéroglyphique ?

24. Le groupe très fréquent , "ouvriers," se transcrit en général, *ket-t*, ce qui entraînerait, pour la variante  du même mot, la lecture de *âket-t*.†



M. MASPERO est partisan d'une autre acception de la valeur phonétique du dit groupe. Voici ce qu'il en dit : ‡ "J'ai donné ailleurs les raisons qui me portent à lire *astou*, le groupe  (*Une enquête judiciaire à Thèbes*, p. 34, note 2); après vingt années

\* Continued from *Proceedings*, Vol. XIII, page 53.




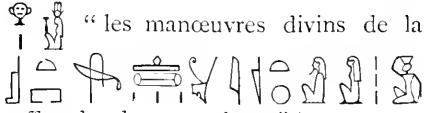
† BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire Hiéroglyphique* VII, 1268 et passim; STERN, *Glossaire du Papyrus Ebers*, etc.


‡ *Journal Asiatique*, huitième série, XI, page 323 (1888). Dans le dernier temps, j'ai eu à faire valoir plusieurs fois ma priorité vis-à-vis de M. MASPERO, qui sans doute *par oubli* a omis de citer mon nom, tout en employant mes découvertes. Ainsi par exemple l'équation  =  de certains titres (MASPERO, *Journal Asiatique* 1888, XI, page 264) a été prouvée par moi en 1880 (*Recueil Viveweg*, III, page 72, 1882). De même, l'équation  =  de certains titres (MASPERO, *l.l.* 1890, XV, page 289) a été prouvée par moi en 1883 (*Zeitschrift*, 1883, page 128, note 1).



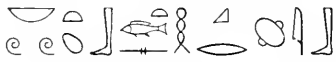
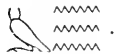




bientôt, je les trouve bonnes. La variante  par  initial est connue d'ailleurs."

Dans ce cas, je ne puis adhérer à l'acception du dit égyptologue français, à l'examen duquel je prends la liberté de soumettre quelques expressions qui, instructives pour la lecture du groupe qui nous occupe, semblent avoir échappé à son attention. Les voici :

\* "préposé aux ouvriers;"   
 "les manœuvres divins de la barque solaire t'adorent;" †   
"la place où se réunissent les offrandes de ses acolytes." ‡

Si je ne me trompe, ces exemples prouvent l'exactitude de la lecture *âket-t*, *ket-t*, pour le groupe que les monuments nous font connaître sous les formes .

25. La variante  du groupe qui communément s'écrit , n'est pas au dictionnaire. Sans être bien fréquente, elle est assez souvent employée pour que l'on en reconnaisse l'existence. Elle se voit, par exemple, aux *Matériaux* § de BRUGSCH dans l'expression que voici :   
. "La déesse Nebuut, protectrice de l'affamé et de l'altéré;" dans le *Recueil de Vieveg* || où elle figure dans l'expression   
"offrir du pain à l'affamé, de l'eau à l'altéré;" aux *Denkmäler* ¶ où elle apparaît dans l'expression   
"il aura faim, il aura soif." Ce dernier passage représente l'oiseau sous une forme

\* MARIETTE, *Abydos*, III, page 161.

† DÜMICHEN, *Resultate*, pl. 48.—(Cf. DÜMICHEN, *Tempel-Inschriften*, I, pl.


XXX, l. 7 : .)



‡ DÜMICHEN, *Tempel-Inschr.*, I, 49.







§ Planche X, ligne 3.

|| Vol. IX, page 88.


¶ III, 229 c. Texte d'Anibe.


différente de celle des deux autres. Toutefois, la stèle d'Anibe contenant un grand nombre d'inexactitudes, je n'hésite point à corriger le passage qui nous en occupe : je lirai ici, par conséquent le même oiseau  qui se voit dans les deux textes antérieurs.

Il me semble évident que le signe  de ces trois exemples a la valeur phonétique de *ab*, comme il remplace, dans tous les trois cas, le signe  qui notoirement possède la dite lecture.

Cette remarque nous amène nécessairement à changer la transcription d'un groupe hiéroglyphique qui se trouve au dictionnaire [BRUGSCH, V. page 39] sous la forme suivante : , groupe que notre maître à tous, à transcrit *ab-mer*. Évidemment, c'est *abt* qu'il faut lire ici. Le même mot se voit ailleurs sous les formes ,   <sup>†</sup>,   <sup>‡</sup>, ce qui nous permet d'établir deux séries complètement parallèles, à savoir : —






- a.  ;  ;  et
- b.  ;  ; 

Nous avons donc à enregistrer une nouvelle valeur dans la liste des signes phonétiques, j'entends celle-ci :  = *ab*.

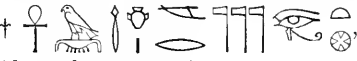


L'écriture des basses époques a gardé pour certain oiseau la valeur *ab*. Il est vrai que l'oiseau en question n'est pas , dans le passage où j'ai noté la dite lecture, mais je ne puis m'empêcher de croire que nous avons dans ce cas une erreur de la part du lapidaire ou du copiste moderne : à quiconque n'est pas naturaliste de profession, il est souvent fort difficile de tracer les différents hiéroglyphes-oiseaux, de manière à rendre exactement l'original, fourni par la


\* SHARPE, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 36 (texte du Moyen Empire).

† La stèle 26 du Louvre, PIEHL, *Inscriptions*, Pl. VII, 9.


‡ DE ROUGÉ, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques*, XXVII, ligne 14 (XVIII<sup>ème</sup> dynastie). On pourrait objecter, que la forme  se termine en , tandis que les deux autres ,  n'en ont pas. Mais cette objection ne prouve rien, vu que  date des basses époques, où le *t* final était généralement tombé dans la prononciation. Du reste, les deux formes peuvent représenter des variations dialectales.

nature. Le passage sus-mentionné se voit à Dendérah.\* En voici la teneur : 

La même expression se rencontre dans une autre inscription du même temple, bien que ici la forme soit un peu changée. Voici ce second passage :† . L'équation  (resp. ) = *âb* est donc assurée.

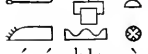
26. Dans une note, parue dans les *Proceedings*,‡ M. LE PAGE RENOUF, avec l'autorité du maître qui donne le cachet à ses ouvrages, a fourni une étude serrée et approfondie de la valeur et de l'emploi comme signe phonétique de l'hieroglyphe . Je n'ai certainement pas la prétention de critiquer le mémoire en question, à plus forte raison que, pour la plupart des points en litige, l'opinion de M. LE PAGE RENOUF est devenue la mienne. Toutefois, comme notre vénéré confrère m'a fait l'honneur de me nommer à propos des recherches sur le dit signe, il me permettra, j'espère, d'émettre quelques courtes observations concernant le même sujet.


J'accepte à peu-près toutes les équations qui ont été établies dans le mémoire de M. LE PAGE RENOUF, sauf celles-ci :

(a.)  = *hetepu âu*. Je ne prétends, bien entendu,

pas que cette transcription toujours soit inexacte. Il y a des occasions où elle peut bien être opportune. Seulement, je suis à même de citer des exemples où la dite expression nécessairement doit se lire *tepu-âu*. En premier lieu, je citerai un petit texte qui se voit à gauche, dans l'intérieur du second pylone du temple d'Isis à Philæ. La fin de ce texte, selon ma copie, prise en 1883, contient ceci :


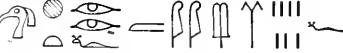
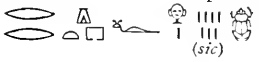







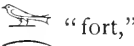






 “ Comme il a été fait par les rois, les ancêtres vénérables, à partir d'Assouan jusqu'à Tachompsou.”





Le calendrier du temple d'Esne parle de la “ fête du nouvel an des ancêtres,” expression qui s'écrit ainsi .§ Finalement,


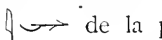

\* DÜMICHEN, *Baugeschichte des Denderatemples*, pl. IV.  
 † DÜMICHEN, *Ibid.*, pl. V, ligne 8.  
 ‡ Vol. X, pages, 571-578.  
 § LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, IV, 78. BRUGSCH, *Matériaux*, X, 1a.



parez à cet sujet des expressions, comme  "munir sa tête des deux uræus;"\*  "ses deux yeux sous forme de deux plumes d'autruches (reposent) sur sa tête;" †  "son successeur sur la terre;" ‡ etc.

Il me semble donc évident qu'il faut accorder au signe  les deux valeurs de *tep* et *hetep*, sans admettre pour cela l'existence de "Differenzierung." Il est vrai que l'égyptien compte la lettre  parmi les moyens qu'il met à contribution pour différencier des vocables de la même forme. De cette manière, je crois pouvoir expliquer  "insignifiant" § par rapport à  "puissant,"  "faible," par rapport à  "fort," etc. Mais nous avons des exemples, où  s'ajoute au commencement d'un radical sans en modifier notablement le sens. A cet égard, on peut citer  à côté de , tous les deux signifiant "accomplir, terminer," etc.;  à côté de  et d'autres encore. Ce dernier procédé dont je connais assez d'exemples (par exemple *ἄμος*, à côté de *humerus*; *vikáw*, à côté du *hníga* islandais, etc.), dans les langues indo-européennes, explique probablement les doubles lectures *tep*, *hotep* de la même racine .

27. Déjà, il y a longtemps, j'ai fait remarquer|| que le  qui caractérise le futur de la langue ancienne, et qui correspond à la lettre *€* de la langue-fille, vers les basses époques, quelquefois prend la forme de la lettre . À la même occasion, j'ai relevé que l'auxiliaire , vers la dite période de l'histoire de la langue égyptienne, a été modifié en  [= copte *€*].

Il est très raisonnable, que l'ancienne préposition  ait marché dans le même sens d'efflorescence phonétique. Nous connaissons déjà la forme  de la préposition composée ;¶ que la

\* PIEHL, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques*, Seconde Série, Pl. VI, l. 9.




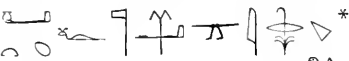
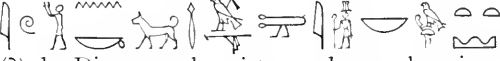
† PIEHL, *loc. cit.*, Pl. 20, l. 4.







‡ PIEHL, *ibid.*, Pl. 45, l. 7.


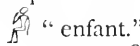
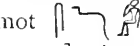



§ *Texte historique de Hatason* à Stabel Antar.

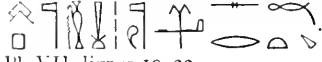
|| *Zeitschrift*, 1879, pages 32-34.




¶ PIEHL, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques*, première Série, Vol. II, page 49.

préposition  simple aussi a fini par adopter la forme , cela nous est prouvé par des exemples, comme les suivants : \* "Amset et Tuamutef tirent vers le Sud ;" \* "Amset et Tuamutef tirent vers le Sud ;"  "Salut à toi, serviteur (?) du Dieu grand, qui te rends vers le prince, seigneur de l'Occident."† Le copte nous fournit ici aussi un E.

Dans ces circonstances, on peut dire avec entière certitude que le  des temps gréco-romains équivaut à notre e bref, ou au moins à une nuance de cette voyelle. Cette valeur, par un développement fort naturel, est aussi devenue celle de la combinaison de lettres , témoin des formes comme ,<sup>‡</sup> ,<sup>§</sup> à côté des formes régulières , .

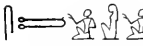


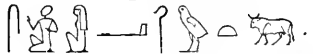
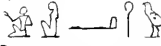


28. Les textes d'Amtén, étudiés par M. MASPERO (*Journal Asiatique*, 1890, XV, page 269, et suiv.), contiennent un groupe , que le dit savant traduit par "domestiques mâles et femelles," et qu'il rapproche du groupe connu  "enfant." Ce rapprochement est impossible, attendu que le mot  appartient à l'ancien empire [MARIETTE, *Mastabas*, p. 271], c'est-à-dire à la même période littéraire que le (prétendu) groupe . C'est que nous n'avons pas de preuves pour un changement de  en  et *vice versa*, quant à la période en question.


\* LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*. IV, 57a. Parallèlement à cette expression, on lit . Comparez BRUGSCH, *Drei Festkalender*, Pl. VII, lignes 19-22.









† VON BERGMANN, *Der Sarkophag des Panehemis*, page 11. Cet habile connaisseur des textes hiéroglyphiques de basse époque, regarde le  de notre passage comme complément phonétique du groupe *ati*. Je crois pourtant devoir maintenir mon opinion, tout en indiquant que  pourrait encore être variante du fréquent .

‡ DÜMICHEN, *Tempel-Inschriften*, I, 31, 2.

§ PIEHL, *Inscriptions Iléer*. Seconde Série. Pl. CVIII, l. 6.


On n'est guère trop hardi, en prétendant que le nouveau groupe  doit disparaître et se remplacer par celui de . C'est que le monument dont nous parlons contient aussi ce dernier. Les expressions où, dans les inscriptions en question, se voient les deux groupes, sont d'ailleurs identiques pour la partie phonétique, car l'une est celle-ci : , l'autre a la forme suivante : . Les saïtes rendent cet ensemble de notions par ,\* ce qui prouve l'exactitude de la lecture , quant au groupe que M. MASPERO avait voulu lire .

29. Le même tombeau mentionne le nom de localité  que M. MASPERO rend par "le château du vivant," c'est-à-dire "la chapelle du temple local qui contenait les statues de double d'un Pharaon et qui s'appelait de ce nom."

Admettons cette explication de M. MASPERO, comment doit-on alors traduire  du titre de fonctionnaire que voici :   
 [MARIETTE, *Mastabas*, page 109.] Le plus acceptable est sans doute de mettre le sens du dit groupe en rapport avec la littérature sacrée,  étant la déesse protectrice des scribes. Alors,  doit s'approcher de , l'atelier de Thoth. Ce rapprochement n'a rien d'étonnant, si nous réfléchissons que les deux groupes  et , selon Brugsch,<sup>†</sup> s'emploient indistinctement pour désigner le temple de Dendérah.

30. À propos de ma note sur l'étymologie du nom d'Osiris, M. LEFÉBURE,<sup>‡</sup> qui, avec BRUGSCH et LE PAGE RENOUF, est la plus grande autorité sur le terrain de la mythologie égyptienne, a fait

\* Cf. la statue A 93 du Louvre (PIERRET, II, 40).


† BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire Géographique*, pages 1120, 1121. À propos de l'écriture de l'époque Ptolémaïque, il faut faire remarquer contre l'opinion de M. MASPERO (II, page 303, note 2), que le signe , qui appartient à cette période, ne se lit jamais : ouûb, mais pau, comme nous l'enseigne fort bien BRUGSCH (*Hierogl. Grammatik*, p. 124, No. 188.)


‡ *Proceedings*, Vol. XII, page 439.

remarquer que l'étymologie que j'avais proposée pour le dit nom de dieu, n'était pas nouvelle, mais qu'il avait, lui-même, avancé, presque les mêmes vues, il y a quelque temps.

Je m'empresse de reconnaître la priorité de l'éminent égyptologue français, tout en regrettant de ne pas avoir consulté son travail, préalablement à la composition de ma note.

Cela dit, notre savant confrère nous permettra, sans doute, de citer des raisons en faveur de l'acception que nous avons soutenue pour le passage suivant, emprunté aux textes du coffre de Sétî I<sup>er</sup> :

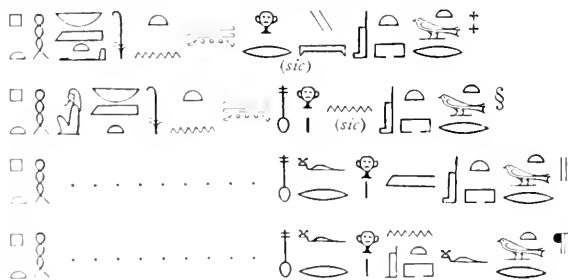
 passage que dans le dit mémoire\* M. LEFÉBURE, quoique un peu hésitant, traduit ainsi : "la mère, le ciel, grand espace."

La traduction que j'avais proposée, fut celle-ci : "Mut, supérieure de la grande demeure." C'est donc, à proprement parler, sur le sens littéral de l'expression  que nous ne tombons pas d'accord, M. LEFÉBURE et moi. C'est par conséquent sur cette expression que doit porter notre examen.

Dans les inscriptions funéraires de la nécropole thébaine, le dieu Ptah est souvent mentionné, ayant une série de qualifications qui se répètent avec des variantes plus ou moins légères. Voici un spécimen de la dite série de qualifications :



Parmi les variantes qu'on peut relever, pour cette expression, je regarde comme les plus notables, celles-ci :



\* *Proceedings*, Vol. XII, page 444.

§ *Recueil de Vieveg*, II, page 175.



† *Recueil de Vieveg*, I, page 204.

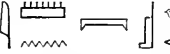






|| *Ibid.*, II, page 177.




‡ *Ibid.*, IV, page 141.


• *Ibid.*, IV, page 147.


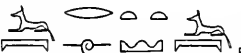


De ces exemples il résulte, je crois, avec évidence, que  de l'expression  est une préposition. L'expression en question signifie donc "sur la grande demeure," "celui qui se trouve dans la grande demeure," ou quelque chose de pareil.

Cela étant, la phrase \* signifie évidemment : "Ammon de (ou *sur*) la grande demeure ;" de même :  signifie : "Tanenit-Anit, supérieure de la grande demeure." Pourquoi alors ne pas traduire  "Mut, supérieure de (=qui est sur) la grande demeure?" On pourrait faire remarquer que l'article  est de trop ici, mais l'expression qui nous occupe date d'une époque où l'on emploie l'article à profusion. D'ailleurs, si l'on pouvait dire : , , pourquoi ne pas de même  ?

Les textes nous parlent d'une<sup>†</sup>  "Mut qui réside à la maison de Ptah ;" elle était sans doute identique à , Ptah étant lui-même intitulé .

Dans les recherches qui précèdent, j'ai cru inutile d'expliquer longuement le sens du groupe , à plus forte raison que le sens du dit groupe ne modifie en rien l'acception grammaticale que j'ai fait valoir pour l'expression qui forme le sujet de ce paragraphe.

Toutefois, pour être complet je ferai observer que  de l'expression *Mut ta hr st ūr*, désigne bien le tombeau, de même que par exemple dans la phrase  § ce qui n'empêche pas que l'on puisse relever d'autres cas, où le même

\* *Proceedings*, Vol. XII, page 262.


† LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, IV, b, 60.


‡ CHAMPOLLION, *Notices*, II, page 74.

§ PIEHL, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques*, pl. 36, l. 5.

groupe désigne le sanctuaire d'une divinité,\* partant le ciel ; c'est que les deux notions, dans le langage des écrivains religieux de l'Égypte, † sont apparantées, l'une à l'autre.

31. L'inscription de Berscheh, relative au transport d'un colosse, à ce que l'on sait, a été traitée par M. CHABAS, ‡ qui à cette occasion a fait preuve de la pénétration et de la sagacité qui lui sont coutumières. Néanmoins, il m'a paru justifiable de vouloir essayer d'apporter quelques modifications dans le travail de l'admirable égyptologue français. Cette fois, je me contenterai d'examiner un seul passage du texte en question. C'est à la ligne 10, où se lit :

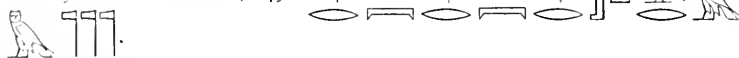
 ce qu'a rendu M. CHABAS de la manière suivante : “ C'était beau à voir plus que toute autre chose. Les Haou furent faits Ha-sheta-khamer ; je fus fait chef dans cette ville.”

BRUGSCH, qui vient de traduire le texte de Berscheh, donne pour le passage qui nous occupe la signification que voici : § “ Weit besser ist der Anblick als irgend etwas. Die Bürgermeister werden zum Richter ernannt und der  wird zum (Gaugrafen) in dieser Stadt ernannt.”

Finalement, M. MASPERO a tout dernièrement || mentionné notre passage de texte dans les termes suivants : “ Après avoir décrit le

\* Cf. MARIETTE, *Abydos*, I, pl. 18, 35, 38, etc.



† *Pyramide de Merenra*, l. 490 :





‡ *Mélanges égyptologiques*, III, 2, page 103 et suiv.

§ *Die Aegyptologie*, page 294.


|| *Journal Asiatique*, huitième Série. XV, page 310.—Malgré la variante

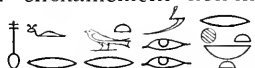

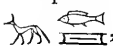
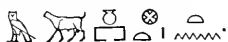
 que nous donne M. VON BERGMANN pour le groupe qui communément s'écrit  [Recueil de Vivéeg, VII, page 179], M. MASPERO

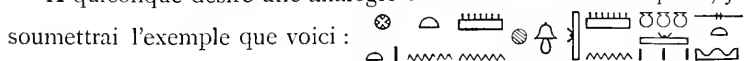
hésite à adopter la lecture *ad-mer* pour le mot , qu'il lit toujours *khamiri*. On peut d'ailleurs relever contre l'exactitude de cette dernière lecture que le poisson qui a la valeur phonétique *kha*, le plus souvent revêt la forme suivante :



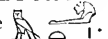


 forme qui n'est jamais à ma connaissance, celle du poisson, employé dans le trace du mot *chamer*, *khamiri*.

brillant accueil qu'on lui fit et la joie qui saisit ses vassaux à cette occasion, il ajoute une mention assez obscure des "*Hâou* institués avant lui et des *Khamiri* institués . . . . . à l'intérieur de ce fief."


Au lieu de faire de notre passage de texte deux ou trois phrases indépendantes entre elles, comme l'ont voulu mes devanciers; je préfère regarder le tout comme une seule expression, subdivisée en propositions intimément liées entre elles. Ma traduction est donc celle-ci: "C'était plus beau à voir que toutes les choses que les *hau* avaient faites auparavant, et que les  avaient faites\* jusque là (?), dans cette ville."

Il semble que l'on ait hésité à considérer notre passage de texte comme formant un enchaînement non-interrompu d'idées, par la raison que le début  s'en rencontre dans un autre endroit de la même inscription, et que dans cet endroit, il forme une proposition indépendante. Mais ce fait n'engage, par lui-même, à rien. D'ailleurs le sens fourni par la nouvelle traduction, est si clair et net, que déjà par là cette dernière doit pouvoir exiger l'approbation de juges compétents. En effet, Thothotep était lui-même à la fois  et , et cette circonstance l'autorise pleinement à établir un comparaison entre lui-même et ses prédécesseurs dans les mêmes fonctions, .






A quiconque désire une analogie en faveur de notre acception, je soumettrai l'exemple que voici:  exemple que je traduis de la sorte: "de cette ville. J'ai exécuté de meilleurs





\* Je ne sais comment combler la lacune entre  et . Mais, le parallélisme des membres exige un mot analogue à celui de . Ou faut-il peut-être insérer le groupe  "les futures, à l'avenir?" Le sens de la fin de l'expression devient alors: "que les  feront à l'avenir, dans cette ville."

† *Textes de Chnumhotep à Beni-Hassan.* M. MASPERO a traduit ce passage ainsi: "de cette résidence, construisant les monuments destinés aux ancêtres sur sa montagne, mieux que les édifices bâtis avant moi." *Rec. Vieweg, I, page 169.*

monuments pour sa nécropole que ceux des ancêtres, que les \* ont faits avant moi."

32. Le signe hiéroglyphe  $\triangle$ , par LEPSIUS† est compté parmi les "zweifelhafte Figuren," BRUGSCH‡ le place dans la série des "Mathematische Figuren," tandis que le professeur ERMAN§ le désigne comme une espèce de pain.

Je serais disposé à voir en notre signe *un petit amas de terre, une motte, une butte de bien modestes dimensions.* En faveur de cette thèse, j'allègue d'abord le fait, que nous rencontrons le signe  $\triangle$  comme base de certaines plantes, par exemple, dans les hiéroglyphes , , , et d'autres encore. En second lieu, il faut se rappeler que dans les inscriptions multicolores, la couleur de  $\triangle$  est invariablement noire, couleur qui est celle du sol égyptien ( ).

\*  est un titre d'homme, assez fréquent pendant le moyen empire. Il signifie, je crois, un homme aisé qui n'a pas seulement sa maison à lui, mais aussi des propriétés en terres. Il y avait des   .



† *Liste de Theinhardt*, Z 12.












‡ *Hiérogl. Grammatik*, page 133, N°. 520.










§ *Aegypten*, page 450.





















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


I have read with special interest and pleasure Professor Piehl's remarks on the phonetic values of the sign . They entirely relieve me of all apprehensions that I had overlooked instances fatal to my own theory on the subject. If Professor Piehl knows of no such instances I do not think it likely that anyone else does. But he has now the right to ask for my explanation of those instances which appear to him to tell in favour of the reading , *tep*.

In the first place I have not the least hesitation in accepting the form   , which I believe to be correctly given by M. Bouriant. Already in the Persian period the word was written    ,\* and at Edfu it is written  . As I hold that one of the values of  is , what can in my mind be more natural than to find it with this value in the Akhmim inscriptions?

What I strenuously assert is that *whenever*  *has for variant any one of the signs*      *or*  *its value is*  , *htp*. Now *this is the case whenever it is a preposition*. Professor Piehl has added fresh instances to those which I have given. No exceptions can be admitted.







There is no such word as  . The  belongs to a word preceding  , as both Brugsch (*Matériaux*, p. 21) and Goodwin (*Zeitschrift*, 1867, p. 48) have long since pointed out.





With reference to two of Professor Piehl's instances I would ask him what he would infer on finding  for  or  for  ? Would he not say that they were stupid blunders of scribes who mistook one sign for another? And so say I with reference to    .  for  is not a greater mistake than  for .













I would say the same thing with reference to    if it were certainly intended as an alliteration with  .



\* Brugsch, *Reise nach der grossen Oase*, Taf. xxvii, 35.

† These blunders, which are not unfrequent, begin at an early date. See, e.g., *Denkm.*, II, 142, a.

It is however quite possible that the first word is meant for    , which is one of the titles of Hathor, as in the text given by Dr. Piehl at p. 49, and then the alliteration would hold good with reference to two words (either the first two or the last two), but under no circumstances can  , a 'predecessor' (literally the 'one before'), be read *tep ā*.

There is, I repeat, superabundance of proof that *the preposition*  is *h<sub>1</sub>tep*. But from the earliest times down to the last there is not *one* solitary instance of its being read *tep*. Whenever  is found miswritten for  (and it never is found otherwise as a variant) it is when  is a noun signifying 'head.'

I cannot understand why the juxtaposition of  with  should throw any doubt on its value. The juxtaposition of homophonous signs is surely no rare phenomenon. What conclusion can be drawn from  which is not equally true of    =    ? The value of  is *h<sub>1</sub>tep*, but we also know that  is .

I am sorry that I cannot agree with Professor Piehl respecting  as a formative letter. I do not believe there is any the slightest etymological connection between the words quoted by him as beginning with  and the words which are without this letter. But this is a new subject and I will not say any more about it at present.



INSCRIPTIONS PROVENANT D'UN MASTABA DE LA  
SIXIÈME DYNASTIE.

PAR KARL PIEHL.

Pendant mon premier voyage d'Égypte, entrepris en 1882-83, j'ai eu le rare plaisir de visiter un mastaba qui venait de sortir, presque vierge peut-on dire, du sein de la terre. Le directeur des fouilles d'alors, M. MASPERO, sur ma demande, m'autorisa à étudier de près le monument en question, tout en se réservant à lui-même le droit d'en publier les textes. J'ai consacré une journée entière à cette étude, au cours de laquelle j'ai eu le bonheur de profiter des lumières, pleines d'autorité, de l'éminent auteur du "Précis de l'art arabe," M. J. BOURGOIN,\* qui, lui aussi, s'occupait de l'examen de notre monument.

En feuilletant le premier volume des "Mémoires de la mission française au Caire," j'ai rencontré un article,† intitulé "Trois années de fouilles," et portant la signature de M. MASPERO, article dans lequel j'ai, entre autre, constaté la présence de textes, empruntés‡ au mastaba que j'avais été admis à étudier en 1883. Toutefois, le dit article ne renferme qu'une partie des textes du mastaba en question. Les deux textes, les plus intéressants, M. MASPERO, par une raison ou une autre, les a sautés.

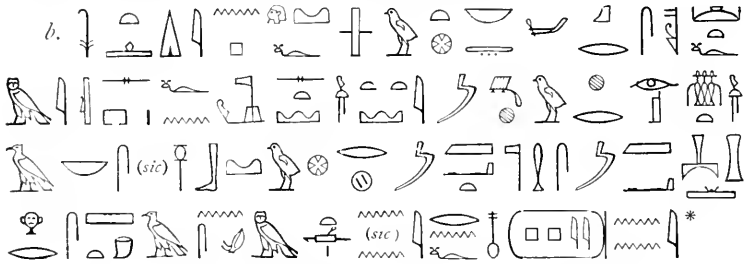
Maintenant, que 5 ans se sont écoulés depuis la publication de M. MASPERO du monument dont nous avons déjà assez souvent parlé, je suis peut-être autorisé à suppléer ce qui manque dans la copie que notre savant confrère en a fournie aux égyptologues. Pour offrir au lecteur un coup d'œil d'ensemble de notre monument, j'en reproduis ici tous les textes, à l'exception de la longue liste d'offrandes, qui prendrait trop d'espace et dont le détail, sauf pour quelques points légers, a été fort bien rendu dans l'ouvrage du savant français.

\* Les copies au pinceau que M. BOURGOIN a exécutées suivant les représentations de notre mastaba ont été publiées sur les Planches VI, VII du premier volume des *Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*.

† *Vol. I*, pages 133-242.

‡ *Ibid.*, pages 196-199.

Voici donc les textes de notre mastaba :



\* Les textes *a* et *b* se voient aux pages 196 et 198 de l'ouvrage cité. Dans le texte *b*, il y a une faute évidente, j'entends le  $\text{𓂏}$  qui occupe la place entre les mots  $\text{𓂏}$  et  $\text{𓂏}$ . La copie de M. MASPERO donne ici un  $\text{𓂏}$ . Si nous admettons que cette dernière lecture est la juste, elle implique tout de même une erreur chez l'auteur égyptien, le signe  $\text{𓂏}$  de l'ancien empire ayant la valeur de  $\text{𓂏}$ . [ERMAN, dans STEINDORFF, *Prolegomena zu einer Kopt. Nominal-klasse*, page 4.]






le conseiller intime qui écoute,\* l'unique, du grand palais des six,† le dévot *Nenekâ*. Il dit: Ce tombeau, que je me suis construit dans la partie occidentale de la nécropole, une place sainte a été faite à son intérieur. Tout noble, tout grand, tout particulier qui détruira la pierre‡ du Seigneur de l'éternité (?), dans ce tombeau, je lui intenterai un procès par devant le dieu grand."





\* \* \* \* \*





À propos de ce petit texte, nous prenons la liberté de passer en revue quelques autres du même ordre qui jusqu'ici sont restés non traduits, ou ont été mal traduits.

Le *premier* de ces textes a été copié par MARIETTE,§ et a la teneur suivante :



"Quiconque fait du mal contre (corrigez en ) ceci qui a été fait pour moi, à cause de ma dévotion vis-à-vis de mon seigneur, je vais le plaider à la place où l'on plaide."

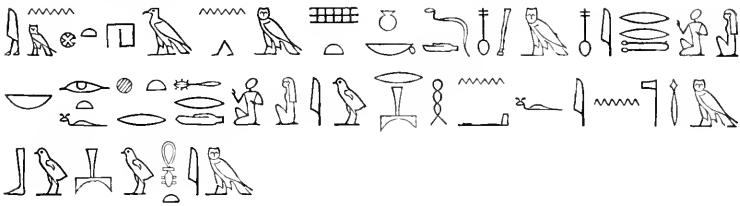
\* M. MASPERO (*Recueil de Viteveg*, XIII, page 71) s'exprime au sujet du titre  de la sorte: "toutes les variantes que j'en connais jusqu'à présent semblent indiquer que le  est la marque du féminin, et, par suite, que *l'auditrice unique* est une femme ou une déesse, peut-être Hâthor ou Nit." L'hypothèse de notre savant confrère tombe devant l'existence du titre  (Louvre, C. 176). Les deux titres sont pour les époques, les plus anciennes, de l'histoire égyptienne, ce que ceux de  sont pour la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie et les temps postérieurs à celle-là.


† Le titre en question s'écrit en général    . Cfr. pourtant *Mission française*, I, page 202.


‡ Par là est probablement désignée la stèle funéraire, ou d'une manière générale la partie ornée de la tombe.

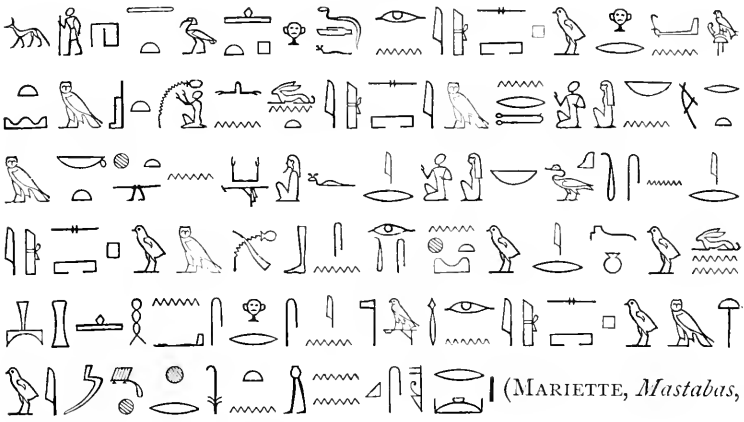
§ MARIETTE, *Mastabas*, page 185.

Un *second* texte du même ordre est le suivant :



texte qui (malgré les paroles \* de son éditeur) à une petite faute près, est parfaitement correct et qui signifie : “Je viens de (?) ma ville, j’entre dans mon nome. J’ai dit et répété le bien. Quiconque fait du mal à mes enfants, je le plaiderai auprès du dieu grand, à la place où l’on plaide” (corrigez la fin en ).


Le *troisième* et dernier texte que nous voudrions citer comme pendant à celui du mastaba de  a la forme que voici :



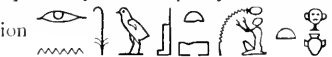

(MARIETTE, *Mastabas*, p. 342) ce que je traduis de la sorte :



“Le juge et grand de la salle de justice *Chu-hotep-her* dit : Je me suis fait ce tombeau sur le plateau (?) de l’Occident, dans une


\* M. GEORGES DARESSY, dans le *Recueil de Viverg*, XI, page 84. La façon très exacte dont le dit égyptologue a publié cette inscription, comme d’autres, nous fait espérer que, dorénavant, on pourra consulter avec plus de fruit que du temps de son prédécesseur, les publications, pour ainsi dire officielles, du Musée du Caire.


place sainte,\* où il n'y a point de tombeau d'autres personnes, à l'effet de (voir) protéger les offrandes, faites à mon *ka*. Quiconque entre dans ce tombeau . . . . . † et fait du mal ‡ contre (tout) ceci, je vais le (lisez ) plaider à ce sujet (*litt.* "à cause de cela") auprès du dieu grand. Je me suis fait ce tombeau dans un endroit § ombragé (?). Étant dévoué au roi, on m'a apporté une coffre funéraire." ||


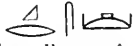
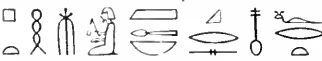

Je ne vais pas cette fois pousser plus loin les remarques, auxquelles les inscriptions de l'ancien empire donnent lieu. C'est là d'ailleurs un terrain sous bien des rapports vierge. Cette circonstance m'autorise à m'attendre à un jugement indulgent de la part des juges compétents en la matière.

\* Ce passage me porte à présumer qu'il y a une erreur au texte du Mastaba de *Nenekà*. L'expression  de ce dernier doit peut-être se corriger en  "Je l'ai érigé au milieu d'une place sainte."

† Ce passage signifie peut-être "pour se purifier" (c'est-à-dire en manière de *sousentendu*: "pour ne pas *me* purifier"). Pour la différence de sens qu'il y a entre  et , voir BRUGSCH, *Wörterbuch*, V, page 203.

‡ C'est là la forme pleine de l'expression fréquente  "faire du mal à l'égard de."

§ Il faut faire remarquer que le signe  de ce passage pourrait bien être celui qui se lit *mench*. Alors le sens serait ici: "J'ai fait ce tombeau d'une façon soignée."

|| La relation intime qu'il y a entre les deux mots  et  résulte d'une inscription de *Leïde*, dans laquelle un individu s'appelle tantôt  tantôt  [LEEMANS, *Monuments*, III K, XVIII, XIX ]



## TROIS LETTRES DE TELL EL-AMARNA,

PAR A. J. DELATRE, S.J.

## I.

LETTRE D'UN ROI DE BABYLONE, PEUT-ÊTRE BURRABURIYAS, AU  
ROI D'ÉGYPTÉ.

(Voir le texte dans le recueil WINCKLER-ABEL, No. 3.)

J'ai indiqué le sens général de cette pièce dans une publication précédente (*Les Inscriptions de Tell el-Amarna*, Paris, Leroux, 1889). Aujourd'hui j'en présente une traduction intégrale, sans prétendre néanmoins en avoir éclairci tous les détails d'une manière sûre et définitive.

Dans la version de cette lettre et des deux suivantes, les parties restituées se lisent entre parenthèses ( ); les éclaircissements ajoutés au texte sont mis entre crochets [ ].

## TRANSCRIPTION DU TEXTE.

## RECTO.

1. . . . . -*ti-ia rabûti* . . . . .
2. . . . . -*i ki-i a* . . . . .
3. . . . . *rabûti ša i-ša-ap-pa-ru-ni a* . . . . .

---

4. . . . . *At-ta, ahi-ia, ki-i la na-da-(ni marati-ka),*
5. *a-na marati-ka a-na a-ha-zi ki-i aš-pu-ra, (tabbâ)*
6. *um-ma-a: ul-tum pa-na marat šarri ša mat Mi-iš-(ri)*
7. *a-na ma-am-ma ul in-na-ad-di-in. Am-mi-ni* . . . . .
8. *Šar at-ta: ki-i libbi-ka ti-ip-(pu-uš);*
9. *šum-ma ta-at-ta-di-in ma-an-nu mi-na-a i-(ka-ab-bi)?*
10. *Ki-i an-ni-ta a-ma-ta iḫ-bu-ni, a-na-ku* . . . . .
11. *a-ka-an-na al-ta-ap-ra um-ma-a: marātu rabātu* . . . . .
12. *sinnišātu ba-na-tum i-ba-aš-ša-a; ištinit sinništa, ki-i* . . . . .  
*ši-i šu-bi-la.*
13. *Ma-an-nu i-ka-ab-bi um-ma-a: ul marat šarri ši-i?*
14. *At-ta ki-i la šu-bu-li-im-ma ul tu-ši-bi-la?*
15. *At-ta ul aḫ-ḫu-ta-a u da-bu-ta tu-bi-hi-i-ma.*
16. *Ki-i a-na a-ha-mi-iš ki-ri-bi-ni a-na a-ḫu-za-ti ta-aš-pu-ra*
17. *u a-na-ku aš-šum an-ni-ti-im-ma, a-na aḫ-ḫu-ti u da-bu-ti,*
18. *aš-šum a-na a-ha-mi-iš ki-ri-bi-ni a-na a-ḫu-za-ti aš-pu-ra-ak-ku,*

19. *aḥi-ia ištinit sinništa am-mi-ni la u-ši-bi-la?*  
 20. *Mi-in-di at-ta pi ul tu-ši-bi-la?*  
 21. *A-na-ku ki-i ka-ša-ma-a sinništa lu-uk-la-ak-ku-um-ma.*  
 22. *Maratu-u-a i-ba-aš-ša-a. ul a-ka-al-la-ak-(ku)!*
- 
23. *Mi-in-di-i-ma a-na a-ḥu-za-ti ki-i . . . . .*  
 24. *. . . . . (u)-ma mi ki aš-pu-ra-ak-ku . . . . .*  
 25. *. . . . . rabūti-ka ki-i . . . . .*  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .

VERSO.

- \* . . . . .  
 . . . . .
1. *. . . . . -ka ik-bu-ni . . . . .*  
 2. *I-na-an-na ša marat-ia ša u-ši-(bi-la-aš-ši-i),*  
 3. *at-ta zi-ra-ša ul ta-za- . . . . .*  
 4. *ša u-ma-mi mi-nu-um-ma i-ri-iš-ka (lu-ši-bi-la-ak-ku).*
- 
5. *U aš-šum ḥuraši ša aš-pu-ra-ak-ku ḥurašu si a . . . . .*  
 6. *ma-aḥ-da la-am mar si-ip-ri-ka a-na mu-uḥ-ḥi-ia . . . . .*  
 7. *I-na-an-na ḥa-mu-ut-ta i-na libbi šatti an-ni-i*  
 8. *lu-u i-na araḥ Duzu, lu i-na araḥ Abu.*  
 9. *šu-bi-la-am-ma du-ul-la ša ša-ab-ta-ku lu-bu-(uš).*  
 10. *Sum-ma i-na šatti an-ni-i i-na araḥ Duzu a araḥ Abu*  
 11. *ḥuraša ša aš-pa-ra-ak-ku tu-ul-ti-bi-la-am-(ma, maratā)-ka*  
*šu-bi-la,*  
 12. *marati a-na-di-na-ak-ku. U at-ta i-na tu-bi ḥuraša . . . . .*  
 13. *U šum-ma i-na araḥ Duzu u araḥ Abu*  
 14. *ḥuraša la tu-ul-ti-bi-la-am-ma du-ul-la ša ša-ab-ta-ku la i-ti-bu-uš.*  
 15. *u i-na tu-bi, a-na mi-ni-i tu-ši-bi-la-am,*  
 16. *ul-tum du-ul-la ša ša-ab-ta-ku i-ti-ib-šu.*  
 17. *Iḥuraša a-na mi-ni-i lu-uḥ-ši-iḥ;*  
 18. *lu-u III. M. biltu(?) ša ḥuraši šu-bi-la, ul a-ma-aḥ-ḥa-ar-*  
*(ma) . . . . .*  
 19. *u-ta-ar-ra-ak-ku, u marati a-na a-ḥu-za-ti ul a-na-di-in.*

TRANSLATION.

(4) Toi, mon frère, en me refusant (ta fille), (5) lorsque je t'ai envoyé un message au sujet de ta fille, pour l'épouser, (tu me parlas) (6) ainsi: "Depuis toujours, une fille du roi d'Égypte (7) n'est

donnée à personne [à l'étranger]." Pourquoi alléguer cette excuse? Tu es roi, tu agis à ton gré. (9) Si tu [la] donnes qui di(ra) quelque chose? (10) Quand on me rapporta ce message, je . . . . . (11) Je te mande donc ceci: (tu as) des filles adultes; (12) elles sont femmes propres [au mariage]. Une femme, [si tu veux m'obliger], envoie-la. (13) Qui dira: n'est-ce pas la fille du roi? (14) Ne l'envoies-tu pas, et ne la retiens-tu pas à ton gré? (15) Tu ne pratiques ni la fraternité, ni l'amitié. (16) Lorsque, conformément aux relations qui existent entre nous, tu m'envoies un message pour mariage, (17) et que moi, là-dessus, par fraternité et amitié, (18) conformément aux relations qui existent entre nous, je t'envoie un message pour mariage, (19) pourquoi mon frère ne m'envoie-t-il pas une femme? (20) Pourquoi ne m'envoies-tu pas le consentement? (21) Moi [donc], je te refuserai la femme de la même façon que toi. (22) C'est ma fille [fille de roi, comme la tienne], [et] je ne te ne la refuserai pas?

VERSO.

(2) Maintenant, en ce qui concerne ma fille, que je (te l'envoie), (3) ne m'en (parle plus dans ces conditions). (4) Quant aux ouvrages, tout ce que tu désires, (je te le fournirai). (5) Pour l'or au sujet duquel je t'ai envoyé un message, cet or . . . . . (6) ton ambassadeur ne me l'a pas apporté en [assez] grande quantité. (7) Maintenant, sans tarder, dans le cours de cette année, (8) soit au mois de Duzu, soit au mois d'Abu, (9) envoie-le, et je ferai l'ouvrage dont je me suis chargé. (10) Si, au cours de cette année, au mois de Duzu ou au mois d'Abu, (11) tu me fais parvenir l'or au sujet duquel je t'ai envoyé un message, envoie aussi (la femme), (12) pour que je donne ma fille. Et toi (note) l'or avec exactitude. (13) Et si au mois de Duzu ou au mois d'Abu, (14) tu me fais point parvenir l'or, je n'exécuterai point [tous] les travaux dont je me suis chargé. (15) Avec exactitude, suivant la quantité que tu enverras, (16) j'exécuterai plus ou moins des travaux dont je me suis chargé. (17) Je désire de l'or compté, [pour restituer en conséquence]. (18) Fais apporter 3000 talents d'or, je n'[en] prendrai [rien], (19) je te le rendrai, mais je ne [te] donnerai pas de fille en mariage.

REMARQUES.

Recto, l. 14.—Littéralement: "ne l'envoies-tu pas, comme ne l'envoyant pas?"

Recto, l. 22.—*Je ne te la refuserai pas?* Interrogation figurée. Cela veut dire : je te la refuserai certainement.

Verso, ll. 12 et 15.—*Avec exactitude*, traduction simplement possible.

Verso, l. 19.—J'ai mal traduit le dernier membre de phrase dans ma première publication, comme M. Flemming l'a justement fait remarquer dans les *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1890, n. 4.

## II.

### LETTRE D'UN ROI DE BABYLONIE, X-LIM-MA-SIN, AU ROI D'ÉGYPTE.

(Voir le texte dans le même recueil, No. I.)

#### TRANSCRIPTION DU TEXTE.

7. *Aš-šum zinništi šu-ḥa-ri-ti, marat a-ni-ia, ša a-na a-ḥu-za-ti ta-aš-pu-ra,*
  8. *(zinništu) Ir-ta-bi ša zi-ka-ri-ši-i, su-up-ra-am-ma ta-al-ku-u.*
  9. *I-na pa-na mar ši-ip-ri a-bu-u-a i-ša-ap-ḫa-ra-(ku)-um-ma*
  10. *umi ma-ah-du-ti ul ta-ka-al-la-(šu), ḥa-(mu-ut-tis)*
  11. *tu-ka-ša-da-aš-šu, u šu-ul-ma-na ba-na-a*
  12. *a-na a-bi-ia tu-ši-ib-bi-la-am.*
- 
13. *I-na-an-na a-na-ku mar ši-ip-ri ša aš-pu-ra-ak-ku*
  14. *šanata ḥaššata ta-ak-ta-la-šu u ša-a šanati ḥaššati*
  15. *šelašá ma-na ḥuraši ša ki kaspu ip-šu, a-na šu-ul-ma-ni-ia tu-ul-ti-bi-la.*
  16. *Huraša ša-a-šu a-(na) pa-an Ra-si-i mar ši-ip-ri-ka*
  17. *uš-ši-id-du-ma i-ga-ma-ar.*

#### TRADUCTION.

(7) Quant à la jeune personne, ma fille chérie, que tu m'as fait demander en mariage, (8) dont le nom est Irtabi, envoie [tes gens] et prends la. (9) Antérieurement, mon père t'envoyait son messenger, (10-12) tu le retenais peu de jours, tu réglais ses affaires, et tu envoyais de bons présents à mon père. (13) Maintenant, moi, le messenger que je t'ai adressé. (14) tu l'as retenu jusqu'à la cinquième année, et la cinquième année, (15) tu m'envoies [avec mon messenger congédié, seulement] 30 mines d'or, *qui est comme de l'argent (?)*, en présent.—(16, 17) J'ai pesé cet or devant Rasí, ton messenger ; il se trouve complet.



L. 11.—*Tu-ka-ša-da-aš-šu*, proprement *tu le faisais aboutir* à ce qu'il voulait.

L. 14.—Littéralement : *tu l'as retenu une cinquième année.*

## III.

## LETTRE D'UN PRINCE ZI . . . . . AU ROI D'ÉGYPTÉ.

(Voir le texte dans le même recueil, No. 29.)

## TRANSCRIPTION DU TEXTE.

## RECTO.

1. *A-na bili, šar mat Mi-iš-ri-í,*
2. *a-bi-ia ki tim-ma*
3. *um-ma Zi- . . . . . mar šarri*
4. *mar-ka-ma.*

5. *A-na-ku šipâ bili a-bi-ia*
6. *al-ku ; lu-u šul-mu.*

7. *I-na maḥ-ri-i ḥarrani a-i-u-tim*
8. *Mari šipri-ka a-na mat alu Ḥa-at-ti*
9. *it-tal-ku u ki-mi-í a-na muḥ-ḥi-ka*
10. *it-ta-as-ḥa-ru u a-na-ku-ma*
11. *a-na-ak-ka-a-ša, a-bi-ia,*
12. *sul-ma-na aš-pur u šu-bi-il-ta*
13. *a-na muḥ-ḥi-ka ul-ti-bil.*
14. . . . . *mari šipri-ka.*
15. . . . . *ru.*

## VERSO.

1. . . . . *a-nu-um-ma mari šipri-ka*
2. *(ištu) mat alu Ḥa-at-ti a-na muḥ-ḥi-ka*
3. *(taairat)-su-nu-ti, u a-na-ku-ma*
4. *it-ti mari šipri-ka at-tu-a mari šipri-ia*
5. *a-na muḥ-ḥi a-bi-ia aš-pur-šu-nu-ti,*
6. *u šu-bi-il-ta VIII aplani*
7. *a-na šul-ma-ni-ka ul-ti-bil-ak-ku*
8. *u a-na-ku ḥuraša ḥa-aš-ḥa-ku*
9. *u, a-bu-u-a, ḥuraša šu-bi-la*
10. *u mi-nu-um-mi-í, bil a-bi-ia,*
11. *ḥa-aš-ḥa-da šu-up-ra-ma u-ḥa-bal-ak-ku.*

## TRADUCTION.

## RECTO.

(1) Au seigneur, roi d'Égypte, mon maître, (2) mon père, pour information, en ces termes: Zi . . . . . fils du roi, (4) ton fils. (5, 6) Je prends, [pour les baiser], les pieds du seigneur mon père. Salut. (7) Précédemment chaque fois que (8, 9) tes messagers se sont rendus au pays de Khatti, (9, 10) lorsqu'ils retournaient chez toi, (10) moi, alors, (11) à toi, mon père, (12, 13) j'ai adressé un présent, et je t'ai fait parvenir un envoi. (14) . . . . .

## VERSO.

(1) . . . . . Maintenant tes messagers [encore une fois], (2, 3) retournent du pays de Khatti chez toi, (3-5) et moi, avec tes messagers, je t'ai envoyé les miens propres, (6, 7) et je te fais parvenir, comme présent, huit esclaves. (8) J'ai besoin d'or, (9) et [toi], mon père, envoie-moi de l'or, (10, 11) et tout ce que tu désires, ô mon père, mande [-le], et je te [l']enverrai.

## REMARQUES.

Les mots *père* et *fils*, dans cette pièce sont pris au figuré. La teneur de la lettre indique assez que la prince *Zi* . . . . ., qui est inférieur au roi de Khatti et que les messagers du roi d'Égypte ne visitent que par occasion, n'est pas le fils de ce dernier au sens ordinaire. Les rois de quelque importance sont les *frères* du roi d'Égypte; les petits princes sont ses *fils*; ses officiers étrangers sont, probablement comme les natifs, ses *serviteurs*, la *poussière* et l'*escabeau de ses pieds*, etc.

Recto l. 7.—Littéralement: *chaque fois précédente que*. Verso, l. 3.—*tairat*. Il faut supposer un nom de cette sorte pour s'expliquer *su-nu-ti*, au lieu de *šu-nu-ti*. Pour le fond, la restitution me paraît certaine.

Verso, l. 11.—Au lieu de: *u-ḥa-bal-ak-ku*, les autres lettres offrent, dans semblable contexte, *u-ši-bil-ak-ku*.



The Anniversary Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 13th January, 1891, at 8 p.m., when the Council and Officers of the Society will be elected, and the usual business of the Anniversary Meeting transacted.



## NOTICES.

N.B.—SUBSCRIPTIONS to the Society become due on the 1st of January each year. Those Members in arrear for the current year are requested to send the amount £1 1s. at once to the *Treasurer*, B. T. BOSANQUET, Esq., 54, St. James's Street, S.W.

PAPERS proposed to be read at the Monthly Meetings must be sent to the Secretary on or before the 10th of the preceding month.

Members having NEW MEMBERS to propose, are requested to send in the names of the Candidates on or before the 10th of the month preceding the meeting at which the names are to be submitted to the Council. On application, the proper nomination forms may be obtained from the Secretary.

Only a few complete sets of the "Transactions" of the Society now remain; they may be obtained by application to the Secretary, W. HARRY RYLANDS, F.S.A., 11, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

The LIBRARY of the Society, at 11, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., is open to Members on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, between the hours of 11 and 4, when the Secretary is in attendance to transact the general business of the Society.

Members are requested to send any corrections or additions they may wish to have made in the list which was published in Vol. VIII, Part 3.

Members are recommended to carefully preserve their copies of the "Proceedings," as they will not be reprinted at the end of the Volume of "Transactions," and if lost can only be supplied at a charge for each Part, or for the Volumes.

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

- Zeitsch. der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellsch., Vol. I, 1847; Vols. IV to XII, 1850 to 1858, inclusive; Vol. XX to Vol. XXXII, 1866 to 1878.
- 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, 1886.
- Tempel-Inschriften, 1862. 2 vols., folio.
- GOLENISCHEFF, Die Metternichstele. Folio, 1887.
- LEPSIUS, Nubian Grammar, &c., 1880.
- Études Égyptologiques. 13 vols., complete to 1880.
- WRIGHT, Arabic Grammar and Chrestomathy. 2nd edition.
- SCHROEDER, Die Phönizische Sprache.
- HAUPT, Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze.
- RAWLINSON, CANON, 6th Ancient Monarchy.
- BURKHARDT, Eastern Travels.
- CHABAS, Mélanges Égyptologiques. Séries I, III. 1862-1873.
- E. GAYET, Stèles de la XII dynastie au Musée de Louvre.
- LEDRAIN, Les Monuments Égyptiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale.
- SARZEC, Découvertes en Chaldée.
- SAINTE MARIE, Mission à Carthage.
- LEFÈBRE, Le Mythe Osirien. 2nd partie. "Osiris."
- LEPSIUS, Les Métaux dans les Inscriptions Égyptiennes, avec notes par W. Berend.
- D. G. LYON, An Assyrian Manual.
- A. AMIAUD AND L. MECHINEAU, Tableau Comparé des Écritures Babyloniennes et Assyriennes.
- Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer. 2 parts.
- ROBIOU, Croyances de l'Égypte à l'époque des Pyramides.
- Recherches sur le Calendrier en Égypte et sur le chronologie des Lagides.
- POGNON, Les Inscriptions Babyloniennes du Wadi Brissa.
- AMELINEAU, Histoire du Patriarche Copte Isaac.
- JENSEN, Die Kosmologie der Babylonier.
- WEISSLEACH, F. H., Die Achaemeniden Inschriften Zweiter Art.
- WALTHER, J., Les Découvertes de Ninive et de Babylone au point de vue biblique. Lausanne, 1890. 4s.
- WINCKLER, HUGO, Der Thontafelfund von El Amarna. Vols. I and II.



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*PROCEEDINGS*

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.



VOL. XIII. TWENTY-FIRST SESSION.

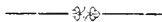
*Third Meeting, January 13th, 1891.*

[ANNIVERSARY.]



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# SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

11, HART STREET, BLOOMSBURY, W.C.

## PRICE LIST OF TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS.

| Vol. |           |     | TO MEMBERS. |    |    |    | TO NON-MEMBERS. |  |
|------|-----------|-----|-------------|----|----|----|-----------------|--|
|      |           |     | s.          | d. | s. | d. |                 |  |
|      | I, Part 1 | ... | 10          | 6  | 12 | 6  |                 |  |
| "    | I, " 2    | ... | 10          | 6  | 12 | 6  |                 |  |
| "    | II, " 1   | ... | 8           | 0  | 10 | 6  |                 |  |
| "    | II, " 2   | ... | 8           | 0  | 10 | 6  |                 |  |
| "    | III, " 1  | ... | 8           | 0  | 10 | 6  |                 |  |
| "    | III, " 2  | ... | 8           | 0  | 10 | 6  |                 |  |
| "    | IV, " 1   | ... | 10          | 6  | 12 | 6  |                 |  |
| "    | IV, " 2   | ... | 10          | 6  | 12 | 6  |                 |  |
| "    | V, " 1    | ... | 12          | 6  | 15 | 9  |                 |  |
| "    | V, " 2    | ... | 10          | 6  | 12 | 6  |                 |  |
| "    | VI, " 1   | ... | 10          | 6  | 12 | 6  |                 |  |
| "    | VI, " 2   | ... | 10          | 6  | 12 | 6  |                 |  |
| "    | VII, " 1  | ... | 7           | 6  | 10 | 6  |                 |  |
| "    | VII, " 2  | ... | 10          | 6  | 12 | 6  |                 |  |
| "    | VII, " 3  | ... | 10          | 6  | 12 | 6  |                 |  |
| "    | VIII, " 1 | ... | 10          | 6  | 12 | 6  |                 |  |
| "    | VIII, " 2 | ... | 10          | 6  | 12 | 6  |                 |  |
| "    | VIII, " 3 | ... | 10          | 6  | 12 | 6  |                 |  |
| "    | IX, " 1   | ... | 10          | 6  | 12 | 6  |                 |  |

### PROCEEDINGS.

|      |       |               |         |     |   |   |               |    |   |
|------|-------|---------------|---------|-----|---|---|---------------|----|---|
| Vol. | I,    | Session       | 1878-79 | ... | 2 | 0 | ...           | 2  | 6 |
| "    | II,   | "             | 1879-80 | ... | 2 | 0 | ...           | 2  | 6 |
| "    | III,  | "             | 1880-81 | ... | 4 | 0 | ...           | 5  | 0 |
| "    | IV,   | "             | 1881-82 | ... | 4 | 0 | ...           | 5  | 0 |
| "    | V,    | "             | 1882-83 | ... | 4 | 0 | ...           | 5  | 0 |
| "    | VI,   | "             | 1883-84 | ... | 5 | 0 | ...           | 6  | 0 |
| "    | VII,  | "             | 1884-85 | ... | 5 | 0 | ...           | 6  | 0 |
| "    | VIII, | "             | 1885-86 | ... | 5 | 0 | ...           | 6  | 0 |
| "    | IX,   | "             | 1886-87 | ... | 2 | 0 | per Part      | 2  | 6 |
| "    | IX,   | Part 7,       | 1886-87 | ... | 8 | 0 | " "           | 10 | 6 |
| "    | X,    | Parts 1 to 7, | 1887-88 | ... | 2 | 0 | " "           | 2  | 6 |
| "    | X,    | Part 8,       | 1887-88 | ... | 7 | 6 | " "           | 10 | 6 |
| "    | XI,   | Parts 1 to 7, | 1888-89 | ... | 2 | 0 | " "           | 2  | 6 |
| "    | XI,   | Part 8,       | 1888-89 | ... | 7 | 6 | " "           | 10 | 6 |
| "    | XII,  | Parts 1 to 7, | 1889-90 | ... | 2 | 0 | " "           | 2  | 6 |
| "    | XII,  | Part 8,       | 1889-90 | ... | 5 | 0 | " "           | 6  | 0 |
| "    | XIII, |               | 1890-91 | ... | 2 | 0 | (in progress) | 2  | 6 |

A few complete sets of the Transactions still remain for sale, which may be obtained on application to the Secretary, W. H. RYLANDS, F.S.A., 11, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

PROCEEDINGS  
OF  
THE SOCIETY  
OF  
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

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TWENTY-FIRST SESSION, 1890-91.

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*Third Meeting, 13th January, 1891.*

[ANNIVERSARY.]

REV. CANON ST. VINCENT BEECHEY

IN THE CHAIR.



The Chairman announced the loss the Society had recently suffered in the death of Dr. S. Louis, a valued contributor to the publications of the Society.

The Secretary was requested to communicate to the family of the late Dr. Louis the unanimous feeling of the meeting.

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

From the Author, Dr. A. Wiedemann:—*Geschichte von Alt-Ägypten.* Calw and Stuttgart. 8vo. 1891.

*Reiche der alten Welt.* Band I.

From Dr. Wiedemann:—*Elementary Russian Grammar,* by Pietro Motti. Heidelberg. 8vo. 1890.

[No. xcvi.]

From the Author, Professor E. Lefèbure :—Rites Égyptiens, construction et protection des édifices. Paris. 8vo. 1890.

Publications de l'école des lettres d'Alger, IV.

From the Author, Dr. O. v. Lemm :—Koptische Apokryphe Apostelacten. St. Pétersbourg. 8vo. 1890.

Mélanges Asiatiques. Tome X, livr. 1.

From the Author, Rev. T. Lowe :—Shakespeare under the Stars. 8vo. 1887.

The following Candidate was submitted for election, having been nominated at the last Meeting, 2nd December, 1890, and elected a Member of the Society :—

F. C. Burkitt, M.A., 12, Harvey Road, Cambridge.

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next Meeting, on 3rd February.

Rev. S. D. Brownjohn, Clare College, Cambridge, 46, Powys Square, W.

Michael Solovoy, 9, Mohovaia, St. Petersburg.

Miss Ingram, 129, Gower Street, W.C.

William George Thorpe, F.S.A., F.G.S., F.R.G.S., Gloucester House, Larkhall Rise, S.W.

To be added to the List of Subscribers :—

The Mansfield College, Oxford.

The Catholic University, Rev. A. Orban, Librarian, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.



The Secretary's Report having been submitted and received, the Statement of Receipts and Expenditure was read by Mr. Cates.

The President, Vice-Presidents, Council and Officers, for the year 1891 were elected.

The thanks of the Meeting were voted to the President and Secretary for their labours in behalf of the Society during the past year.

## SECRETARY'S REPORT

### FOR THE YEAR 1890.

---

As you are most of you aware, this Society was founded at the end of the year 1870, and commenced to hold meetings for the reading of papers during its first session, 1870-71; the first part of the *Transactions* being published during the year 1871. It is not now necessary to point out that the opinions and action of those who met at that time were well grounded; the rise and prosperity of the Society, as well as the quantity of valuable material published, is sufficient proof. That a Society was needed, having for its objects those studies which have now been continuously followed from the commencement, is quite clear. Nine volumes of *Transactions* and twelve of *Proceedings* have been issued, and we may well—now that we have commenced our twenty-first Session, and come of age so to speak—look back with satisfaction at the rise and steady increase of the Society during those years. I am happy to say that, in spite of the losses and fluctuations to which every learned Society like our own is necessarily subject, thanks to the increasing number of students, the increasing interest in our field of studies, and I feel sure to the permanent value of our publications, there is little need of complaint as to the present position of the Society. Many friends and valuable contributors have passed away during those twenty years, and our regrets for their loss must still always remain, as the blanks caused by that loss could often with difficulty be filled. We must however never forget that it is by the efforts of the members that the present success may be carried forward, and that by their support, the endeavours and wishes of the Council to extend the good work of the Society may be fully realized in the future.

Very much material remains unpublished, and must still remain so, until the Society is in a position to undertake it. It is the desire of the Council, as it has been their endeavour, to widen the subjects considered, and to open up new fields for inquiry. To enable them to do this satisfactorily, as also to further increase the quantity of material printed, they must receive the cordial assistance of the present Members. I cannot therefore too often urge upon you the advantage it would be not only to yourselves personally, but in the true interest of the studies to which the Society is especially devoted, to increase the number on the Roll of Members. We must not rest satisfied as we are, but always advance, and by our individual and united efforts, each according to his power and ability, put forward with every effort the interests of our

Society, so as to place it in a position to fully carry out the objects for which it was founded.

One of the much desired objects of such an effort as I have suggested would be the completion of that series of our publications for some years separately issued as *Transactions*. As I have already mentioned in several of my reports this series has been gradually merged into the *Proceedings*, thus increasing the latter from a mere sheet or two of printed matter, to a regular monthly Journal of Biblical Archæology. But before the alteration can be finally completed it is necessary to issue the second Part of Vol. IX of the *Transactions*, and thus end the series. It is the wish and hope of the Council that with your assistance they may be enabled to effect this during the present year.

Of the *Proceedings*, during the last session, the full number of parts have been issued of Vol. XII, although, according to the Bye Laws, no meeting could be held in April. In this volume a large number of papers have been printed, of value and interest in no way inferior to those of former years. I must not therefore omit to express the thanks of the Society to the many contributors who have enabled us to profit by the result of their labours, and at the same time to express the hope that we may be equally favoured in the future. Almost in every instance each paper read has appeared *in extenso* in the number of the *Proceedings* issued immediately following the meeting: thus securing to authors and readers alike, early possession of the facts contained in the papers, and removing the unpleasant and inconvenient delay formerly caused by the irregular issue of the *Transactions*. To attain this very satisfactory result, and the collection of other materials required, has necessarily involved me in much extra labour, but I have as a rule received the kind assistance of the authors themselves, and as far as it has been possible to ascertain, the change has been appreciated by all concerned.

It has been the usual custom to commence the detailed list of the various papers communicated to the Society from the first number of the *Proceedings* issued during the previous Session. I shall therefore in the present instance continue that usage, as well as the classification of them under their different heads, commencing with the antiquities of Egypt. The first meeting was held on the 5th of November, 1889. In the department of Egyptology that number contained a communication from one of our Honorary Members, M. P. J. DE HORRACK (a note on the d'Orbiney papyrus), to whom we have been indebted for papers in former years as well as other substantial assistance.

In the December number the REV. W. HOUGHTON, in an interesting communication, asks the question, Was the Camel known to the early Egyptians? to which he at the same time appears to offer a very satisfactory answer, that it was. The same number also contains two articles from the pen of MR. F. L. GRIFFITH. In the first, entitled Notes on

Egyptian Inscriptions of the Middle Kingdom, are given some new explanations of difficult characters. The second part of the same series appeared in the number of the *Proceedings* for March, 1890. The next paper, by the same writer, is in continuation of his interesting communications, printed in Vol. XI, entitled, Notes on a Tour in Upper Egypt, and containing a large number of unpublished inscriptions from tombs, etc.

PROF. PIEHL, another of our Honorary Members, continues (from Vol. XI) his valuable philological notes, which are of great service to students; three parts of these have appeared during the past session (December, 1889, May and June, 1890), and before this Report is issued, I am happy to say that another will have been printed.

The next Egyptian paper, also by an Honorary Member, is that by PROF. MASPERO, Sur le sens des mots Nouit et Hait (March, 1890), and to him also the Society has been indebted for another interesting paper on the Divine Dynasties of Ancient Egypt, which I had the pleasure of reading at the June meeting.

The paper by DR. WIEDEMANN (Honorary Member), who so kindly and so often has contributed to our Journal, comes next on the list (March). Under the title, A forgotten Prince, he has collected a number of inscriptions which show that the eldest son of Seti I, who although he never reigned as King of Egypt, and was quite overlooked by his younger brother Rameses II, is represented as accompanying his father in his warlike expeditions.

In the April number of the *Proceedings* are printed two short but valuable communications by the President, entitled The Names of Isis and Osiris, and Neith of Sais, and it is a subject of congratulation for the Society that in spite of the many official calls upon his time, from that date each number of the *Proceedings* contains one or more articles from his pen. In May, besides the note on Seb or Qeb, Sechet and Sechemet, will be found a valuable paper, entitled The Priestly Character of the Earliest Egyptian Civilization. In June, also, is another interesting note on the Sun Stroke in Egyptian.

In the June number will be found a valuable communication from our Honorary Member PROF. E. LEFÉBURE, entitled Sur différents mots et noms Égyptiens; under the various divisions, the name of Osiris; the name of the brother of Rameses II, already referred to in the paper by DR. WIEDEMANN; and The Name of the Horse. PROF. LEFÉBURE discusses several questions of particular interest.

To turn now to Assyria and the ancient people connected with that land. In the last Secretary's Report I called attention to the commencement of a series of papers by the REV. C. J. BALL, entitled the New Accadian. The first of these appeared in November, and they were continued in the parts for December, 1889, February, March, and June

1890. The theory is certainly a bold one, that the Accadian and Chinese languages, if not identical, come at least directly from a common original. MR. BALL has, however, with great labour endeavoured to prove his argument point by point, and recently (December, 1890) he has dealt with the very difficult question of compound characters. Without being sufficiently acquainted with either of the languages in question, I venture to think that, although some of his comparisons may not be as complete as could be desired—owing to the imperfect nature of the records, if the composite characters can be satisfactorily dealt with by the philological laws he has laid down, the contention must pass out of the region of theories into that of fact.

Two other papers have been printed during the past session belonging to this division (January and February, 1890), in which MR. ROBERT BROWN, junr., in his examination of the Tablet of Thirty Stars, has collected and edited very much interesting matter relating to Babylonian Astronomy and Astrology.

Several other papers bearing more or less on the science and beliefs of the ancient inhabitants of Egypt and Asia Minor have been submitted to the Society. Three may be particularly mentioned as dealing with subjects about which very little had previously appeared. By careful analysis of a number of specimens, DR. J. H. GLADSTONE (March, 1890) was enabled to place us in possession of much valuable information about the copper and bronze of ancient Egypt and Assyria.

DR. EDWARD B. TYLOR (June, 1890), in a very interesting and fully illustrated paper, entitled *The Winged figures of the Assyrian and other Ancient Monuments*, brings new light to bear on the meaning of the cone so often found in scenes of adoration connected with the sacred tree: as well as other points of symbolism referring to the subject of his paper.

To DR. M. SCHWAB the Society has been indebted (April, 1890) for a series of careful translations, with illustrative notes, of the curious charms found inscribed upon the ancient magic bowls discovered in Babylonia. (*Les Coupes magiques et l'hydromancie dans l'antiquité orientale.*) This paper is illustrated by a number of plates representing the original bowls, for the use of one of which our thanks are due to Dr. Schwab. It also contains, besides the transcription of the various texts into the Hebrew character, a vocabulary containing about three hundred of the words used.

I must here also mention among those papers bearing more distinctly upon subjects from the Bible, another by the President, read at the June meeting, giving an account of the tale of Joseph and Aseneth. This will be printed in a future part of the *Proceedings*, but unfortunately, owing to the length of the original text, the publication has necessarily been delayed.



Two other papers belonging to the same class have been read on a subject of the deepest interest to Biblical scholars: the first by E. DE BUNSEN, entitled, *The Pharaohs of Moses according to Hebrew and Egyptian Chronology*, and the second by MR. A. L. LEWIS, *Some Suggestions respecting the Exodus*.

The REV. W. HOUGHTON, in a note, *The Tree and Fruit represented by the Tapuakh of the Hebrew Scriptures* (November, 1889), has collected together much interesting matter in proof of his argument that this word translated by "apple" in the authorized version, should really be read quince.

There is very little to record with regard to the "Hittites," no new inscriptions of importance having appeared. I may however mention two short communications, the first (April, 1890) by the REV. C. A. DI CARA, S.J., and the second (June) by MR. HYDE CLARKE.

The number of books in the Library still, I am happy to say, continues to increase, as well as the number of readers. Notwithstanding the kindness of many members who, by valuable donations, not only of the whole of their own writings as issued, but by the works of others, have added so much to the interest and value of our collection, there are very many books required the possession of which by the Society would be of great advantage to students. The Society exchanges publications with a large number of kindred Institutions; and I may particularly mention two which have been arranged during the past year. Thanks to the kind interest of our Honorary Member, PROFESSOR MASPERO, the Minister of Public Instruction in France was pleased to present the Society with a complete series of the valuable volumes issued by the French School at Cairo in exchange for our own Publications. The Society has also been indebted to the German Oriental Society for a number of volumes (all they had at their disposal) of their Journal. These were supplemented by eight volumes from the REV. R. GWYNNE, Secretary for Foreign Correspondence; and it is to be hoped that members having copies of the volumes now wanting will follow his good example and place the Society in possession of a complete set of these valuable publications. Both these exchanges, it should be mentioned, are to be continued in the future. The volumes required of the last mentioned series, as well as many other works especially wanted for the use of the Members, have been printed at the end of each number of the *Proceedings*. This list is necessarily altered from time to time, owing to the kind responses made in the form of works asked for. I cannot too often point out that, as the books may be borrowed by Members, to have a good representative Library is one of the most important portions of the Society's functions. As the funds allow, the Council purchases whatever it is in their power to supply of the immediate requirements. The amount at their disposal, however, is quite inadequate to meet the

demands on it. It is therefore to the kind generosity of those possessing spare copies of the books required, or of others connected with the objects of the Society, that the Members must look for assistance in this very desirable object.

For some few years past, besides the donations of books, casts of inscriptions, and other objects of interest to the Society, it has been my pleasing duty to announce in each Report gifts towards our funds. I have now the gratification of recording, as was announced at the last meeting by the President, that MR. PECKOVER, one of the members of the Council, has come forward and repeated his generous donation of the year before last of fifty pounds. I am sure you will all agree with me that our best thanks are due for such substantial and generous assistance, and I can only hope that those who have it in their power to thus benefit the many students interested in the Society and its work, will mark their appreciation of our labours by following the example of those kind friends whose names it has been a pleasure, at the same time my duty, to record.

The audited statement of Receipts and Expenditure annexed shows that the funds available for the year 1890 have been £754 *os.* 7*d.*, including the donation already mentioned for which the Society has been indebted to MR. PECKOVER. The expenditure in the like manner has been £683 *11s.* 9*d.* The Balance carried forward to the current year is therefore £70 *8s.* 10*d.*

W HARRY RYLANDS,  
*Secretary.*

*New Year's Day, 1891.*

# SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

JAN. 13]

## STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31ST, 1890.

|                                              | £<br>s.<br>d. | £<br>s.<br>d. | 1890.<br>Dec. 31. | By                                          | £<br>s.<br>d. | 1890.<br>Dec. 31. |    |
|----------------------------------------------|---------------|---------------|-------------------|---------------------------------------------|---------------|-------------------|----|
| 1890. Jan. 1. To Balance in hand ... ..      | 52            | 8             | 3                 | Exp. By                                     | 116           | 0                 | 0  |
| " Subscriptions—                             | 385           | 17            | 4                 | " Rent ... ..                               | 295           | 6                 | 0  |
| For the Year 1890 ... ..                     |               |               |                   | " Printing Proceedings, and Sundries ... .. | 9             | 6                 | 0  |
| " Arrears from former years ... ..           | 113           | 13            | 5                 | " Engraving Drawings, &c. ... ..            | 20            | 0                 | 6  |
| " Payments in advance ... ..                 | 29            | 7             | 0                 | " Books and Bookbinding ... ..              | 0             | 7                 | 10 |
| " Less Subscriptions returned ... ..         | 528           | 17            | 9                 | " Stationery ... ..                         | 50            | 0                 | 0  |
| " Sales of Transactions ... ..               | 122           | 8             | 7                 | " Secretary, Balance, 1889 ... ..           | 150           | 0                 | 0  |
| " Dividends, 1 year, on £123 14s. 3d. ... .. | 3             | 2             | 0                 | " " 1890 ... ..                             | 2             | 2                 | 0  |
| " New Three per Cents ... ..                 | 3             | 8             | 0                 | " Official Auditor ... ..                   | 13            | 12                | 2  |
| " Donation ... ..                            | 50            | 0             | 0                 | " Postage ... ..                            | 20            | 11                | 1  |
|                                              | 754           | 15            | 9                 | " Housekeeper and Sundries ... ..           | 2             | 10                | 6  |
|                                              | 754           | 0             | 7                 | " Furniture ... ..                          | 3             | 7                 | 6  |
|                                              | 70            | 8             | 10                | " Fire Insurance ... ..                     | 0             | 8                 | 2  |
|                                              | 70            | 8             | 10                | " Advertising ... ..                        | 70            | 8                 | 10 |
|                                              | 70            | 8             | 10                | " Balance carried forward to 1891 ... ..    | 754           | 0                 | 7  |

## PROCEEDINGS.

[1891.

### LIABILITIES.

Printing, Rent, and Current Expenses, accruing for 1891.  
 Printing Proceedings (in progress)  
 Audited and found correct, 10th January, 1891,  
 W. J. HAYWOOD.  
 F. L. GRIFFITH.

11, HART STREET, BLOOMSBURY, W.C., January 10th, 1891.

### ASSETS.

Subscriptions still outstanding for 1890, about ... .. £100 0 0  
 Library Furniture and Effects at 11, Hart Street.  
 The Transactions in stock.  
 Reserve Fund in 2½% Consols ... .. £123 14s. 3d.

W. HARRY RYLANDS, Secretary.

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

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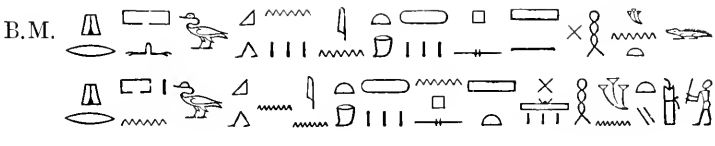
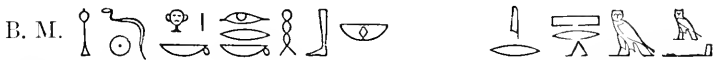
### Honorary Librarian.

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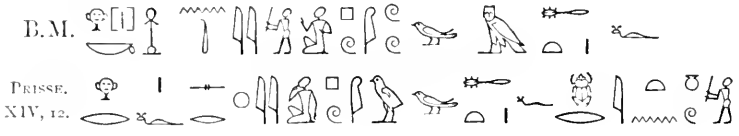
THE PROVERBS OF PTAH-HOTEP; THE TOMB OF  
REKHMARA AT THEBES; THE QNBT.

BY F. L. GRIFFITH.

When the *Proceedings* for November\* reached me, I little thought that in less than a month I should have the opportunity of examining and identifying (though not for the first time) a second copy of the Proverbs of Ptah-hotep; but so it is. Fragments of a papyrus which contained it are preserved in the British Museum in two series, numbered 10,391 and 10,435, and, as our revered President informs me, were well known to and identified by Goodwin and himself long ago. The fragments, in number perhaps 120, but for the most part quite small, cannot be satisfactorily studied until they have been taken out of their frames and fitted together. It is to be hoped that the authorities of the Egyptian Department will find this delicate work practicable, as very valuable results may be expected from it. From mere inspection through the glasses I was able to fit together three of the largest fragments and, after placing in order roughly traced copies of these, found a fourth small fragment that completed a strip of no less than fourteen short vertical lines. To give an idea of the nature of the document, I transcribe the only complete section occupying six lines in B.M. and three rather short horizontal lines in the Prisse.



\* See page 72.



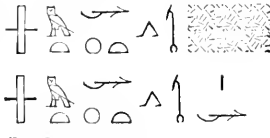
B.M.



B.M.





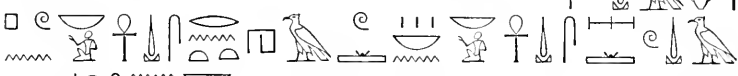
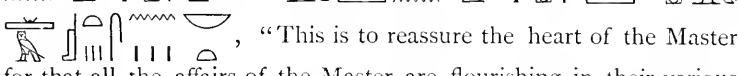
B.M.

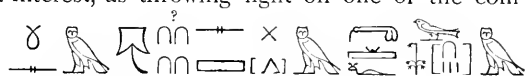




This reminds one of the erratic writing in the Books of the Dead, and it would be difficult to decide which of the two versions is the worst. The meaning may have been (at a guess): "Let thy countenance be bright as long as thou livest (var. "and hold festival"). The rations of bread that are taken out of the magazine do not enter it again. He who is avaricious about it (bread, *i.e.*, wealth) is a malignant (?) person. May his stomach be empty! When there is a reverse of fortune (?) be not cast down, be not so towards a visitor. In the years following old age it is memory that supplies pleasures." Very likely not a phrase of this, after the first, is correct. The last can be illustrated from Sharpe, *Eg. Insc.* II, pl. 84, where occur. I take to be a walking stick, the support of old age.



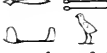

The fragments appear to extend from Prisse, p. X to the end. I have not yet ascertained how far they can be made to fit together, hoping that they will soon be in a condition to be more satisfactorily utilised. I observed, parallel to Prisse XI, 3, the group written in the curiously modified form that I had discussed in a paper now in type for the *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische*

*Sprache*, thus proving its hieroglyphic value beyond a doubt; Goodwin probably knew it when he wrote his translation of Sanehat. When these fragments, which have a few accounts written on the back, are published, we shall be in possession of the richest source yet discovered for the interpretation of the Prisse papyrus.

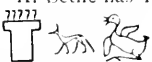
In Pl. II of Virey's publication of the celebrated tomb of Rekhmara, is a long inscription which must once have given a remarkably full account of the duties of a  at Thebes in the time of Thothmes III. I fear that no earlier copy exists, and the text is considerably injured. Many technical terms may be recognized in it. At Kahun the letters almost invariably begin with many formulæ, at the head of which is   
  
 , "This is to reassure the heart of the Master for that all the affairs of the Master are flourishing in their various places (by the favour of Amen etc., etc.)." "The Master" is simply the form of respectful address. This extract will help the student in reading ll. 33 and 34.

A point of great interest, as throwing light on one of the commonest titles, l. 38,   
 , "the forty leather rolls are spread before him, the *tens of the nobles of the south* are in the two aisles (or sides) before him." This is part of a description of the governor as he sat in the hall of judgement; referring to the scene Pl. III we see the forty rolls, probably containing the Hermetical books of the law, placed in four groups of 10, and on either side of the hall are two groups of individuals, 10 in each, making also 40. It seems as if each  "member of the tens of the nobles of the south" had charge of one roll in the books of laws: for further evidence respecting these judicial "tens" and a "five" see the instructive examples quoted by Brugsch, *Aegyptologie*, 303, 304.

It would be very interesting to make out the succession of office-holders in the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties. Rekhmara

who was  at Thebes, probably the highest post in Egypt, usually calls himself son of the  *Āameθu* , but this was not a very precise account, for according to the fuller notice, Pl. III, he was son of Beta and the priest of [Amen] Neferuben, and only grandson of Aamethu. Turning back to Vol. XII of the *Proceedings*, p. 103, we find the tomb of this Aamethu not at Thebes, but surrounded by Theban functionaries at Silsileh; and one of his sons (p. 104, lower register, beneath Aamethu, No. 3) is the priest of [Amen] Neferuben. At the back of the tomb (p. 105) are four statues, evidently representing Aamethu with his wife Ta aamethu, and their son . . . user, who constructed the tomb, with his wife . . . uâu (see south wall, upper register, p. 104). The heads of the latter pair throughout the tomb have been chiselled out and their inscriptions mutilated. This fact can be easily explained when we remember how Hatshepsitu's name was treated by Thothmes III. The queen's titles have evidently been erased from the door of the tomb; her chief minister likewise suffered the king's displeasure: yet so strong was the hereditary idea in Egypt, that a scion of the same family was chosen to fill the vacant post—Aamethu, son of Bata and the priest Neferuben, grandson of Aamethu. Aamethu's resting-place at Silsileh was piously excavated for him by . . . user, and the former's name and features were respected: possibly in No. 28, *ibid.*, p. 95, we see the rased walls of the tomb of . . . user himself. I must correct a passage on p. 90 about "third-rate courtiers:" the  was by no means third-rate; he was at the top of the tree. Difficult as it is to explain the fact, magnates of the highest order chose for their tomb-ground the rock of Khenu rather than the cliffs overlooking a splendid capital. It must be remembered that at Silsileh sandstone is first met with by travellers going south.\*

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\* K. Sethe has indicated an interesting path of enquiry in his "History of the  under the ancient empire," *Aeg. Zeits.*, xxviii, 43. His article contains some valuable remarks on the Ptah-hotep and Kaḫemni of the Prisse papyrus.



A certain hieratic group, very common in the judicial papyri, is usually transcribed  $\text{D} \uparrow \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y}$  and read *tat*. There is no hieroglyphic authority for this transcription, which has a most unique appearance, and as the first sign is easily read  $\text{L}$ , I prefer to recognize in it a familiar group  $\text{L} \uparrow \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y}$ ,  $\text{L} \uparrow \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y}$  (singular  $\text{L} \uparrow \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y}$ ,  $\text{L} \uparrow \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y}$  Petrie, Season, 86 and 114), with many other varieties, meaning the Angle-people who sustain the four "corners," as it were the  $\text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y}$  of Heaven, the  $\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\iota$  of the temple. A good rendering would be "committee," "board." There is a *qubt* of the palace, *qubts* of the various temples, of territories, and of every large property, meaning a group, not always fixed, of responsible officers and councillors. The  $\text{L} \uparrow \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y}$  or High Council of the City judged all important cases. I must not now pursue this further, but am glad to point out the true meaning of an important word, and to suppress an ingenious but false reading that has passed unchallenged for more than twenty years, and is found in every book of reference. It is almost needless now to point out that there is no etymological connection between  $\text{D} \uparrow \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y}$  and our word, and that  $\text{D} \uparrow \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y}$  is as false a reading of  $\text{L} \uparrow \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y}$  as  $\text{D} \uparrow \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y}$  of  $\text{L} \uparrow \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y}$ .



## NOTE ON E-ANNA-DU.

By B. T. A. EVETTS.

Since the publication of my paper on the Babylonian fragments found in the City,\* I have been informed by Dr. C. Lehmann of the existence of a tablet at the Berlin Museum, which throws more light on the name E-anna-du, occurring in one of those monuments. The inscription on this tablet begins with the words "To the God Nin-gir-su, Eannadu, *patesi* of Lagash," &c. In Col. II come the words "son of A-kur-gal," that is to say, of the king or *patesi* of Lagash, mentioned on the Vulture-Stela, and these words appear to be applied to Eannadu himself. Accordingly we must now look upon the Eannadu mentioned on the fragment of a basin found in the City, on the Vulture-Stela and in an inscription from Tello, published in De Sarzec, *Découvertes*, pl. 2, No. 3, and translated by Amiaud, *Records of the Past*, New Series, I, p. 67, as a *patesi* of Lagash, the son of Akurgal and the grandson of Ur-Nina, thus belonging to the earliest Chaldaean period of which we have any knowledge. Amiaud had already suspected this, as he implies in the place quoted. I may add that Dr. C. Lehmann hopes to publish the tablet at Berlin before long.

\* *Proceedings*, Nov. 4, 1890, Vol. XIII, part 1.



The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 3rd February, 1891, at 8 p.m., when the following papers will be read:—

P. LE PAGE RENOUF (*President*):—"The Prophet Mohammad and the Spider."

B. T. A. EVETTS:—"The Canephoros in Early Chaldean Art."

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY PUBLICATIONS.



# The Bronze Ornaments of the Palace Gates from Balawat.

[SHALMANESER II, B.C. 859-825.]

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Parts I, II, III, and IV have now been issued to Subscribers.

In accordance with the terms of the original prospectus, the price for each part is now raised to £1 10s. ; to Members of the Society (the original price) £1 1s.

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# SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

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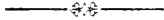
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PROCEEDINGS  
OF  
THE SOCIETY  
OF  
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.



VOL. XIII. TWENTY-FIRST SESSION.

*Fourth Meeting, February 3rd, 1891.*



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## PRICE LIST OF TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS.

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A few complete sets of the Transactions still remain for sale, which may be obtained on application to the Secretary, W. H. RYLANDS, F.S.A., 11, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

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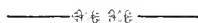
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TWENTY-FIRST SESSION, 1890-91.

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*Fourth Meeting, 3rd February, 1891.*

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



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

From the Author, Philippe Berger:—*La Bible et les Inscriptions.*

Paris. 1890. 8vo. Leçon faite à la rentrée des cours de la Faculté de Théologie protestante de Paris, le 4 Novembre, 1890.

From the Author, Alfred Boissier:—*Recherches sur quelques Contrats babyloniens.* Paris. 1890. 8vo. Thèse pour le Doctorat présentée en Juillet, 1889, à la Faculté de Philosophie de l'Université de Leipzig.

From the Author, Ch. Clermont-Ganneau:—*Les Antiquités sémitiques.* Bibliothèque orientale elzévirienne. Paris. 1890. 8vo. Leçon d'ouverture faite au Collège de France pour l'inauguration de la Chaire d'Épigraphie et Antiquités sémitiques, le 21 Mai, 1890.

From the Author, C. A. de Cara, S.J.:—*Ricerche di Archeologia Biblico-Italica.* 1891. 8vo.

Estratto dalla *Civiltà Cattolica*. Serie XIV. Vol. IX. 1891.

From Rev. Robert Gwynne (*Secretary for Foreign Correspondence*):—*Palestine Exploration Fund. 'Twenty-one Years' Work in the Holy Land (a Record and a Summary),* June 22, 1865—June 22, 1886. London. 8vo. 1889.

The following Candidates were submitted for election, and elected members of the Society, having been nominated the last Meeting, 13th January, 1891 :—

Rev. S. D. Brownjohn, Clare College, Cambridge, 46, Powys Sq., W. Michael Solovoy, 9, Mohovaia, St. Petersburg.

Miss Ingram, 129, Gower Street, W.C.

William George Thorpe, F.S.A., F.G.S., F.R.G.S., Gloucester House, Larkhall Rise, S.W.

To be added to the List of Subscribers :—

The Mansfield College, Oxford.

The Catholic University, Rev. A. Orban, Librarian, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.

The following Candidate was nominated for election at the next Meeting on 3rd March :—

Walter L. Nash, The Grange, Northwood, Middlesex.

Mr. Renouf read a Paper on the tradition according to which a spider wove its web across the entrance to the cavern on the summit of Mount Thaur, where the Prophet Muhammed and his friend Abu Bakr concealed themselves for a few days during their Flight from Mecca to Medina. He discussed the historical evidence of this tradition, of which there is no trace in the Koran, or in the biographies of Ibn Ishàk and Ibn Hishâm. It is first mentioned by Muhammed ibn Omar al Wâqidi, who was not born till about one hundred and thirty years after the Flight.

A similar tradition is recorded of David when pursued by Saul, and it has been thought probable that the Jewish tradition gave rise to the Moslem. The earliest mention, however, of the Jewish tradition is in the Targum of the 57th Psalm.

This Targum is the least ancient of all, and may possibly not have been in existence at the time that the Moslem tradition began to be circulated. But even if this could be proved, the fact is undeniable that the traditions contained in the Targums are often very much more ancient than the Targums themselves. There is consequently nothing improbable in the supposition that the story told about David may, like many other Jewish traditions, have been taken up and appropriated to the service of Islam.

Remarks were added by Dr. M. Gaster, Rev. A. Löwy, Mr. J. Pollard, and the President.

A Paper was read by Mr. B. T. A. Evetts, "The Cane-phoros in Early Chaldaean Art."

Remarks were added by the Rev. A. Löwy, Mr. J. Offord, and Mr. Evetts.

Thanks were returned for these communications.



## THE CANEPHOROS IN EARLY CHALDAEAN ART.

BY B. T. A. EVETTS.

The private chapel in the house of C. Heius at Messana was also a small museum of art, and formed the chief attraction of the town to visitors, for whose admission it was daily open. It was celebrated above all for the possession of four master-pieces, two of which, the Cupid of Praxiteles and the Hercules of Myron, were not only valued by their owner on account of their artistic merit, but were also the objects of his religious devotion, while the remaining two were designed for ornamental purposes only.\* These were the Canephoroe of Polycletus. They were bronze figures of moderate size, but of extreme beauty, in the attitude and garb of maidens, who with upraised hands upheld, after the Athenian manner, certain sacred objects placed in baskets upon their heads. It was no doubt the elegance of the attitude, as well as the importance of the office in Greek ritual, which led distinguished artists like Polycletus or Scopas, whose famous work was included in the collection of Asinius Pollio,† to choose the Canephoros as a study and a model. She appears also in a well-known terra-cotta bas-relief at the British Museum, and in a painting from Herculaneum.‡ But the high honour that was attached to her functions, when exercised in connection with the public worship of the gods, is illustrated by the fate of Hipparchus, whose murder by Harmodius and Aristogiton was the result of the deadly insult which the sister of the former had endured at the hands of the tyrant, when he ejected her from the post of Canephoros at the Panathenaic Festival, to which she had been duly appointed.§ It was not all Athenian maidens who were

\* Cicero, *In Verrem*, Actio II, l. iv, c. 3. In the fifth century A.D. Symmachus alludes to the Canephoroe of Polycletus as holding a place among the most admired of ancient works of art, Bk. I, ep. 29.

† Pliny, *N. H.*, XXXVI, 5.

‡ This painting, published in *Le Pitture Antiche d'Ercolano*, Tom. IV, Tav. 12, represents three maidens bearing on their heads not the flat round basket of Athens, but the vase-shaped *calathus* of Demeter.

§ Thucyd., VI, 56. Aelian, *Varia Hist.*, xi, 8.

qualified for the office.\* Birth was a primary requisite in the aspirants to this honour.† At the most important of the Athenian solemnities the two Canephoroe led the procession, and this is the place they take on the eastern frieze of the Parthenon, where they appear, according to the best authorities, in figures 49 and 50, two maidens of stately demeanour, before whom stands a magistrate holding in his hand the sacred basket that he has received from one of them.‡ But it was not only at the Panathenaea that Canephoroe officiated. They were a usual ornament in religious processions. We hear of Canephoroe of Zeus at Haliartus§ in Boeotia, of Dionysus,|| and of Artemis.¶ When a private sacrifice was offered, the daughter of the house acted as Canephoros. Athenian rites were introduced into Egypt by Ptolemy II, Philadelphus,\*\* and accordingly monuments of his time and the following period show us that Canephoroe were appointed every year to assist at the religious worship performed in honour of his deceased wife, the deified queen Arsinoë Philadelphus.†† The custom of dating documents after the Greek fashion by the names of these priestesses, in addition to the Egyptian mode of dating according to the year of the king's reign, shows that the sacred office had acquired the same importance in the country into which the successors of Alexander had introduced it, that it possessed in Attica and Boeotia. The dignity of the Basket-Bearers was also indicated, at any rate in Greece, by the Skiadephoroe or Umbrella-Bearers, and Diphrophoroe or Stool-Bearers who followed them in certain processions.‡‡

\* Hesychius, *Lexicon*, ad verb.

† Schol. ad Aristoph., *Acharn.*, 242. Philochorus, quoted by Harpocration, Suidas and Photius, ad verb. Bekker, *Anecdota*, p. 270.

‡ Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, p. 215. Cf. "Brit. Mus. Guide to Sculptures of Parthenon," p. 63.

§ Plutarch, *Amatoriæ Narrationes*, I.

|| Schol. ad Aristoph., *Acharn.*, 242.

¶ Theocritus, *Id.*, II, 66. Callimachus speaks of the Licnophoroe of Demeter, in his Hymn to that goddess, line 127.

\*\* Scholia on Callimachus, Hymn to Demeter, line 1.

†† "Rosetta Stone," l. 5. "Canopic Decree," l. 2. Greek and Demotic Papyri quoted by Letronne, *Œuvres*, Vol. I, p. 275, ff. Devéria, *Cat. des MSS. Égyptiens du musée du Louvre*, pp. 213-219.

‡‡ Schol. ad Aristoph., *Avēs*, 1508 and 1551. Aelian, *Varia Historia*, VI, 1. Hesychius ad verb. *ἑιφροφόρος*.

The sacred objects carried with such solemnity by high-born maidens in religious processions were, as Aristophanes \* informs us, the garlands to be worn by the sacrificer or the victim, the salted meal, which formed part of the offering, and, concealed beneath them, the knife with which the victim was to be slain. The basket in which these objects were carried at the Panathenaea was of gold according to the Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Acharnenses*, V, 242, but in ordinary rites was made of reeds.

The origin of the ritual observance performed by the Canephoros was referred by the Greeks to the earliest and obscurest period of their history. According to Philochorus,† who lived in the age of the Diadochi, it was instituted by Erichthonius, or Erechtheus, the mythical king to whom the foundation of the Panathenaic Festival itself was ascribed. This at all events shows the extreme antiquity of the custom. Recent discoveries, however, point to something more than this, namely that the Canephoros was an important figure in the ritual of Babylonia from the earliest times, and therefore that the office may have been introduced into Greece from the East. In Greece maidens alone acted in this capacity, but in Babylonia we find male as well as female figures in the attitude of these functionaries. The earliest Canephoric figures are the bronze statuettes found at Tello, on the site of Sirpurla or Lagash, the capital of Gudea. Two of these are published by M. de Sarzec in *Découvertes en Chaldée*, Plate 28, figs. 1 and 2. They are female figures, but in the first the lower limbs are not modelled, but simply form a cone, on which a votive inscription in the name of Dungi, king of Ur, is engraved. The second figure is fully modelled, and wears a short tunic reaching to the knees, which reminds us of the dress of the Greek Canephoroe in the terra-cotta bas-relief mentioned above, while it bears no inscription. The next works of the kind in chronological order are the two given upon the accompanying plate. They are of the time of two of those Elamite kings who seem to correspond to the Medic dynasty of Berosus, and to have preceded the Chaldaean dynasty of Hammurabi. The first, which was found at Afaj on the Tigris, and is preserved at the Louvre, is a female figure, bearing an inscription in the name of Kudurmapuk, king of Elam, who dedicates it to the goddess Istar or Nana, daughter of Sin. Representations of it have been published by Longpérier.

\* *Pax*, 948.

† Harpocraton, Suidas and Photius ad verb. *Κανηφόρος*.

(*Musée Napoléon III*, Pt. I), Perrot and Chipiez (*Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, Vol. II, p. 329), Menant (*La Glyptique Orientale*, Vol. I, p. 171), Hommel (*Geschichte Babylonien und Assyriens*, p. 358), and Babelon (*Manuel d'Archéologie Orientale*, p. 48), while the inscription upon it was published and translated by Lenormant (*Choix de textes*, p. 154, ff. *Etudes Accadiennes*, II, 343, ff.). The second figure is said to have been discovered at Tello, and has only recently been acquired by the British Museum. It is a male figure, and seems to form to some degree a pendent to the other, for it is offered by Arad-Sin (Ri-Aku) king of Larsa for the preservation of his own life and the life of his father, Kudurmapuk, while the statuette at the Louvre is the joint offering of father and son for the same object.

It has been thought that Kudurmapuk belonged to the same dynasty as the Chedorlaomer of Genesis xiv, and this conjecture is perhaps supported by the title "ruler of Syria," which he adopts in an inscription on a brick from Ur. Moreover, since the name of Arad-Sin, king of Larsa, may with some probability be read as Eri-aku (Rim-aku, or Ri-aku), he has been identified with Arioch, king of Ellasar, mentioned in the same narrative. Nothing final can be said on these points at present. The principal indication of the date of Kudurmapuk and his son is supplied by Asurbanipal, who in the well-known passage of Cylinder A, Col. VII, line 9, ff., relates his recovery of the ancient image of the goddess Nana, which had been carried away from Accad to Elam sixteen hundred and thirty-five years before\* by Kudur-nankhundi the Elamite king. From the common element *kudur* in the two names Kudur-nankhundi and Kudur-mapuk (compare Chedorlaomer, which should perhaps be Kudurlaomer), it is inferred with some probability† that the two Elamite princes belonged to the same dynasty, and this may have been the Medic dynasty in the historical list of Berosus. Besides this, Hammurabi, king of Babylon, whose date is now approximately fixed by Dr. Bezold's‡ discovery of the statement of Burnaburyas (B.C. 1500?), that the above-mentioned prince reigned 700 years before him, tells us that he conquered and slew a king named Rim-Sin (Ri-Aku?), who may be the very son of Kudur-

\* That is to say about B.C. 2280.

† See Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, Bd. I, p. 164, ff.

‡ *Proceedings*, vol. xi, p. 84 ff.



Cast of Canephoros at the Louvre,  
DEDICATED TO NANA BY KUDURMAPIK.  
10½ in.



Bronze Canephoros at British Museum,  
DEDICATED TO NANA BY ARAD-SIN.  
10½ in.



mapuk whose name is inscribed upon our statuette. About B.C. 2300, then, or perhaps half a century later, may be taken as the nearest date that can at present be assigned to our two Canephoroe. Kudurmapuk and Rim-Sin seem to have reigned together, the one over Elam and neighbouring districts, the other over Larsa and other cities. One of the inscriptions of Rim-Sin does not give the name of his father, but this may be accounted for by supposing that the latter was now dead, without imagining, as some have done, the existence of two Rim-Sins.

Very probably our two statuettes were enclosed in cavities among the foundations of the temples mentioned in the inscriptions which they bear, in order that they might serve as talismans to protect the edifices and their builders. The inscriptions on our bronzes expressly state that they are offered "for the preservation of the life" of the king. The similar figures disinterred by M. de Sarzec were placed in hiding-places constructed on purpose to contain them and other talismanic figures in the platform of buildings at Tello. These cavities were formed of bricks cemented with bitumen, and were  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet square.\* A talismanic purpose was also served by the clay cylinders inscribed with the annals of the kings, which were buried in similar cavities at the corners of the platforms on which stood the palaces or temples of Sargon, Sennacherib, Sardanapalus, or Nebuchadnezzar. These cylinders are careful to attribute all the successes of the king to the gods, that so the divine jealousy may be averted from them and their residences. The Achaemenid kings of Persia inscribed upon the stones of their palaces prayers to the gods Aburamazda and Mithras for the safety of the buildings, the erection of which is attributed to their divine assistance.

As for the city of Hallab to which that statue of Nana belonged for which these Elamite princes had a particular devotion, it has been identified with the modern Zerghul on the Tigris, but perhaps without sufficient grounds.† Istar of Erech, Istar of Arbela, and Istar of Nineveh, were also at different epochs special objects of worship to Assyrian and Babylonian sovereigns. Istar of Hallab was deeply revered by Hammurabi, the conqueror and successor of Rim-Sin, and he built, or more probably restored her temple in the city of which she was the tutelary deity.

\* *Découvertes*, p. 72.

† Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies*, p. 225.

Besides the Canephoric bronzes which have been mentioned, the British Museum possesses three stelae from Babylon on two of which are figures of Sardanapalus or Asurbanipal sculptured in high relief, in the same attitude, while the third bears a figure of his brother Saosduchinos or Samas-sum-ukin, king of Babylon, in a similar posture. They wear the peaked and embroidered tiara of the Assyrian kings, and with arms upraised support baskets of woven reeds\* upon their heads. The stelae are engraved with inscriptions.

What the exact ritual significance of the Babylonian Basket-Bearers was we can at present only conjecture. It does not seem improbable that they were priests and priestesses, or at all events persons fulfilling priestly functions for the time, and that they carried the instruments and accessories of sacrifice with due solemnity upon their heads, that is to say, in the most reverent manner known in the East. In that case the dedication of a Canephoric figure to a divinity by Gudea, or Dungi, or Kudurmapuk, or Rim-Sin would be the next thing to offering an actual sacrifice; it would be to offer a permanent representation of the sacrifice. The stelae of Asurbanipal and his brother are rather monumental than talismanic in character, but they would serve to appease the anger and attract the favour of Assur, Samas, and Merodach, the gods to whom the inscriptions upon them allude, by offering a permanent representation of the king, in his capacity as priest, carrying the instruments of sacrifice.

\* Strabo speaks of the extensive reed-beds of lower Babylonia, and of the many sorts of articles manufactured of the rushes. Bk. xvi, c. 1.







TRANSCRIPTION INTO ASSYRIAN CHARACTERS OF THE PERIOD OF SARDANAPALUS.

COLUMN I.

COLUMN II.

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- 14. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 (?) 𐎶𐎵
- 15. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 (?) (?) 𐎶𐎵 (?)
- 16. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
- 17. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 (?) 𐎶𐎵



*Transliteration.*

## COLUMN I.

1. Dingir-Ninni Hallabi-ki.
2. tur-šal dingir En-zu-na.
3. nin-mu-ra.
4. eri-(dingir)-En-zu (or aku ?)
5. lugal Ud-unu-ki me-en.
6. nam-til-mu-su.
7. u nam-til.
8. Ku-du-ur-ma-pu-uk.
9. â muḥ-ma-su.
10. Gi-unu-ki.
11. E-sag-ud ? -ga ?.
12. ki-ku nam-ur-sag-ma.
13. sag-ni.
14. ? da ? du mal ? -ge.
15. ni-û-ne.
16. nu-un-še-ga.
17. mal ra šak ki ud ga.
18. ni ta.

## COLUMN II.

1. ne-ne-bi.
2. ma-an-dug-ga.
3. Gi-unu-ki azag.
4. mu ru.
5. kur lil-du-dim.
6. su ? -igi ma.
7. igi ne-in-ila.
8. igi-ê-silim kalama-ka.
9. ad-ne-du.
10. sak ? ? mu-gi.
11. ud-mal.
12. igi gi tak ni ? .
13. bal šak ur-se di ?
14. ma ud ? ub ud-ga.
15. sag ? ?
16. ḥu-mu-ni.
17. giš-duk šu du.

*Translation.*

To Nana of Hallab, the Daughter of Sin, my Lady, I Arad-Sin, king of Larsa [offer this] for my life and the life of Kudur-mapuk my father and progenitor. Gi-unu-ki, the House of Sag . . . . , the dwelling-place of my might grew old, and was not serviceable. I removed it from its place(?).

These things I say: I have rebuilt the glorious city of Gi-unu-ki the lofty in the land of Lil-du-dim . . . I have set it up before the temple of Silim-Kalama-sag as a sight for the land . . . . . In the first year . . .

May she be favourable to my coming in and going out?

## INSCRIPTIONS RELATING TO SORCERY IN CYPRUS.

BY MISS L. MACDONALD.

The following inscriptions belong to the class known indifferently to the Greeks and Romans as *diræ*, *defixiones*, *κατάδεσμοι*, *καταδέσεις*; magic knots or bindings. Until the beginning of the present century we had no actual examples of such, but two well-known passages in Tacitus\* and Dio Cassius† had given us a certain knowledge of their use and character. Both historians in describing the death of Germanicus, mention the discovery of “leadens tablets, whereon Germanicus was by name devoted to the infernal deities,” together with human bones and blood-smeared ashes about the grounds and near the walls of the dying Cæsar’s house. Dio gives this as proof of the popular belief that the death was contrived by Piso and his wife, and Tacitus implies besides that the discovery of these machinations by their effect on the mind of Germanicus gave fresh strength to the disease.

Innumerable passing allusions in the classic writers show how common was the practice of thus invoking spiritual powers to avenge real or imaginary human wrongs. Plato‡ speaks of the “wandering beggars and soothsayers who go about to rich men’s doors persuading them that they have power from the gods to avenge any man on those enemies whom he shall wish to plague, and, so they say, induce the gods to do their bidding by certain enchantments and magic knots (*ἐπιρωγαίς καὶ καταδέσμοις*).” Herodotus§ gives a story of Amasis, king of Egypt, who believed he had been spell-bound by his wife Ladice; and under the later empire, as the force of pagan religion grew weaker, and superstition of the wildest kind took its place, the belief in magic became more wide-spread even than before. The half-jesting reference in Cicero’s Brutus|| to the man who declared his memory had failed him because of the enchantments of Titinia, gives place to the startling remark of Pliny,¶ “Nemo non

\* Tac., Ann., ii, 69.

† Dio, lvii, 18.

‡ Rep., ii, 364 B.

§ Herod., ii, 181.

|| Brut., c. 60.

¶ Plin., N.H., xxviii, 4.

metuit defigi;" and the weird harangue, attributed to Quintilian,\* against the sorcerer who by spells bound an unwilling spirit to its tomb, shows that the power of the human magic-worker was believed to reach beyond the grave.

The writer of the Acts of the Apostles, who gives us in other ways a vivid description of every-day life within the bounds of the Roman empire, makes mention of sorcery and sorcerers in a way which shows they were everywhere to be met with. In Ephesus † for instance we learn that many of Paul's new converts, who had used curious arts, brought their books together and burnt them publicly, to the value of 50,000 pieces of silver. Another allusion is of special interest from the connection with the very place where the inscriptions now under consideration were found, the island of Cyprus. ‡ Barnabas and Saul on their journey through Cyprus came to Paphos, and found there a certain sorcerer named Elymas, in high favour with Sergius Paulus, the deputy of the island. This man tried to keep his patron away from Saul's influence, but was confounded by a miraculous blindness which fell upon him at the Apostle's command. "And the deputy, when he saw what was done, believed;" a conclusion which indirectly gives us to understand that the sorcerer's previous reputation rested rather on credulity than on fact. It is consoling to think that the magical imprecations which are printed below, which may well have been part of the stock in trade of Elymas himself or his successors in the business, however terrifying they sound, had very little effect on the lives or fortunes of the individuals against whom they were directed.

At a still earlier time in the history of the Christians, Philip, while preaching in Samaria, § came upon Simon Magus, who had up to that time practised sorcery in the same city. This Simon Magus, evidently of note as an enchanter, is the reputed founder of Gnosticism, and is supposed, on the authority of a passage in Josephus, || to have belonged to Cyprus. It is not unlikely that sorcery should abound in an island which had been from time immemorial devoted to the worship of the goddess of love. There is hardly need to show the close connection—at least in ancient times—between love rejected and the use of magic spells and drugs. Medea ¶ giving

\* Quintil., Dec., x, 7.

‡ Acts xiii, 5, 6.

|| Joseph., Ant., xx, 7, 2.

† Acts xix, 19.

§ Acts viii.

¶ Eurip., Med., 1136-1230.

love philtres to Jason and magic poison to his new-made bride; the deserted Simaetha\* of Theocritus, and the maiden of Virgil's eclogue† who uses like enchantments to bring back to her side the false Daphnis; Canidia‡ gathering material for her spells among tombs and places of the dead, are commonplaces of classical quotation. And the story from Herodotus,§ quoted above, telling how Ladice vowed an offering to Aphrodite would she but break the imaginary spell that bound the king, might be taken inversely to prove that the same all-powerful goddess could be invoked to bind spells as well as to break them.

As regards the particular class of spells, the *κατάδεσμοι* or *diræ* inscribed on leaden tablets, the first actually known to us was found at Athens in 1811, by M. Fauvel. Two years later another similar one was found in the public cemetery of the Piræus by Mr. Dodwell.|| The formulæ of the two Athenian leaden tablets are simple and much alike. In the first the writer binds over (*καταῶ*) his enemies by name to Hermes Chthonios, Ge Katochos, and Persephone. In the second the formula runs: I bind over such and such persons "to thee, Onesime;" and it is an unsettled question as to whom the Onesime is addressed, whether to the occupant of the tomb where the tablet was discovered, or not. The same word *καταῶ*, and the same simplicity of formula, is found in an inscription recently discovered at Athens, and published by Mr. A. S. Murray in the *Classical Review* for April, 1890. It, like the others, was written on a piece of lead which had been folded in three and then pierced through with a nail. The formula, with slight variations, is *καταῶ*, and its object or objects, "I bind by my spell So and So and all his household." The ancient magic word *καταῶ*, from which is derived the name of the special class of spells, *κατάδεσμοι*, is found several times in Homer,¶ three times with reference to impeding or altering the course of the winds. The idea that the winds might be fettered or tied in sacks is common to different nations,\*\* and even now the Lapps believe in it, and give their sailors magic sacks containing, so they believe, certain winds to secure for them a safe journey. Possibly the peculiar magic meaning of the word is connected with

\* Theoc., ii.

† Virg., *Ecl.*, viii.‡ Hor., *Sat.*, i, 8.

§ Herod., ii, 181.

|| C. I. A., 538, 539.

¶ Olys., v, 383; x, 20; vii, 272; xiv, 61.

\*\* Virg., *Æn.*, i, 81.



this original mythical belief. Later the *κατάδεσμος* had a double magic meaning: on the one hand the gods and spirits invoked were bound by it to perform certain things; and on the other, those against whom the spell was directed were, so to say, tied up and left helpless. This last is the meaning attached to our English word at the present day. It is not uncommon to call one motionless or speechless on occasion of emergency, "spell-bound."

After the first two Athenian discoveries, other isolated leaden *diræ* were found at wide intervals of time, one at Cumæ,\* three at Rome,† one at Alexandria.‡ The first discovery of them in any number was made by Sir Charles Newton in 1860, in his excavations near Cnidus. While digging, he came upon fifteen leaden tablets, more or less mutilated, lying near the bases of some statues in the temenos of Demeter.§ These all possess in common a distinct character and formulæ. The suppliant in each case consecrates (*ἀνιερόι*) to Demeter and Kore, and to all the gods and goddesses with Demeter, his or her enemy, generally on account of certain specified actions as because of stolen goods, false accusations, &c. In several, punishment (*τιμωρία*) and torture are invoked on the head of the person cursed. Sometimes the curse is conditioned, if for instance the stolen goods be returned. The *devotio* concludes *ἐμοὶ ὄσια καὶ ἐλεύθερα* in order that the author of the curse be free from all share in its effects.

Of these Cnidian inscriptions it may be said that they fall under the head of religion rather than of magic. The place where they were found—the precincts of a temple to the gods of the world below—is in favour of this, and also the character of the curses. The language is simple and straightforward, the gods and goddesses of the world below are solemnly appealed to in their character of final avengers of wrong, their wrath is invoked on occasion of special wrong doing, and no attempt is made to use spells or enchantment.

About ten years ago a discovery of seven leaden tablets was made in an old Pagan burying ground near the site of Roman Carthage.¶ The inscriptions on these last—such of them as have

\* *Ann. dell' Inst. Arch.*, 1846.

† *Bull. dell' Inst. Arch.*, 1852.

‡ *De Tabulis Devotionis Plumbeis Alexandrinis*, F. Lenormant, 1853.

§ *History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus*, ii, 1862, and more accurately published in *Sammlung der Griech. Dialekt-Inschriften*, ed. by Collitz and Bechtel, vol. iii.

¶ *Bulletin de Correspond. Hellenique*, 1888, p. 294. *Missions Cath.*, June, 1882.

been deciphered—differ from all of those previously found, except that at Alexandria;\* but they have much in common with the inscriptions from Cyprus, and chiefly this, that all are essentially magical—black art—written so as to compel by any means gods and spirits to work man's wicked will. Further, in formulæ and expression they all show traces of the influence of Gnosticism. The Cyprian inscriptions which have just been mentioned were found quite recently in Cyprus at Curium, in the south-west corner of the island, not far from Paphos. The natives in digging for a well came upon them at the bottom of a disused shaft, lying under a quantity of human bones. They were found rolled up with the writing inside—not unlike worn fragments of gas-piping. They are now in the British Museum, and have been unrolled as far as was practicable in the often very decayed state of the lead. I have to thank Mr. Murray for the opportunity of examining and transcribing each immediately after it was unrolled, as well as for the kindest, most constant assistance in my work. The inscriptions are all in a mutilated state. The edges of each roll have suffered—some to a great extent—and the end is in all cases missing. Naturally being outside and more exposed it would soon be worn away. As regards their contents they are alike, with slight variations of order and expression, and might very well be the work of one sorcerer or school of sorcerers paid by different people in the same town or village to avenge their private quarrels. The same name occurs in several. A certain Alexander the Macedonian, who may perhaps have been spell-bound by others (VI) tries to avenge himself by cursing all round; and in three separate plates of lead the wrath of the most terrible deities is invoked on one Demetrios.

The *κατάθεσμος*, in each case where it remains and is legible, begins with a metrical appeal to spirits (*δαίμονες*) to make such and such a person, the adversary of such and such another person, speechless and helpless. The spirits are then adjured by various deities of unpronounceable names to fulfil the curse, which is repeated with fresh emphasis. The spirits of the dead who might be supposed to haunt the tomb to which the tablet was entrusted are further adjured by the great supreme god Osiris, and all the gods of the lower world, the tomb itself, Hermes, Hecate, Pluto, the Erinyes. The *δαίμονες* are ordered to hearken to the great ineffable

\* F. Lenormant, *de Tab. Plumb. Alex.*

name, at the sound of which, according to ancient mysticism, all creation trembled for fear. The inscription ends probably either in a repetition of the curse or an appeal to other deities, but the end of the lead is, as has been said, in every case mutilated; and much of what is left is a string of unmeaning jargon such as Iamblichus \* mentions, saying that the enchanter used barbarous words of which the Egyptians themselves had no understanding, as such words were supposed to have a singular influence over gods and dæmons.

Much light has been thrown on the subject of these later and more purely magical leaden tablets by the Greek magic papyri now existing in the different libraries of London,† Paris,‡ and Leyden.‡ These give regular instructions for the practise of the black art, invocations to different deities, accompanied by appropriate rites, spells, and sorceries which will move spirits of earth and air and heaven and hell to do the enchanter's bidding, words that will raise the dead, and stir even the great gods themselves. Of such magic the Cyprian inscriptions before us are excellent examples. Compare the following recipe for a *κατάθεσμος* taken from the Papyrus Anastasy in the British Museum with the translation from Inscription I:—

Pap. A., ed. Wessely, p. 134, l. 308.

“Take a sacred sheet or a leaf of lead and an iron ring. Put the ring upon the sheet, and within and without leave the mark of the ring with the pen. Then rub the circumference with myrrh, and write on the circle left by the ring on the sheet, writing on it the name and the characters without and whatever it is that you wish not to happen, and that the man's purpose may be spell-bound so as not to do such and such a thing. Then put the ring on the circle you have drawn, and taking up what is without the circle, fasten down the ring till it has covered the part of the sheet whereon the characters are written, and binding it together say, ‘I bind by spells such an one as regards such a deed, that he may not speak, nor resist, nor reply, nor be able to look me in the face, or to speak against me. Let him be made subject to me as long as this ring is buried. I bind by spells his wisdom, his thought, his desire, his acts’ . . . . .

\* *De Mys. Egypt*, vii, 4.

† *Griech. Zauber papyri*, ed. Wessely.

‡ *Papyri Græci, Mus. Lugd.*, ed. Leemans, 1885.

“ . . . Then carry it out to the tomb of one who has died untimely, and dig, having put thy seals upon it . . . and say: ‘ Spirit of the dead, whoever thou art in this place, I give over to thee such an one that he may not do such a deed.’ Then having piled the earth above it, go away . . . . These are the things written within the circle: ‘ Let not such a deed be done for as long as this ring is buried . . . .’ Having made a cord, bind it with knots and so put it down. The ring may be thrown into an artificial well—on a day when no business is done—or into the tomb of one who has died untimely.”

INSCRIPTION I.—“ Spirits below the earth, and spirits whoever ye be, and fathers of the fathers, and mothers like to men, ye who dwell here, and ye who sit here, taking from the heart the spirit with its cares, take from Ariston the spirit he has against me Soterianos, called also Limbaros, and his anger, and withdraw from him power and strength, and make him cold and speechless and spiritless, and cold to me Soterianos, called also Limbaros. I adjure you by the great gods . . . gods of the world below. Take from Ariston and his son the spirit and the anger which he has against me, Soterianos, and give him over to the guardian of the gate whence curses come, and to him who is set over the gate of Hades and the bolts of Heaven . . . and bury him whose name has been before written on this covenant that maketh silent. I invoke upon you the king of the deaf spirits. Harken to the great name, for he rules over you, he who fills the earth, who leads out from the gates of Hades. Do ye bind by magic knots my adversary Ariston, and lull his tongue to sleep, and his spirit, and the anger that he has against me Soterianos, called also Limbaros, he Ariston. That he may be unable to oppose me in anything, I adjure you, spirits of many men, slain by violence, dead untimely, who have not passed the tomb, by her who rends the earth . . . . by him who is the only god upon the earth . . . Osiris\*. . . do ye perform the things that are written herein. O tomb full of weeping, and gods of the world below, and Hecate Chthonia, and Hermes Chthonios, and Pluto, and Erinyes Hypochthonioi, and ye who lie here thus untimely dead and nameless, take his voice from Ariston who is against me Soterianos, called also Limbaros. I entrust to you this devotio of Ariston which makes him silent, and do you give his name to the gods below . . . . These always shall accomplish (my commands) for me and shall put to

\* *Ὅσιροφις* occurs as a name of Osiris, Paris Pap., l. 1078.

silence my adversary Ariston. Awake thyself for me, thou who holdest the palace of the under world of all the Erinyes . . . . .”

Another spell from the great Parisian papyrus may be quoted. Though specially intended to bring a reluctant beloved to the arms of her lover, it possesses many points in common with the Cyprus inscriptions. The writer of the papyrus calls it a marvellous *φιλτροκατάδεσμος*, and then proceeds to his description.

PARIS PAP., l. 295.—“Take wax (?) from a potter’s wheel and make two little figures one male, one female . . . . . then take a flat piece of lead and write the spell upon it . . . . and having bound the leaf of lead to the figures with a thread from the loom, make 365 knots, saying as thou knowest, Abrasax, prevail. This is put as the sun is setting near the tomb of one who has died untimely, or by violence, laying beside it the flowers of the season.”

The spell is written as follows: “I entrust this magic binding to you, gods of the world below, Nesemigadon and Koure Persephone . . . . . Hermes Katachthonios, and Anoubis the strong, to him who has the keys of the regions of Hades, to the spirits below the earth, and the gods, to youths and maidens who die untimely year by year, month by month, day by day, hour by hour. I adjure all spirits in this place to stand by and help this spirit, and wake up thyself for me, whoever thou art, whether male or female, and draw such an one by thy power to every place, and every quarter, and to every dwelling, and bring her, whom thou holdest in her being, spell bound in love with me such an one . . . . . because I adjure thee by the fearful name, the name that makes all things tremble, which the earth when she hears shall open, and the spirits when they hear the name shall be dismayed for fear, and the rivers and the rocks when they hear it shall shiver . . . . .”

This kind of spell by wax images is mentioned in Plato’s *Laws*.\* Socrates speaking of such matters, sorcery, enchantments, magic knots, says it is not easy, even if one knows himself, to persuade others to have no fear of them, and to pay no heed to wax images if they be seen about cross roads or at the tombs of parents.

It is difficult to realise the extent to which belief in witchcraft and sorcery had penetrated the ancient world; but it gives us a shock, as coming upon undreamt of depths in its civilization, when we consider that Plato, writing about three centuries B.C., spoke of spells like

\* Plato, *Laws*, 933, B.

that as things common and well known, even in their details, to all men, and when we read sober treatises\* on the same things, which are credibly supposed to belong to the third century of our era. The many references to such practices in classical writers, both intentional and unconscious, would alone leave no doubt as to the way in which the life of their time was pervaded by superstition, and that really serious superstition, with real terrors and real precautions; but such superstition is so foreign to our ideas, that we need corroborative evidence like the inscriptions or the papyri to prevent our passing it over as meaning little or nothing. Pliny† remarks on the superstitious observances of Cæsar and Tiberius and others as curious facts; but in what light would we consider a prime minister of England who never got into his carriage without solemnly repeating a charm, or who would stop his driver to salute by name any stray passer-by who should sneeze as he passed?

Among the spells for inflicting injury, others are given in the papyri,‡ which shall serve as amulets in cases of danger, or to protect a man from being himself spell-bound. Three lines§ from Homer written on a piece of metal and worn on the person, would ensure an athlete remaining unconquered, and a charioteer also, provided he carried with the metal a magnet stone; the power of protection extended even to those engaged in law suits.

The mysterious Ephesian letters, about which so much has been written, had great virtue in this way. According to Suidas,|| Croesus saved his life by repeating them on the funeral pyre, and in the same place he gives a story of two wrestlers at Olympia, one of whom it was impossible to throw, because he wore the Ephesian letters about his ankle. When his adversary saw this, and managed to loosen the amulet, he was thrown thirty times running.

Such magic is among the commonplaces of the black art, but there are two interesting points brought out in the Cyprus inscriptions: one, the influence of Gnosticism on magic, shown by the names of the deities invoked, and the mention of the "great name;" the other, the views held by the mass of the people on the relation of the dead to the living.

In the ancient conception of the universe as a whole, the dead occupied a position half way between spirit and matter, and were

\* Griech. Zauber papyri, ed. Wessely, 1888.

† Pliny, N. II., xxviii.

‡ Griech. Zauber papyri, ed. Wessely, 1888.

§ Wessely, Paris papyrus, l. 216.

|| Suidas, *sub voce*.

believed to possess powers, of injury at least, far superior to those of mortals; consequently men were under a terrible fear of the dead. This fear is apparently an innate idea in the human mind, and to judge by the funeral rites amongst savage nations, the principal desire of the survivors has always been to prevent any connection between themselves and the dead. The Greenlanders take the dead body through a window instead of a door; the Siamese break a special opening in the wall and carry the corpse three times round the garden; both apparently with the intention of confusing the ghost as to its whereabouts. Modern Egyptians turn the corpse round and round to make it giddy and so not know where it is going. The Australians again take off the nails of a corpse and tie its hands lest it scrape its way out from the grave. It was perhaps from a similar fear that the Athenians cut off the hand of suicides and had it either burned or buried separately.

It is certainly remarkable how very strong the feeling was amongst the Greeks and Romans against speaking of death or naming the dead; so strong indeed as to be noticed more than once by their own writers. The Romans, says Plutarch,\* not wishing to use ill-omened words, speak of dying as going away. Similarly the Greeks used the word ἀποιχεσθαι, and they spoke of the dead as the blessed, or the majority (πλείονες), rather than as the dead (νεκροί). And Pliny† asks in his N.H., xxviii, 4, why at the mention of the dead do we always declare their memory is not desired by us? Just as now amongst the peasantry in different countries, passing allusion to one dead brings out the ejaculation, "God rest his soul!" or something similar.

This long-standing prejudice may explain the πολυάνεροι in our inscriptions. Liddell and Scott give the word πολυάνεριον as a place where many men lie buried; but it is taken also simply as a tomb; and it is in a similar sense I regard πολυάνεροι as the generic name for the dead, including the other classes of the βαιοθάνατοι, ἄωροι, ἄποροι ταφῆς.

The βιοθάνατοι,‡ those who have died by violence, to judge from the papyri and the Cyprus inscriptions, were believed to have special powers of injury, or to be specially accessible to spells. The name was given indiscriminately§ either to suicides or to those who had

\* In Cicerone.

† Plin., ed. Lemaire, xxviii.

‡ A corruption for the more correct βιαυ θάνατοι.

§ Ducange, *sub voce*.

perished by a violent death. It is applied in mediæval writings to such as were deservedly executed. A curious extract is given in Ducange from an Act of Council at Buda, in 1279, concerning a piece of ecclesiastical extortion. It had been the custom in Hungary to pay a piece of silver to the Archdeacon of the diocese for every one who was slain by sword, or club, or other weapon, by poison, or in any other "damnabili aut reprobato modo," before he or she could obtain burial with the rites of the Church. The law in question was enacted to prevent this rule from being extended to those struck by lightning, burnt in a fire, drowned in rivers, or crushed by falling trees. This is enforcing the distinction between those who have died by the hand of man, and those who have died by the hand of God; and the *βιοθάνατοι* of our inscriptions may be taken to include the whole of the former class. It is worthy of notice that Hungary was the scene of the last great outbreak of the terrible superstition of Vampirism in the 17th century, a superstition which still lingers in Greece and Dalmatia, possibly the last relics of the belief which made men invoke the spirits of the dead to take away strength and spirit from the living.

Down into later times fragments of the dead bodies of malefactors had singular virtue. Lucan's\* Thessalian witch provides her materials from the crosses whereon slaves and felons and captives were suspended.

"Laqueum nodosque nocenteis  
Ore suo rupit, pendentia corpora carpsit  
Abrasitque cruces."

In Ben Jonson's *Masque of Queens*, one of the hags comes forward saying:—

"A murderer yonder hung in chains,  
The sun and the wind had shrunk his veins.  
I bit off a sinew; I clipped his hair,  
I brought off his rags that danced in the air."

Here though Ben Jonson had Lucan's lines partly in his mind, he was referring to a commonplace of magic lore.

Then there is the thieves' candle of mediæval witchcraft—a candle of human fat carried in a dried human hand stolen from the gallows—which, lighted and carried through a house, drowned all

\* Lucan, vi, 543.



men in it in unnatural slumber. This is of a piece with the other powers attributed to the *βιοθάνατοι*.

The *ἄωροι* or spirits of those who have died untimely are appealed to on the same ground as the *βιοθάνατοι*. Death in the bloom of youth was so unnatural, that men were apt to believe it must have been brought about by violence or by magic. Otto Jahn,\* in his learned article on the Evil Eye, mentions two Latin inscriptions on tombstones, one of which is certainly, and the other probably, to the memory of a life untimely ended. The first runs thus:—

QVISQVIS · EI · LAESIT  
AVT · NOCVIT · SEVERAE  
IMMERENTI DOMINE  
SOL · TIBI · COMMENDO  
TVINDICES EIVS MORTEM

Here the death is laid to the charge of man. In the second the dead girl arraigns the justice of heaven itself, and between the vertical lines of the inscription are engraved upturned open hands in figurative appeal.

|      |        |           |        |     |
|------|--------|-----------|--------|-----|
| PRO  |        | COPE · MA |        | NVS |
| LE   | (hand) | BO · CON  | (hand) | TRA |
| DE   |        | VM        |        | QVI |
| ME   |        | INNO      |        | CEN |
| TEM  |        | SVSTV     |        | LIT |
| QVAE |        | VIXIT     |        |     |
| ANN  |        | XX        |        |     |
| POS  |        | PROCLVS   |        |     |

Jahn derives the belief in the evil eye from the ingrained idea of the ancient world, that to be exposed to envy was to be exposed to harm whether at the hands of gods or men. Perhaps it was by an extension of this same feeling of envy and vengeance that the dead who by men's hands had been robbed of life (*πεπελεκισμένοι*, vi, 17), should be supposed specially able and willing to do harm to the living.

The appeal to the *ἄωροι ταφῆς*, those who have not passed the tomb, is easily explicable from the well-known state of Greek feeling on the subject of burial. The obligation of burying the dead was

\* O. Jahn's *Ueber den Aberglauben des Bösen Blickes*, p. 55. *Berichte der Kön. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*.

one of the strongest religious feelings among the Greeks, and the gods themselves were believed to avenge disregard of funeral rites. But the unburied dead also might be supposed to entertain the desire of working evil, at least until such time as they should be laid to rest.

It is curious, when so much has been written about the immortality of the soul, and men's innate belief or disbelief in the same, to come upon such strong evidence as to the intuitive conviction of at least the uneducated masses, that the dead continue to exist. To their fears, if not to their reason, it was clear not only that there was a world of spirits, but that death was the nearest way to it: that, whether to gods above or gods below, the road lay through the loss and decay of the body.

In transcribing the inscriptions smaller lacunæ only have been filled up, where the missing words were ascertainable from the context or by comparison with the other diræ. In cases where the lacunæ were larger or the meaning uncertain, the inscriptions are printed almost entirely as they stand, such letters only being supplied as were necessary to complete any single word.

It is worthy of remark that the leaden tablets containing inscriptions V, VII, VIII, X are in two pieces, broken vertically down the middle. The edges are in each case so clean that they might have been cut with a knife, and it is not unlikely that the lead was broken by a blow from a spade in the process of digging.

There are certain peculiarities of grammar and spelling which mark the late date of the inscriptions.

In grammar there is:—

(i.) A tendency to ignore the delicacies of inflection, e.g., *Ἀριστωναν* as accusative of *Ἀριστων*, and the indifferent use of

*βασιλευα* and *βασιλευαν*  
*αφελεστε* and *αφελεσθε*  
*κιστε* and *κισθε*  
*παρατιθομε* and *παρατιθομεν*

(ii.) A carelessness in the use of cases:—

e.g., I, 16, where *των υιων Ἀριστωναν* stands probably for *των υιων Ἀριστωνος*.

I, 19, *μηθηνεφραμενος*, written, XI, 13, as *μηθηνεφραμενον*.

I, 20, *των τεταγμενων*, which should apparently be *τω τεταγμενω*.

(iii.) The contracted forms *ις* and *ω* for the terminations *ιος* and *ων*.

*e.g.*, II. *Αφροῦσιων* for *Αφροῦσιον*.  
 VI. *Μακεδωνιων* „ *Μακεδονιον*.  
 VII. *Μακαρις* „ *Μακαριος*.  
*Ασβολις* „ *Ασβολιος*.  
 XVI. *Δημητρις* „ *Δημητριος*.  
 XX. *Ευανθις* „ *Ευανθιος*.

According to Benseler (*Curtius Studien zur Griechischen und Lateinischen Grammatik*, III, 147), these contracted proper names are common enough in Greek, but they are never found before the middle of the first century A.D.

In spelling :—

(1) *ε* = *αι*  
*e.g.*, *κε* = *και* throughout  
*ἐννητε* = *ἐννηται*  
*εναντιωθηνε* = *εναντιωθημαι*  
 (2) *ι* = *ει*  
*e.g.*, *ιτε* = *ειτε*  
*κισθε* = *κεισθε*  
*ις* = *εις*  
*εχι* = *εχει*  
*υμις* = *υμεις*  
*εμρον* = *εμειρον*

In return *ει* = *ι*, as *εινα*, *ινα*.

(3) *β* and *φ* are interchangeable.

*e.g.*, *ταβων* = *ταφων*  
*κηφοζων* = *κηβοζων*

This recalls the modern Greek pronunciation of *b* = *v*.

(4) *ς* is used before *ζ*.

*e.g.*, *ορκισζω* for *ορκιζω*.

(5) The double *γ* is spelt as it is pronounced.

*e.g.*, *ενγεγραμμενα* for *εγγεγραμμενα*.

(6) *τυνβε* = *τυμβε*

The use of the article for the relative is a late survival.

*e.g.*, I, 17, *την οργην την εις εμε εχι*.  
 I, 5, *τον θυμον τον προς εμε εχι*.

## I.

- Δεμονες] οι κατα γην κε δεμονες οι [τινες  
 εστι] κε πατερες πατερων κε μητερες [υ αντιενιρι  
 οι κε οιτινες ενθαδε κισθε κε οιτινες [ενθαδε  
 κιδισ]τε θυμον απο κραδεις πολυκηδεα [προσθε  
 5 λαβ]οντες, παραλαβετε τον Αριστωνος τον θυμον τ[ον  
 προς εμε εχι τον Σοτηριανον τον κε Διμβαρρον κε την  
 οργη]ην, κε αφελισθε αυτον την ενναμιν κε την αλκην κε  
 ποιησ]ετε αυτον ψυχρον κε αφωνον κε απνευμοναν ψυχ  
 ρ]ον εις εμε τον Σοτηριανον τον κε Διμβαρρον' ορκισξ[ω  
 10 υμ]ας κατα των μεγαλων θειων ρωσυμασιμαβλα[βοιω  
 μαιαξω ενμαξω ενδενεκοπτοουραμελοφθημαρα[ρ α  
 κ]ον ρωσρωεκαμαδωρμαχθουδουρασκιθωρασακηβο  
 ζων]θθαοθχαμοδουραλαρ ακου ραεντ ακου ραλαρ ακουεστε  
 αλαρ]ουεχσαρμολαρκαρμαεφθη σισοχωρ κενυεια χθω[ν  
 15 χα]υχαμιαδερφεσθερμωμασμαρμασμαχοχημιανουφιλα[εσωσι  
 χθ]οιοιοι θεοι παραλαβετε τον Αριστωνος κε τον υιον Αρ[ι  
 στωναν τον θυμον κε την οργην την εις εμε εχι τον Σο  
 τηριανω]ν τον κε Διμβαρροι, κε παραδότε τω καταεθουρουρω  
 μ]αθουρενφραμενος κε τον επι του πυλωνος του Α[δου  
 20 κ]ε των κληθρων του ουρανον τεταγμενον στερξερεξ ηρ  
 ηξα ρη]σιχθων αρδαμαχθουρ πιστευ λαμπαδεν στενα[κτα  
 θα]ψατε τον προγεγραμμενον επι τουδε του φημωτι[κου  
 κ]αταθεματος.  
 ενο]ρκισξω υμιν τον βασιλεα των κωφων δεμονων α[κο  
 25 υσατε του μεγαλου ονοματος, επιτασσι γαρ υμιν ο μ[εγ  
 ας σ]ισοχωρ ο εξαγων του Αδου των πυλας, κε κατα  
 ε]ησατε του αντιδικου μου του Αρισ(σ)τωνος κε κατακο[ιμι  
 σ]ατε την γλωσσαν του θυμον την οργην την εις εμε εχι τον  
 Σ]οτηριανον τον κε Διμβαρρον ο Αριστων, εινα μη εννητε μοι μη  
 30 ενει] πραγματι εναντιωθηνε' ορκισξω υμα(ς) δεμονες πολυαν  
 εριροι κε βιοθανατοι κε υωροι κε αποροι ταφης κατα της ρη  
 σι]χθουνης της κατενεκασης μελιουχου τα μελη κε αυτον μελιουχου'  
 εν]ορκισξω υμας ο κατα του αχαλεμορφωθ οστις εστιν μονος  
 επιμ[ι]ος  
 θιο]ς οσους οισωρνοφρις ουσραπιω ποιησατε τα ενγεγραμμ[ενα  
 35 τυ]νβε πανδουκρυτε κε χθονιοι θεοι κε Εκατη χθονια κε Ερμη  
 χ[θονιε  
 κ]ε Ηλουτων κε Ερινες υποχθονιοι κε υμεις οι ωτ(ε) κατωκιμ[ενοι  
 α]ιωροι κε ανωνμοι ενμαξων παραλαβετε τας φωνας το(ν) Αρισ[των

- ος του προς εμε τον Σοτηριανον τον κε Λιμβαρων' μασω[μα  
 χ]ωι την παραθηκην υμιν πα(ρα)τιθομεν φιμωτικην του  
 Αρισ(σ)τω[νος
- 40 κε αναῶτε αυτου το ονομα τοις χουοις θεοις αλλα αλκη  
 κε αλκε]ω κε λαλαθανατω τω τριωνυμω κουρα' ουτοι μοι παντοτε  
 τελιωσο]υσιν κε φιμωσουσιν τον αντιδικον εμου του Σοτηριαν[ου  
 του κε] Λιμβαρου τον Αρισ(σ)τωαν' εγιρονῆε μοι κε συ ο εχων το [υ  
 ποριον βα]σιλιον σε πασων των Ερινων' ορκισζω υμας κατα
- 45 των ε]ν Αῆι θεων ουχιτου την ταφωνῶσιραν αωθιωμος  
 τιωιει]ωεγωεοιφρι ο εν τω ουρανω εχων το εθεριον βασιλ[ιου  
 μιω]θιλαμψ εν ουρανω ιαω κε τον υπο γην σαβληνια ια[ω  
 σα]βληφ . . αυβηνθανατοπουτωηρ' ορκισζω σε βαθ[υμια  
 χθι]ορωκοροβρααῖδιανακκωκακιαβανηθενανκρα' [εξορκισ
- 50 ζω υμ]ας του[ς απο Κ]ρονου εκτεθει[τας θεους] αβλανα  
 θαναλβα  
 σ]ισοπ[ετρον] παραλαβετε το[ν αντιδικον εμου του Σοτηριανου  
 του] κε Λιμβιρου τον Α[ρι]στωαν ω . . .  
 ος αλακα]μηθη κε συ η τας [κλι]ῆας το[ν Αῆους . . . . .  
 . . . . . τελιῆε μοι κε συ ασμιατην . . . . .
- 55 . . . . . αθημασωμασωννο . . . . .  
 . . . . . ιν παρατεθιμε . . . . .  
 . . . . . επισοθυχοι . . . . .  
 . . . . . ω . . ουσιν . . . . .

## II.

- . . . . . τριων]υμω [κ]ουρ[α . . . . .  
 . . . . . φιμωσουσιν τους αντιδικους εμου τ[ου . . . . .  
 . . . . . τ]ον Αφροδισιν κε Νεστοριν' εγιρονῆε μοι κ[ε . . . . .  
 . . . . . β]ῆλιον σε πασων των Ερινων' ορκισζω υμ[ας
- 5 . . . . . θεων ουφιτου την ταφωνῶσιρα(ν) αωθι . . . . .  
 . . . . . φρι ο εν τω ουρανωι εχων(ν) το εθεριον βασιλιον  
 . . . . . ουρα]νω ιαω κε τον υπο γην σαβληνια ιαω εαβλ . . . . .  
 . . . . . τοπουτωηρ' ορκισζω σε βαθυμια χθιορ . . . . .  
 . . . . . ακωκακιαβανηθενανκρα' εξορκισζω υ[μας . . . . .
- 10 . . . . . Κρονου εκτεθεινας θεους αβλαναθανα[λ]β[α . . . . .  
 . . . . . παραλ]αβετε τον αντιδικον εμου του Α(φ)ρ[οδισιου . . . . .  
 . . . . . αυτιχερεχερβεβαλλοσαλα . . . . .  
 . . . . . τεχουσα ρησιχθων . . . . .  
 . . . . . ου κατα θε . . . . .
- 15 . . . . . τηριτε τη . . . . .

## III.

- . . . . ἀφελε]σθε . . . . την οργη[ν  
 . . . . ποι]ησετε αυτην ψυχρημ κε αφιωω[ν . . . .  
 . . . . ε]νορκισζω υμας κατα των μεγα[λων . . . .  
 . . . . ευ]ιαζω ενδενκοππουραμελ . . . . .  
 5 . . . . υρασκιθωρασακηφοζωνθσααθχα . . . . .  
 . . . . λαρονεχεαρμαρλαρκαραιεσθ[η σι]σο[χωρ . . . .  
 . . . . μισμαρασμαχουχιμανουφιλαεσω[σι . . . . .  
 . . . . θ]υμον κε την οργην την εις εμε εχι τ[ου . . . .  
 . . . . καταδη]θυρουρω μαθυρεσφραμενος κε το[ν . . . .  
 10 . . . . κληθ]ρω(ν) του ουρανου τεταγμενον στε . . . .  
 . . . . υ λαμπαειν στενακτα θαψατε τη[ν . . . .  
 . . . . κατ]αθιματος' ενορκισζω υμιν τον β[ασιλεα . . . .  
 . . . . ακουσαι]ε τον μεγαλον ονοματος, επιτ[ασσι . . . .  
 . . . . τ]ας πυλας κε καταδησατε της . . . . .  
 15 . . . . γ]λωσσαν τον θυμον την οργην την εις εμε . . . .  
 . . . . μηδενι πραγματι εναντιωθηνε' ορκισζω . . . .  
 . . . . κε]ε αποροι ταφης κατα της ρησιχθουης της κα[τενεκασης  
 . . . . μι]λιουχον' ενορκ[κι]σζω υμας αχαλεμορφωθ . . . .  
 . . . . οισωρνο]φρις ουσραπιω ποιησατε τα ενρηγραμμε[να  
 20 . . . . χθονια κε Ερμη χθον[ι]ε] κε Ηλουτων κε . . . .  
 . . . . κατωκιμ]εινοι ακροι κε ανω[νυ]μοι ενμαζων παρ[αλαβετε . . . .  
 . . . . τον Καλοκερον' μα[σ]ωμαχω την παρ[αθηκην . . . . .  
 . . . . ης κε αναε]στε αυτης το ονομα . . . . .  
 . . . . λαλαθαρ]ατω τω τριωνυμο κουρα' ο[μ]ιοι . . . . .  
 25 . . . . αντιεικο]ν εμου τον Καλοκερον την Ζ . . . . .  
 . . . . π]ισων των Ερινυων' ορκισζω υμ[α]ς . . . . .  
 . . . . ταφωνε]ο]πιραν αωθιωροστωειωεγωωε . . . . .  
 . . . . ωθιλαμψ εν ουρανω ιαω κε το(ν) υπ[ο . . . .  
 . . . . ωηρ' ορκισζω σε βαθυμια χθιωρ . . . . .  
 30 . . . . . υμ]ις τους απο Κρον[ου] . . . . .  
 . . . . . αντι . . . . . νε . . . . .

## IV.

- . . . . . κ]ατα < . . > γην κε δεμονες οιτινες [εσ]τε κε  
 πατερες πατρι]ων κε μητερες αντισυριοι ανδριοι . . . .  
 . . . . νες τινες εσθε κε οιτινες ενθ[α]ε . . . .  
 . . . . εα βιωθανατοι ειτε ξενοι ιτε εντοπιοι ι[τε] . . . .  
 5 . . . . ιτε απο της ακρ(ε)ιας των αστρων φερεσθε ειτε . . . .  
 . . . . υπλασζισθε κι εν ο ωτι κατωκιμινος παρα[λαβετε τας  
 φω]μας των αντιδικων εμου του Αλεξανδρου το[ν] κε

- Μακεδ]οιον ου ετεκεν Ματιδια τον Θεοδωρον το . .  
 . . Τιμωνα τον ε(σ)τεκεν Μαρκια νιτευ . . . . .  
 10 . . μασωλαβω μαμαξω μαξω ενκοπτ . . . . .  
 . . ευνουμαρακνευμελωφθηλαρακν (ρω?) . . . . .  
 . . εςποτατων υπο χθονα εςμωνων . . . . .  
 . . κε εος φιμον τω Θεοδωρω τω ηγε[μοι\* . . . . .  
 . . της Κ]υπρον κε Τιμονι να μη εν[ωυτε . . . . .  
 15 . . εναντιωθη[ν]ε τω Αλεξανδρω . . . . .  
 τω κε Μακεδονιω αλλα ωσ . . . . .  
 νοι κε αλαλοι κε αγλωσσοι οκτω . . . . .  
 . . κε αντιτικοι ητωσαν υλαλοι υφ[ωνοι . . . . .  
 Θεοδωρος ο [ηγεμ]ων κε . . . . .  
 20 . . ονα παν . . . . .

\* Cf. C. I. G. 2613-2621.

## V.

- εμον]ες οι κατα γην κε εμοιες οιτινες εστις κε πατερες πατερων κ[ε  
 μητε  
 ρες αν]τενιοι οιτινες ενθαε κιστε κε οιτινες ενθαε καθεστε θυμον  
 α[πο κρα  
 εις πο]λυκηδεα προσθε λαβοντες, παραλαβετε του Θεοδωρου του  
 θυμου  
 του]ν προς εμε εχι τον Αλεξανδρον τον κε Μακεδονιν κε την οργην  
 κε . . . . .  
 5 . . . . . εν]μαριν κε την αλην κε ποιησετε αυτον ψυχρον κε υφωνον  
 κ[ε . . . . .  
 τον Αλεξανδρον τον κε Μικεδονιν' ορκισξω υμας κατα των μεγαλων  
 θεω[ν . . . . .  
 σμασιμαβλαβω μαμαξω ευμαξω ενδενεκοπτουραμελοφθημαραρα .  
 αρακοραερωεκαμαδωρμαχθουλονρασκιθωρασακηφοζωνθειααυχαμοδο . .  
 αρ ακου ραεντ ακου υλαρ ακουεστε αλυρουεχερμαρλαρκαραμεφθη  
 σισοχ[ωρ  
 10 α]ωνεια χθων χουχμαθερφεσθερμωμασμαρασμαχουχιμανουφιλαε-  
 σ[ωσι  
 χ]θονιοι θεοι παραλαβετε του Θεοδωρου τον θυμον τον προς εμε εχι  
 τον Αλεξανδρ[ον,  
 κε παραδοτε τω καταδηνθυρουρω μαθυρευφραμενος κε τον επι του  
 πυλωνο[ς  
 του Αδ]ους κε των χληθρων του ουρανου τεταγμενον στερξερξ ειρηξα  
 ρησιχθω[ν  
 αρδαραχθουρ πριστευ λαμπαδευ στενακτα θαψατε τον προγεγραμμενον  
 ε[πι  
 15 του]ε τοφμιωτικο καταθεματος' ενορκισξω υμιν τον βασιλεα των κω[φ]

- ων ἐιμονων ακουσατε του μεγαλου ονοματος, επιτασσι γαρ υμιν ο  
 με[γας  
 σ]ισοχωρ ο εξαγων τον Αδου τας πυλας, κε καταδησατε του αντιδικου  
 μου τ[ου  
 Θεοδωρου κε κατακομισατε την γλωσσαν τον θυμον την οργην την  
 [εις εμε  
 χει τον Αλεξανδρον ο Θεοδωρος, ινα μη ἐννητε μοι μηδενι πρα[γματι  
 20 ενα]ντιωθηνε' ορκισζω υμας ἐμορες πολυανδριοι κε βιοθανατοι κε  
 [αυροι  
 κε υποροι ταφης κατα της ρησιχθουης της κατερευκισης μελιουχου τα  
 μελ[η κε  
 αυτον μελιουχον' ενορκισζω υμας κατα του αχιλομορφωθ οστις εστιν  
 μ[ον  
 ος επιγμοσ θεος οσους οισωρνοφρις οισραπιω ποιησαιτε τα ενγεγραμ[με  
 ν]α τυνβε παντακρυτε κε χθονιοι κε Εκατη χθονια κε Ερμη χθονιε κε  
 Π[λουτ  
 25 ων <κε Πλουτων> κε Ερινυες υποχθονιοι κε υμεις οι ωδε κυτωκιμενοι  
 αυ[ροι κε  
 ανωνμοι ενμηζων παραλαβετε τας φωνας του Θεοδωρου του π[ρος  
 εμ]ε τον Αλεξανδρον' μασωμαχω την παραθηκη[ν] υμιν παρατιθομ[εν  
 φι]μωτικην του Θεοδωρου κε αναδστε αυτον το [ο]νομα τοις χθονιοις  
 [θιοις  
 α]λλα αλη κε αλκευ κε λαλαθανατω τω τριωνυμω κουρι' ουτοι μοι  
 30 παντο]τε τελωσουσιν κε φιμωσουσιν τον [αυτ]ιδικον εμον τον Αλεξ-  
 [ανδρον τον  
 Θε]οδωρον' ε[γμρονδε] μοι [ . . . . . βασι]λιον σα  
 πασιων [των  
 Ερινυω]ν' ορκισζω . . . . . α . . . . . την ταβωνδο  
 τ[ιραν αυ  
 θιωσοσειωσειωζωωε . . . . .

The following fragment was part of this inscription.

V a.

- . . . ιωθιλα . . . ν . ουραν[ω . . .  
 35 . . . αυβηνθαν . . . οντ . . . . .  
 . . . ιαβανηθανακρα' εξορκισζω . . . . .  
 . . . αναθαναλβα σισοπιτρο . . . . .  
 . . . Αλεξαν]δρον τον κε Μακιδονιον τον Θεοδωρ[ον . . .  
 . . . οσαλακακηθης κε συ η τας κλιδα[ς . . .  
 40 . . . τ . . . . ασματηνε . . τους . . .  
 . . . μασ . . . . . ωτο . . . . . ν





## VII.

- ἔειποντες οἱ κατὰ γῆν κὲ ἔιμοντες οἰτινες ἐστὲ κὲ πατέρες πατέρων  
 κὲ μητέρες ἀντιανηρωῖ οἰτινες ἐνθαῖε κισθεὶ κὲ οἰτινες ἐνθαῖε κισθεστὲ  
 θυμὸν ἀπὸ κριδείης πολυκεχῆι προσθε λαβόντες, παραλαβετε τοῦ  
 Ἀφροδίσια[ρου  
 τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐχὶ τοῦ Ἀρτεμιῶρον κὲ τὴν ὀργὴν κὲ  
 ἀφέλεσθε ἀ[υτοῦ  
 5 τὴν ἔντασιν κὲ τὴν ἀλκὴν κὲ ποιήσατε αὐτοῦ ψυχρὸν κὲ ἀφιωνὸν κὲ  
 ἀπνεύ  
 μονα κὲ ψυχρὸν εἰς ἐμὲ τοῦ Ἀρτεμιῶρον· ὀρκισῶ υμᾶς κατὰ τῶν μι  
 γάλων[θίων μισω]μασιμαβλαβοιμαμαξὺ ἐνιαῶζων ἐνένεκοπτοῦρ[α  
 μισο]βθημαρᾶν ἀκὸν μισρωεσᾶκ· μαῶδωρμιαχθουῶνρασκιθωρᾶσᾶκηφῶζων  
 θῆσαθχμιοῶστραλαρ ἀκὸν ρουετ ἀκὸν ραλαρ ἀκουῶστε ἀλαρνευχεαρ-  
 μαρλαρ  
 10 κερρνεφθῆ σισοχωρ ἀῶνευα χθων χουχιμαθερφισθερμωμασμαρᾶσ  
 μαχουχιμανουφίλαεσωσι χθονιοι θεοι παραλαβετε τοῦ Ἀφροδίσια-  
 νο[υ τοῦ  
 θυμοῦ κὲ τὴν ὀργὴν τὴν εἰς ἐμὲ ἐχὶ τοῦ Ἀρτεμιῶ[ρων, κὲ] παριῶτοι  
 τῶ [κατὰ  
 ἔηθρνευρῶ μα[θουρ]εφθρνευρῶ κὲ τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ πύλωνος τοῦ Ἀ[ρους κὲ  
 τῶν[κλήθρων] τοῦ οὐρανοῦ [τ]εταγ[μ]νον στρεξίεργξ ἰρηξᾶ ρησ[ι]-  
 χθῶ[υ  
 15 ἀρῆαμαχθουρ πριστευ λαμπυῶεν [σ]τενακτα θαψατε τοῦ προγε[γγραμ  
 μῶν ἐπὶ τούτῃ τοῦ φηματικο[υ κατ]μθεματος· ἐνορκισῶ υμῖν το(ν)  
 β[ασίλι  
 αν τῶν κω[φῶν] ἔιμωνων ἀκουσα[τ]ε τοῦ μεγάλου ὀνοματος, ἐπιτασσι  
 γα[ρ  
 υμῖν ὁ μῆγος σισοχωρ ὁ ἐξᾶρων τοῦ Ἀῶνος τις πύλας, κὲ καταῶγσατε το  
 υ ἀντιῶικου μου τοῦ Ἀφροῶ(ισ)ιανου κὲ κ[α]τακομισατε τὴν γλωσσᾶν  
 τοῦ θυμ[ου  
 20 τὴν ὀργὴν τὴν εἰς ἐμὲ ἐχὶ τοῦ [Ἀρτε]μιῶρον ὁ Ἀφροῶσιανος εἶνα  
 μῆ ἔν  
 νητε] μοι πηῶενι πρ[αγματι] ἐνα[ντιωθη]νε· [ο]ρκισῶ υμῖς ἔειμοντες  
 π[ο]λυανῆροι . . . .  
 . . . . . ταφῆς κατὰ τη(ς) ρησιχθου[γης . . . . .  
 . . . . . κὲ αὐτοῦ μιλωνχ[ον . . . . .  
 . . . . . ὅ ος τις ἐστὶν μι[θρος . . . . .

## VIII.

- . . . οἰτινες ἐνθαῖε κισθεὶ κὲ αιτιν[εις . . . . .  
 . . . προσ]θε λαβόντες, παραλαβετε τοῦ Σ[ο]ζόμενου τ[ον] θυμὸν τοῦ πρὸς  
 ἐμὲ ἐχὶ τοῦ [Ε]υτοχηρ

κ]ε την οργην κε αφελεσθε αυτου την [ενταμι κ]ε την αλκην κε  
 ποιησατε αυτον ψυ[χρ]ον κ[ε  
 α]φωνον κε απνευμονα ψυχρον ες εμε τ[ον Ευτυ]χην· ορκισζω υμας  
 κατα των μεγαλων θιζα>  
 5 ω]ν μασωμασιμαβλαβουμαμαξω [ευμ]αζω ενδενεκοπτουραμελοφθη-  
 μαραρ ακου ρ . . . . .  
 . . . . . ουρα . . . . . φο[ζ]ωνθεαυχαμοδοι ραλαρ  
 ακου ραεντ α . . . . .  
 ακου]εστε αλυρουεχαρμαλαρκαρμαεφθη σισοχωρ αδων[εια χθ]ων  
 χ[ου]χμα  
 θερφεσθερρωμισμαρασμαχουχιμανουφλαεσωσι χθονιοι θεοι παραλα-  
 [βε]τε του  
 Σοζομενον τον θυμον κε την οργην την ες εμε εχι τον Ευτυχη[ν,  
 10 κε παρ]αϊοτε τω καταδηθουρω μαθυρευφραμενος κε τον επι του  
 πυλωνος του Ατ[ους  
 κε των χληθρων του ουραου τεταγμενον στερξερξ ειρηξα ρησιχθων  
 αρταμαρχθ [ουρ  
 πιστευ λαμπαειν στανακτα θαψατε τον προγεγραμμενον επι τουτι  
 του φιμ[ω  
 τικου καταθεματος· ενορκισζω υμιν τον βασιλειοντα των κωφων  
 δεμονων ακουσα[  
 τε του μεγαλου ονοματος, επιτασει γαρ υμ[ι]ν ο μεγας σισοχωρ ο  
 εξαγων του Αδους τας  
 15 πυ]λας, κε καταδησατε τον αντιδικον μου του Σοζομενου κε κατω-  
 κοιμισετε  
 την γλωσσαν του θυμον την οργην την εις εμε εχι τον Ευτυχην ο  
 Σοζομενος  
 ε]να μη εννητε μηδενι πραγματι εναντιωθηε περι τα θρεμματα, αλλα  
 εος αυτω  
 α . ρκη αυτου ορκισζω υμας δεμονες π[ο]λυανδριοι κε βιοθανατοι κε  
 αωροι κε απο  
 ρ]οι ταφης κατα της ρησιχθουης της κατερ[εν]κασης μελιουχου τα  
 μελη κε αυτον  
 20 μ]ελιουχον· ενορκισζω υμας κατα του αχελομορφωθ οστις εστιν μονος  
 επιμοσ θεος  
 οσους οισωρνοφρις ουσραπιω ποιησατε τα ενεγεγραμμενα τυνβε παν-  
 λακρυ[τε  
 κε χθονιοι θεοι κε Εκατη χθονια κε Ερμη χθονιε κε Ηλουτων κε  
 Ερινυες υποχθονιο[ι  
 κε υμεις οι ωδε κατωκιμενοι αωροι κε ανωνμοι ευμαζων, παραλαβτι  
 τας φωνα[s

τ]ου Σοζομενου τον προς εμε τον Ευτυχηνη' [μ]ασμαχικη την παρι-  
 25 θουε φημωτικην του Σοζομενου κε ανατ[ο]τε αυτου το ονομα τοις  
 χθονιοις θεοις  
 αλ]λα αλκη κε αλκικε κε λαλαθανατω τω τριωνυμω κουρα' ουτοι μοι  
 παντο  
 τ]ε τελωσουσιν κε φημωσουσιν τον αντιδικον εμου του Ευτυχη τον  
 Σοζομεν[ον]  
 εγμοντ[ε] υοι κε συ ο εχων το υποσμιο[ν βα]σιλιον σε πασων των  
 Ερινων  
 ορ]κισζω υμια κατα των εν Αδι θε[ων ουχ]ιτου την ταβωνδστιραν  
 αωθιωμοσι  
 30 ιωερωεωκοφρη ο εν τω ουρανω εχων το εθεριον βασιλιον μειω-  
 θιλαιυψ ε[ν]  
 ουραν]ω ιωω κε [τον] υπο γην σαβληνια ιωω σαβληφλαυβ[η]νθα-  
 νατοποουτω  
 ηρ' ορκισ]ζω σε βαθυμια χθιορωκορβρααδ . . νακωκακια . . .  
 ηθερναν . . .  
 εξορκισζω υμ]ιας τους απο Κρονον εκτεθερτα[ς] θε[ου]ς αβλαναθα  
 να[λβα] σισοπ . . .  
 . . . . . τον αντιδικον εμου του Ευτυχη [τον] Σοζομενον ω . . .  
 35 . . . . . κε συ η τας κλιεας του Α[δ]ου . . .  
 . . . . . μου . . . . .

IX.

There are a few broken and illegible letters remaining above  
 ενθαδε κισθε.

. . . . . ε]νθαδε κισ[θε] . . . . .  
 . . . . . κα]θεστε θεμον απο κρατης πολυκηδεα π[ροσθε] . . . . .  
 . . . παρα]λαβιτε τον Κρατερου τον θεμον τον προς εμε . . . . .  
 . . κε την οργην κε αφηλεστε αυτου την ενναμιν κε την αλκη[ν] . . . . .  
 5 . . ψυχρον κε αφωνον κε απνευμοναν ψυχρον ις εμε το[ν] . . . . .  
 . . υμας κατα των μεγαλων θιων μισωμασι . . . . .  
 . . αξω ενιαζω εν[ε]νικοπτοουραμιλοφθημιαρα ακον ρα . . . . .  
 . . ε]ωρμαχουδ[ου]ρασκιθωρασακηφοζωνθιασθαχαμοδωρ . . . . .  
 . . ντ ακον ραλαρ ακονιστε αλαρονι χαρμαρλαρκαρμα . . . . .  
 10 . . σισο] χωρ αιωνια χθων χωρμαθιρθεσθερμωμασμαρασ . . . . .  
 . . οφελαισωσι χθονιοι θεοι παραλαβιτε τον Κρατιρ[ον] . . . . .  
 . . κρατια τον θεμον κε την οργην την εις εμε εχι τον Καλ[λιω],  
 κε παρα[ι]ο]τι τω κατι[η]θουρρω μαθριμ[ε]φραμειον κε τον επι τ[ου]  
 πελω]ρος του Α[δ]ου κε των χληθρων του ουρανου τεταγημιο[ν]  
 15 στερξ]ιρξ[ε] ιρηξα ρησιχθων αρ[ε]μαχθουρ πιστευ λαμπα[ε]ει  
 στερ]ακτα θαψατε τον προγγραμμενον επι τουδε του φημωτικου

- κατα]θιματος· ενορκισξω υμιν τον βασιλεαν των κωφων ἐμε[ουαν  
 ακουσατε του μεγαλου ονοματος, επιτασσι γαρ υμιν ο μεγα[  
 σισοχω]ρ ο εξαναγων του Αδου τας πυλας, κε καταδησατε του [αντιει  
 20 κου μου τ]ου Κρατερου κε κατακοιμισατε την γλωσσαν του θυ[μον την  
 ορηην] την εις εμε[εχι τ]ον[τον] Καλλιν ο Κρατερον (sic) ειναι μη  
 εδνητε μοι  
 μηετι πρω]ματι εναντιωθητε· ορκισξω υμιας ειμονες πολυανειμοι κε  
 βιοθ]υρατοι κε αωροι κε αποροι ταφης κατα της ρησιχθονης της κ[ατ  
 ενεκασ]ης μελιουχου τα μελη κε αυτον μελιουχον· ενορκισξω υμ[α  
 25 κατα] του αχελομορφωθ οστις εστιν μονος επιγμοιος θεος οσο[ος  
 οισω]ρροφρις ουσραπιω ποιησατε τα εγγεγραμμενα τινβι [παν  
 ε]ακρυτε κε χθονιοι θεοι κε Εκατη χθονια κε Ερμη χθονιε κε  
 Πλουτ]ων κε Ερινυες υ[πο]χθονιοι κε υμιας οι ωδε κατακιμειν[οι αωροι  
 κ]ε ανεινυμοι εμε[αζων], παραλαβετε τας φωνας του Κρατε[ρου του  
 30 προς εμ]ε τον [Κα]λλιν· [μασω]μαχω την παραθηκην υμιν παρα[τ-  
 θομεν . . . . ]  
 . . . . . κε αναεοτε αυτου το ονομα τοις χθ[θονιοις] . . .  
 . . . . . κε λαλαθαυατω τω τριωνυμω κου[ρα] . . . . .  
 . . . . . τελιωσ]ουσιν κε φριμωσουσιν τον αντιεικον . . .  
 . . . . . ε]γρονει μοι κε συ ο εχων το υπογρονβ[ασιλιον  
 35 πασω]ν τ[ων Ερινω]ν· ορκισξω υμιας κατα των εν Αει θεω[ν . . . . .  
 ταβωνε]οτ[ι]ραν αυθιμοσιυειωερωσοφρι ο εν τω . . . . .  
 εχω]ν το εθεριον βασιλιον μιωθιλαμψ εν ουρανω ιαω . . . . .  
 γην σαβληνια ιαω εαβληφλαυβην θανατοπουτ . . . . .  
 βαθ]ομια χθιορωσβ . . . . . ειωκακακιαβαρη . . . . .  
 40 . . υμιας [τους απο] Κρονου εκτιθεν[τας] . . . . .  
 . . . . . ονα . . . . .

## X.

- Δε[μονες] . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . θυμον απο κραε[ε]ις . . . . .  
 5 . . τον θυμον τον [προς] εμε εχι . . . . .  
 . . ε]υναμιν κε την αλκην ποιησατε αυτον ψυχρον κε . . . . .  
 . . ψ]υχρον εις εμε την Σεραπιαεαν· ορκ[ισξω υμ]ιας κατα των  
 μεγα[λων] . . .  
 . . μασιμαβλαβοιωμαμαξω ενμαζων ενδ . . κ . . . . . α . . . . .  
 . . κιθωρασακηβοζωνθεααθχαμοεοιραλαρ ακου ραστ ακου ραλαρ ακουεστι  
 αλαρο . . .  
 10 . . αρμαρλαρκαρμεφθη σισοχωρ αεωνια χθω[ν χ]ονχμαθι ρφισθι ρ-  
 μωμασμαρσ

- μαχοιχθιανουφιλασωσι χθονιοι θεοι παραλαβετε του Μαριωνο[ς  
 το]ν θε[α]ο[ν]  
 . . . την οργην την εν εμε εχι την Σεραπιείαν, κε παραδότε τω κατὰ την  
 θυρονω [μαθιν  
 εσφραμειος κε τον επι του πυλωνος του Α[δου] κε των χληθ(ρ)ων  
 του ουρανω  
 τι τα[γ]μειον στερεξερξ ιρηξα ρησιχθων αρταμααχθουρ πιστευ λαμπαειν  
 στενα[κτα  
 15 θα]ψατε τον προρηγγραμμενον επι τουτε του φημωτικου καταθεματος·  
 ενορκι[σζω  
 υ]αιν τον βασιλευ των κωφων λιμωνων ακουσατε του μεγαλου  
 ονοματος, επιτισσ[ι γαρ  
 υ]αιν ο μεγας σισοχωρ ο εξωγων του Αδου τας πυλας, κε καταδησατε  
 του ανδρος μου της [Σεραπιείας  
 του] Μαριωνος κε κατακοιμισατε την γλωσσαν του θυμου την οργην  
 την εν εμε εχι την Σε[ρα  
 πιαειαν ο Μαριων να μη εννητε μοι μηδενι [πρα]γματι εναντιωθηρι·  
 ορκισζω υμα[ς  
 20 ε]ι μοις πολυ ανδριοι κε βιοθαντοι κε αεροι κε [απ]οροι ταφης κατα  
 της ρησιχθονης τη[ς  
 κατι]νεκασης μελιουχων τα μελη κε αυτου μελι[ουχων]· ενορκισζω  
 υμα[ς . . . .  
 μορφηθ οστις εστιν μορος επι γης θεος οσοι[ς οισ]ωρνοσφρις ουσρα . . .  
 ε[γ]γεγραμμενα τυνβε παντακρυτε κε χθονιοι θεοι κε Εκατη χθονι[α κε  
 Ερμη]η χθονιε κε  
 Ηλουτων κε Ερινων υποχθονιοι κε υμις οι ωδε κατωκιμενοι αεροι κε  
 ανωνυμ[οι  
 25 ενμαζων παραλαβετε του Μαριωνος τας φωνας του προς εμε την  
 Σεραπιείαν  
 μι]σωμαχε την παραθηκην υμιν παρατιθωμε φημωτικην του Μαριωνος  
 κε α[υτου  
 τε αυτου το ονομα τοις χθονιοις θεοις αλλα αλκη κε αλκω κε  
 λαλαθαρατω τ  
 ω τριωνυμω κουργα· ουτοι μοι παντοτε τελωσουσιν κε φημωσουσιν  
 τον ανδρα . . .  
 . . . Σερ]απιείαν τον Μαριωναν· εγρονει μοι κε συ ο εχων το  
 υπομον βα[σιλειων] σι  
 30 πασ]ων των Ερινων· ορκισζω [υμας κατ]α των εν Αδι θιων ου[χι]τ  
 ου [την] τα  
 βωνειο]τιραν αυθιωουστιωειτωιτωι . . . . εν τω ουραν[ω . . . . .  
 γη]ν σαβλην ιωθειλαμψ εν ουρανω ιω [κε το]ν υπο γην σ . . . .

σαβ]ληνφλανβηνθανατοπο[υτω]ηρ' ορκισξ[ω σε]βαθυμιαχθορωοκορ'.  
 ανακικακιαβαρη[θερναν]κρα \* εξ[ορκισξ]ω υμας τους απο Κρ[ορου]  
 35 εκτε]θεντας θεους αβ[λανα]θαναλβα [σισοπετ]ρον παραλαβετε . .  
 δικην αντρων [ . . . Σ]εραπιατ[ος . . . . .] αυ . . . πηντιασ . .  
 βεβαλλοσαλακ . . . . ησκεσ . .  
 . . . . . ων . . ν . . . . .

XI.

. . . . . γην κε εεμονες οιτ[ινες . .  
 . . . . . οιτινες . . . . .  
 . . . . πολυκη]εα προσθε λαβοντες λιποντες, πα[ραλαβετε . . . .  
 . . . . θυμ]ον τον προς εμε εχουσιν τον **V P Y**  
 5 . . . . τ]ην αλκην κε ποιησετε αυτους ψυχ[ρους . . . .  
 . . . . ορκισξ]ω υμας κατα των μεγαλων θεων μα . . . .  
 . . . . φθημα ακου ρασλβαικαματ̄ . . . . .  
 . . . . . εχεαρμαρα . . . . .  
 . . . . . χ . . . εσθερμχθοι . . . . .  
 10 . . . . . τους θυμους κε τας οργας . . . . .  
 . . . . θεοις μαχθυρενφραμενος κε . . . . .  
 . . . . τεταγμενον στερξερξ <ξ>ειρηξα ρη[σιχθων . . . .  
 . . . . στε]νακτα θαψατε τους προηγγραμμ[ερους . . . .  
 . . . . εορ]κισξω υμιν τον βασιλεα των κω[φων . . . .  
 15 . . . . επ]ιτασσι γαρ υμιν ο μεγας σισοχω[ρ . . . .  
 . . . . αντιδικων μου **7 Y W V** . . . . .  
 . . . . κατακ]οιμισατε αυτων τας γλωσσας . . . .  
 . . . . ενω]ντε μοι εν μηετι πραγματι . . . . .  
 . . . . πολυαντ̄ρι]οι κε βιοθανατοι κε αωροι . . . .  
 20 . . . . κατερευ]κασης μελιονχον τα μελη κ[ε . . . .  
 . . . . . αχαιλομορφωθ αχλαλαγμορφθ . . . . .  
 . . . . ο]μσραπιω ποιησατε τα ενεγεγραμμ[μενα . . . .  
 . . . . Εκατ]η χθορια κε Ερμη χθοριε κε Ηλιον[των . . . .  
 . . . . κατω]κιμενοι αωροι κε ανωνημοι ε[υμαζων . . . .  
 25 . . . . φων]ας κε τον θυμον κε τους λογους . . . .  
 . . . . π]ρος<ς> εμε τον **γ V Y ρ γ V Λ V N** μας  
 . . . . παραθη]κην υμιν παρατιθομε φιμωτικη[ν . . . .  
 . . . . ανατ̄]οτε αυτου το ονομα τοις χθοριοις θ[εοις . . . .  
 . . . . τρι]ωννημω \* ουτοι μοι παντοτε τελι[ωσουσιν  
 30 **τ Λ γ ρ Λ Η Λ θ λ ν Δ Λ ς Λ ν λ . . . ν ρ Δ**  
 . . . . ιον βασιλιον ο ων επανωτων  
 . . . . την ταβωνεοτιραν λωθιμουλω . . . .  
 . . . . εχω]ν το εθεριον βασιλιον μωθιλαμ . . . . .

. . . . οσαφθον ορκισζω σε τον ει<ν> ουραι[ω . . . .  
 35 . . . . θ]ανατοπουτωηρ' ορκισζω σε βαθυ[μια . . . .  
 . . . . θιθενναν . . . . εξορκισζω υμιας . . . .  
 . . . . αθαναλβα σισοπιτρων παραλαβ[ετε . . . .  
 . . . . Υ ϑ Ν Ψ Ζ √ . . . . ιω . . . .  
 . . . . ακαμηθης κε σν η τας κλιδασ το[ν . . . .  
 40 . . . . τον επι του θν . . . . ραθισειν  
 . . . . σισοχθω . . . . τηριτε την  
 . . . . 9 9 9

The names of the persons mentioned in this inscription are written in some character unknown to me.

XII.

. . αν]τινιριοι οιτινις ισ[τε . . . .  
 . . κριδει]ς πολυκηδσα προσθε λι[βοντες . . . .  
 . . Δη]μητριου κε Δημητριας τ[ον . . . .  
 . . την οργην κε αφελεστε αυτων την ε[νναμιν . . . .  
 5 . . ψυχ]ρους κε αφιωνους κε απνευμονες ψυ[χρους . . . .  
 . . υμ]ιας κατα των μεγαλων θειων μας . . . .  
 . . ενκοπτουραμλοφθιμαραρακο . . . .  
 . . ρα[σ]ακηφοζενθεωθχαμαδαιραλ . . . .  
 . . αρουχιαρμιαρλαρκαρμεφθη σισο[χων . . . .  
 10 . . ερμωμασμαρμαχουχμανουφ[ιλιασωσι . . . .  
 Σο]τηριας κε Τρωφενος κε Δημητρι[ον . . . .  
 τον Ζοιλον' κε παραϊστε τω καταεηνθν[ρουρω . . . .  
 πυλωνος τον Αδους κε των κληθρων . . . .  
 ρησιχθων αρεαμαχθουρ πιστευ λαμπ . . . .  
 15 προγρ]ηραμμενον επι τουδε του φημωτ[ικου . . . .  
 τον βασιλεια των κωφων εϊμον[ων . . . .  
 επιτασσι γαρ υμιν ο μεγας σισοχων ο ε[ξαγων . . . .  
 καταεησ]ατε του αντϊκου μου του Τρωφενω[ς . . . .  
 κατακοιμισατε την γλωσσαν τ[ον . . . .  
 20 Ζ]οιλον η Σοτηρια κε ο Τρωφειν . . . .  
 μ]οι μηδενι πραγματι εναντιωθ[ηγε . . . .

Perhaps this and the following form one inscription.

XIII.

. . . . ν . . . . οι . . . .  
 . . . . ρησιχ]θουης της κατενικασης μελι[ουχου . . . .  
 . . . . ορκισζω υμιας κατα του αχιλομ . . . .



- . . . . οσους οισωρνοφφρις ουσραπιω . . . .
- 5 . . . . πα]νδακρυτε κε χθοιοι θεοι κε Εκ[ατη . . . .  
 . . . . Πλου]των κε Ερινυης υποχθοιοι κε υμεις ο[ι . . . .  
 . . . . ανιων]μοι ευμαζων παραλαβετε τας . . . . .  
 . . . . Δημητριου κε Δημητριας κε α[ναδοτι . . . . .  
 . . . . θεοις αλλα αλκη κε αλκω κε λαλ[αθαρατω . . . .
- 10 . . . . πα]ντοτε τελειωσουσιν κε φριμωσου[σιν . . . . .  
 . . . . Δημη]τριαν κε Τρυφωναν κε Δημητριν κε Δ . . . .  
 . . . . υ]ποριον βασιλιον σε πασιων των Ερινυων . . . .  
 . . . . υφιστου την ταβινωδοτιραν αυθωμ . . . .  
 . . . . εχων το εθεριον βασιλιον μιωθιλα[μψ . . . . .
- 15 . . . . ληνια ιαω εαβληφχαυβηνθαρατοπο . . . .  
 . . . . ορβρααδινακκακιαβανηθενναν . . . . .  
 . . . . εκ]τεθευτας θεους αβλαναθαν . . . . .  
 . . . . α]ντιδικους εμου του Ζοιλου τη . . . . .  
 . . . . εμε . . . . τρ . . . . ωεαντιχερη . . . . .

XIV.

- δεμ[ουε]ς οι κατα γην κε δεμ[ουε]ς οιτινες εστε κε πατερες πατερων κε μ[η  
 τερες αν[τιε]νιμοι οιτινες ενθαδε κισθι κε οιτινες ενθαδε [κ]αθιστε  
 θυμον[απο κ]ραλεις πολυκηδεια προ[σθ]ε [λα]βοντες, παραλαβετε του . .  
 . . . . τον [θυμον το]ν προς [ε]με [ε]χι τον . . . . .
- 5 . . . . . τ]ην ενναμιν κε την . . . . .  
 αφω]νον κε [απ]ρευ[μο]να ψυχ[ρον . . . . .  
 μεγ]αλ[ων] θεων μασωμασιμαβλα . . . . ωμαμαξω-εμαζω ενενεκ  
 οπτουραμελοφθημαραρ ακου ραερωε . . μαδωμαχθονδουρασκιθωρασ  
 σκηβοζιενθεααθχαμοδοιρ[αλαρ]ακου ραεντ ακουε αρ ακουιτε ιλαρ . .
- 10 εχεαρμαρλα[ρ]καρα . . . . . αδωνια χθων χουχμαθερφεσθερ  
 μ]ωμασμαρασμαχον . . . φιλασσωσι χθοιοι θεοι παραλαβετε . . . .  
 λου τον θυμον κε την οργην την εις εμε εχι τον . . . ον, κε παραδοτι τω  
 κατ]αδηθουρορω θυρευφραμενω κε τον επι τον πυλωνος του [Α]δου  
 κε] των χληθρων τον ουρανου [τεταγμ]ε[ρο]ν στερ [. . ρησι]χθων  
 αρδαμαρ
- 15 χ]θουρ πριστευ λαμπαδευ στ[ενακτα θαψατε τον προ]γεγραμμενον επι  
 τονδε τον φιμω[τικου κα]ταθεματος' ενορκισζω υμιν τον βασιλεα τω[ν  
 κ]ωφων δεμονων ακουσατε τον μεγαλου [ο]νοματ[ος, επι]τασσι γαρ  
 υμι[ν  
 ο μεγας σισ[οχωρ ο εξ]αναγιεν του Αε[ου]ς τας πυλας, κε κατα]εησ[ατε  
 του αντιδικου μου μ . . . . λου . . . . .
- 20 . . . . . οργην την εις . . . . .  
 . . . . . ομομυ . . . . .

XV.

. . . . . ἐι[η]ορες οι κα[τα]  
 . . . . . ενθ[α]υτε κισθε κε ο[ιτινες]  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . . ψυ[χ]ρους ις η[μ]ας . .

5 . . . . . απνευμ[ονος] . . . . .  
 [κατ]α των μεγαλ[ων] των μασωυασι]μυβλυβιωμυαξω ε[ν]ια]ζω εν  
 . . . . . ιρωεκαματ[ω]ρμαχθοντ[ω]ν ρισκιθωρυσακηβοζωενθι  
 αυχαιμ . .  
 . . . . . α]κουσπε αλαρωα χαρμαρλαρκαρμεφθη σισοχωρ αυενει  
 χθων χου . .  
 . . . . . μηχοουχιμινουφελισωσι χθονιοι θεοι παραλαβετε του Ουασι  
 του θ]υμου

10 κ]η την οργην την ις εμε εχι τον Ερηνεν κε Αρισ[σ]τωναν κε Τιμεναν,  
 κε πυρατ[ε]τε τω καταεηθουρονρ[ω]  
 αυθνε]υφραμειος κε τω[ν] επι του πελωνος του Αδουε [κε τω]ν  
 χληθ(ρ)ων του ουραου τεταμινω[ν]  
 στιρξερξ] ερηξυ ρησιχ(θ)ων αρταμαχθονρ πιστω λαμπαεν σταινικτα  
 θαψατε τους π[ρο]γεγραμμενους  
 επι]τουτε του φριωτικου καταθιματος· ενορκ[ισ]ζω υμ]ιν τον βασιλειαν  
 τ[ων]  
 κω]φων εειπωνεν ακουσατ[ε] του μεγαλου ονοματος, [επι]τασι γαρ υμ]ιν  
 ο μεγα[λ]υς

15 σισοχωρ ο εξαγων του Αδουε τας πε[λ]υας, [κ]αταλησ[ατε] . . . . .  
 Ε]ρημητος κε Αρισ[σ]τωνος κε Τι[μ]ωνος] κε κατακοιμισατε τας γ[λ]ωσ-  
 σασ των θουον την  
 οργ]ην την ις ημας ιχουσι ις τον Ειρηνεν κε Αρισ[σ]τωναν κε Τι-  
 μ[ων]α ο] Ουασαυ κε Δημητρ[ι]ς  
 . . . . . ε]νεητι ημιν μηενι πρματι εναντιωθνε· ορκισζω υμας . . . .  
 . . . . βιωθαντοι κε υωροι κε αποροι ταφης κατω της ρησιχθουνης της  
 κατενικουσης

20 μελιουχον τ]α μελη κε αυτον μελιουχον· [ενορκ]ισζω υμας [κ]ατα του  
 αχαλιμορφωθ οστις [ιστιν]  
 υ]ονος επεμωθ ουε[ο]σους οισωρνοφ]ρις ουσαρπιω ποιησατε τα εγγε-  
 γραμμενα τ[εν]βε  
 πανεακρυντι κε [χθονιοι] θιω κε Εκ]ατη χθον[ια] κε Ε]ρημη χθονι[ε] κε]  
 Ηλουτων κε  
 Εριν]υες υποχθονι[οι] κε υμιοι] ωτε κατωκιμι[νοι] υωροι κε ανωνμοι  
 ε]υμαζων  
 πυ]ραλαβετε τας φωνας του Ουασαυ κε του Δημητρου . . . . .

25 . . . . . προς(ς) ημας τον Ειρηηνεν κε Αρισ(σ)τωναν κ[ε . . . . .  
 . . . . . παρατιθομε φιμωτικην του Ουρασα κε του [ . . . . .  
 . . . . . ονο]ματα τοις χθονιοις αλλα αλκη κε αλ[κειω . . . . .  
 . . . . . τελεωσουσιν κε φιμωσ[ουσιν . . . . .  
 . . . . . τ]ον Ουρασ[αν . . . . .

XVa.

This fragment was probably part of XV.

. . . . . κε Τιμων  
 . . . . . βασιλιο]ν σε πασων των Ειρινω[ν. . . . .  
 . . . . . ωθιωμοστιωι . . . . . ωεγ . . . . .  
 . . . . . εν ουρανω ιαω κε το[ν . . . . .  
 5 . . . . . β]αθυμια χθιορω . . . . .  
 . . . . . ε]κτεθεντας θεουσ α[βλ]αναθα[ναλβα . . . . .  
 . . . . . κ]ε Αρισ(σ)τωνος κε Τι[μ]ωνος τον Ο . . . . .  
 . . . . . συ η τας κλιεας του Α[ρ]ους] κε . . . . .  
 . . . . . κατα θεοιν συν . . . . . ονοι α . . . . . αθη . . . . .  
 . . . . . οθυθ . . . . .

XVI.

Fragment with rudely drawn figure of a bird.



ακνα . . . . .  
 θαλκε . . . . .  
 κουψιοψ . . . . .  
 ποιησατε μιση . . . . .  
 5 το εγαραρκελλια . . . . .  
 μι . . . . . ανη προσπα . . . . .  
 μαλη . ταδε προς . . . . .  
 φνηκεν . . . . .  
 φιλα . . . . .

XVII.

. . . . . εκε . . . . .  
 . . . . . αφελε]σθε αυτω[ν . . . . .  
 . . . . . ψυχ]ρους κε αφω[ρους . . . . .  
 . . . . . ορκισ]ζω υμας κ[ατα . . . . .  
 5 . . . . . ευμαζων εν . . . . .  
 . . . . . ουρασκ[ιθ]ωρασ . . . . .  
 . . . . . ακουεστε . . . . .

. . . . . χορχιαθιρφισ . . . . .  
 . . . . . σ . . . παρλαβιτι τον [Εν]αν[θιον . . . . .  
 10 . . . . . η εμε εχουσιν εις τ.ον . . . . .  
 . . . . . εφρμινος κει τον ε[πι] το[ν] . . . . .  
 . . . . . τεταγμενον σ[τε]ρξερξ ερηξα . . . . .  
 . . . . . σ]τιρακτα θαψατε τους προ[γγραμμεινος . . . . .  
 . . . . . κατ]αθιματος' ενορκισζω ημιν το[ν] . . . . .  
 15 . . . . . τον μ[ε]γαλον ον[ομ]ατος, επιτ[ασσει . . . . .  
 . . . . . τ]ον Αιου τας πυλας, καταδ[ησα]τι . . . . .  
 . . . . . κ]ε κατακοιμισατε αυτων τη[ν] . . . . .  
 . . . . . Μαριω]ραν ο Ευανθις κει Δη[μητρι]ς . . . . .  
 . . . . . εναντι]ωθηνε' ορκισζω υμιας . . . . .  
 20 . . . . . ταφ]ης κατα της ρησιχθοιης της . . . . .  
 . . . . . ορκι]σζω υ[μ]εσ κατα τον αχελου . . . . .  
 . . . . . ω ποιησατε τα ενγε[γραμμενα . . . . .  
 . . . . . Ε]ρμη χθονι κει Ηλου[των . . . . .  
 . . . . . αυρ]οι κει (αν)ωνομοι ευμαζων . . . . .  
 25 . . . . . τ]οος προς εμε τον Μαριω[ραν . . . . .  
 . . . . . φιμω]τικην τον Ευανθιο[ο κ]ει Δημητριον . . . . .  
 . . . . . αλλα αλκη κει αλκεω κει . . . . .  
 . . . . . τιλιωσονσιν κει φιμωσ[ουσιν . . . . .  
 . . . . . Δημητρην' εγρονε μοι κει σ[ε]ν . . . . .  
 30 . . . . . ορκισζω υμιας κατα των . . . . .  
 . . . . . ωεγωε . . . . .  
 . . . . . κει τον υπο γ[ην] . . . . .  
 . . . . . ιωρα . . . . .  
 . . . . . ντι . . . . .  
 35 . . . . . μου . . . . .

XVIIa.

This fragment may be part of the preceding.

. . . . . φλα . . . . .  
 . . . . . ννανκ . . . . .  
 . . . . . πα]ραλβιτι τον . . . . .  
 . . . . . Δημη]τρην ωηαντιχι . . . . .  
 5 . . . . . συνεπηελιδε μ . . . . .  
 . . . . . ροσ . . . ρι . . . την πω . . . . .  
 . . . . . Ο Ρ . Υ Π . . . . .  
 . . . . . Η Η . . . . .

## SUR DIFFÉRENTS MOTS ET NOMS ÉGYPTIENS.—II.

PAR E. LEFÉBURE.

## UNE QUESTION DE MÉTHODE.

## I.

Le sens donné ici même au nom et au mythe d'Osiris a été contesté, d'une façon d'ailleurs très courtoise, par M. l'Abbé de Cara, dans un récent numéro de la *Civiltà Cattolica*: "Questa interpretazione non ci a convinti e ci sembra troppo vaga e poco conforme alla psicologia degli antichissimi popoli. Oltracciò il carattere umano d'Osiride e la tradizione non vi appariscono punto."

Le savant critique envisage surtout les antécédents et les débuts de la fable osirienne, mais son blâme ne saurait complètement atteindre une étude prenant le mythe "à dater de la fixation du nom." Il y a là une limite posée, et quand un auteur, loin d'empiéter sur le domaine d'autrui, prend soin de borner son sujet, ne serait-il pas juste de lui en tenir compte?

Une religion comme celle de l'Égypte, qui a duré de longs siècles, ne forme pas un tout si compact que les différentes parties ne puissent en être isolées. Et, à ce propos, quelques observations générales auront peut-être leur utilité.

Si l'on envisage les trois ou quatre grandes conceptions dont se compose à l'ordinaire un développement religieux, depuis le fétichisme jusqu'au monothéisme, on verra aisément que leur ensemble obéit à un principe supérieur, mais que chacune d'elles a aussi sa loi propre, puisqu'elle a son existence particulière; on peut même dire qu'elle s'oppose plutôt qu'elle ne s'adapte aux autres; elle les continue, mais en les contredisant, et cela pour une raison bien simple, c'est qu'elle se confondrait avec elles si elle ne les contredisait pas. Dans cette espèce de *concordia discors* il y a liaison et lutte, descendance et dissemblance.

Les périodes de transition restent quelquefois visibles, comme en Grèce, où certaines divinités présentent les traces d'une curieuse métamorphose, à l'époque de l'institution des mystères.\* Mais

\* Cf. les Euménides d'Eschyle et les Bacchantes d'Euripide.

à l'habitude, l'enfantement terminé, les incompatibilités éclatent. L'Hermès des hymnes homériques et des fouilles d'Olympie ne ressemble plus aux vieux Hermès grecs ; le symbolisme final d'Athéné, la raison, masque d'une façon presque complète les caractères archaïques de la déesse. L'Hathor égyptienne, devenue *anciennement*\* la face ou la clarté solaire, puis la Beauté suprême, est bien loin par son nom et par son rôle de la crécelle et du bucrâne primitifs. Et Osiris, lorsque les prêtres voient en lui le souverain bien, n'est plus regardé par eux comme le dieu souterrain des enfers : † son nom même d'Unnefer change de sens avec son mythe, si bien que le Beau Lièvre devient l'Être Bon.

La substance religieuse prend donc différentes formes, généralement opposées les unes aux autres, le dieu niant le fétiche, les divinités morales niant les divinités naturalistes, et le monothéisme niant le polythéisme.

Dans ces conditions, si nous trouvons qu'en Égypte le dieu des morts, habitant l'enfer ou entourant l'enfer, est appelé d'un nom qui signifie *Sépulcre* ou *Sépulcral*, nous serons suffisamment fondés à voir, dans la *généralisation* ainsi formulée des tombes et des mânes, un progrès sur d'autres notions devenues par là même inférieures, sinon contraires. De plus, ce nouveau stade du symbolisme demeurera tout aussi réel qu'un autre, pour n'être ni final, ni initial ; et rien certes n'empêchera d'y rattacher *ad libitum*, si on en a le désir ou la possibilité, des conceptions antérieures ou postérieures, soit les croyances sauvages qui admettent au reste des dieux infernaux, soit les théories évhéméristes faisant venir le premier égyptien de la Chaldée, soit les raffinements de la dernière époque, qui développèrent peu à peu le type du dieu bon pour en tirer celui du dieu suprême.

Ni un nom ni un mythe n'ont besoin d'être barbares pour avoir un sens. Vouloir à ce sujet maintenir *sur la terre* (et chez les sauvages), comme le demande M. l'abbé de Cara, un dieu que les textes placent dans la lune ou des déesses dont la tête est tantôt surmontée, tantôt encadrée par le soleil, ce serait aller trop loin et s'absorber dans une opinion.

On pardonne assurément beaucoup à qui s'éprend de son sujet, perdit-il un peu de vue l'ensemble de l'évolution dont il étudie l'une

\* *Proceedings*, June, 1890, p. 449.

† "De Iside et Osiride, 78."

des périodes : tout effort est respectable. En adaptant à l'Égypte spiritualiste les théories de Creuzer et de M. de Rougé, ou à l'Égypte animiste celles de Fustel de Coulanges et d'Herbert Spencer, MM. Brugsch et Maspero auraient abondé chacun dans son sens que le mal ne serait pas grand. L'optique intellectuelle a des effets qu'il faut admettre, à la condition bien entendu que le bénéficiaire de cette tolérance ne sera pas intolérant lui-même, et ne se croira pas d'une manière trop absolue seul possesseur de la vérité : celle-ci ne se dévoile pas si aisément, et l'expérience du siècle, sans parler de celle des siècles, est là pour nous apprendre ce que pèse une hypothèse, si ingénieuse qu'elle semble ou si intronisée qu'elle soit.

## II.

Le sort de la théorie qui voyait tout dans le langage peut servir de leçon, aujourd'hui, à la théorie qui voit tout dans le sauvage. Ce dernier système, qui coule à pleins bords en ravageant quelque peu ses rives, mérite par sa valeur comme par son exagération qu'on lui donne à la fois sa place et sa limite. Nombre de savants, entre autres M. Barth, ont déjà protesté contre l'exhibition encombrante du sauvage, et il ne faudrait pas, en effet, prendre les mots de fétichisme, d'animisme, de totémisme, etc., pour une formule mystique et cabalistique propre à briser tous les sceaux. Les superstitions primitives émettent le sentiment du divin que les conceptions supérieures condensent, voilà tout : doit-on faire de cela un grand mystère ?

Que l'Égypte ait débuté par la barbarie, nul n'y contredit guère, ni Bossuet, disant que "là tout était dieu excepté Dieu lui-même ;" ni de Brosses, faisant le "Parallèle de l'ancienne Religion de l'Égypte avec la Religion actuelle de la Nigritie," dans son livre du Culte des dieux fétiches ;\* ni Creuzer, constatant que l'ancienne croyance des Égyptiens peut se ramener au fétichisme avec le Nil pour plus grand fétiche,† ni M. Pierret, écrivant que "le fétichisme, si naturel aux populations africaines, ou tout au moins un naturalisme grossier, fut vraisemblablement le point de départ de la religion de la vallée du Nil ;"‡ ni M. le Page Renouf, étudiant le culte primitif rendu au *genius* égyptien, etc.

\* Cf. de Pauw, "Recherches philosophiques sur les Égyptiens et les Chinois," section VII, "De la religion des Égyptiens."

† "Religions de l'Antiquité," trad. Guigniaut, t. i, l. 111, ch. i et ii.

‡ "Petit Manuel de Mythologie," pp. 100 et 101.

Mais la barbarie n'empêche pas la civilisation parce qu'elle la précède, et les petits dieux n'excluent pas les grands parce qu'ils les préparent ; s'ils coexistent même avec eux, grâce à un effet de survivance bien connu, ce ne sera jamais là un motif pour traiter d'irrévocablement barbare une religion qui a commencé par le fétichisme, comme bien d'autres, et qui a gardé la plupart de ses fétiches, comme bien d'autres. A ce compte les idées grecques, romaines et même européennes seraient barbares presque au même titre que celles de l'Égypte, car de part et d'autre les superstitions les plus grossières n'ont jamais manqué, avec une minorité pour les combattre et une majorité pour les admettre.

Les Pythagoriciens et les Platoniciens étaient, comme nos spirites, aussi animistes que les Égyptiens. Officiellement, les Grecs et les Romains offraient des repas aux morts et aux dieux, vénéraient certains arbres, certains animaux, et certains objets, admettaient la personnalité des statues, croyaient au pouvoir des formules, des phylactères, des augures, des sacrifices, etc. L'homme qui représente le mieux la race grecque, Périclès, mourut avec un amulette au cou,\* et le plus éclairé peut-être des Romains, Cicéron, obéissant à une aberration séculaire† qui rappelle le *dharna* de l'Inde, voulait sur la fin de sa vie se tuer au foyer d'Octave, afin d'attacher à la personne du jeune despote une furie vengeresse.‡ Marc Aurèle lui-même, le sage par excellence, croyait aux songes.

Les sacrifices humains, que l'on considère comme une des marques les plus caractéristiques de la sauvagerie, n'ont point ensanglanté que l'Égypte. Sans parler de certains rites d'anthropophagie pratiqués en dehors du culte officiel, les Romains enterraient vifs des Gaulois et des Grecs dans les grandes calamités,§ et Thémistocle lui-même sacrifia des Perses à Salamine. Auguste, qui fit mettre la tête de Brutus aux pieds de la statue de César, et qui arracha les yeux à un préteur de ses propres mains, avait choisi, paraît-il, trois cents de ses ennemis pour les égorger sur un autel consacré à César.||

Ces coutumes barbares ne cessèrent en Chypre que sous Adrien, tandis qu'à Rome elles passaient pour exister encore au temps où

\* Plutarque, Périclès, 58.

† Cf. Tacite, Annales, III, 58, xi, 5, etc.

‡ Plutarque, Cicéron, 63.

§ Tite Live, xxii, 57.

|| Suétone, Auguste, 13, 27, et 15.



écrivait Lactance.\* Les païens ont cru que les chrétiens sacrifiaient des enfants pour les manger,† et cette accusation, dont on a poursuivi pendant tout le moyen âge et au-delà les sorciers et les juifs, reparait de temps en temps contre les derniers, preuve, non que le fait est vrai, mais que l'image de l'anthropophagie n'a jamais cessé de hanter les esprits.

D'autres superstitions plus innocentes et aussi illogiques persistent aujourd'hui dans toute l'Europe sur le nombre treize, le côté gauche, le vendredi, les étoiles filantes, les comètes, le chien qui hurle à la mort, l'éternuement, le sel renversé, les feux de la Saint Jean, le grillon du foyer, l'oracle des marguerites, les monnaies percées, les porte-bonheur, la corde de pendu, les fleurs pour les morts, les tables tournantes, les esprits frappeurs, les rêves, les lignes de la main, la divination par les cartes, le mauvais œil, etc. Qui pourrait tout dire ?

La vérité est qu'il y a partout, chez les Papous comme chez les Indous, et du fétichisme et autre chose. S'il y a autre chose, c'est-à-dire si le développement religieux a ses phases, qu'il soit au moins licite d'étudier chacune d'elles en soi, quand on ne peut pas ou quand on ne veut pas les embrasser toutes. C'est peut-être encore le meilleur procédé qu'il y ait pour préparer, sans généralisation prématurée, la théorie d'ensemble qui conciliera et résumera toutes les hypothèses.

\* Lactance, "Institutions divines," I, 21.

† Tertullien, "Apologétique," 7.



## ROCK CARVINGS AT IASILI-KAIA (CAPPADOCIA).

ROMA, 23 Nov., 1890.

246, VIA DI RIPETTA.

Caro e gentil Signore,

Con atto sommamente cortese Ella annunciava ne' *Proceedings* di Aprile di quest' anno, ch' io avrei pubblicato nella "*Civiltà Cattolica*" una serie di articoli intorno agli Hethei. E in effetto ne ho già pubblicati parecchi e mi son fatto un dovere di inviarli volta per volta, a cotesta nobilissima *Società di Archeologia Biblica*, la quale gentilmente, come suole, me ne rese grazie, per mezzo di Lei, suo Segretario.

Sapendo quanto grande interesse Ella prende alle ricerche riguardanti gli Hethei e i loro monumenti, ho creduto farle cosa grata comunicandole anticipatamente una mia congettura sopra il più bel gruppo de' bassirilievi di Iasili-Kaia (Cappadocia), diversamente interpretato dal Ramsay\* e dal Perrot.† Quegli opina che la grande figura con mitra riccamente adorna, sia una dea, la *Νικηφόρος Θεά* d' una iscrizione di Comana (*Journ. Philol.*, 1882); questi asserisce essere la figura di un dio.

La grande figura è per me la figura del dio Suteχ o Set, supremo dio degli Hethei della Siria Settentrionale (Xeta), degli Hethei di Egitto (Hyksôs o Re Pastori) e secondo la mia congettura, degli Hethei dell' Asia Minore. Avremmo perciò un nuovo argomento monumentale dell' identità di questa famiglia di popoli, fondato sull' identità della loro religione e del loro dio supremo. Ma non minore sarebbe l'importanza per la storia dell' arte hethea, poichè si saprebbe per la prima volta, in che modo era figurato il loro dio Suteχ o Set, del quale non conosciamo veruna imagine. Conciossiachè quella sopra la Stela dell' anno 400, ci dà una figura di Set già egizianizzato e però non genuina, laddove nel bassorilievo di Iasili-Kaia sarebbe al tutto originale e primitiva.

\* *Journ. of R.A. Soc.*, vol. xv, p. 118.† *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiq.*; t. iv, p. 642, e segg.

La mitra conica è un dato comune al Set della Stela dell' anno 400, e al Set della scoltura cappadoce. Ma l'atto caratteristico e unico in tutta la grande composizione di Iasili-Kaia, quello cioè onde il dio passa il suo braccio attorno al collo della figura minore, che porta spada al fianco e stringe in mano il lituo, trova un riscontro importantissimo sulla tavoletta d' argento, in cui fu scritto il *Trattato di pace e di alleanza* fra Rāmesse II e il Principe o Re de' Xeta, Xetasar. Ecco il passo:—



Io traduco:—*Quod intus (in medio) hujus tabulae ex argento, in parte antica, est repraesentatio imaginis Sutechi (Set) amplexantis imaginem magni Principis Chetarum.*

La traduzione del Chabas, seguita dal Brugsch nella sua *History of Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. ii, Additions and Notes, pp. 410, 411, è questa:—“*Ce qui est au milieu de la tablette d'argent, sur son côté antérieur, c'est une image de la statue de Set embrassant la statue du prince de Khéta, entourée (d'une écriture) disant: O image de Set, roi du ciel et de la terre, accorde que l'arrangement fait par Khétasar, prince de (lig. 37) Khéta . . . .*”

Ora questo è appunto l'atto medesimo in che è espressa sul bassorilievo di Iasili-Kaia la figura maggiore e bellissima, in riguardo della minore, la quale per me rappresenta il Re-Sacerdote o Patesi degli Hethei della Cappadocia. Infatti questa stessa figura apparisce due volte ne' bassirilievi di Iasili-Kaia; una volta col disco alato sul capo, e un' altra volta in piedi sopra due monticelli di pietre, reggendo in mano un' edicola sacra. Che la figura sia identica in tutte e tre le volte, è evidente dalla medesima della veste ampia con strascico, del lituo e del berretto semplice.

Il dio Set adunque farebbe sul bassorilievo di Iasili-Kaia, lo stetto atto di affetto e di protezione, che sulla tavoletta d' argento, e per conseguenza è lo stesso dio degli Hethei della Cappadocia, come degli Hethei dell' alta Siria.

D' altra parte, la presenza di Suteχ o Set è assolutamente richiesta e non può mancare nelle rappresentazioni religiose degli Hethi della Cappadocia a Iasili-Kaia, dove si veggono tanti iddii e tante dee, quali sono invocati nelle clausole del Trattato di pace, cioè guerrieri: “. . . mille *dicux des dicux* guerriers et des dieux-femmes, lig. 26,” come traduce il Chabas.

In un articolo che sarà pubblicato nella “*Civiltà Cattolica*,” darò la spiegazione di tutta la composizione de' bassirilievi di Iasili-Kaia, e intanto La prego, se crede, di voler annunziare nei “*Proceedings*” questa mia congettura.

Col più grande ossequio ho l' onore di essere  
Suo devotissimo,

C. A. DE CARA, S.J.



## UN NOUVEAU NOM DE NOMBRE EN ANCIEN ÉGYPTIEN.

PAR KARL PIEHL.

Les textes ptolémaïques et romains des temples de la Haute Égypte nous sont d'un secours, bien précieux, pour la solution de nombreux problèmes, relatifs à la langue égyptienne ancienne, problèmes que les inscriptions pharaoniques souvent sont incapables d'éclaircir. Avant tout, le temple d'Edfou nous a fourni des moissons abondantes, qui mériteraient assurément une attention plus nourrie que celle que puisse y consacrer la demi-douzaine de savants qui s'occupent sérieusement des "basses époques." C'est aussi un texte d'Edfou qui a occasionné les petites observations qui se voient ici consignées.

Le texte en question se trouve dans le Couloir de Ronde, où il a été tracé sur le côté intérieur du Mur d'Enceinte d'est. La place, choisie pour sa gravure, est tout au-dessous de la grande inscription horizontale qui court le long de la crête du Mur d'Enceinte. Cela fait que notre texte ne se copie qu'avec difficulté, si l'on est debout sur le pavé du temple. Aussi, ai-je non seulement exécuté une copie dans ces circonstances, mais j'ai vérifié cette même copie, couché à plat ventre sur le toit—en cet endroit bien mince—du temple. On conçoit bien que, cela étant, je suis disposé à accorder une entière confiance à mon texte, qui d'ailleurs est accessible à tout le monde, ayant été publié dans la seconde série de mes Inscriptions.\*



Évidemment, notre texte n'a pu échapper à l'œil attentif de BRUGSCH, qui déjà en 1871,† avec sa sagacité habituelle, l'a mis à contribution. Plus tard, le même savant a publié le texte en son entier.‡ Cette publication m'était inconnue, quand j'ai imprimé ma copie. D'ailleurs, quiconque daigne comparer les deux copies, celle de BRUGSCH et la mienne, m'accordera, j'espère, que dans ce


\* PIEHL, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, seconde série, Pl. LXXIX K.


† *Zeitschrift*, IX, page 140.



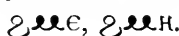
‡ *Dictionnaire Géographique*, pages 1393, 1394.

cas, je n'ai pas besoin de manifester une trop grande modestie. C'est justement la mauvaise lecture d'un passage de notre texte qui a empêché BRUGSCH de trouver le nom de nombre, que le hasard nous a fait découvrir.




Le texte débute par les paroles suivantes:  ce qui avait permis à BRUGSCH d'établir les lectures phonétiques pour les chiffres @ n et .

Des données semblables lui avaient fourni les valeurs des chiffres n \* et , grâce aux éclaircissements, contenus dans le même textes.

Si maintenant nous examinons la ligne 6 de la copie, que nous en avons publiée dans nos *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, nous y lisons: , ce que je traduis de la sorte: "Pourquoi 45 coudées? Parce que les masses frappent.—50? Pour adorer."\*

Le nom de nombre 45 se lit ici , ce qui évidemment doit se transcrire: *he-metiou*.† Or, 5 équivaut à  *tiou*, selon le même texte, d'où il s'ensuit que 40 en égyptien se lit *heme*, ou à peu près. Mais par cela nous sommes, pour ainsi dire, en pleine langue copte, où le nom de nombre 40 est .

\* La copie de BRUGSCH (*Dictionnaire Géographique*, p. 1394) donne ici , ce qui s'écarte beaucoup de la vérité.

† L'équation  = *met* est donnée par les textes des pyramides [cfr. MAX MÜLLER dans le *Recueil de Vivérog*, IX, p. 23] et cette équation est appuyée par les textes ptolémaïques. Cfr. p. ex. les variantes , , d'un même mot, BRUGSCH, *Drei Festkalender*, pl. VII.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 3rd March, 1891, at 8 p.m., when the following paper will be read:—

REV. A. LÖWY:—The Falasha Jews in their ethnical relation to the other Abyssinians.



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

- Zeitsch. der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellsch., Vol. I, 1847; Vols. IV to XII, 1850 to 1858, inclusive; Vol. XX to Vol. XXXII, 1866 to 1878.
- 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 II. 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, 1886.
- Tempel-Inschriften, 1862. 2 vols., folio.
- GOLENSCHIEFF, Die Metternichstele. Folio, 1887.
- LEPSIUS, Nubian Grammar, &c., 1880.
- Études Égyptologiques. 13 vols., complete to 1880.
- WRIGHT, Arabic Grammar and Chrestomathy. 2nd edition.
- SCHROEDER, Die Phönizische Sprache.
- HAUPT, Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze.
- RAWLINSON, CANON, 6th Ancient Monarchy.
- BURKHARDT, Eastern Travels.
- CHABAS, Mélanges Égyptologiques. Séries I, III. 1862-1873.
- E. GAYET, Stèles de la XII dynastie au Musée de Louvre.
- LEDRAIN, Les Monuments Égyptiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale.
- SARZEC, Découvertes en Chaldée.
- SAINTE MARIE, Mission à Carthage.
- LEFÈBURE, Le Mythe Osirien. 2nd partie. "Osiris."
- LEPSIUS, Les Métaux dans les Inscriptions Égyptiennes, avec notes par W. Berend.
- D. G. LYON, An Assyrian Manual.
- A. AMIAUD AND L. MECHINEAU, Tableau Comparé des Écritures Babyloniennes et Assyriennes.
- Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer. 2 parts.
- ROBIOU, Croyances de l'Égypte à l'époque des Pyramides.
- Recherches sur le Calendrier en Égypte et sur le chronologie des Lagides.
- POGNON, Les Inscriptions Babyloniennes du Wadi Brissa.
- AMELINEAU, Histoire du Patriarche Copte Isaac.
- JENSEN, Die Kosmologie der Babylonier.
- WEISSLEACH, F. H., Die Achaemeniden Inschriften Zweiter Art.
- WALTHER, J., Les Découvertes de Ninive et de Babylone au point de vue biblique. Lausanne, 1890. 4s.
- WINCKLER, HUGO, Der Thontafelfund von El Amarna. Vols. I and II.



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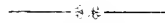
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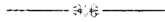
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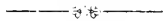
VOL. XIII. TWENTY-FIRST SESSION.

*Fifth Meeting, March 3rd, 1891.*



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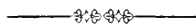
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TWENTY-FIRST SESSION, 1890-91.

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*Fifth Meeting, 3rd March, 1891.*

F. D. MOCATTA, ESQ., VICE-PRESIDENT,  
IN THE CHAIR.



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

From the Author, Ernesto Schiaparelli:—*Il Libro dei Funerali degli antichi Egiziani.* Vol. II. Roma. Folio. 1890.

From the Author, Lucien Gautier:—*La Mission du prophète Ézéchiél.* Lausanne. 8vo. 1891.

From the Author, Dr. A. Wiedemann:—*Aegyptische Inschriften aus dem Gewarbe Museum zu Pest.* 8vo. 1891.

From the Author, Dr. A. Wiedemann:—*Kleinere aegyptische Inschriften aus der 13-14ten Dynastie.* 8vo. 1891.

From the Author, Dr. A. Wiedemann:—*Aegyptische Inschriften I. der Sammlung Stroganoff zu Aachen.* 8vo. 1891.

From the Author, Rev. C. A. de Cara, S.J.:—*Ricerche di Archeologia Biblico-Italica.* Part VIII.

Estratto dalla *Civiltà Cattolica*, Serie XIV, Vol. IX, 21 Feb., 1891.

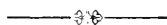
Walter L. Nash, The Grange, Northwood, Middlesex, was elected a Member of the Society, having been nominated at the last Meeting, 3rd February, 1891.

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next Meeting, on 7th April.

The Most Rev. His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Right Hon. Lord Herschell, 46, Grosvenor Gardens, S.W.

A. M. Davies, M.R.C.S., D.P.H. Camb., Surgeon Army Medical Staff: Assistant Professor of Hygiene, Army Medical School, Royal Victoria Hospital, Netley, near Southampton.



A Paper was read by Rev. A. Löwy, entitled "The Falasha Jews in their ethnical relation to the other Abyssinians," being the second part of the paper read by the same author on 2nd December, 1890. They will be printed in a future number of the *Proceedings*.

Remarks were added by Mr. J. Pollard, Rev. C. J. Ball, Dr. Friedlander, Mr. Jacobs, the Rev. A. Löwy, and the Chairman.

Thanks were returned for this communication.



## UN NOUVEAU SYSTÈME DE CHRONOLOGIE BIBLIQUE.

C. DE HARLEZ.

Le nouvel ouvrage du savant professeur de Paris, *Essais bibliques*, par Maurice Vernes, directeur adjoint à l'École pratique des Hautes Etudes (Sorbonne, in-12°, pp. xiv-372 : Paris, E. Leroux, 1891), nous donne, à la fois, une reproduction d'études publiées antérieurement et une série d'études nouvelles.

M. Vernes y traite d'abord la question du Deutéronome, la méthode en littérature biblique et la date de la Bible, ce qui forme un ensemble ; puis les travaux de M. d'Eichthal, la Palestine primitive, Jephté, le droit des gens et les tribus d'Israël, enfin le Pentateuque de Lyon.

Voulant dire quelques mots à nos lecteurs de la question capitale qui est discutée dans ce livre, nous ne nous arrêterons pas au reste et nous nous occuperons uniquement du but que l'auteur a eu en vue en livrant ces feuilles à la publicité. Ce que M. Vernes s'est proposé avant tout, c'est de justifier le système exposé dans son précédent ouvrage, *Les résultats de l'exégèse biblique*, et consistant principalement à placer la date de composition des livres historiques\* et prophétiques de la Bible spécialement, entre le IV<sup>e</sup> et le II<sup>e</sup> siècle A.C. Ce système n'avait guère rencontré d'adhérents, il avait même attiré à son auteur des critiques assez piquantes auxquelles celui-ci s'est proposé de répondre victorieusement. A-t-il réussi? c'est ce que nous allons examiner en peu de mots.

Reconnaissons-le d'abord, le ton de M. Vernes, dans cette discussion, est des plus convenables; ce n'est point un contempteur incivil de ce que d'autres respectent comme sacré. Il cherche la vérité comme il la conçoit et selon ses idées personnelles, de façon que les hommes de tradition et de conservatisme n'aient rien de blessant à redouter de lui. Il cherche plutôt à les servir en leur présentant un terrain où ils se rendent inattaquables, selon ses vues.

\* Je prends ce terme dans son sens le plus large y comprenant l'hexateuque et les juges, etc.

Il voudrait sur ce terrain tomber d'accord avec eux. Je me plais à rendre hommage à tout ce qu'il y a de loyauté et de *gentlemanly* dans ses procédés; mais il me serait impossible cette fois de me ranger à son avis, comme lors de la discussion sur les principes de la science des Religions. En disant cela, je me place *uniquement au point de vue scientifique*; car des motifs exclusivement scientifiques me forcent, à eux seuls, de considérer comme inadmissible et le principe sur lequel M. Vernes établit sa théorie et les arguments dont il l'étaie.

Toutefois je n'entends pas entrer ici dans le fond du débat. Spectateur passif, mais non indifférent, des luttes que se livrent autour de la Troie biblique, d'autres soucis m'ont tenu éloigné de leur champ. Je me borne donc, pour le moment, à quelques observations de nature à influencer sur les conclusions de ces interminables débats.

Que M. Vernes me pardonne si je rends ici, en toute sincérité, l'impression que m'a faite la lecture des parties essentielles de son livre. On est surpris de la faiblesse des arguments apportés pour soutenir des thèses d'une gravité exceptionnelle. J'ajouterai en parlant d'une manière générale: Une chose m'a toujours frappé, c'est ce contraste de la facilité avec laquelle on accorde, contre toute vraisemblance, une antiquité aussi reculée que possible à des livres tels que l'Avesta et le Rig-Véda et des efforts que l'on fait pour rapprocher de nous, le plus possible également, l'époque de la composition de la Bible. D'une part tout est interprété en faveur des livres sacrés de l'Inde ou de l'Éran, et de l'autre tout est invoqué contre les livres saints de Juifs. Pourquoi cette différence? C'est ce que je ne me chargerai pas d'expliquer. Il me suffit de le constater et de désirer que l'on soit conséquent et apporte partout des dispositions identiques; que l'on traite la Bible, sur le terrain scientifique, comme tout autre monument historico-religieux.

Mais revenons à notre objet.

Le principe fondamental de M. Vernes qu'il croit d'un scientifique inattaquable est celui-ci :

Pour tout monument littéraire manquant de témoignages extérieurs anciens, historiques, épigraphiques ou autres qui en authentiquent la date de composition, il faut se rapporter au premier qui en assure l'existence à une époque déterminée et placer cette date aux temps qui précèdent immédiatement cette époque; à la condition toutefois que le monument en question ne soit pas incompatible



avec le caractère de cette période de l'histoire du monde. Ainsi l'existence du corps principal de la Bible n'était assurée qu'à la fin du 3<sup>e</sup> siècle A.C., il est de nécessité scientifique de considérer celle-ci comme écrite au siècle précédent, ou quelques lustres plus tôt.

Il est étonnant qu'un esprit judicieux comme M. Vernes n'ait pas senti d'emblée le vice de ce raisonnement : "Tel livre n'a date certaine qu'à partir de telle époque, donc il a été écrit peu auparavant." La logique dirait "donc sa date est incertaine ;" toute autre conclusion est illégitime.

En argumentant de la sorte on arriverait à ranger maint auteur grec ou latin parmi les écrivains du Moyen-âge, le Shu-king et le Shi-king chinois appartiendraient au 2<sup>e</sup> siècle A.C. ; l'Avesta ne remonterait pas jusqu'au premier siècle de notre ère, et les Vedas encore moins haut.

M. Vernes ajoute, il est vrai, que le document en question doit pouvoir se rapporter par ses caractères à l'époque récente qu'on lui assigne, mais c'est là un criterium bien incertain, bien subjectif et ce que l'un jugera comme pouvant appartenir à tel temps, l'autre le déclarera incompatible avec ses traits caractéristiques. Et cela fût-il même reconnu par tout le monde comme incontestable, encore ne pourrait-on point baser là dessus un jugement imposant l'adhésion. Car de ce qu'un document peut convenir à une époque il ne s'en suit aucunement qu'il lui appartienne. Il faudrait prouver qu'il ne peut appartenir à aucune autre. Or ici c'est précisément tout le contraire.

D'ailleurs ce procédé n'est admis sur aucun terrain scientifique. Partout ailleurs quand un peuple présente des Annales continues et que ces Annales ont en général un caractère sérieux et historique, on accepte son témoignage à moins qu'il ne soit contraire à toute vraisemblance. Et si même on pense que ces Annales renferment des légendes ou des fables, on y cherche encore scrupuleusement quelle parte de vérités peut se dérober sous ces voiles dont la fantaisie populaire les a recouvertes.

Tel est le principe fondamental de la critique historique en cette matière. Il sera d'autant plus applicable au sujet qui nous occupe que la condition requise par M. Vernes pour établir le principe opposé ne se réalise en aucune façon. Rien, en effet, n'est plus inconciliable avec l'esprit des temps choisies par M. Vernes que les récits, les idées dont sont remplis le *Pentateuque*, *Josué*, *les Juges* et les livres de *Samuel ou des Rois*. Les premiers surtout sont le

fruit d'une civilisation primitive, quelque peu sauvage, telle qu'on ne l'aurait certainement pas imaginée pendant cette période de calme et de bien-être social qui les aurait produits selon M. Vernes. Les lois de l'Exode et du Lévitique inventées par les contemporains d'Alexandre le Grand, c'est ce qui, je l'avoue, dépasse ma force de croyance et toute vraisemblance historique.

Ce n'est point seulement le contenu général de ces livres, mais les moindres détails qui se refusent à cette adaptation.

En voici un exemple, choisi entre mille. C'est le verset 21 du chap. xxii de l'Exode, reproduit quant à la substance au chap. xxiii, 9 : "Tu ne pressureras pas l'étranger, tu ne l'opprimeras, car tu as été toi-même étranger en Égypte." Voit-on un écrivain, un législateur du 3<sup>e</sup> siècle suggérant comme motif d'une loi importante et contraire aux mœurs de son peuple, un fait imaginaire, inventé par lui, et qui doit s'être, passé mille ans auparavant, au lieu de l'appuyer sur les événements de cette captivité dont le souvenir était encore vivant dans tous les cœurs ? Pourrait-on croire aussi que les paroles obscures de Jacob mourant ont été inventées au III<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Nous n'entrerons pas en ce moment dans de plus longs détails ; ils demanderaient un livre entier ; nous nous bornerons à remarquer, à propos de l'Exode, que le chap. xxi à xxiii n'impliquent pas nécessairement, comme le pense M. Vernes, l'unité du sanctuaire. On en cherche vainement la preuve. Peut-être M. Vernes l'a-t-il cru découvrir au chap. xxi, 14 et 19. Mais il n'en est évidemment rien. Au premier cas il est dit, "si quelqu'un tue son prochain par ruse et embûches, tu le baniras de mon autel," **מִעַם מִזְבְּחִי**.

Or il ne s'agit pas là certainement d'un autel unique, comme on peut s'en convaincre en lisant chap. xx, 24, où le même mot **מִזְבֵּחַ** est employé. Quant au second, "la maison de *Jahueh*," **בֵּית יְהוָה**, n'est pas plus un temple, ou un sanctuaire, que le lieu nu et sans autel, où Jacob vit l'échelle qui atteignait le ciel et qu'il appelle la maison d'Elohim, **בֵּית אֱלֹהִים**. La suite du chap. xxiii prouve du reste, comme ce que précède, qu'il s'agit de la marche dans le désert, et l'unicité du sanctuaire n'a été prescrite que pour la terre promise, plusieurs années après ceci. (Deuter. xii, 8-14 ; *cp.* Lévit. xvii qui parle d'autre chose).

Si du principe fondamental de M. Vernes nous passons à la critique de différents livres de la Bible, nous ne pourrons davantage nous ranger à son avis.

D'abord, à un point de vue général, il est impossible d'admettre qu'une fraude aussi colossale ait jamais pu réussir dans les conditions où elle s'opéra d'après lui, que les Juifs, après l'exil, se soient laissé imposer, par surprise et fraude, une législation draconienne et singulière à leur point de vue, comme celle de Lévitique. On ne conçoit pas même que des prêtres de cette époque aient pu en concevoir l'idée. D'ailleurs pour qu'une mystification de ce genre pût avoir du succès, il aurait fallu que la nation juive comprît uniquement, d'une part un peuple entièrement illettré et abruti, sans aucun souvenir du passé, et de l'autre un corps sacerdotal à l'esprit bizarre, entreprenant, dont les membres parfaitement unis eussent été tous incapables de trahir le secret de leur supercherie. Rien du reste entre ces deux extrêmes, aucun intermédiaire. Nos lecteurs savent tous que ce n'était nullement le cas en ces temps, en ces lieux. Et quant aux prophètes, peut-on s'imaginer les prêtres du IV<sup>e</sup> ou du II<sup>e</sup> siècle A.C. arrivant tout-à-coup devant le peuple avec des livres tombés du ciel, contenant des prophéties d'événements écoulés depuis des siècles et ce bon peuple, grands et petits, lettrés et ignorants, croyant bénévolement que ces élucubrations, ridicules lorsqu'elles viennent après coup, avaient existé de nombreux siècles déjà au sein de la nation qui n'en avait jamais entendu parler. S'il y a jamais eu miracle c'est bien en cette occasion.\* Mais nous ne pouvons ici qu'effleurer ce sujet. Jetons cependant un coup d'œil sur la critique de l'une ou l'autre partie de l'Ancien Testament.

Le Pentateuque, par exemple, ne peut avoir été composé aux temps antiques pour les deux raisons suivantes :

1<sup>o</sup> Il contient du désordre, des redites, des disparates, des contradictions mêmes.

2<sup>o</sup> La législation qu'il reproduit est une œuvre de réflexion qui, pour cela, n'a pu être faite au commencement d'une société naissante.

Je n'hésite pas à affirmer que le premier argument prouverait précisément le contraire de ce que M. Vernes en déduit. Ce n'est point à une époque de paix sociale, de calme, de réflexion, qu'un corps sacerdotal tant soit peu intelligent produirait une œuvre de ce caractère. Un livre où l'on peut constater du désordre, un certain

\* De même, "Isaïe imaginant et faisant croire son roman du Deuteronome," est bien plus surprenant que toutes les ressemblances qui peuvent exister entre le texte de "La seconde loi" et le livre d'un prophète.

nombre de redites non identiques, de disparates, de choses difficiles à faire concorder, ne peut être le fruit que de consignations journalières des événements par plusieurs, ou de la réunion de plusieurs documents considérés comme trop dignes de respect pour être altérés en aucune façon, fût-ce même pour en améliorer la forme.

Le caractère que M. Vernes attribue au Pentateuque est donc la preuve de son antiquité.

Quant au second argument, il nous met de nouveau en face d'une de ces appréciations purement subjectives dont la critique biblique ne nous offre que de trop fréquents exemples. Qui sait en effet ce qu'ont pu être les législations de toutes les sociétés naissantes? Qui peut leur tracer des limites infranchissables? A-t-on oublié l'histoire des premiers Mandchous et le peu de temps qu'il fallut aux hordes d'Aguda pour former un empire dont les conseillers discutaient les plus hautes questions économiques et concluaient à l'adoption du libre échange? \* D'ailleurs quiconque étudie, superficiellement même, la législation exodique ou lévitique restera convaincu qu'elle n'a pu être faite que pour un peuple tout primitif, quelque peu sauvage, d'une antiquité reculée; elle sent le désert et le peuple de la nature de bien loin.

Il serait superflu de démontrer ce fait.

Mais, d'ailleurs, est-il bien vrai que le peuple du Lévitique en admettant l'âge reculé de ce livre, formait une société naissante? N'était-ce peut-être qu'une réunion accidentelle, ou forcée de tribus nomades menant pour la première fois une vie régulière? Non sans doute. C'était un peuple qui avait vécu de longs siècles en contact avec une des nations les plus civilisées de ces temps, et dont les chefs avaient été initiés à la sagesse des Égyptiens. Et ces chefs n'auraient pas pu concevoir un code semblable à celui dont le second et le troisième livres de la Bible nous ont conservé le texte! On serait plutôt étonné qu'ils n'aient pas fait mieux, si l'on ne connaissait et le peuple de Moïse et ses mœurs.

Pourrait-on, si l'Exode n'était qu'une *forgery* postexilienne, discuter et retrouver même les lieux de passage des Israélites dans leur fuite d'Égypte? D'ailleurs s'il en était ainsi c'est à Babylone que

\* Voir mon *Histoire de l'Empire d'Or*, p. 238. Nous pourrions ici rappeler l'Exode des Kalmouks fuyant le joug des Russes. Mieux que tout autre événement, il rappelle l'Exode du peuple d'Israël.

les faussaires eussent emprunté les usages religieux et non à l'Égypte. C'est Babylone et non l'Égypte qu'il leur eut défendu d'imiter.

D'après M. Vernes *Les Juges* ne peuvent avoir été écrits qu'après le retour et la restauration de la nation juive, parce qu'on y trouve çà et là des traits satiriques lancés à la royauté. Je me suis cent fois demandé comment des hommes d'un esprit judicieux et éclairé peuvent s'arrêter à des raisons d'une pareille nature. On dirait que les livres de la Bible sont des pièces d'échec que l'on peut poser dans l'espace du temps selon que le goût le conseille. Des satires contre la royauté iraient assez bien à une époque où le peuple juif avait une dent contre les rois ; donc mettons là ce livre. Voilà le procédé. Et l'on s'imagine sérieusement que c'est un argument de quelque valeur ! Quand même cette convenance serait démontrée, qu'est-ce que cela prouverait ? Quand donc a-t-on jamais raisonné de la sorte ? D'ailleurs en quoi ces traits malins sont-ils déplacés au temps des Juges d'Israël ? Est-ce qu'alors le peuple qu'ils conduisaient avait tant à se louer de rois ses voisins ? Et même sous un gouvernement monarchique, la satire est-elle toujours hors de saison ou impossible ? On voit tout le vide de cette argumentation.

Plus loin M. Vernes nous dit que les livres historiques n'ont pu être écrits au cours des événements ou peu après, parce que l'historien en tire des leçons pour la conduite du peuple, heureux quand il est fidèle à Dieu, accablé de maux quand il viole ses lois.

Ce motif aurait quelque valeur au point de vue de la critique pure, si la Bible était le seul monument de la Haute Antiquité qui ait ce caractère ; mais c'est le contraire qui est vrai. Les inscriptions cunéiformes de Babylone et d'Assyrie nous montrent les souverains de ces pays constamment préoccupés du culte de leurs dieux et des suites inévitables de leur fidélité ou de leur négligence à les servir. La même préoccupation règne chez les chantres védiques. Enfin le *Shu-king* est, comme les livres bibliques, une sorte d'hymne continué à la Providence divine ou céleste qui fait régner les souverains soucieux de leurs devoirs envers le Maître du ciel et abat ceux qui les oublient et ne lui rendent pas le culte qui lui revient.

Pourquoi donc, au point de vue purement rationnel, les Annales bibliques n'auraient-elles pu être écrites dans le même esprit ?

Des Psaumes nous dirons peu de chose, bien que M. Vernes les relègue à l'extrémité de l'échelle biblique. Bornons-nous à ces remarques.

David fut un roi guerrier, cela est incontestable ; mais il n'était pas tel par nature, et la guerre lui fut constamment imposée. N'avait-il pas été longtemps le harpiste qui charmait le roi Saül et calmait ses fureurs par son chant et le jeu des instruments de musique ? Il ne serait pas le seul du reste qui aurait tenu alternativement en main et le glaive et la lyre. Sans aller bien loin, nous trouverions Frédéric le Grand que ses préoccupations guerrières n'empêchaient pas de cultiver les lettres et de tourner un madrigal. D'ailleurs est-il bien extraordinaire que le roi qui dansait devant l'Arche sainte en s'accompagnant de la harpe, se fut occupé des cérémonies sacrées et des chants liturgiques, qu'il en eût composé lui-même ou fait composer un grand nombre ? Plusieurs de ceux qu'on lui attribue cadrent si parfaitement avec les circonstances qui sont rapportées comme leur ayant donné naissance, que l'on ne peut, sans arbitraire, les en détacher. C'est bien le cas de suivre le principe de la convenance des temps que M. Vernes applique très fréquemment.

Le psaume cxxxi, par exemple, où David, se nommant lui-même, jure de donner au Seigneur—et refuse d'entrer dans son palais avant qu'il n'ait trouvé—le lieu d'habitation du Dieu de Jacob, peut-il être supposé composé à une autre époque et surtout deux ou trois siècles avant notre ère ? Oublie-t-on l'épigramme sur la mort de Saül et de Jonathan, et les hymnes des livres II, vii, 13 ss. et 22 en entier composés par David ? S'inscrire en faux contre tous ces témoignages, c'est commode, mais est-ce bien scientifique ?

En outre ces psaumes si nombreux où la royauté joue un rôle si élevé, si prépondérant,\* ont-ils bien pu être écrits à cette époque où les rois avaient disparu depuis des siècles et que l'on juge comme très propre à recevoir les traits de satire dirigés contre eux ?

Et ceux où il est rappelé tous les faits relatés dans l'Exode, où l'histoire d'Israël est résumée en s'arrêtant au règne de son premier roi † ? Quel principe rationnel peut permettre de les transporter à huit ou neuf siècles de là ?

En voilà déjà un bon nombre dont la date serait fixée irrévocablement s'il s'agissait de tout autre monument que des Livres saints.

Que l'on soit à leur égard d'une sévérité spéciale à cause de leur caractère exceptionnel ; soit, je n'ai rien à y redire, mais que l'on observe les règles de la logique et de la critique ordinaire, c'est ce qu'on est en droit d'exiger de tous. D'ailleurs n'a-t-on pas dit que les psaumes étaient les chants de guerre des Machabées. Ainsi

\* Voir Ps. xxix, xxx, etc.

† Voir Ps. lxxvii, etc.

d'une part ces hymnes sacrées sont inconciliables avec le caractère guerrier de David et de l'autre ils forment le répertoire d'un peuple constamment sous les armes !

On ne saurait donc, trop se défier des impressions subjectives. Comment n'a-t-on point argumenté de la différence des caractères littéraires de certains morceaux pour disjoindre ceux que la tradition attribuait à un même auteur ? Cependant rien de plus trompeur que ce criterium, quelque sérieux qu'il paraisse. Combien d'auteurs sont toujours semblables à eux-mêmes ? Combien, au contraire, subissent les influences des circonstances, de leur entourage, des propres changements de caractère ou de conduite ? Si l'histoire ne l'attestait d'une manière irréfragable, si les faits ne s'étaient point passés sous nos yeux pourrait-on croire que l'auteur du *Cid* et des *Horaces* est aussi celui d'*Othon* et d'*Attila* ; que la même plume a écrit la *Thébaïde* et *Les Plaideurs* tout comme *Phèdre* et *Athalie* ? N'accueillerait-on pas d'un sourire celui qui attribuerait au même poète *Les Méditations* ainsi que *Jocelyn* et *l'Ange déchu*, ou prétendrait que le chantre monarchiste et chrétien du duc de Bordeaux naissant est également l'auteur de *Le Roi s'amuse* et *Les Travailleurs de la Mer*.\* Ce que nous avons dit des psaumes en dernier lieu montre d'une manière non moins frappante combien le goût personnel est un guide peu sûr.

Pourquoi donc oublie-t-on ces choses si simples, si élémentaires quand on se met à disséquer la Bible ?

En ce qui concerne spécialement l'hexateuque, tous les efforts faits pour le transporter au delà de l'exil rencontreront toujours trois obstacles infranchissables : l'impossibilité du succès d'une fraude aussi gigantesque, † inouïe dans l'histoire du monde, la nature même de ces livres, incompatible avec l'état de la civilisation asiatique après Cyrus, et l'absence absolue d'indices justifiant l'hypothèse d'un événement, d'un changement social d'une importance, de conséquence aussi graves. ‡

\* Et dans un même morceau littéraire que de disparates ! Qui ne serait tenté d'effacer du *Cid* ou des *Horaces* ces deux vers, dignes d'un Theophile :

“ La moitié de moi-même a mis l'autre au tombeau—  
Ou qu'un beau désespoir alors le secourût.”

Et pourtant quelle erreur ne serait ce point ?

† Il ne s'agit pas, en effet, d'un livre spéculatif quelconque, mais de ce qui fait la vie de la nation.

‡ Des remaniements, des ajoutés, des erreurs de transpositeurs et choses semblables c'est tout ce que la critique historique autorise à supposer.

Si la critique biblique eut mieux tenu compte de ces principes tout premiers en la matière, elle ne se serait point donné l'aspect d'un caméléon prenant toutes les formes, revêtant toutes les couleurs, et n'aurait point encouru le reproche de vouloir démolir simplement pour démolir. Les plus conservateurs eussent pu alors discuter avec elle et pas seulement contre elle.

S'il reste, dans ces documents, des difficultés insolubles jusqu'ici, la solution peut en être à chercher encore, mais assurément elle n'est point là. Car celle-ci ne fait que les accumuler et les agrandir.

Qu'on veuille bien y réfléchir. D'une part on exige des témoignages extérieurs positifs et précis pour admettre l'antiquité de l'hexateuque qui a pour elle la possession et la présomption. Et de l'autre on ne demande pas le moindre indice historique d'un fait aussi considérable que la fabrication tardive, la moindre allusion même lointaine qui justifie sa translation et la fixation d'une date contre laquelle tant de faits protestent énergiquement. Peut on donc se contenter d'une hypothèse et d'appréciations personnelles sujettes aux plus graves méprises? Ou traiter les livres bibliques comme les pièces d'un casse-tête chinois, pouvant prendre toutes les places selon le sentiment et le goût de chacun.\*

Je termine ici ces réflexions sommaires qui m'ont conduit bien au-delà de mon sujet et j'y reviens en finissant.

M. Vernes a du moins le mérite de chercher un point d'appui scientifique, une base sûre pour élever son système. Malheureusement cette base est logiquement inacceptable, les états de son système ne sont pas moins fragiles qu'elle.

Tout en rendant hommage à la sincérité de ses efforts, à la délicatesse de ses procédés, il serait impossible de se rencontrer avec lui sur ce terrain comme sur l'autre. Un jour viendra, sans doute, où l'engouement pour le *Postexilisme* (qu'on me permette ce terme) prendra la fin naturelle à tout système en vogue, où la palme ne sera plus acquise d'avance au bras le plus puissamment et le plus hardiment démolisseur, alors le vœu de M. Vernes pourra se réaliser. On pourra d'un commun accord examiner les difficultés restantes et rechercher la solution définitive si elle est possible.

\* Cependant au point de vue scientifique les conséquences de cette manière d'agir sont des plus désastreuses. On perd volontairement des documents historiques les plus intéressants et les plus importants touchant la première civilisation de l'Asie. L'avantage de faire du neuf et de *progresser* ne compense pas certainement cette perte.



## AZIROU.

PAR A. J. DELATTRE, S.J.

Nous rassemblons dans cet essai une partie des renseignements contenus dans les lettres de Tell el-Amarna déjà publiées, sur Azirou, un de ces officiers ou vassaux qui de Syrie et de Palestine, correspondaient en assyrien avec le roi d'Égypte et ses ministres. Notre intention, outre l'étude des textes, est de fournir quelques éléments pour la solution de cette double question : *A quelle nationalité appartenaient ces chefs ? Quelle était au juste leur situation vis-à-vis du roi d'Égypte ?*

Les pièces et extraits font partie de la collection de Berlin, et sont cités d'après le recueil intitulé : *Der Thontafelfund von el-Amarna herausgegeben von Hugo Winckler ; nach den originalen autographirt von Ludwig Abel. Berlin, 1889-90.* Les numéros en chiffres arabes, en tête de chaque article, se rapportent à cette publication.

Notre transcription des textes cunéiformes ne supplée point ces derniers. Elle en indique la lecture et la division en phrases, sans distinguer les diverses expressions graphiques des syllabes ; elle néglige aussi les déterminatifs aphones, dont les originaux sont parfois surchargés.

## I.—No. 39.

## AZIROU À DOUDOU.

Azirou doit tout ce qu'il est à Doudou, que pour cette raison il appelle son père. Il demande de l'or au roi d'Égypte par l'entremise de Doudou, dont les princes de Noukhassi lui ont vanté le crédit.—Le père d'Azirou, au sens propre, est Arad-Asratou, comme on le voit par la lettre 41, lignes 26, 27.

*Texte.*

## RECTO.

6. . . . . (At)-ta du-(bal)-la-ta-an-ni
7. (u) at-ta du-uš-mi-it-an-ni
8. a-na pa-ni-tum ma-a abulli
9. u at-ta-ma bil-ia,

10. *u bil-ia li-iš-mi-mi*  
 11. *a-ma-ti ardi-šu A-zi-ru amil arda-tum*  
 12. *i-na aš-ra-nu. La tu-pi-iḫ pûlû-ma*  
 13. *ar-ḫi-iš uš-ši-ra-aš-šu*  
 14. *u malâti ša šarri bili li-na-aš-šur.*
- 
15. *Ša-ni-tum a-na Du-ud-đu bil-ia :*  
 16. *ši-mi amâti. Šarri mat Nu-ḫa-aš-ši*  
 17. *a-na ia-ši ik-bu-num*  
 18. *a-bu-ka mi-i-na ḫuraša*  
 19. *(i)-ta-ab ?-šu*  
 20. *[iš-t]u šarri mat Mi-iš-ri,*

VERSO.

21. *u . . . .-mi u-mâ-šar-su,*  
 22. *iš-tu mat Mi-iš-ri.*

TRADUCTION.

(6) C'est toi qui m'as sauvé la vie ; (7, 8) c'est toi qui m'as établi dans le bonheur et la puissance. (9) C'est toi qui es mon maître. (10-12) Et que mon maître entende avec bienveillance les demandes de son serviteur Azirou, dévoué à son service. (12) Tu n'as pas *fourni* (?) le . . . . (13) Expédie-le promptement ; (14) et que je garde les terres du Seigneur Roi.

(15) En outre, à Doudou, mon maître, [je dis] : écoute mes ouvertures. Les rois du pays de Noukhassi (17) m'ont dit : "Ton père, tout or (19, 20) qu'il lui demandera, (21) (il l'obtiendra) du roi de Misri, et il l'enverra (22) du pays de Misri."

REMARQUES.

On devine la suite de la lettre, bien que l'état du texte ne nous permette pas d'en citer davantage. Rien n'est plus fréquent que ces sortes de demandes dans les lettres de Tell el-Amarna.

L. 8.—Le mot *abulli*, signifie proprement *porte de ville*. Ici, au figuré, il doit signifier quelque chose comme *puissance*.

L. 11.—Le texte autographié donne  $\text{𐎗} \text{𐎎} \text{𐎗} \text{𐎗} \text{𐎗} \text{𐎗} = a-na ardimi$ , au lieu  $\text{𐎗} \text{𐎎} \text{𐎗} \text{𐎗} = a-ma-ti$ , que nous y substituons. D'après le texte autographié, il faudrait traduire : *que mon maître écoute avec bienveillance les serviteurs de son serviteur Azirou*. Nous rétablissons une formule très usitée dans nos documents.

L. 19.—*I-ta-ab-?-šu*. Je ne puis rien conjecturer pour le quatrième caractère. Le sens de *il lui demandera*, me semble ressortir du contexte.

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 II.—No. 40.

## AZIROU À DOUDON.

Azirou, qui vient d'envoyer quelques objets au roi d'Égypte, s'offre à lui en envoyer de nouveau ainsi qu'à Doudou. Ou voit par cette lettre, dont nous reproduisons la première moitié, qu'Azirou est le chef du pays d'Amouri.

*Texte.*

## RECTO.

1. *A-na- Du-u-du bil-ia a-bi-ia*
2. *um-ma: A-zi-ru maru-ka ardu-ka;*
3. *a-na ši-pi a-bi-ia am kut*
4. *a-na-ku (?); muḥ-ḥi a-bi-ia lu šul-mu*

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5. *Du-u-du, a-nu-um-ma (ad)-din*
6. *í-(ri-iš)-ti (šarri) bili . . . .*
7. *u mi-nu-um-ma í-ri-iš-du-šu*
8. *ša šarri bil-ia, li-iš-pur*
9. *u a-na-ku a-(na)-an-din*

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10. *Ša-ni-tum : a-mur, at-ta i-na aš-ra-nu*
11. *a-bi-ia, u mi-nu-um-mi í-ri-iš-ti,*
12. *Du-u-du a-bi-ia, šu-pur,*
13. *u a-na-ku lu ad-din*

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14. *A-mur, at-ta abu-ia u bilu-ia,*
15. *a-na-ku maru-ka; matâti A-mu-ri*
16. *(matâti)-ka u bit-ia bit-ka;*
17. *(u) mi-nu-um-ma í-ri-iš-du-ka*
18. *(su-up)-ra-am, u a-na-ku*
19. *(mi-nu-um-mi) í-ri-iš-ti-ka ad-din*

## TRADUCTION.

(1, 2) A Doudou, mon maître, mon père, en ces termes : (2-4) Azirou, ton fils, ton serviteur. Aux pieds de mon père, je me prosterne. A mon père, salut.

(5, 6) Ô Doudou, j'ai maintenant donné au Seigneur Roi son désir . . . et tout désir du Seigneur Roi, qu'il le mande, et je le lui donnerai.

(10, 11) De plus, tu es mon père par la bienveillance, (11, 12) et tout désir, ô Doudou, mon père, mande-(le), (13) et moi je le donnerai.

(14) Voici, tu es mon père, et mon seigneur, (15) moi, je suis ton fils; les terres d'Amouri (16) sont tes (terres), et ma maison est ta maison; (17, 18) Mande tous tes désirs et moi (19) je donnerai (tous) tes désirs.

## REMARQUES.

L. 10.—*Bienveillance.* En assyrien, dans le texte autographié *aš-ia-nu*. La forme insolite du mot et la ressemblance des caractères *ia* et *ra* dans ces documents, nous portent à restituer *aš-ra-nu*. L'expression ainsi obtenue *ina ašranu*, *par la bienveillance*, se lit avec un sens analogue à celui que nous adoptons ici, dans la pièce précédente, l. 12.

L. 16.—*Ma maison est ta maison*, identique à la formule de bon accueil si usitée chez les Arabes: *beiti beitak*.

## III.—No. 36.

## AZIROU AU ROI D'ÉGYPTE.

Azizou, dont la fidélité a été mise en suspicion, proteste de son obéissance et de ses bons sentiments envers les serviteurs du monarque. Il redoute une attaque du roi des Héthéens, demande un secours d'hommes et de chars. Il promet des dons perpétuels.

*Texte.*

## RECTO.

6. *I-na-an-na lu-u i-ti (Samaš-ia)*
  7. *šarru bil-ia i-nu-ma amilu ardu šarri (bili-ia)*
  8. *a-na-ku, a-di ta-ri-ti. Iš-tu a-ma-ti bili-ia la a-ša-at-tar.*
- 
9. *Bil-ia, iš-tu pa-na-nu-um-ma*
  10. *a-ra<sup>2</sup>-a-am a-na ardâni*
  11. *Šarri bili-ia, u amilûti ra-bu-ti*
  12. *ša mahâzu Šu-mu-ri la-a u-ma-aš-ša-ru-ni-ni ;*
  13. *u i-na-an-na la-a ħi-it-tum*
  14. *la-mi-im-ma-an a-na šarri bili-(ia)*
  15. *la i-ti-bu-uš. Šar-ru bil-(ia)*
  16. *i-ti amiluti bi-il ar-ni . . . .*

## VERSO.

27. Šum-ma šar mat Ha-(at-ti)  
 28. a-na nu-kur-tum ili-ia . . . . .  
 29. u šar-ru bil-ia šabi . . . . .  
 30. u narkabati id-din-an-ni  
 31. . . . . i-ru iz-zu-ti-ia  
 32. u mata-šu ša šarri bili-ia aš-šur
- 
33. Ša-ni-tum i-na ha-mut-ta  
 34. uš-ši-ra-am mar sipri-ia,  
 35. . . . .
- 
36. U mi-i-na-am-mi ša id-din-num  
 37. amilūti ha-za-an-nu-u-tum  
 38. u a-na-ku lu-u ad-din  
 39. a-na šarri bili-ia ili-ia u Šamši-ia  
 40. u ad-din a-di ta-ri-ti

## TRADUCTION.

(6-8) Maintenant, (mon soleil), le roi mon maître, sait bien que je suis le serviteur (du roi mon maître), pour toujours. Je ne me révolterai pas contre les ordres de mon maître.

(9-12) Ô mon maître, depuis toujours je suis porté pour les serviteurs du roi mon maître, mais les notables de la ville de Soumuri ne m'ont pas laissé [en paix]; (13-16) et présentement je n'ai commis aucune faute contre le roi mon maître. Le roi mon maître connaît les hommes de révolte . . . . .

(27-32) Si le roi du pays de Khatti (marche) contre moi dans un but hostile, et que le roi, mon maître me donne des hommes de . . . . . et des chars, je . . . . . et je garderai le territoire du roi mon maître.

(33, 34) Deuxièmement, j'envoie en hâte mon messenger, (35) . . . . . (36-39); et tout ce que donnent les gouverneurs [établis par le roi], je le donnerai au roi, mon maître, mon soleil, (40) et je le donnerai toujours.

## IV.—No. 91.

## RABIMOUR AU ROI D'ÉGYPTE.

Rabimour, qui semble écrire au nom de la ville de Goubla (Gébal, Byblos), proteste de la fidélité de cette ville envers le roi d'Égypte. Elle n'a point pris part aux violences d'Azirou.

## Texte.

## RECTO.

1. (A-na) šarri bili-ia um-ma :
  2. Maḥazu Gubla amat-ka. Um-ma :
  3. Ra-bi-mur ardu-ka: a-na
  4. šīpi bil-iu Šamaš-ia VII VII am-kut
- 
5. La i-ku u šarru bil-ia
  6. i-na maḥazi Gub-la amali-šu,
  7. maḥazi šarri iš-tu da-ri-ti,
  8. ša-ḫiḫ a-na mi-ni iš-ši-ir šarru
  9. i-na A-zi-ri, u i bu-šu
  10. ki-ma lib-bi-šu. A-mur, A-zi-ru A-du-na šar mat Ir-ka-ta
  11. da-ak, šar mat Am-mi-a,
  12. u šar mat Ar-da-ta
  13. u amila raba da-ak, u la-ḫa
  14. maḥazāni-su-nu a na ša-šu
  15. maḥaza Šu-mu-ra a-na ša-šu,
  16. maḥazi šarri. Ištin maḥazu Gub-la
  17. iz-zi la-ab šarri
  18. ša-ḫiḫ.

## TRADUCTION.

(1) Au roi, mon maître, en ces termes: (2) la ville de Goubla est ta servante. En ces termes: (3, 4) Rabimour, ton serviteur: aux pieds du roi sept fois, sept fois, je me suis prosterné.

(5, 6) Que le roi mon maître ne s'irrite pas contre la ville de Goubla sa servante, (7) la ville du roi depuis tout temps, (8) obéissant à tout ce qu'en voie le roi (9) concernant Azirou, et (qui) a agi (10, 11) conformément à ses intentions. Voilà qu'Azirou a tué Adoun, roi du pays d'Irkata, le roi du pays d'Ammia, (12) et le roi du pays d'Ardata, (13) et il a tué les notables [de ces pays], et il a pris (14) leurs villes pour lui, (15) la ville de Soumoura pour lui, (16) les villes du roi! (16-18). La seule ville de Goubla se conforme aux désirs du roi.

## REMARQUES.

L. 5.—*I-ku-u*, traduit *s'irrite*, uniquement d'après le contexte, d'une manière approximative.

L. 9.—*I-bu-šu*, littéralement *ils* (les habitants de Gubla) *ont agi*. Pour *i*, l'original écrit  $\text{𐎢}$ , suivant un usage fréquent dans les lettres

des chefs ou petits princes syriens (non dans celles des rois de Babylonie et d'Assyrie). Je remarque aussi dans plusieurs des mêmes lettres, la première personne du présent ou futur et du prétérit kal écrite avec *i* au lieu de *a*. Exemples : No. 113, *iš-ti-mi* pour *aš-ti-mi*, j'ai entendu; l. 10, *i-na-ša-ru*, je garderai; No. 129, l. 6, *im-ḫut* pour *am-ḫut*, je me suis prosterné. D'autres particularités comme *ki-mi-i* pour *ki-ma*, l'enclitique *mi* pour *ma*, l'emploi de la conjonction *u* dans certains cas à la façon du ו hébraïque révèlent dans quelques-unes de ces pièces un dialecte qui n'est pas tout à fait la langue de Babylone et de Ninive.

L. 10.—*A-mur*. Je considère le mot comme l'impératif kal d'*amaru*, voir. Il est employé dans plusieurs pièces pour introduire un énoncé de la même façon que l'hébreu אָמַר.

L. 15.—C'est sans doute le fait de la prise de Soumoura qu'Azirou cherche à colorer dans la lettre III—No. 36, l. 11, 12.

L. 17.—*Izzi*, probablement pour *issi*, par une de ces permutations de lettres qui sont si nombreuses à Tell el-Amarna, comme *tariti* pour *dariti*, *iti* pour *idi*, *illagam* pour *illakam*, et indiquent une tradition graphique spéciale.

Nous avons cité la première partie du document; la seconde, moins bien conservée, est inintelligible pour nous. La pièce se termine brusquement par la conjonction *u*, ce qui indiquerait que nous n'en possédons qu'une copie incomplète.

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#### V.—No. 92.

Copie, conservée dans les archives officielles, d'une lettre d'un envoyé du roi d'Égypte, au chef du pays d'Amourra ou Amourri, suivant toutes les probabilités à Azirou.

Le messenger Khanni d'un ton haut et menaçant, reproche au chef du pays d'Amourrou ses méfaits; il lui ordonne de venir expliquer sa conduite devant une espèce de conseil de guerre à *Zituna*, Sidon, et de se rendre ensuite chez le roi d'Égypte, ou de lui envoyer son fils. A la menace, Khanni joint des exhortations pressantes.

La pièce compte 91 lignes assez longues. Elle est fruste au commencement des premières lignes, et en général, pour nous du moins, difficile à comprendre.

## Texte.

## RECTO.

1. (*A-na*) *bil maḥazi A-mu-ur-ra ki ti-ma*
2. [*Ha-an-ni mar šipri*] *šarri bili-ka um-ma-a: bil maḥazi Gu(b)-ub-la*
3. . . . . *ša a-ḥu-šu i-na ma-a-bi it-ta-zu-uḫ-šu*
4. (*um-ma-a: li*)-*ga-an-ni u šu-ri-ba-an-ni i-na maḥazi-ia*
5. . . . . *na u u-ut-ti-na-ak-ku an-nu-u; mi-im-ma ma-ad*
6. . . . . *a (?) dan (?) nu it-ti-ia, šu ki-na-an-na ik-ba-?-ak-ka*

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7. . . . . *Ad-da da-ša-pa-ar a-na šarri bili-ka*
8. (*um*)-*ma-a: ardu-ka a-na-ku, ki-i kab-bi amilūti ḥa-za-nu-ti pa-nu-ti*
9. . . . . *i-na lib-ba maḥazi-šu; u ti-ib-bu-uš ḥi-i-da;*
10. . . . . *la ki-i amilu ḥa-za-an-na ša aḥa-šu i-na ma-a-bi*
11. *iš-tu maḥazi-šu it-ta-zu-uḫ-šu.*


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12. *U i-na maḥazi Zi-tu-na a-ši-ib u da-ad-da-tin-šu*
13. *a-na amilūti ḥa-za-nu-ti ki-i ti-i-mi-i-ka*
14. *u-ul ti-i-ti za-ar-ru-ud-da ša amilūti.*

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15. *Šum-ma ardu ša sarri ad-da ki-i ki-i-it-ti,*
16. *am-mi-ni la-a da-a-ku-ul-ti a-zi-i šu-a-tum pa-ni šarri bili-ka*
17. *um-ma-a: amilu ḥa-za-an-nu-u il-ši-an-ni; um-ma-a*
18. *li-ga-an-ni a-na ka-a-ša u šu-ri-ba-an-ni i-na maḥazi-ia*
19. *U šum-ma ti-ib-bu-uš ki-i ki-it-ti u u-ul ki-i-na*
20. *kab-bi a-ma-ti ša aš-pur ili-si-na, tu-ru-um-ma šarra*
21. *rak-zu-us-um-ma-a la-a šal-mu kab-bu ša i-bu-u*

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22. *U a-nu-ma amilu iš-mi um-ma-a: sinništu Ma-a-da it-ti bil maḥazi Ki-id-ša.*
23.  *bi-it-ti a-ha-mi-iš da-ak-ta-a-la u ki-i-na.*
24. *Am-mi-ni ti-ib-bu-uš ki-na-an-na? Am-mi-ni sinništu Ma-a-da*
25. *It-ti amilu ša amil iz-zi-il it-ti-šu? šum-ma*
26. *ti-ti-bu-uš ki-i ki-it-ti u da-am-mar ti-im-ka u ti-im-šu*
27. *i-ia-nu la-a i-la-da a-na a-ma-ti ša ti-ib-bu-uš ul-tu pa-na-nu*
28. *mi-nu-u in-ni-?-ša-ak-ku i-na lib-bi-šu-nu?*
29. *u u-ul it-ti šarri bili-ka ad-da.*

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30. *A . . . an-nu-ut-ti ša [bi]-la-am-ma du-ru a-na ša-šu aš-(šu)*
31. *a-na lib-bi i-ša-ti, a-na na-ša-tum u-ba-u-ka, u ga-lu*
32. *u at-ta, mi-im-ma ta-ra-am, dan-is*
33. *U šum-ma ti-ib-bu-uš arda-da a-na šarri bili-ka,*
34. *u mi-na-a ša u-ul ib-bu-ša-ak-ku šarru a-na ga-a-ša?*



35. *Šum-ma aš-šum mi-im-ma da-ra-am í-bi-ši an-mu-ut-ti,*  
 36. *u šum-ma ta-ša-ag-ga-an an-mu-ut-ti, a-ma-ti*  
 37. *Za-ar-ru-ut-ti i-na lib-bi-ka, u i-na ha-[az]-zi-in-ni*  
 38. *ša sarri da-ma-at ka-du kap-pa ki-im-ti-ka.*
- 
39. *U í-bu-uš arda-da a-na šarri bili-ka u pal-da-da,*  
 40. *u ti-i-ti ad-da ki-i šarru la ha-ši-iḫ*  
 41. *a-na mat Ki-na-aḫ-hi kap-pa-ša ki-i i-ra-ub.*  
 42. *U ki-i aš-pur um-ma-a : lu-ma-šir-an-ni šarru bil-ia*  
 43. *šatta ša-ad-da an-ni-da, u-ul li . . . . .*  
 44. *i-na ša-at-ti ša-ni-ti a-na ma-ḥar šarri bi(li-ka a-na a-la-ki)*  
 45. *ia-nu-um-ma, mar-ia ma-ri-ia.*

VERSO.

1. *U a-nu-ma šarru bilu-ka i-ti-iš-pa-ak-ku*  
 2. *Šatti ša-at-ti an-ni-ti ; ki-i ša í-bu-u,*  
 3. *al-ga ad-da ; summa mara-ka šu-pur ;*  
 4. *u da-mar šarra ša kab-bi matāti i-bal-lu-du*  
 5. *a-na a-ma-ri-šu, u la-a du-ri-(ku)-um-ma-a :*  
 6. *lu-ma-šir šatta sa-ad-da an-ni-da ; ap-pu-na-na*  
 7. *a-na a-la-ki a-na ma-ḥar šarri bili-ka i-ia-nu-um-ma.*  
 8. *Mara-ka uš-ši-ir a-na šarri bili-ka. Ki-i mu-bat-ka*  
 9. *i-ia-nu, li-il-li-ga.*
- 
10. *U a-nu-ma šarru bilu-ka iš-mi ki-i aš-pur a-na šarri*  
 11. *um-ma-a : lu-ma-šir-an-ni šarru bil-ia Ha-an-ni,*  
 12. *mar šipri ša šarri, ša-ni-ia-nu,*  
 13. *u u-ši-bi-il amilúti a-ia-bi ša šarri a-na kat-ti-šu.*  
 14. *A-nu-ma it-tal-ga-ak-ku ki-i ša í-bu-u,*  
 15. *u u-šu-bi-la-aš-šu-nu-ti u ištín la ti-iz-zi-ib*  
 16. *i-na lib-bi-šu-nu-ti. A-nu-ma šarru bilu-ka ul-ti-bi-la-ak-ku*  
 17. *šu-mu ša amilúti a-ia-[bi]-i ša šarri i-na lib-bi dup-pi*  
 18. *a-na kat-ti ša Ha-an-ni mar šipri ša šarri,*  
 19. *u su-bi-la-as-su-nu-ti a-na šarri bili-ka,*  
 20. *u išt-in la-a ti-iz-zi-ib i-na lib-bi-šu-nu,*  
 21. *u šaršarrātu iri lu-u ša-ak-nu i-na ḥurši(?) šipi-šu-nu.*  
 22. *A-mur amilúti ša tu-su-ib-bi-il a-na šarri bili-ka*  
 23. *Ša-ar-ru ka-du kab-bi marâni-šu ;*  
 24. *Tu-u-ia ;*  
 25. *Li-i-ia ka-du kab-bi marâni-šu ;*  
 26. *Pi-iš-ia-ri ka-du kab-bi marâni-šu ;*

27. *amilu ḥa-at-nu ša Ma-an-ia ḥa-du marāni-šu,*  
 28. *ḥa-du aššati-šu aš-ša-ti-i-šu ;*  
 29. *amilu pa-ma-ḥa-a ša ḥa-an-ni-pa i-ti-i-u,*  
 30. *ša šu-di-a-ra il-da-na-az*  
 31. *Da-a ḥir-ti-i Pa-lu-u-ma*  
 32. *Mi-im-ma-ḥi-i amilu ḥa-ḥa-du i-na mat A-mur-ri*
- 
33. *U lu-u ti-i-ti i-nu-ma ša-lim šarru ki-ma ilu Šam-aš*  
 34. *i-na sami sa-mi-i ; ṣabi-šu narkabati-šu ma-a-du*  
 35. *i-na mat ili-ti a-di nat-kam-ti (?) ṣi-it ilu Sam-ši*  
 36. *[a-di] i-ri-bi ilu Sam-ši rabiš šul-mu.*

## TRANSLATION.

## RECTO.

(1) (Au) chef de la ville d'Amourra, pour information, (2) (Khanni, le messager) du roi, ton maître en ces termes : le chef de la ville de Goubla (3) (s'est adressé à moi . . .), parce que tu l'as chassé violemment, (4) (en ces termes) : "prends-moi, et fais moi rentrer dans ma ville." (5) . . . . . et celui-là [le chef de Goubla] plaidera contre toi ; et tout ce dont (6) (il t'a accusé) auprès de moi, il te le dira de même [en face]."

(7) . . . . . Toi tu as mandé au roi (8) en ces termes : "Je suis ton serviteur, comme tout bon gouverneur (9) (agit) dans sa ville." Et tu commets l'iniquité. (10, 11) . . . il n'est pas d'un gouverneur de déloger violemment son confrère de sa ville.

(12) Il se trouve dans la ville de Zituna [Sidon] ; défends-toi contre lui (13) devant les gouverneurs [constitués en tribunal], selon ton message (14) [à savoir que] tu n'as conscience d'aucune hostilité envers personne.

(15) Si tu es le serviteur du roi en vérité, (16) pourquoi ne soutiens-tu pas cette accusation [portée] devant le roi (17) en ces termes : "un gouverneur m'a opprimé," en ces termes : (18) "prends-moi avec toi et ramène-moi dans ma ville."

(19) Si tu agis conformément à la justice, et qu'ils ne soient pas vrais (20) tous les rapports au sujet desquels je t'écris, livre au roi (21) ses prisonniers, et ne sauve aucun de ceux qu'il exige.

(22) Et maintenant on a entendu dire que la femme Mâda se trouve chez le chef de la ville de Kidsa ; (23) elle se trouve à un intervalle de . . . . . (24) Pourquoi agis-tu de la sorte ? Pourquoi la femme Mâda (25) se trouve-t-elle chez un homme avec lequel on se

révolte [qui est l'allié de tous les révoltés]? Si (26) tu agis [désormais] conformément à la justice, et que tes dispositions et ses dispositions [celles du chef de Kidsa] changent, (27) il y a rémission pour ce que tu as fait précédemment. (28) Que gagnes-tu par ces actes? (29) Tu n'es pas du côté du roi ton maître.

(30) Ces [lieux] où tu monteras (pour éviter la colère du roi), dans ce fort (31) j'apporterai la flamme; je viendrai jusqu'à toi allumer [l'incendie] et (voilà qu'il brûle [le fort], (32) et toi (aussi), quelque chose à quoi tu aies recours.

(33) Si tu prêtes obéissance au roi ton maître, (34) que ne te fera-t-il, pour toi? (35) Si, pour quelque motif, tu songes à commettre la violence, (36) si tu commets [de fait] la violence, des dispositions (37) hostiles sont dans ton cœur, et par la puissance (38) du roi, tu mourras avec toute la famille.

(39) Rends donc l'obéissance au roi ton maître, et tu vis, (40) et tu sais que le roi peut se passer, (41) quand il a faim, de tout le pays de Kinakhi, [c'est à dire, qu'il peut te combler généreusement sans rien recevoir en retour].

(42) Lors que j'envoyai [message] au roi en ces termes: "que le roi, mon maître, me laisse (43) cette année, (pour régler l'affaire d'Azirou)," il n'a pas (rejeté ma demande). L'année prochaine, mon fils, il n'y a pas à [il sera trop tard pour] aller en la présence du roi ton maître.

#### VERSO.

(1) Donc le roi ton maître l'accorde encore (2) cette année; selon qu'il le veut, (3) pars toi-même, ou bien envoie ton fils; (4, 5) et tu verras le roi sous le regard duquel tous les pays vivent; et ne tarde pas; (6) il a accordé cette année; plus tard (7) il n'y a plus à aller en la présence du roi ton maître. (8) Envoie ton fils au roi ton maître, (8, 9) comme il n'y a pas d'obstacle, qu'il se mette en route.

(10) Le roi ton maître a entendu [a consenti] lorsque j'ai envoyé (message) au roi, (11) en ces termes: "Que le roi mon maître, me députe [moi] Khanni (12) son messenger, pour la seconde fois, (13) et je ferai amener les ennemis du roi sous sa main [en sa puissance]. (14) Je suis venu, comme il le veut [le roi], (15) et [toi] fais les conduire et n'en laisse pas un seul [en liberté] (16) parmi eux. Le roi ton maître te fait parvenir (17) les noms des ennemis du roi, sur une tablette (18) aux mains de Khanni, le messenger du roi. (19) Fais les mener au roi ton maître, (30) et n'en laisse pas un seul

parmi eux. (20) Que des entraves d'airain soient mises à la *cheville* (?) de leurs pieds. (22) Voici les gens que tu feras mener au roi ton maître: (23) Sarrou avec tous ses fils; (24) Tuïa; (25) Liya avec tous ses fils; (26) Pisiari avec tous ses fils; (27) le gendre de Mania avec ses fils, (28) avec ses femmes; (29, 30) le *pamaḥa* qui . . . [*Je ne comprends pas ces lignes*]; (31) Dâ, épouse(?) de Paluma; (32) Nimmakhi, *ḥapadu* au pays d'Amourri.

(33) Sache que le roi est en sûreté comme le soleil (34) dans le ciel; que ses soldats et ses chars nombreux, (35) sur la *haute* (?) terre, jusqu'au *lieu* (?) du lever du soleil, (36) jusqu'au couchant, sont grandement en sûreté, [et qu'il ne dépend en aucune façon de toi].

#### REMARQUES.

Je crois avoir saisi le sens général du document, mais pour beaucoup de détails, je donne ma version pour un simple essai. Outre les passages où j'ai manifesté de l'hésitation, j'indique encore, comme rendus d'une manière plus conjecturale, les endroits suivants: recto 25-28, 30-32, 37 (ḥa-[az]-zi-in-ni).

Les restitutions, recto 2, 4, 44 sont faites d'après verso 11, 12, recto 17, 18, et verso 6, 7.

Cette pièce se distingue plus que les autres par l'emploi indifférent des signes que l'écriture assyrienne affecte spécialement les uns à l'expression des syllabes ouvertes à consonne initiale sourde, les autres à l'expression des syllabes ouvertes à consonne initiale sonore.

Recto, l. 3.—*It-ta-az-zu-uk*, prétérit ifteal de *nazaḥu*.

L. 5.—*Ut-ti-na* pour *ud-ti-na*, futur ifteal de *dānu*, juger.

L. 12.—*Da-ad-da-ti-in* = *ta-at-ta-din*, futur ittafal de *dānu*.

L. 16.—Je considère *d[t]a-ku-ul-ti* comme une forme dialectale pour *ta-ku ul-ta* (comme on a si souvent dans nos textes *ma* pour *mī*), permansif kal de *takalu*, avoir confiance, ici, affronter.

L. 21.—*Rak-zu-us-um-ma* pour *rak-su-us-su-um-ma*. Il s'agit dans la pensée de celui qui écrit, de prisonniers de droit. Les personnes en question sont énumérées verso 22-32.

L. 22.—Mâda était sans doute une des personnes dont le roi d'Égypte désirait l'extradition.

L. 23.—Le groupe cunéiforme non transcrit exprime une mesure dont je ne puis déterminer la valeur. Voir Brünnow, *A Classified List*, 12125.

L. 25.—*Is-zi-il* d'un verbe *azalu* ou *nazalu*, pour lequel je conjecture le sens de se séparer, faire defection.

L. 26.—*Da-am-mar* = *ta-am-mar*, futur niph'al de *māru* (hebr. מור), changer.

L. 27.—*I-ia-nu la-a i-la-da* = *il n'y a pas non-rémission*. Conjectural. *I-la-da* ? serait bien mis pour *i-la-ta*.

L. 28.—*In-ni-l-ša*. Faut-il restituer *in-ni-iš-ša* et voir un présent niph'al d'un verbe *našu*, correspondant à l'hébreu נִשָּׂה, fenerari?

Verso, l. 1.—*I-ti-is-pa*. Prétérit ifteal d'*asapu*, ajouter, accorder encore (?).

L. 6.—*Lu-ma-š-i-ir*, doit être une faute de transcription pour *u-ma-š-ir*. Le caractère *lu* et le caractère *u* ont une grande ressemblance dans cette pièce.

L. 28.—*Aššāti*, l'idéogramme est suivi du signe aphone du pluriel. *Aš-ša-ti* est une orthographe défective.

L. 45.—Passage qui prouve que les supérieurs et les inférieurs se donnaient respectivement les noms de père et de fils. Le *mār*, fils, est écrit deux fois, la première fois au moyen d'un idéogramme, la seconde fois au moyen de caractères syllabiques. C'est un particularité qui se présente souvent dans les textes de Tell el-Amarna.

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#### VI.—No. 38.

#### AZIROU À DOUDOU.

Azirou a reçu du roi et de Doudou un ordre de *partir*, c'est-à-dire à ce que je soupçonne, l'ordre de se rendre auprès du roi. Un nommé Khatib, qui est peut-être le fils d'Azirou, doit l'accompagner. Azirou proteste de ses dispositions dociles, mais il veut rester. Il allégué la nécessité de défendre le pays contre le roi de Khatti. Il envoie Khatib pour prendre et rapporter de nouveaux ordres. Si le roi persiste dans ses exigences, Azirou et Khatib partiront aux risques et périls du roi.

#### Texte.

#### RECTO.

1. *A-na Du-u-du, bil-ia, a-bi-ia*
  2. *um-ma : A-zi-ru ardu-ka,*
  3. *a-na šiṭi bil-ia am-kut*
- 
4. *Ha-ti-ib i-il-la-ga-am,*
  5. *u u-ta-ṣa-la-am a-ma-ti.*
  6. *šarri bil-ia ṣa-nu-tam u ṭabu-ta,*
  7. *u ḥa-ad-ia-ku rabiš rabiš,*

8. *u mat-ia u ahi-ia*
  9. *amilúti ardati ša šarri bili-ia,*
  10. *u amilúti ardati ša Du-u-du bil-ia,*
  11. *ḥa-du-num rabiš rabiš.*
  12. *I-nu-ma i-il-la-ga-am*
  13. *Sa-ar-ru ša šarri bili-ia*
  14. *ili-ia, iš-tu a-ma-ti*
  15. *bili-ia ili-ia Šamši-ia*
  16. *u iš-tu a-ma-ti Du-u-du*
  17. *bili-ia la a-pa-at-tar*
- 
18. *Bil-ia, a-nu-um-ma Ḥa-ti-ib*
  19. *iš-za-az it-ti-ia ;*
  20. *a-na-ku u su-u-um ni-il-la-ak.*
  21. *Bil-ia, šar mat Ha-at-ti*
  22. *i-il-la-ga-am i-na mat Nu-ḥa-aš-ši,*
  23. *u la i-lî-i a-la-ni*

VERSO.

24. *ša ip-tu-ur šar mat Ha-at-ti.*
  25. *U a-nu-um-ma i-il-la-ak*
  26. *a-na-ku u Ḥa-ti-ib*
- 
27. *Šarru bil-ia a-ma-ti-ia*
  28. *li-iš-mi-i. Bil-ia, pal-ḥa-ku*
  29. *iš-tu pa-ni šarri bili-ia*
  30. *u iš-tu pa-ni Du-u-du ;*
  31. *u a-nu-um-ma ilani-ia,*
  32. *u mar šipri-ia u lu amilu am-mi (?)*
  33. *Du-u-du u amilúti rabúti*
  34. *ša šarri bili-ia u lu a-al-la-ak.*
- 
35. *U ki-i-ia-am, Du-u-du*
  36. *u šarru bil-ia u amilúti rabúti,*
  37. *šum-ma mi-ni iš-ku-uk mi-im-ma*
  38. *ili A-zi-ru, ša la damik*
  39. *a-na ilani-ia u a-na Šamši-a,*
  40. *u a-nu-um-ma a-na-ku*
  41. *u Ḥa-ti-ib ardâni šarri pa-nu.*
- 
42. *Du-u-du lu-u ti-i-ti*
  43. *i-nu-ma a-la-ga-ak-ku.*

## TRADUCTION.

(1-3) A Doudou, mon maître, mon père, en ces termes : Azirou, ton serviteur ; aux pieds de mon maître je me prosterne.

(4-6) Khatib partira [ira chez le roi], et apportera les ordres bons et excellents du roi mon maître ; j'en serai grandement dans la joie ; (8-11) et mon pays et mes frères, serviteurs du roi, mon maître, et serviteurs de Doudou, mon maître, en seront grandement dans la joie. (12-15) Lorsque l'ordre du roi, mon maître, sera arrivé, je ne m'écarterai point des ordres de mon maître, mon dieu, mon Soleil, ni des ordres de Doudou mon maître.

(13-19) Ô mon maître, Khatib se tiendra avec moi ; (20-22) moi et lui nous partirons, ô mon maître, mais le roi du pays de Khatti se rendra au pays de Noukhassi, (23, 24) et on ne nous imputera pas que le roi de Khatti se révolte ; (25, 26) je partirai donc moi et Khatib.

(27, 28) Que le roi mon maître entende mon message. (28-30) Ô mon maître, j'éprouve des craintes de la part roi et de la part de Doudou. (31-34) Et maintenant, [je l'atteste par] mon dieu, par mon messenger, et l'homme . . . . de Doudou, et les grands officiers du roi mon maître, je partirai.

(35, 36) Et ainsi, ô Doudou, ô roi mon maître et [ses] grands officiers, (37-39) si quelqu'un rapporte sur Azirou quoique ce soit qui déplaît à mon dieu, à mon Soleil (40, 41) alors même, moi et Khatib nous sommes les bons serviteurs du roi.

(40, 41) ô Doudou, tu (le) comprendras quand je serai parti.

## REMARQUES.

ll. 8-11. Cette joie signifie simplement qu'on se résignera aux ordres donnés.

l. 23. Version conjecturale.

l. 24. *i-il-la-ak*. Voir IV, les observations sur la ligne 9.

l. 37. Version conjecturale.

## VII.—No. 31.

## AZIROU À KHAI.

Sur le même sujet que la précédente. Khai est un personnage employé plus d'une fois par le roi d'Égypte pour des missions en Syrie et en Mésopotamie. Azirou reçoit de tout côté l'ordre de

partir et proteste toujours de son obéissance, tout en différant l'exécution des ordres reçus.

*Texte.*

RECTO.

1. (A)-na *Ha* a-i aḥi-ia
2. um-ma: A-zī-ru aḥu-ka-ma
3. a-na ili-ka lu-u šul-mu,
4. u iš-tu šabi ša-bi bi-ta-ti
5. ša šarri lili-ia rabiš lu-u šul-mu

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6. Mi-i-na-am aḥ-pu-na-ma
7. u-ḫa<sup>2</sup>-i ḫa-ni šarri bili-ia
8. ḫa-nu-ta u-ḫa<sup>2</sup>-i.
9. A-na-ku u marāni-ia
10. u aḥi-ia kab-bu, amilūti arduṭi
11. ša šarri bili-ia ḫa-ni.

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12. A-nu-um-ma a-na-ku u *Ha* ti-ib
13. ni-il-la-ga-am. I-na-an-na-ma
14. [ki-i] lib-ba-ku-nu lu i-ti
15. i-nu-ma ga-aš-ta-ku.

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17. Iš-tu a-ma-ti bili-ia
18. la a-ḫa-at-tar,
19. u iš-tu a-ma-ti-ku-nu.

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VERSO.

20. A-na-ku amilu ardu ša bili-ia.
21. Šar mat *Ha*-at-ti i-na mat Nu-ḫa-aš-ši
22. a-št-ib u ḫal-ḫa-ku;
23. iš-tu ḫa-ni-šu aš-sur-ru-mi.
24. I-na mat Mar-tu i-la-am
25. u šum-ma maḥaza Du-ni-iḫ
26. iš-ḫi ti-ma 11 C. tim (?) ḫarranu i-na a-šar a-šī-it
27. u ḫal-ḫa-ku iš-tu ḫa-ni-šu,
28. u ili a-ma-ti šu-a-ti
29. iṣ-za-as a-di ḫa-ta-ri-šu.

---

30. U a-nu-um-ma i-il-la-ga-am
31. i-na ḫa-mut-iš-ma
32. a-na-ku u *Ha*-ti-ib.



## TRADUCTION.

(1-5) À Khai, mon frère, en ces termes : Azirou, ton frère, à toi salut; et de la part des hommes de *bitati* du roi mon maître, salut, grandement.

(6-8) Tout ce que je représenterai encore devant le roi mon maître, je le représenterai pour le bien. (9-11) Moi et mes fils, et tous mes frères, (nous sommes) les bons serviteurs du roi.

(12-13) Donc moi et Khatib, nous allons partir présentement. (13-16) Ô Khai, sache que j'obéis suivant vos désirs. (17-20) Je ne m'écarterai pas des ordres de mon maître, ni de vos ordres. Je suis le serviteur de mon maître.

(21-23) Le roi du pays de Khatti se trouve dans le pays de Noukhassi, et je suis dans la crainte à cause de lui; j'aurais fait la garde [contre lui, si j'avais pu rester]. (24-26) Il montera au pays de Martou et s'il dévaste la ville de Dunip, . . . . .

(27-29) Je crains de sa part; il persistera dans cette disposition (équivoque) jusqu'à ce qu'il se révolte. (30-31) Donc je partirai en hâte, moi et Khatib.

## REMARQUES.

L. 4.—*Ša-bi bi-ta-ti*, Les hommes de *bi-ta-ti* ou *pi-ta-ti*, souvent nommés dans les lettres de Tell el-Amarna, semblent être des soldats égyptiens destinés à renforcer les troupes des gouverneurs. Ceux-ci en demandent au roi en cas de nécessité pressante.

L. 26.—Azirou me semble dire qu'une fois maître de Tunip, le roi de Khatti ne se trouvera plus qu'à une faible distance du territoire soumis au roi d'Égypte.

## VIII.—No. 33.

## AZIROU AU ROI D'ÉGYPTE.

Lettre postérieure aux deux précédentes, car le roi de Khatti s'est emparé de Tunip ou du moins en a ravagé le territoire. Azirou fait allusion aux accusations dont il est l'objet.

*Texte.*

RECTO.

10. *Mat šarri bili-ia a-na-aš-šu-ur*

11. *u pa-ni-ia a-na amilūti arda-tu*

12. *ša šarri bili-ia* . . . . .  
 13. . . . .  
 14. . . . .

- 
15. *Bil-ia a-nu-um-ma a-na-ku*  
 16. *u Ha-ti-ib ni-il-la-kam-(ma)*  
 17. *u li-i-ti bili-ia i-nu-ma*  
 18. [*ga*]-*aš-ta-ta-ku i-na ha-mud-di.*

VERSO.

37. *Šarru bili-ia a-na na-ša-ar mati-šu (ipkid-anni).*  
 38. *U i-na-an-na i-na mat Mu-ḥa-aš-ši (šar mat Hatti)*  
 39. *a-šib, II C. tim (?) ḥarra-nu, i-na maḥazi Tu-ni-ip,*  
 40. *u pal-ḥa-ku iš-tu ša-ḥa-ti-šu*  
 41. *maḥaza Tu-ni-ip li-ip-tu-ur*

TRADUCTION.

(10) Je garderai le territoire du roi, (11, 12) et ma face est [tournée] vers les hommes du service du roi mon maître.

(14) Ô mon maître, maintenant moi et Khatib, nous partirons, (15, 16) et que mon maître sache que j'obeis avec empressement.

(37) 3<sup>e</sup> Le roi (m'a chargé) de garder son territoire. (38, 39) Et maintenant (le roi de Khatti) se trouve dans le pays de Noukhassi, . . . . . dans la ville de Tunip; (40) je crains qu'ayant ravagé la ville de Tunip, il ne se révolte.

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IX.—No. 32.

AU ROI OU A UN DE SES MINISTRES.

Même sujet. Azirou ne veut rester là où il est que par dévouement pour le roi d'Égypte.

*Texte.*

VERSO.

20. *(I)-na mat Nu-ḥa-aš-ši šar mat Ha-at-ti*  
 21. *a-šib u pal-ḥa-ku iš-tu pa-ni-šu ;*  
 22. *(II. C. tim (?)) ḥirnu ḥir-nu i-na a-šar a-š-i-ib ;*  
 23. *(iš-ḥi-it) maḥaza Tu-ni-ip u pal-ḥa-ku*  
 24. . . . . *ḥir ip-tu-ur u-ga-aš-ta-ku*
- 
25. . . . . *(i)-na-an-na . . . . . i-na mat Mar-tu*  
 26. *mat bili-ia (i)-il-la-ga-am-ma,*  
 27. *u pal-ḥa-ku iš-tu mat bili-ia*

## TRADUCTION.

(20, 21) Le roi du pays de Khatti se trouve dans le pays de Noukhassi, et je crains de sa part. (22) . . . . .  
 (23) (Il a dévasté) la ville de Tunip [= Dunip], et je crains  
 (24) . . . . . il se révolterai et [cependant] j'obéis.

(25-27) Maintenant (le roi de Khatti) se rendra au pays de Martou territoire de mon maître, et je crains pour le territoire de mon maître.

## REMARQUES.

L. 27.—Remarquez l'expression *pal-ḥa-ku* ištu signifiant je crains à cause de, au sujet de, pour.

## X.

## LES LETTRES DE RIB-ADDOU ET DES AUTRES CHEFS.

Les lettres de Rib-Addou, également vassal du roi d'Égypte, mentionnent souvent Azirou comme un de ses adversaires. Rib-Addou défend contre lui la ville de Goubla et d'autres places, et ses lettres au roi d'Égypte sont comme des cris de détresse qu'il pousse vers son souverain, qui s'y montre d'ordinaire indifférent. Rib-Addou est encore dédaigné par le roi d'Égypte, alors qu'Azirou a été reconnu coupable, et que d'autres vassaux, également attaqués par lui et réduits à la famine, ont été secourus (No. 76, lignes 10-19).

On voit par l'ensemble des lettres des vassaux de Syrie et de Palestine que ces pays sont en proie à des chefs qui reconnaissent la suprême puissance du Pharaon, se donnent pour les gardiens de son territoire et parfois sont réellement établis à cet effet, et n'en guerroient pas moins entre eux. Ils cherchent à se supplanter les uns les autres, par des accusations et des intrigues où le suzerain trouvait probablement son profit. Mais je ne veux pas pousser plus loin ces considérations pour le moment, et je termine mon travail par quelques observations sur deux termes géographiques.

La principauté ou gouvernement d'Azirou est désigné sous le nom d'*A-mu-ri*, *A-mu-ur-ra*, *A-mur-ri*; plus d'une fois il semble désigner aussi son district par le nom de pays de *Mar-tu*. Tous les assyriologues savent que *Martu* est l'équivalent d'un autre nom qu'on a toujours lu *A-ḥar-ri*, mais qu'on pourrait aussi bien lire en lui-même *A-mur-ri*, et qui est exprimé par les mêmes signes

que notre *A-mur-ri*. On s'est décidé pour la lecture *A-ḥar-ri* en se basant uniquement sur une étymologie présumée, car je ne pense pas qu'il existe une seule variante *A-ḥa-ar-ri* qui justifie la lecture devenue classique. Je sais bien que l'*A-mu-ri* ou *A-mu-ri* de nos textes représente un district phénicien, et non toute la Phénicie comme l'*A-ḥar-ri* des Assyriens. Mais il y a une exception remarquable à cet usage dans la grande inscription d'Assournazirpal. Celui-ci raconte qu'arrivé au bord de la Méditerranée, il reçut le tribut des pays de "Tyr, Sidon, Gebal, Makhallata, Maïza, Kaïza, *A-ḥar-ra-a*, Aradus." Ici *A-ḥar-ra-a* représente évidemment un canton particulier; n'est-ce pas celui dont Azirou avait été le chef, et ne faut-il pas lire *A-mur-ra-a*? Voir II, r. l. 15; V, r. l. 1, v. l. 32; IX, v. l. 25.

Le second terme géographique sur lequel j'attire l'attention, est le pays de *Kî-na-aḥ-ḥi*. Le pays d'Amouri, district de la Phénicie septentrionale, est compris dans le *Kinaḥḥi* (V, r. l. 41); il en est de même de la ville d'Akka (Saint-Jean d'Acre) dans la Phénicie méridionale (No. 9, v. l. 15 sq.). *Kinaḥḥi* suppose une forme *Kinaḥ* qui répond assez bien au *Xvâ* de Stéphane de Byzance, qui désigne le pays de Chanaan. Ḥ représenterait un **ϣ**, mais on a la même chose dans l'assyrien *Ḥa-zi-ti*, Gaza.



LOUVAIN, le 13 janvier 1891.



## NOTES DE PHILOGIE ÉGYPTIENNE.

PAR KARL PIEHL.

(Suite.\*)

33. Critique de quelques points d'un article, intitulé *Varia* ; 34. L'étymologie du mot  ; 35. À propos d'un passage du Pap. d'Orbiney ; 36. Osiris et Isis ; 37. Une valeur du signe .





33. À quiconque fait de la lexicographie égyptienne sa spécialité, il est bien attristant de voir le peu de soin avec lequel cette branche, éminemment importante, de notre science souvent est traitée. S'il ne s'agissait que d'une discipline du second ou du troisième ordre, on pouvait peut-être se résigner et se taire, mais lorsque c'est la discipline *fondamentale* de l'égyptologie qui est mise au jeu, il faut bien dire hautement et énergiquement, que cela ne peut, ne doit pas durer. Dans d'autres sciences philologiques, on regarde une profonde connaissance de la langue comme indispensable ; pourquoi relâcher de ce principe en égyptologie ? Il est vrai que dans cette science, pour quiconque veut approfondir la langue, la peine actuellement est plus grande que presque partout ailleurs. Mais cette circonstance, qui doit être prise en considération par quiconque compte se consacrer aux études égyptiennes, ne sert aucunement d'excuse à ceux qui prétendent à être égyptologues et font de la publicité littéraire comme tels.


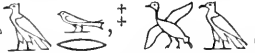




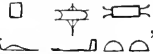

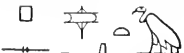
Les paroles qui précèdent—presque contre ma volonté—m'ont échappé à la lecture d'un article, intitulé *Varia*, inséré aux *Proceedings*.† J'examinerai les points de cet article qui me paraissent demander une prompt rectification.

a. L'étymologie du nom Psammétichos étant inconnue, on ne peut aucunement prétendre que le *ϕ*, qui en est la lettre initiale,








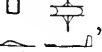







\* Continued from *Proceedings*, Vol. XIII, p. 118.

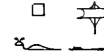
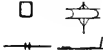
† Vol. XIII, p. 34 et suiv. L'auteur de cet article m'ayant plusieurs fois pris à partie dans les *Proceedings*, je regarde comme mon droit de montrer la valeur de ses vues, quant à des questions de philologie égyptienne.




soit l'article, rien qu'en alléguant comme preuve l'existence d'un nom propre de femme . Car pourquoi le nom Psammétichos s'écrirait-il alors toujours avec un , qui représente la forme ordinaire de l'article? Tout porte à croire que le nom  est d'origine étrangère, peut-être libyque, comme le semble croire M. STERN.\* Cela n'exclut point la possibilité que le nom *Psemtek* ait pu être sujet à des interprétations, plus ou moins inconscientes, de la part d'Égyptiens qui vivaient à l'époque de son usage, et ces interprétations partant de l'idée que le dit nom fût d'origine égyptienne, il est fort naturel qu'on en a pu sentir le *p* initial comme article, ce qui, selon moi, a amené la création du nom propre de femmes .

*Psemtek* est à *Tasemtek*, ce que, p. ex.,  est à , † à , ‡ à , § à , || etc., suivant l'acception de l'étymologie populaire qui paraît avoir présidé à la création du nom *Tasemtek*. Selon M. WIEDEMANN, nous devons regarder le nom propre  comme formé d'une manière semblable à celui de *Psemtek*. Le dit auteur ne nous indique pourtant pas, comment il veut transcrire ce premier nom, et si nous prenons acte de ses transcriptions *Pef-āanet*, ¶ *Pef-nef-āneit*, \*\* pour le nom hiéroglyphique , de celle de *Pef-tet-Bast* †† pour le nom , on conviendra qu'il n'y a aucune possibilité de savoir, comment actuellement, selon lui, il faut transcrire le nom . Je le lis ou *Pes-nef-tot-Mut* ou *Pes-'a-Mut*. Dans l'un cas le nom signifierait, "Son souffle à elle est la main de Mut;" dans l'autre, "Son vent est Mut." Toutefois, la première acception me paraît préférable à la seconde.

\* *Zeitschrift*, 1883, p. 25.† LIEBLEIN, *Dict. de noms*, N° 745.‡ LIEBLEIN, *ibid.*, N° 641 et *passim*.§ LIEBLEIN, *ibid.*, N° 777.|| LIEBLEIN, *ibid.*, N° 1054.¶ WIEDEMANN, *Ägypt. Geschichte*, p. 654.\*\* WIEDEMANN, *l.l.*, p. 645.†† WIEDEMANN, *l.l.*, pp. 564, 570.

Nous connaissons de longue date toute une série de noms propres, commençant par la combinaison de signes  ou , que, à l'exemple de DE ROUGÉ,\* on a lue *pefā, pefāū*; et que, en suivant BRUGSCH,† on a lue *pef-tot*. Ni l'une ni l'autre de ces deux lectures ne tiennent devant des noms propres comme , , ;‡ car ces derniers montrent, que le  des autres exemples ne peut avoir la valeur phonétique . Je proposerai donc de modifier sous ce rapport les vues de BRUGSCH et de ROUGÉ, et je lirai la dite combinaison de signes *pef-nef-tot-(ui)*. Mon opinion est corroborée par le fait, que tous les noms propres, connus comme débutant par , à savoir , , , , , , désignent des personnages mâles,§ tandis que les deux qui en débutent par , semblent appartenir au genre féminin.




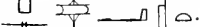
Comme une observation générale quant au sens des mots, qui débutent par , , je relève que les noms de divinité qui apparaissent dans ces mots, renvoient à des personnages mythologiques qui suivant la croyance des anciens Égyptiens étaient en rapport plus ou moins intime avec les vents.||

b. , prétendu mot nouveau, ayant le même sens "amulette," que le groupe . Le mot nouveau se réduit à être une forme moderne de l'ancien  dont le rôle, dans les textes, rappelle




\* *Chrestomathie Égyptienne*, IV, p. 35.


† *Geschichte Aegyptens*, pp. 683, 748 et *passim*.












‡ *Proceedings*, XI, p. 74.



§ Le nom  (LIEBLEIN, *l.l.*, p. 470) seul, ferait exception de cette règle, car il est porté par une femme. Seulement, le monument d'où ce nom a été tiré, contient une petite lacune (*Dict. de noms*, p. 338, No. 1031) à l'endroit où M. LIEBLEIN a cru devoir lire . Ce dernier signe doit donc se remplacer par , et le nom doit se lire .


|| *Cfr.* à ce sujet LE PAGE RENOUF dans les *Transactions*, VIII, pp. 198-223.

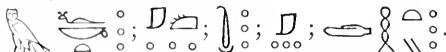
singulièrement celui de notre guillemet. L'expression , tracée à côté de l'image du dieu Osiris, ne peut donc signifier que "Parle Osiris, dieu grand," ou simplement "Osiris, dieu grand." Le copte  $\Sigma E$  fournit d'ailleurs, pour ainsi dire, une transcription intégrale du groupe qui nous occupe. Le mot  "parole, parler," datant des basses époques,\* le texte où il se trouve sous aucune condition ne peut dater de la XIX<sup>e</sup> dynastie. Éliminons donc le groupe  "amulette."


c.  ἄπαξ *εἰρημέρον*, ayant la signification de "aimant."

Le passage de texte qui a fourni à M. WIEDEMANN ce mot, jusque là inconnu, est un peu mutilé. Le signe, donné comme , en pourrait bien être ou celui de , ou bien la combinaison de signes . Cette dernière supposition admise, nous aurions affaire au groupe fréquent  "plombe." Alors, les noms de métaux du passage de texte, d'où provient le prétendu mot , se suivraient de la sorte: , , ; , ce qui ne diffère que très peu de l'ordre qu'ont les métaux dans certaines listes.† Je n'hésite par conséquent pas à adopter pour le groupe en litige, la forme . Effaçons donc le prétendu groupe  "aimant."

d. , "the large bull," par M. WIEDEMANN désigné comme le taureau Mnévis. Son nom s'écrit partout ailleurs , et notre Papyrus Géographique a une fois sans doute

\* Pour la forme  du même mot, voir PIEILL, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques*, XII, ligne 7.

† Cfr. BRUGSCH, *Wörterbuch*, V, p. 415, où une liste de métaux donne la série que voici .

‡ Le sens littéral du mot "aimant" est "l'indomptable" (= lat. *adamas*, emprunté au grec, où le mot se lit ἀδάμας, dérivé de *καμάω*, "dompter"). Le mot allemand pour "aimant," j'entends "Magnet," signifie "ce qui provient de Magnesia" (ἡ Μαγνητικὴ λίθος en grec). Ces deux exemples montrent bien, que pour trouver l'équivalent égyptien du mot français "aimant," on ne doit point nécessairement chercher parmi les dérivés de racines, ayant le sens de "come near, be near." Donc, l'appui que fournirait le copte  $\Sigma E \text{C}$ , en faveur de l'existence du nouveau groupe , "aimant," est nul.



offre la même forme pour dénoter le taureau saint d'Héliopolis. Actuellement, il ne reste du signe initial  $\square$  que  $\frac{3}{5}$ , c'est-à-dire  $\square$ , ce qui ne doit pas se confondre avec le signe  $\square$ , qui a une valeur toute différente. Le groupe  $\square$   $\square$ , mentionné comme désignation égyptienne pour le taureau Mnévis,\* est une invention moderne sous ce rapport. Rayons donc le nouveau mot  $\square$   $\square$   $\square$ , "le taureau Mnévis d'Héliopolis."

34.  $\square$   $\square$   $\square$ , selon CHABAS,† est "une qualification, un titre dont on faisait usage lorsqu'on adressait la parole à des personnes de rang élevé." Pour expliquer l'étymologie du dit groupe, M. CHABAS cite celui de  $\square$   $\square$   $\square$ , qui, selon lui, se lit *mapi* ou *mabi*, et dont il regarde  $\square$   $\square$   $\square$  comme une forme phonétique.

Je ne puis accepter le rapprochement fait par le célèbre égyptologue. A mon avis, l'étymologie du groupe  $\square$   $\square$   $\square$  demande une explication, tout-à-fait différente. C'est là tout simplement un composé, formé des deux racines pronominales  $\square$  et  $\square$ . Une pareille soudure ne présente rien d'insolite à quiconque connaît la manière dont se développent les mots. Comparez à cet égard les composés égyptiens  $\square$   $\square$ ,  $\square$   $\square$ ,  $\square$   $\square$ , etc.‡

Maintenant, on fera peut-être remarquer, que le sens du mot  $\square$   $\square$   $\square$  ne convient guère à l'étymologie que nous venons de donner. Mais alors on se trompe. En réalité,  $\square$   $\square$   $\square$  doit être considéré comme une espèce de pronom indéfini, ayant le sens de "quelqu'un, un certain," lat. *quidam*, ou à peu près. Je pars alors de la supposition—qui peut-être n'est pas absolument indispensable—que le premier élément,  $\square$ , de notre composé, est une forme interrogative. Il est connu, qu'entre les pronoms indéfinis et les pronoms interrogatifs il y a souvent des rapports singulièrement intimes. Comparez à ce sujet les grecs  $\pi\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ , "qui?" et  $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ , "quelqu'un;" les latins *quis*, "qui?" et *quidam*, "quelqu'un;" le copte  $\text{O}\text{C}$ , "quoi," à côté de  $\square$ , "un quelconque;" l'égyptien  $\square$   $\square$   $\square$ ,



\* Cfr. LEPSIUS, *Chronologie der Aegypter*, p. 50.























† *Voyage d'un Égyptien*, pp. 278, 279.



‡ LE PAGE RENOUF, dans les *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, X, pp. 252, 253.































Car, en admettant que le premier et le troisième personnages de cet exemple représentent réellement Osiris et Nephthys, ce qui ne peut être sujet à des doutes, il faut absolument reconnaître que le second en est Isis. D'ailleurs le groupe  est donné comme *variante* de celui de  dans le papyrus, relatif au lac de Fajoûm, que vient de publier M. PLEYTE.\*

Un troisième passage, où se voit établie l'identification phonétique  = , a la teneur suivante : +                 etc. "Le roi adore son père Osiris et sa mère Isis. Le roi dit : 'Osiris, Orion ! Isis, Sotit ! Osiris, Hapi ! Isis, Sechit ! Osiris, Unnefer, juste de voix ! Isis, celle qui approche ! Osiris, le destin qui s'accomplit ! Isis, le souffle du nez !'" Ici, il est bien évident, que  et  sont identiques de son avec , tandis que  doit se lire d'une façon différente, probablement *Sechit*, comme l'a lu déjà M. LE PAGE RENOUF.

Une variante, fort instructive, de  offre le groupe , qui date † de l'époque ptolémaïque, tout comme l'exemple que nous venons de traduire.

Le seul obstacle à la lecture *âset* du nom , ferait donc la forme qu'en offre une inscription d'Abydos, j'entends celle-ci :    , *âuset*. Toutefois, le trône  se lisant régulièrement *âs*, et le nom Isis s'écrivant régulièrement , quant aux bonnes époques, je crois que la forme     résulte d'un malentendu, plus ou moins inconscient. On a *voulu comprendre le sens* du nom d'Isis, et celui de "siège, trône," paraissant peut-être incompréhensible ou déraisonnable, on a été tenté de rapprocher le dit nom de noms comme   , "Elle est à moi,"     , "Elle est à sa mère,"  , "il est à moi,"     , "il est à

\* *Over drei handschriften op papyrus*, Pl. VIII, N° XX.

† LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, IV, 36a.

‡ LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, IV, 42c.



[jeu de mots entre *aaq* et *maqet*].\*

[jeu de mots entre *pešes* et *šet-pet*].†

[jeu de mots entre *use(r)tf* et *Des-hetep*].‡

jeu de mots entre *sānch-ntu* et *ānt'-tā*. §

[jeu de mots entre *ānq* et *qrsu*]. ||

Tout en constatant qu'il y a beaucoup de cas où les deux *membra comparisonis* sont plus ou moins identiques de forme, j'ai préféré énumérer ici plusieurs exemples où l'on ne saurait observer une pareille ressemblance. Dans quelques-uns de ces exemples, on pourrait peut-être trouver des traces de règles strictement appliquées, comme pour *aaq* par rapport à *maqet*, *sānch-ntu*, par rapport à *ānt'-tā*. Il faudrait donc faire abstraction des éléments formatifs prosthétiques , quand il s'agirait d'établir des jeux de mots de cet ordre. Quant à d'autres parmi les exemples cités, comme *pešes* par rapport à *šet-pet*, ¶ *ānq* par rapport à *qrsu*, ils indiquent peut-être des différences d'accentuation dans le sens, que *pešes* et *āneq* auraient la tonique sur la seconde syllabe, tandis que *šet-pet* et *qersu* l'auraient sur la première. Mais je n'ai pas encore assez de matériaux entre mes mains pour pouvoir trancher ces questions. Un point me paraît pourtant acquis. C'est qu'on ne peut affirmer avec certitude que l'exemple qui met le nom en rapport avec le mot , prouve la lecture *us* pour le début du premier. C'est que des

\* *Pyramide d'Unas*, ligne 586. Je me demande si le mot de ce passage fait allusion à l'arc-en-ciel. Cfr. LE PAGE RENOUF, dans les *Transactions*, VIII, p. 220.

† *Pyramide de Teta*, l. 174 = Pepi I, l. 121.













‡ *Pyramide de Teta*, l. 242.

§ *Pyramide de Teta*, l. 266.


|| *Pyramide de Teta*, l. 268.












¶ Cfr. PIEHL, dans le *Recueil de Vieueg*, III, p. 71, note 4.

calembourgs peuvent exister entre des mots à *voyelles initiales*, sans que pour cela les voyelles soient les mêmes.



Cela étant, je crois devoir soutenir que le nom  doit toujours se lire *âset*, ce qui appuie la parenté que, d'accord avec M. LEFÉBURE, j'ai supposée entre les deux noms  et . Si, à l'époque des classiques,  de  a eu une autre prononciation que  de , cela tient à ce qu'alors on avait perdu le souvenir des vues des siècles passés, auxquelles étaient venues se substituer des idées, engendrées par des individus qui ne comprenaient ni ne connaissaient le vrai fonds du mythe d'Osiris et d'Isis. Dans ces jours de la décadence, Isis est devenue *la vieille*\* (égypt.    *âs*), Osiris *celui qui a beaucoup d'yeux* † (égypt.  ).

Nous voyons donc, que le nom d'Isis a gardé, encore sous les grecs et romains, à peu près la même forme que nous lui connaissons, dès l'époque des pyramides.








37. Le signe , entre autre, a la valeur *māk*, dont ni les grammaires, ni les dictionnaires ne semblent faire mention. Voici une preuve définitive en faveur de cette lecture.

 |            
expression ‡ dont on rencontre la variation suivante § :

          .

Donc,  = . La valeur *māk* de ce dernier signe a été prouvée, il y a longtemps ; || par conséquent, elle ne nécessite pas de preuves, à cette occasion.

\* DIODOROS, *Bibl. Hist.*, I, II.

† DIODOROS, *l.l.* Pour rendre en égyptien le grec *πολύφθαλμος*, on a cru devoir combiner un groupe   [cfr. *Mission française*, I, 567 :     ] qui d'ailleurs est parfaitement égyptien de forme. À mon avis, la variante, très commune, , du nom d'Osiris, suffit à expliquer la glose de Diodore.

‡ DE ROUGÉ, *Inscriptions recueillies à Edfou*, LXXX.

§ DE ROUGÉ, *ibid.*, LXXXIII.

|| GOODWIN, dans la *Zeitschrift*, 1868, page 40.

REMARKS ON THE EUPHRATEAN ASTRONOMICAL  
NAMES OF THE SIGNS OF THE ZODIAC.

BY ROBERT BROWN, JUNR., F.S.A.

I.

At a late period in the history of Euphratean astronomy we find the twelve Signs of the Zodiac designated by twelve names which appear to have been somewhat technical in character, and were very probably only habitually used by the learned students of the heavenly bodies. The significations of these names have been treated of to some extent by Strassmaier and Epping in their important work *Astronomisches aus Babylon*, 1889, and by Jensen, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, 1890; and as the views of these writers are both interesting and important, and yet, at the same time, do not appear to be satisfactory in all cases, or to be exhaustive of the subject, I propose in the following paper to examine the twelve terms in question with some particularity. Apart from the special historical and scientific interest of the subject, it has also a distinct psychological value, as being illustrative of the process by which mere natural and necessary observation develops into archaic science and a general theory of kosmic harmony. All the twelve names with one exception—*šib*, occur on two British Museum tablets, Sp. 128 and Sp. 129, dated respectively 111 and 123 B.C.

𒀭, *Ku*.—Sign—the *Ram*.

Strassmaier (p. 171) observes that “*ku*=ašâbu (to dwell), šubtu (possession), and kalbu (dog; one can compare with this the circumstance that often on the boundary stones under the representations of the zodiacal circle a dog appears).” Mr. Sayce (*Syllabary*, No. 462) gives eight Assyrian words as variant equivalents of the Ak. *ku*, but *kalbu* is not amongst them; the 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 (*W. A. I.* II. 49, No. 4, l. 43), *kakkab Lik-ku*, “the Star of the Dog,” is not zodiacal, but almost certainly “the *Dog of Oriôn*” (*II.* xxii. 29; vide *inf.* p. 270), “*Kuôn Seirios*” (Aischylos, *Agamemnôn*, 967), and, as I have pointed out,\* the *Dog* is represented on a

\* *The Heavenly Display*, p. 78, Fig. LX.







B.C. 2450), opened the year, was a natural reduplication of the solar Ram, who had previously in mythologic idea opened the day, and is thus a 'diurnal' Sign.\* But this solar origin of the Ram is altogether inconsistent with a mythological connexion with the monstrous brood of Tiāmat.

"En effet," observes Lenormant, "c'est l'étoile *alpha* du bélier, appelée en accadien *dil-kar*, 'qui annonce la lumière,' et en assyrien *iku*, dont l'observation déterminait astronomiquement le commencement de l'année, *riš šatti*."† Now the Star  $\text{𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢}$  *Dilgan* (the *Dil-kar* of Lenormant, and by others, e.g., Jensen, read *As-kar*), "Messenger-of-light," probably originally when the year began with *Taurus*, was *Capella*;‡ but when in the course of time the year commenced with *Aries*, then "the-Messenger-of-light," the year-beginner, changed, and would no longer be *Capella* but *a Arietis*, as stated by Lenormant. But *Dilgan* was identical with "the Star of stars," and with the Star "Iku ( $\text{𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢}$   $\text{𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢}$   $\text{𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢}$ , *kakkab I-ku-u*) of Babylon." Now a "bright particular star"—in this case the  $\text{𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢}$   $\text{𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢}$   $\text{𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢}$   $\text{𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢}$ , *Kakkab Anuv*, *Kakkab Lulim*, "the Star of Anu, i.e., the Star of the Ram,"§ is almost always the nucleus of a constellation, as e.g., York produced Yorkshire;|| and as the Ram-sun is prior in idea to the Ram-star, so is the *Ram*-star to the *Ram*-constellation, and thus *a Arietis*, called by the Arabs *Hamal* ("the Ram"), becomes, so to speak, the capital of the region included in *Aries*, whence we note incidentally that the stars of *Aries* were not thought to resemble the figure of a ram. Hence, as *I-ku* = *a Arietis*, it (ultimately) = *Aries*; and *ku* may well be an abbreviation of *Iku*, used to indicate, though not literally meaning, the constellation of the *Ram*. We find examples of the modification or abbreviation of Euphratean words by the elision of an initial vowel, e.g., *Na* for *A-na* and *Ku* for *u-ku* (vide Sayce, *Syl.*, No. 138). The Assyrian name *Iku* will signify "the Front" or "Leading-Star," i.e., of the year; cf. the Heb.  $\text{קִדְמוֹת}$ , "to be in the front." Ptolemy says that Hipparchos placed *a Arietis* "at the muzzle" of the *Ram*. Thus, *Ku*, "the Leader"—of the heavenly flock through the year, would be a very suitable designation for *Aries*. *Hamal*, again, = the

\* Vide R. B., Jr., in *Proceedings*, Jan. 1890, p. 145.

† *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, I. 263.

‡ Vide *Proceedings*, Feb. 1889, p. 146.

§ Vide *Ibid.* Feb. 1890, p. 184.

|| Vide R. B., Jr., *Eridanus*, sec. x.

As. *Ailuv*, Heb. *Ayil*, "the Ram," the Ak. *Lu-nit* ("Male-sheep"), and appears in Bêrôsos as *Alôros*, the 1st of the ten antediluvian Babylonian Kings.\*

## II.

𐎠𐎵, *Te*.—Sign—the *Bull*.

Strassmaier gives some Assyrian equivalents of the Ak. word *te*, and notices that we also meet with it in the doubled form *te-te*; but I do not observe that either he or Jensen gives any explanation of the name. The Ak. *dimmena*, 'foundation-stone,' passes by virtue of phonetic decay and the Law of Least Effort through the several forms *timmena—timmen—timme—tim—tem—te*, which last highly abraded word thus means 'foundation.' Now the 8th Akkadian month is *Apin-dûa* ("Foundation-in-front"), i.e., "(the Month) opposite to the Foundation." The 8th month (Sign) is opposite to the 2nd, so that the reference is to the Sign *Taurus* as (at one time) the 'foundation' or beginner of the calendar and leader of the Signs, which, of course, was the original position of the 𐎶𐎠𐎵 𐎶𐎠𐎵 𐎶𐎠𐎵, *Gut An-na*, "Bull-of-heaven," which lay in 𐎶𐎠𐎵 𐎶𐎠𐎵 𐎶𐎠𐎵, *kharran Samsi*, "the path of the Sun," and which appears as *Alap-ur* ("Divine-bull-of-the-foundation"), Alaparos, the 2nd of the ten antediluvian Babylonian kings. The doubled form *te-te* shows that two constellations, originally distinct, are included in the *Bull*; and if the reader will refer to my *Remarks on the Tablet of the Thirty Stars*,† he will observe that these two constellations are the *Pleiades* and the *Hyades*, the "Great Twins" of the lunar scheme of asterisms. Epping identifies *Temenna*, considered as a particular star, with "η in the *Pleiades*," *Acyone*. No stars have attracted more notice in connexion with the calendar and religious observances than the *Pleiades*, and that nearly all over the world; and when we turn to the speculations of modern astronomy we find the importance of this group is by no means diminished. Thus we read, "The movement of the Sun takes place, possibly, round a centre still unknown to us. The present opinion of astronomers is in favour of the *Pleiades* being the centre of this movement."‡

\* Vide *Proceedings*, Jan. 1890, p. 142.

† *Ibid.* Feb. 1890, p. 185 *et seq.*

‡ Guillemin, *The Heavens*, Eng. edit. By Lockyer and Proctor, 1878, p. 297. For illustration of the lunar Bull, precursor of the stellar Bull, vide R. B., Jr., *Remarks on the Zodiacal Virgo*, in the *Yorks. Archæological Journal*, Pt. xxxvi, 1885.

## III.

♋, *Mas*, ♋♋, *Mas-mas*.—Sign—the *Twins*.

The Ak. *mas*=(amongst other words) the As. *tuāmu*, 'twin,' and the *mas-mas* or *mash-mash*, 'twins,' are the twin-stars *Caster* and *Pollux*, "the Great Twins" of the solar scheme,  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  *Geminorum*. The 3rd Akkadian month was called *Mun-ga* ("The-making-of-bricks") and also *Kas* ("The-Two,"=Twins), a form connected with *Kat*, 'hand,' the hands having here furnished an expression of the idea of duality. The archaic kosmogonic myth or legend attached to the month is that of the Two Hostile Brethren and the Building of the First City. Now "the Great Twin Brethren" who join in building a mysterious city, and who are hostile to each other although they work together, were originally the Sun and Moon, engaged in securing the preservation of kosmic order,\* and yet also constantly antagonistic.† *Gemini* is a 'diurnal' Sign, for the Twins are only seen together by day; and when one is 'up,' the other is generally 'down,' a circumstance which I will next illustrate by representations from the cylinders. To make the matter perfectly clear I also give several figures of *Taurus*.

Fig. I shows *Taurus* as depicted on a Euphratean Boundary-stone; I have elsewhere ‡ explained the details of the representation,



Fig. I. —Taurus.

From a Euphratean Boundary-stone.

and what I would particularly call attention to in the present connexion are the huge symbolical horns over the bull, which probably

\* Vide R. B., Jr., in *Proceedings*, Feb. 1890, p. 206.

† Vide R. B., Jr., *The Unicorn: The Law of Kosmic Order*, sec. xii.

‡ *Remarks on the Zodiacal Virgo*, sec. x.

mark the Euphratean line-form of the original constellation, or of the central part of it.\* Now on the cylinders these lines either accompany representations of *Taurus* or symbolize him. Thus, in one instance (Fig. II†) we find *Taurus*, above whom are the symbolical horns, which are surmounted by a star‡ to make the symbolism perfectly clear. In Fig. III§ we have *Taurus* and the horns without the star. In Fig. IV|| we have *Taurus* in the air above the symbolical horns; and in Cylinder No. 107 we find a divinity standing in Hittite fashion upon *Taurus*, and holding a very similar symbol in each hand. In Fig. V¶ we have the symbol without *Taurus*, and the next represented Sign is that of the *Twins*, pourtrayed head to head, the upper one standing upon his head, whilst in Fig. VI,\*\* we find them feet to feet and the lower one upon his head. †† As one of these *Twins* is rising, the other is setting;

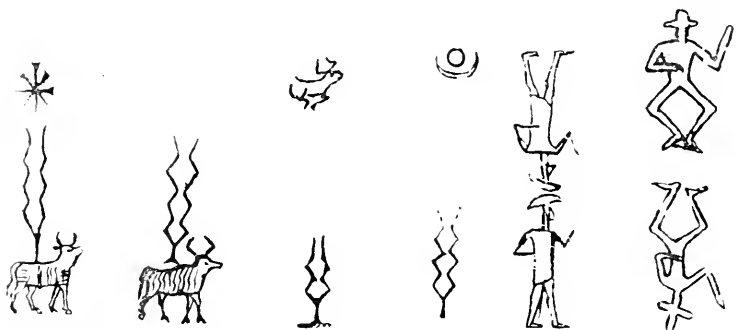


Fig. II.

**Taurus.**From a  
Cylinder.

Fig. III.

**Taurus.**From a  
Cylinder.

Fig. IV.

**Taurus.**From a  
Cylinder.

Fig. V.

**Taurus and Gemini.**From a  
Cylinder.

Fig. VI.

**Gemini.**From a  
Cylinder.

and this particular constellation is the most suitable of the twelve Signs, in consequence of its containing two bright adjoining stars, to

Vide "The Ptolemaic *Taurus*." (*Proceedings*, Feb. 1890, p. 186).

† Cullimore, *Oriental Cylinders*, No. 60.

‡ This Star will doubtless be the Ak. *Gis-da* ("Heaven-furrow"), the As. *Pilhanu-sa-sami* (= *Aldebaran*).

§ Cullimore, *Oriental Cylinders*, No. 67.

*Ibid.* No. 106.

• *Ibid.* No. 70.

\*\* *Ibid.* No. 65.

†† Vide also Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Pl. XXVI, Figs. 1, 3; Pl. XXVII, Fig. 5; Pl. XXXIX, Fig. 5; Pl. LIV A, Fig. 6; R. B., Jr., *The Law of Cosmic Order*, p. 80.

represent the originally solar Twins in a stellar reduplication. In Fig. VII, I endeavour to show how the application of the concept of the hostility of the *Twins*, an idea based upon their alternate

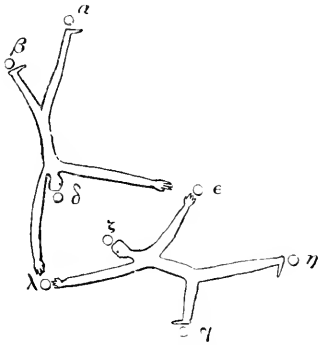


Fig. VII.—Gemini.

The Hostile Twins. (By R. B., Jr.)

rising and setting, would work itself out when applied to the special stars of the constellation, and so ultimately assume the conventional form of representation which appears on the cylinders. The absurd notion that men arbitrarily 'invented' signs and constellation-figures, or fancied that the stars of *Gemini* resembled 'twins,' or those of *Cancer* a 'crab,' is still occasionally encountered, and has been supposed to supply an explanation, although it is really nothing but a baseless conjecture—an attempt

to make capital out of nescience—and in absolute opposition alike to the obvious facts of the case, and also to the well-known course of the human mind in its conceptual movement along the line of least resistance.

#### IV.

𐎶𐎵𐎫, *χas*.—Sign—the *Crab*.

Strassmaier reads *nangaru*, and the connected form *nagar* ('workman') is, according to Mr. Sayce, "probably a dialectic form of Lamga . . . a name of the Moon-god."\* There is certainly a remarkable mythological connexion between the Moon and the Crab,† and *Cancer* is astrologically "the House of the Moon"; but I see no reason why we should not read the form 𐎶𐎵𐎫 (vide Sayce, *Syl.* No. 95) as As. *pulukku*, 'division,' and Jensen (p.311) writes,—“(P) *bulukku* = Krebs”? As, however, these zodiacal names are Akkadian, we must next endeavour to ascertain the Ak. equivalent of the As. *pulukku*, which latter word the Akkadai borrowed in the

\* *Rel. Anct. Babylonians*, p. 186, note.

† Vide Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, II, 354 *et seq.*; R. B., Jr., *On the Origin of the Signs of the Zodiac*, p. 21.

form of *pulug*. This Ak. word is *χας*, "to cut," 'division,'\* which reappears in the Osmanli and Uigur *kes-mek*, "to cut," the Magyar *kes*, 'knife,' and in many other allied forms. But that *pulukku* does not mean 'crab' but 'division,' may be further illustrated by a parallel case. The Hindu astronomical writer Varāha-Mihira, cir. A.D. 500, renders the Greek names for the Signs by the following forms:—*Kriya*, *Tacuri*, *Jituma*, *Kulira*, etc. Here, *Kulira* is not a Hindu variant of *Karkinos*, as *Kriya* is of *Krios*, etc., but stands for *Kolouros*, *ἡ κόλουροι* ("the colures") being, according to Proklos, the two great circles passing through the solstitial points,—*Cancer* and *Capricorn*, so that *Kolouros* is an equivalent of *Karkinos* ("the Crab"). Hence, it is quite possible that *χας*, 'division,' = the solstitial colure, and is used instead of the Sign-name in the same way as *Kolouros*; and, further, that this Euphratean usage caused the Greek use which we thus find in Proklos. On the Black Obelisk Shalmaneser calls himself "King of all the four zones of the Sun," which may perhaps refer to the four equal parts marking the four seasons, into which the ecliptic—"the sunpath"—is divided by the equinoctial and solstitial colures. The Sumero-Akkadian and Babylonian names for 'crab' are unknown to me, but the creature itself

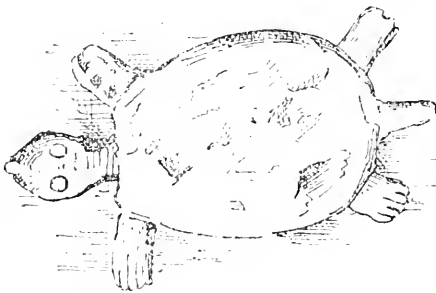


Fig. VIII.—The Turtle, a variant of Cancer.

[From a Euphratean Boundary-stone.

was well-known in the Euphrates Valley, and an excellent representation of a huge crab appears in an Assyrian Bas-relief;† and amongst the constellation-figures is shown a Turtle (Fig. VIII), which is

\* Mr. Sayce has kindly corrected my copy of his Syllabary as follows:—"Ak. *kha*, As. *khasu* = *pulukhu*."

† Vide Smith and Sayce, *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, p. 169.



sometimes placed above an Altar (Fig. IX), and which apparently is a variant of the *Crab*. On the Stone containing the Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar I, a kind of *Turtle-Crab* appears side by side with his brother the *Scorpion* (vide *W.A.I.* V, 57), for both of these are emblems of Darkness, the *Scorpion* being the protagonistic type.

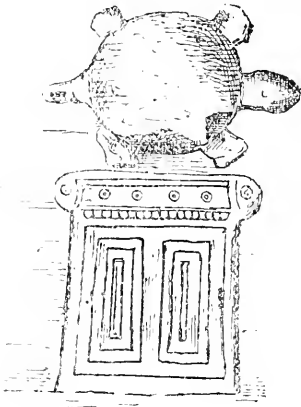


Fig. IX.

The Constellational  
Turtle-Crab.

From a Euphratean Boundary-stone.

Several of these uranographic Stones are incorrectly called by Epping and Strassmaier 'Thierkreise,' for they are not 'Zodiacs,' but combinations of constellations and other figures, e.g., Sun and Moon, portrayed in their character of daimonic guardians and not according to astronomical position. The Akkadian name of the mouth is *Su-kul-na* ("the-Seizer-of-seed"), and though to pretend that the stars of *Cancer* struck any ancient observer as resembling a crab is ridiculous, and, moreover, merely begs the question, yet there was a line of thought—the key to the position—which induced early man to make a Sign of a monstrous-seizing-creature, now familiar to us as the zodiacal *Crab*, and, as of

course, to apportion to it one of the darkest parts of the Zodiac, for *Cancer* is called "the Dark Sign," because, as Proctor remarks, "it shows so few stars." As Jensen (p. 65) observes, some shell-fish appears as a symbol on "the so-called Deeds of sale"; and the zodiacal *Crab* of Aratos was evidently figured in a position similar to that of the Turtle (Fig. VIII) of the Boundary-stones. The Tropic of *Cancer* passed through it,

"From end to end, where a straight line would best  
Divide it with an eye on each side of the zone."<sup>\*</sup>

The Crab also appears as a prominent symbol upon some statues of Artemis Ephesia,† who is the Hittite 'Atar-Ati (Atargatis) of Gargamis (Karchemish); and, considering the close connexion between

\* *Phainomena*, 495-6.

† Vide Montfaucon, *L'Antiquité Expliquée*, Vol. I, Pt. i, Pl. xciv; R. B., Jr., *The Great Dionysiak Myth*, I, 401.



This circumstance shows that the creature had a well-known earlier symbolic history. Thus one Gem\* bears on the obverse a large crab, and on the reverse BAPXA (= Heb. *Barak*, 'Lightning'); whilst another† bears a Thunderbolt and a Bee (= Heb. *Deborah*). This near connexion of Deborah and Barak, who, according to Goldziher, respectively represent the "Rain-cloud" (!) and the 'Lightning' (although he is not willing to admit that Hamilcar Barca = "the Lightning"), is somewhat remarkable.

The Bee was a Babylonian emblem,‡ and appears on the Cylinders.§ Like the Crab it was a symbol upon the lunar and Hittite Artemis Ephesia, whose chief priest was styled Essên ("the King-bee").|| That the Moon herself was mystically called a Bee we learn from Porphyry, and also that just souls were styled 'bees,' "for this insect loves to return to the place from whence it first came, and is eminently just and sober,"¶ a late and unarchaic remark. The Bee and Crab on the Gems referred to seem, however, to be rather connected with storm and tempest,\*\* and they bear a certain resemblance in form to the conventional Thunderbolt. This point receives considerable illustration from the 4th Tablet of the Gilgames Cycle, which corresponds with the 4th Sign, *Cancer*, and describes Khumbaba ("Maker-of-darkness"), the Kumbabos of Lucian, †† who dwelt in a wondrous forest, had a "sharp weapon to make men fear him," and "poured a tempest out of his mouth," but was overcome by Gilgames. ††† The Bee and Crab as lunar and connected with darkness, are thus emblems, nocturnal and mystical, and of high antiquity.

In zodiacal art *Cancer* and *Scorpio* often greatly resemble each other, the one being, in fact, a reduplication, a 'dedoublement' of the other. Thus, Mr. Jas. Fowler quotes from the 'Mensium Notae' in the Cologne edition of Bede:—

\* Montfaucon, Vol. I, Pt. ii, Pl. cliv, Fig. 14.

† *Ibid.* Fig. 11.

‡ Vide Geo. Rawlinson, *Anct. Monarchies*, III, 32.

§ Cullimore, *Oriental Cylinders*, Nos. 117, 129.

| Vide R. B., Jr., *The Great Dionysiak Myth*, I, 402.

• *Peri tou tôn Nymph. Ant.* 8; vide also A. T. Evans, F.S.A., in *Archæologia*, XLVIII, i, 23-5, for some very interesting remarks on Bee-souls.

\*\* Possibly also by play on words, e.g., the Egyptian *ba*, 'soul,' and *ba*, 'ram.'

†† *Peri tês Syriês Theon*, 19.

††† Vide R. B., Jr., *The Zodiacal Crab*. (In *The Academy*, Feb. 21, 1885.)

“Junius. Sign. An eight-legged reptile with narrow body, long tail, and two horns and eyes for *Cancer*.

“October. Sign. Eight-legged reptile something like a lobster, for *Scorpio*.”

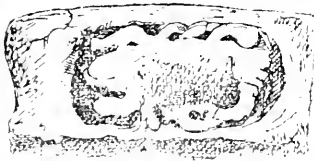


Fig. X.—*Scorpio* and *Cancer*.

From the Porch of St. Margaret's Church, York.

In a MS. of the 12th century in the library of Durham Cathedral, we find:—

*Cancer*. “A beast more like a water-beetle than a crab.”

*Scorpio*. “A queer conventional beast with a long-pointed and twisted tail.”\*

On one “of the three great portals of the cathedral at Amiens (A.D. 122028),” *Scorpio* appears as “a kind of six-legged *tortoise-looking* animal with a fish's tail,”† and thus approaches the Turtle-crab-type.

In Fig. XI. we may observe that the *Scorpion*, as an equivalent of the *Crab*, is placed near *Hydra*.

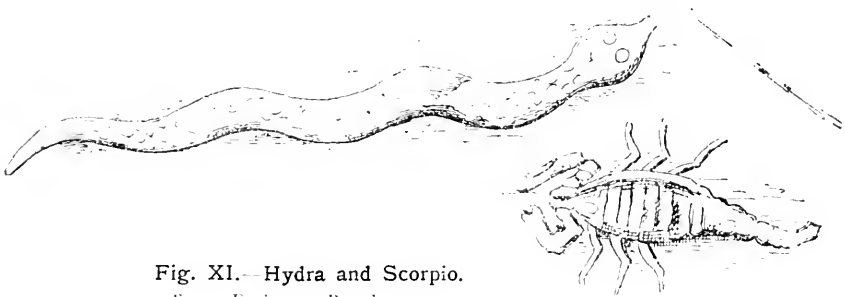


Fig. XI.—*Hydra* and *Scorpio*.

From a Euphratean Boundary-stone.

Apropos of *Cancer* being represented “like a water-beetle,” it is to be remarked that the word *crab* “bears a singular resemblance to Lat. *carabus*, Gk. *κάρυβος*, a prickly kind of crab. In Gk. *κάρυβος* also means a kind of beetle, and is equivalent to Lat. *scarabeus*.”‡ Two

\* Rev. Canon Greenwell to R. B., Jr.

† *Archæologia*, XLIV, i, 160.

‡ Skeat, *Etymol. Dic.*, in voc. *Crab*.

cylinder-representations\* which Lenormant † gives as instances of the zodiacal *Cancer*, appear to me to be scorpions, and are therefore practically equivalent to representations of the zodiacal *Crab*; and the Crab sometimes takes the place of the Scorpion in Mithraic art. ‡

## V.

¶, *A.*—Sign—the *Lion*.

Strassmaier observes that “a = mû (wasser), aplu (sohn) etc. : but Jensen (p. 519) is perhaps correct in the view that “A = arû = Löwe,” *i.e.*, is an abbreviation for *arû*, ‘lion,’ Heb. אַרְיָה. It may, however, be objected to this view that *arû* is a Semitic form, whilst the names of the zodiacal Signs are Sumero-Akkadian, and this objection has very considerable weight. The ordinary Akkadian name for ‘lion’ is *Lik-maχ* (“Big-dog”): but, in all probability, there was another and more direct name, just as in the Semitic we find the forms (As.) *nesu*, (Heb.) *aryaih*, *layish* (the λῖς of Hésychios) etc. That the zodiacal *A* may be an abbreviation of some Turanian lion-name is by no means improbable, especially since we have an instance of such a name, and that, moreover, one widely diffused, *i.e.*, the Magyar *a-rszlân*, Osmanli *a-slan*, Mongol *a-rslan*.

For instances and illustrations of the immense mass of mythological idea which links together the Sun and the Lion, vide my *Great Dionysiak Myth*, ii, 61; *Laws of Kosmic Order*, sec. xiv; and *Eridanus*, Appendix iii; and in *The Unicorn: a Mythological Investigation*, I have endeavoured to trace the remarkable mythic history of the two creatures until they finally appear in connexion with the Royal Arms, these being “supported by a *Lyon* rampand, SOL: and an *Unicorn*, LUNA” § The following is a very interesting instance of the solar Lion:—

“Mr. Ruskin exhibited a handsomely illuminated leaf from the Bible of Charles the Bald, grandson to Charlemagne, which bore in the centre a *yellow* lion . . . The motto on the Bible leaf was ‘This lion rises, and by his rising breaks the gates of hell [Hades]; this lion never sleeps, nor shall sleep for evermore.’” ||

\* Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Pl. LIII. Fig. 3: Pl. LXII, Fig. 4.

† *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, I, 237.

‡ Vide Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Pl. XCIII, Fig. 2.

§ Guillim, *A Display of Heraldry*, edit. 1660, p. 440.

|| *Standard*, Nov. 3, 1884.

On a cylinder\* the solar and zodiacal *Lion* is placed near the head of the solar hero Gilgames, as he overcomes the lunar *Bull*. Macrobius expresses the general voice of antiquity when he says of the lion, "This beast seems to derive his own nature from that luminary [the sun], being in force and heat as superior to all other animals as the sun is to the stars. The lion is always seen with his eyes wide open and full of fire, so does the sun look upon the earth with open and fiery eye."†

## VI.

𒀭, *Ki*.—Sign—the *Virgin*.

Strassmaier observes that *Ki* = *asru* ('place'), *qaqqaru* ('earth'), etc., but this does not assist us in determining its signification in the present connexion. Jensen (pp. 311, 530) thinks that *ki* is an equivalent of *siru*, and may mean "Ear-of-corn," and is thus *Staxys*, *Spica, a Virginis*. *Asru*, as I have shown,‡ is a technical term meaning 'moonstation,' of which *Spica* was the 20th in the Euphratean Cycle,§ but, it is to be observed, the 1st in the Chinese Cycle. In my *Remarks on the Zodiacal Virgo* (*Yorks. Archaeological Journal*, Pt. XXXVI, 1886), I have entered fully into the history of this constellation and connected matters.

## VII.

𒀭, *Bir*.—Sign—the *Altar*.

Strassmaier observes that "*bir* (die alte Form für *ud*) = *nuru* (Licht)." I have elsewhere|| shown very strong, if not absolutely conclusive, reasons for believing that the original Sign for this month was the solar Circle, or a circular *Altar* grasped in the *Claws* of the *Scorpion*, and this is *Bir*, "the Light." The Akkadian name of the month is *Tul-ku* ("The Illustrious-mound"), an allusion to the building of the famous Tower; and on the summit of the Great Tower of Babylon was the shrine of the Sun-god,¶ who is the pre-

\* Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Pl. XXXVIII, Fig. 4.

† *Saturnalia*, I, 21.

‡ *Proceedings*, Feb. 1890, p. 204.

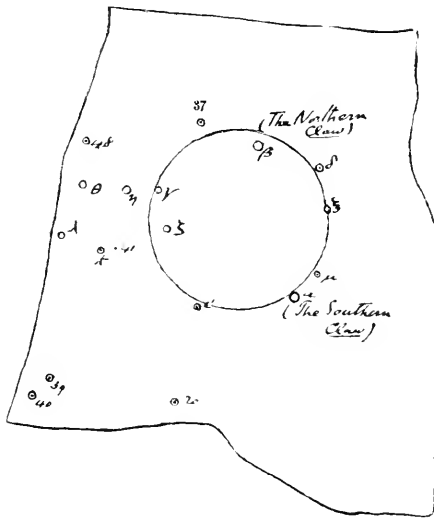
§ *Ibid.* p. 195.

|| Vide *The Law of Kō-mir Order*, secs. xvi. xvii; *The Heavenly Display*, p. 65; *The Zodiacal Virgo*, p. 1; *Proceedings*, Feb. 1889, p. 146; *Ibid.* Jan. 1890, p. 145; Feb. 1890, p. 198.

¶ Cf. Hérodotos, I, 184.

siding divinity of the 7th month, the Assyrian Tasritu. At this season of the year the waning Sun begins to yield under the attacks of the *Scorpion* (Darkness), that grips him more and more ; and I will next illustrate this Sign from the monuments and the stars.

Fig. XII shows the principal stars in the constellation now called



**Fig. XII.—The Solar Circle.**

(Circular Altar) in the Constellation now called Libra.  
(By R. B., Jr.)

*Libra*, and the dim circle of the waning Sun, which was grasped in the huge *Claws* of the *Scorpion*, as shown in Fig. XIII.\* In further illustration of Fig. XII, I append the following list of stars from the Ptolemaic constellation of the *Claws* :—

- a. "The bright-one of those at the end of the southern *Claw*."
- μ. "The one more-northerly than it and dimmer."
- β. "The bright-one of those at the end of the northern *Claw*."
- ζ. "The one in front of it and dim."
- ι. "The one in the middle of the southern *Claw*."
- γ. "The one in the middle of the northern *Claw*." Called *Al Akrab* ("the Scorpion").
- θ. "The one behind it in the same *Claw*."

\* Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Pl. XLV, Fig. 14.



**Fig. XIII.—Scorpio,**  
and the Zodiacal Ara.  
From a Gem.

37. "The foremost of the three more-northerly than the northern *Claws*."

48. "The southern-one of the two hindmost."

λ. "The hindmost of the three between the *Claws*."

41. "The northern of the two remaining and preceding ones."

κ. "The southern-one of them."

The *Circle* or other representation of an *Altar* not unnaturally disappeared as the use of the Sign advanced westward, whether by sea or across Asia Minor or both, and the *Chelai* alone remained when the shores of the Aegean were reached. Now be it particularly observed that Fig. XIII, is "sur un contrat daté du 8 *Tisri* [*i.e.*, of this very 7th month, the month of the *Altar* and *Claws*] de l'année de Bin-takkil-ani, 690 ou 645 avant J.-C.\* The *Altar* of Aratos, be it observed, was circular.†

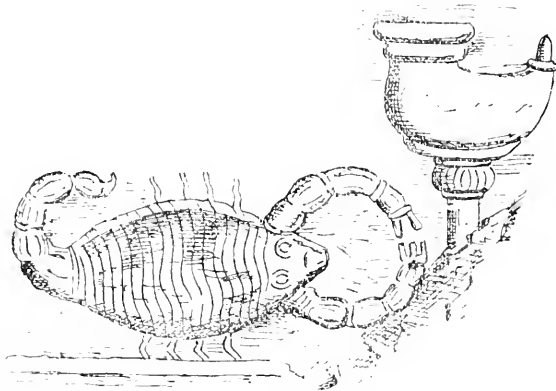


Fig. XIV.—Girtab and Bir.

From a Euphratean Boundary-stone.

Strassmaier has observed (p. 150) that in fitting the Babylonian constellation-figures on the monuments to the Signs of the Zodiac we have "die *Lampe* als *Niru*." The solar *Lampe* = the solar *Circle*, and the *Scorpion* stretches out his *Claws* to grasp it. This combination is repeated in variant representations on the monuments. (Vide Epping-Strassmaier, *Babylonische Thierkreise*, No. II.) We can therefore understand the positive statement of Servius, that the original Chaldean Zodiac consisted of but 11 constellations, the

\* Menant, *Empreintes de Cachets Assyro-Chaldéens*, p. 9.

† *Phainomena*, 440.



*Scorpion* thus occupying two Signs. “The mighty *Claws*” were, as of course, a dark Sign. Aratos styles them “scant of light and nothing fair,”\* and ‘faint.’†

## VIII.

↗↘, *Gir*; ↗↘ ≡, *Gir-tab*.—Sign—the *Scorpion*.

The original *Kakkab-Girtab* (“Star of the Scorpion”) is, as we have seen,‡ the combined stars  $\lambda$  and  $\nu$  *Scorpionis*, *Lesath* (“the Sting”). *Girtab* = “the Seizer-and-stinger,”§ and I have noticed that, as in the case of *Taurus*,|| the stars of the constellation suggest the Sign, or rather, lend themselves readily to it when once the idea of a constellation of the *Scorpion* has entered the mind

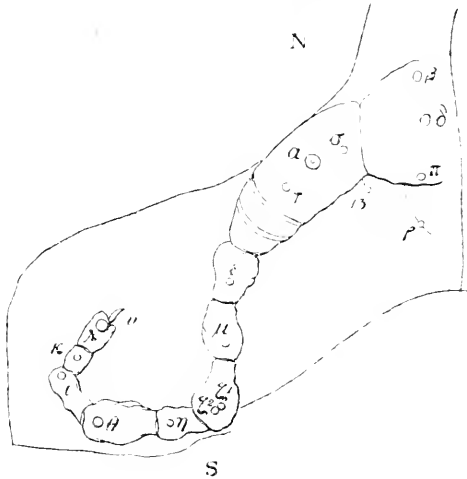


Fig. XV.—The Ptolemaic Scorpio.

(By R. B., Jr.)

This will more readily appear by the annexed figure (Fig. XV) of the Ptolemaic *Scorpio*. The stars shown are thus described in Ptolemy's List:—

- $\beta$ . “The northerly-one of the three bright-ones in the face.”
- $\gamma$ . “The centre-one of them.”
- $\pi$ . “The more-southerly of the three.”
- $\rho$ . “The one still more-southerly than this on one of the feet.”

\* *Phainomena*, 90.

† *Ibid.* 607.

‡ *Proceedings*, Feb. 1890, p. 207.

§ *Ibid.* p. 199.

|| *Ibid.* p. 186.

- σ. "The foremost of the three bright-ones in the body."  
 α. *Antarês* (vide *Proceedings*, Feb., 1890, p. 198).  
 τ. "The hindmost of the three."  
 ιβ. "The foremost of the two below them, as if over the hindfoot."  
 ε. "The one in the first joint from the body."  
 η. "The one after this, in the second joint."  
 ζ<sup>1</sup>. "The northern-one of the double-star in the third joint."  
 ζ<sup>2</sup>. "The more-southerly-one of the double-star."  
 ς. "The one after this in the fourth joint."  
 ϑ. "The one after this in the fifth joint."  
 ι. "The one yet after this in the sixth joint."  
 κ. "The one in the seventh joint, the one next the sting."  
 λ. "The hindmost of the two in the sting."  
 ο. "The foremost of them."

The star-list of Ptolemy being almost to all intents and purposes that of Hipparchos, the critic of Eudoxos and Aratos, we can see, to a very considerable extent, from a reconstruction of any Ptolemaic constellation-figure what was the outline of the Aratean Sign, which had itself descended to his day probably but very little changed in the course of many centuries.

But the sun-slaying Scorpion is equally, especially when cosmic harmony has been fully recognized, the sun-guarding Scorpion; and so the wandering hero Gilgames meets with gigantic solar guardians of this type,

"Who all day long guard the rising (sun).  
 Their crown was at the lattice of heaven,  
 Below Hades was their footing.  
 Scorpion-men guard its gate,  
 Burning with terribleness, and their appearance was death,  
 The greatness of their bulk overthrows the forests.  
 At the rising of the sun and the setting of the sun, they guard the sun."\*

The gigantic size of the Scorpions, *i.e.*, of Darkness, eastern and western, as opposed to the Sun, is strongly insisted on, and reproduced in the *Zodiac*. Similarly, the gigantic size of Oriôn, *i.e.*, of the Sun as opposed to the Stars, is equally insisted on, and, as far as possible, reproduced by the reduplication of the solar Oriôn in

\* *Gilgames Cycle*, Tablet IX, ii, 3-9, ap. Sayce.

the brightest of constellations, called in the Euphrates Valley Tammuz,\* a familiar appellation of the Sun-god.

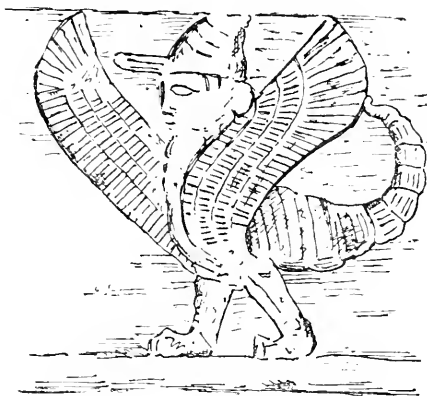


Fig. XVI.—Scorpion man.

From a Euphratean Boundary-stone.

A Cylinder † shows the *Thuribulum* (the *Altar-censer* ‡) guarded by a Scorpion-man on either side; and another engraved stone § shows the solar *Lion* with a *Scorpion* above and below him, their respective heads touching his back and belly, an interesting variant of the same idea. On the Stone of Nebuchadnezzar I. is shown the *Scorpion-Sagittary*, the earliest example known to me of the union of two zodiacal Signs in one figure, which thus, in idea, combines their potency and protective powers. Thus, we find a *Scorpion-Capricorn*,|| and other zodiacal combinations.

## IX.

✚, *Pa* or *χut*.—Sign—the *Archer*.

Strassmaier renders ✚ by *pa*, which is certainly the most usual phonetic value of the form; and Jensen (p. 497) suggests that *Pa* is an abbreviation for 'Pa-bil-sag.' The Star ✚ ☉ ☽ ☿ ☿ ✚, *Papilsak*, was one of the 7 ☿ ☽ ☿ ☿ ☿ ☿, *Lumasi*, or "Sheep-of-the-hero" (*W.A.I.* III, 57, No. 6. l. 56), the hero in question being

\* Vide Sayce, *Hérodotos*, 403.



† Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Pl. XLIX, Fig. 2.


Vide R. B., Jr., *The Heavenly Display*, p. 65, note 1.

§ Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Pl. LIV, C. Fig. 13.

|| King, *The Gnostics and their Remains*, edit. 1887, Pl. M, Fig. 1.

Dumuzi (=Tammuz--'A<sup>0</sup>uuu<sup>s</sup>): and it was also a star in the ecliptic, for *Jupiter* is described as being fixed in its place (*H.A.I.* III, 53, No. 1, l. 14). But it does not seem to have been in or near *Sagittarius*, for it is connected with the goddess Bahu,\* and so with a different part of the heavens.† The name *Pa-pil-sak* appears to mean "Wing + burn + before," and "the Star of the goddess Bahu" is styled "the Colossus (Lamas), the burning-of-fire," the *Lamas* being the Winged-bull placed as a guardian at the entrance of temples.

But  has also the values *χut* and *kun*, the meanings of which we can easily determine by the aid of comparative philology. In the Turko-Tataric group of dialects there are two distinct roots OT, UVT ('fire,' "to burn") and KÜJ, KOV ("to burn," etc.). From the first of these we have the Tchagatai and Koibal-Karagass *ot*, the Yakute *uot*, the Tshuwash *tot*, 'fire'; and from the second, the Tchagatai *kün*, Osmanli *gün*, 'sun,' 'day,' and Tshuwash *kon*, 'day.'‡ Now the Ak. *χut*, *kun* = the As. *nahru-sa-yumi*, 'day-spring' (vide Sayce, *Syl.* No. 222). Hence, we see that the existing form *ot-uot-tot* = the archaic Ak. *χ-ut*; whilst the Ak. *kun* has remained almost unchanged. We next perceive how and why it is that the same form () has the two variant values *χut* and *kun*, and our belief in the correctness of cuneiform transliteration is thereby confirmed, the matter being made absolutely certain by the Assyrian equivalent. *χut*, therefore, = 'dayspring' and *kun*, "the sun," the *Archer* with his *Bow* and *Arrow* being an original type of the Rising-sun. The simile by which the sun's rays are compared to arrows is almost too universal to require illustration;§ but a striking instance occurs in the *Rig-Veda*, I. lxxi. 5, where Agni = Ignis), "the Archer," as the eastern dawn-fire, "shot the arrow with keenness" "when the god laid the gleam in his own daughter," i.e., the Dawn. Upon two of the Boundary-stones of Sippara (Sepharvaim), a solar city, *Sagittarius* "appears sculptured in full glory."

In *H.A.I.* IV, 58-9, Col. iv, l. 9. the Star , *Bam* or *Bar*,

Vide *Transaction.*, III, 173.

† Vide *Proceedings*, Feb. 1889, p. 149; *Ibid.* Feb. 1890, p. 192 3.

‡ Vide Vámböry, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Turko-Tatarischen Sprachen*, pp. 50, 106.

§ Vide *Proceedings*, Feb. 1890, p. 184, note 3.

“the Star of the Bow,”\* is invoked to deliver; and, similarly, the constellation is at times called by Aratos “the *Bow*.”† Amongst other composite creatures of which, according to Bêrôsos, “were preserved delineations in the temple of Bêlos,” were some which “united the hind quarters of a horse with the body of a man.”‡

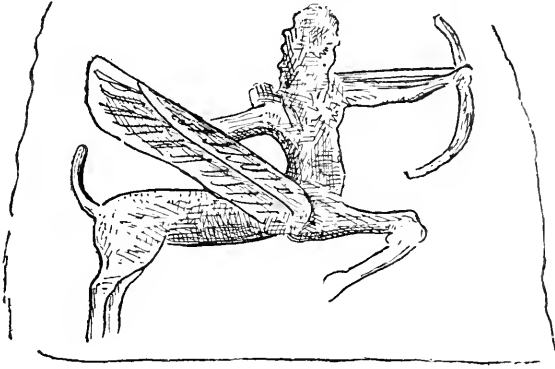


Fig. XVII.—Sagittarius.

From a Euphratean Boundary-stone.

As the zodiacal *Altar* is reduplicated in the Southern *Altar*, placed below the *Scorpion*, so the zodiacal *Sagittarius*, himself a reduplication of the Archer-sun, is reduplicated in *Centaurus*, the two being actually identified by some writers.§ *Sagittarius* is figured at times on the *Cylinders*,|| and the *Arrow* appears prominently on a Babylonian Uranographic Stone.¶ An engraved Stone figured by Lajard,\*\* shows a human figure with a bow and arrow surrounded by stars, in a manner which recalls the *Bow*-stars of *Sagittarius*.

## X.

𐎧𐎠𐎶, *Sah*.—Sign—the *Goat-fish*.

According to Strassmaier this word = the *As. sahu* ('ibex'), and the latter form appears in the Heb. שָׂעִיר, a “rough-goat.” The *Goat-fish* often appears on the monuments. Thus we find (1) A fish-tailed Goat, near which a Unicorn, etc. (Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*,

\* Vide *Proceedings*, Feb. 1890, p. 203.

† *Phainomena*, 623, 664-5.

‡ *Chaldaïka*, i, 4.

§ Vide R. B., Jr., *Eridanus*, sec. ix.

|| Vide Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Pl. XIII, Fig. 8; Pl. LIV, A, Fig. 12.

¶ Vide R. B., Jr., *Eridanus*, Fig. 4, p. 77.

\*\* *Culte de Mithra*, Pl. XLVI, Fig. 25.

Pl. XVI, Fig. 3). “Très-fréquentment,” observes Lenormant, “la partie postérieure du corps de la chèvre se termine en queue de poisson.” (2) A fish-tailed creature, probably the *Goat-fish* (*Ibid.* Pl. LIV, A, Fig. 1). (3) A fish-tailed *Goat*, below which the *Urn* of *Aquarius* (*Ibid.* Pl. LIV, B, Fig. 7). (4) A fish-tailed creature, probably the *Goat-fish* (*Stone of Merôdaχ Baladan*). I have referred to this Sign in a former article.\*

## XI.

### ♁, *Gu*.—Sign—the *Water-pourer*.

Strassmaier observes, “*gu* is almost exclusively known as a syllable sign” (p. 171). Jensen (p. 498) writes, “GU=?” The Ak. *gu*=As. *ká*, the meaning of which is unknown (vide Sayce, *Syl.* No. 500), but which I would compare with the Heb. *ka-d*, a ‘pitcher,’ ‘jar,’ the reference being, I presume, to the *Urn* of *Aquarius*, which, as Lenormant has noticed, is sometimes represented alone on the monuments (vide *sup.*), a part for the whole, in accordance with a familiar principle in symbolism. The divinity of the month is Ramânu, “the god of winds and cloud, of thunder and lightning, of storm and rain . . . the inundator,”† a divinity connected with the story of the Flood, which is recounted in the XIth Tablet of the Gilgames Zodiacal Cycle of legends:—

“Ramânu‡ in the midst of it thundered ;  
Of Ramânu (= *Aquarius*) his flood reached to heaven.”§

On a Babylonian Uranographic Stone|| the *Urn*, depicted as a kind of *rhyton*, appears amongst other constellation-figures.¶

Since writing the above I observe that Prof. Lacouperie, in a comparison between these Sumero-Akkadian zodiacal names and the Ancient Chinese duodenary cycle, writes:—“Sumerian. A dripping vase=GU. Ancient Chinese, YU, a vase full.”\*\* This confirms the view above expressed.

\* Vide *Proceedings*, Jan. 1890, pps. 148-51.

† Sayce, *Rel. Anct. Babylonians*, 209.

‡ The name of the Akkadian god Meri (“the Exalted”), called also Mermer (“the Most high”), appears in Assyrian as Ramânu (“the Exalted”), the Syrian Raman (2 Kings, v. 18; cf. Zech. xii, 11), the Ῥεμμάν of the LXX, and the Ῥαμάς ὁ ῥέψιστος Οὐέος of Hézychios.


§ Col. ii, 42, 49, ap. Sayce.


















|| Vide R. B., Jr., *Eridanus*, Fig. 4, p. 77.

¶ For other instances, vide R. B., Jr., *The Law of Cosmic Order*, p. 84.

\* *The Academy*, Oct. 11, 1890, p. 322.

## XII.

, *Zib*.—Sign—the *Fishes*.

Jensen (p. 314) appears to consider the form  as a variant of, or a ligature connected with , As. *nû-nu*, 'fish' and reads it *nunu* accordingly; but to this I am unable to agree for (1) the forms  and  appear to me to be wholly unconnected; and (2) the names of the Signs are Akkadian, not Assyrian. Strassmaier renders , *zib*, and Prof. Sayce, *Syl.* No. 413, reads, " *zib* (*sib*, *tsib*), As. *zibbu*,?" Lenormant, *Syl.* No. 436, gives ", *zib*—ordre, jalon." We find that an Akkadian name for *Saturn* was *Zibanna*\* which would mean "Boundary (Landmark) of heaven," perhaps in allusion to *Saturn* as         , *Sakus-Utu* ("the-Eldest-born-of-the-Sun-god"), as having been sent out the farthest into the heavenly deep (vide *sup.* p. 248). The meaning 'order,' 'row,' hence 'mark,' 'landmark,' seems much in harmony with the cuneiform ; and, as applied to the Sign *Pisces*, *zib* would thus mean the 'boundary' (= end) of the zodiacal Signs. I do not, however, venture to connect the Ak. *zi-b* with that large class of Turanian words meaning 'row,' 'series,' &c., of which the Magyar *sz-e-r* is an instance, because I am not aware of a satisfactory instance of a *b-r* change.

But if there is no sufficient authority for rendering *zib*, 'ordre,' etc., it is to be observed that when we turn to a closely-allied group of Turanian languages, we find at once the form in the Uigur *sub*, the Tchagatai *su*, *su**j*, the Koibal-Karagass *sug*, *su*, and the Tshuwash *su*, *si**va*, *si**v*, 'water'; the same word in a more abraded form appears in the Yakute *u*. If *zib* (= *si**v*) should mean "the Water," the reference will be to the  $\Upsilon\hat{\epsilon}\omega\rho$  of Aratos in which the zodiacal *Fishes* and various other Signs swim.† An interesting illustration of the close connexion which must have existed between the Euphratean zodiacal Signs and the Signs as we find them in Aratos, is supplied by the expression *Dur-Nunu*. As Jensen notes, from Dr. Bezold, the Ak. *dur*=As. *riksu*, 'cord,' 'fetter'; and the *Dur-Nuni* or "Cord-of-the-Fishes" is "the tail-connecting link" of Aratos,‡ a *Piscium*, the name of which appears in a corrupted

\* Vide Sayce, in *Transactions*, III, 169.† Vide *Proceedings*, Jan. 1890, pp. 143, 149.‡ Vide *Ibid.* Feb. 1890, p. 181.

Arabic form as *Rischa* (=As. *riksu*). In this dark and nocturnal Sign \* we see the Fish-sun, Merôdaχ, who in this month was called "the Fish of Ea," concealed in the waters, like the Vedic Surya who was "drawn by the gods from the ocean where he was hidden,"† and then brought forth again to restore the face of the earth; for the archaic myth or legend attached to the month is the Resumption of the Cultivation of the Earth after the previous catastrophe of the Flood. The Akkadian name of the month is *Se kisil* ("The-Sowing-of-seed"), and the connexion of the Sign with this sowing finds a last echo in the statement of the modern astrologer that it is "exceedingly fruitful and luxuriantly productive." Hyginus connects the Sign with the Euphrates, giving a legend that Venus (*i.e.*, Derketô-A-targatis) and Cupid took the form of fishes in that river. So Manilius:—

"Scilicet in piscim sese Cytherea novavit,  
Cum Babylonicas submersa profugit in undas."‡

Mr. Sayce has cleverly accounted for the reduplication of the original *Piscis*,§ and both *Piscis* and *Pisces* frequently appear upon the monuments.||

### XIII.

As "the Star of the Dog" has been referred to (*sup.* p. 246), I may add that a remarkable difference of opinion prevails amongst Assyriologists respecting the Euphratean name of the brightest of the fixed stars, *Sirius*. The passage *W.A.I.* IV, Pl. I, Col. iv, l. 19, is translated by Mr. Boscawen (*Transactions*, VI, 540):—

"The Star of the Bow, the Star of Stars, the propitious star of heaven may it pardon."

And by Mr. Sayce:—

"May *Sagittarius*, and the star of stars (Iku), and Sirius, and the god, etc."

According to Mr. Sayce, the *Mul* (𐎢𐎣), *ban*, "the Star of the Bow" = *Sagittarius*, or, perhaps, rather the *Bow*-stars of *Sagittarius*;¶ and three stars, not one only, are referred to in the passage, the 2nd

\* Vide *Proceedings*, Jan. 1890, p. 145; Feb. 1890, p. 180.

† *Rig-Veda*, X, lxii, 7.

‡ *Astronomicum*, IV 580-1.

§ Vide *Proceedings*, Jan. 1890, p. 145.

|| Vide R. B., Jr., *The Law of Kosmic Order*, pp. 84-85.

¶ Vide *Proceedings*, Feb. 1890, p. 203.



“the Star of Stars,” being *Dilgan-Iku* (= *Capella*), and the 3rd, *Kaksidi* (“the-Creator-of-prosperity”) being *Sirius*. I was inclined\* to identify *Kaksidi* with *Spica*, whilst Jensen considers it to be *Antares*. Jensen, again, calls *Sirius* *Kakkab Kastî*, the ‘Bogenstern,’ and Epping and Strassmaier, by virtue of astronomical calculations, identify *Sirius* with the Star  $\overline{\text{𐎶}}$   $\langle \overline{\text{𐎶}} \rangle$ , which they render *Kak-ban*.



Fig. XVIII.—*Canis Major*.

From a Euphratean Boundary-stone.


That *Sirius* was called “the *Bow*-star” in the Euphrates Valley I can hardly believe; but at the same time, there is much force in the considerations advanced by Epping and Strassmaier for identifying the Star  $\overline{\text{𐎶}}$   $\langle \overline{\text{𐎶}} \rangle$  with *Sirius*. It must always be remembered that Epping and Strassmaier treat of a very late period, and that many star-names must probably have undergone various alterations in the course of ages. But, although  $\langle \overline{\text{𐎶}} \rangle$  undoubtedly means ‘bow,’ yet, I think, another reading of  $\overline{\text{𐎶}}$   $\langle \overline{\text{𐎶}} \rangle$ , especially when occurring in a very late document, is possible.  $\overline{\text{𐎶}}$  sometimes in As. = *kal*. (Sayce, *Syl.* No. 138), and  $\langle \overline{\text{𐎶}} \rangle$  = *bav*, or *bau* (*bu*), as *u* and *v* are often interchangeable. We thus obtain the reading *Kal-bu*, ‘dog,’ in ordinary As.  $\overline{\text{𐎶}}$   $\overline{\text{𐎶}}$   $\overline{\text{𐎶}}$ , which is exactly the name for *Sirius* we should expect to find. The *Kakkab*  $\overline{\text{𐎶}}$   $\overline{\text{𐎶}}$ , *Lik-ku* (= As. *Kalbu*) or “Star-of-the-Dog” is mentioned in *W.A.I.* II, 49, No. iv, l. 43, and a Dog is generally portrayed upon the Euphratean Uranographic Stones.


\* Vide *Proceedings*, Feb., 1889, p. 150.





## MISCELLANEA.

BY DR. A. WIEDEMANN.

1. In the interesting pantheistic hymn of the 20th dynasty, given by the Theban Papyrus No. VII at Berlin (Leps., *Denkmäler*, VI, 118-21, Pierret, "Et. égypt.," p. 1-19), is found on p. 4, l. 4, a passage deserving special consideration. The text runs there: "It is coming breath [out of] thy (the god's) nose, inundation-water out of thy mouth, the fruit-tree grows behind thee (if thou hast past); thou makest the land flourish, superfluity for gods and men. . If thou

reposest, darkness comes, the splendour of thy eyes makes enlightening." In the passage given above in hieroglyphs without translation the first signs are evidently wrongly written for .

, the papyrus showing also in other places similar mistakes. This word cannot be taken for a plural-form of Meḥ-ur-t, known as the name of an often-quoted cow, which was considered as mother of Rā, etc., the mythological meaning of this cow excluding a plurality. Its sense has to be derived from the literal signification of the word *meḥ*, which means "to be full," and with the determinative , specially expressing "to be filled with water, to be inundated;" *urī* gives to the idea a superlative cast, so that the general idea, also required by the context of the period, is evidently that the fields are well irrigated and in consequence fertile. This is expressed by the sentence, "the Meḥ-uri are seeing (or perhaps, are seen) in the fields." These Meḥ-uri, the personifications of the large inundation, were, as the determinative shows, represented in the form of cows: the appearance of these cows denoted good inundation and fertility. This brings to mind at once Gen. xli, 26 sqq., where the fat cows indicate rich and fruitful years for Egypt. The meaning fatness could even be found in the Egyptian *meḥ ur*, if *meḥ* was taken as "full" in general, without regard to the determinative of the water-lines. The leading idea of the first dream of Pharaoh was, therefore, as this papyrus proves, quite Egyptian.














numbers regularly by the prefixed *meḥ* (cf. Brugsch, "Gr. Dém.," p. 64), as well as the Coptic knows only a formation by prefixing S.,  $\text{ⲚⲚⲚ}$ , M.,  $\text{ⲘⲘⲘ}$ . The Egyptian equivalent of this formation-element  $\text{Ⲙ}$  signified originally "making full;" the third is the person making full the number three of the persons. The ordinal numbers formed by it are found at a very early time side by side with those in  $\text{Ⲑ}$ , and appear already in old religious texts. In general no difference is made by the inscriptions and papyri between the two forms, but there exist some texts using the two, but not indifferently. The most important of these is the very carefully-written Theban *Todtenbuch*, III, 1, in the Louvre. There (cf. Naville, *Todtenbuch*, I, pl. 160-4) the feminine form for the first sounds  $\text{ⲘⲐ}$ , for the second up to the ninth  $\text{ⲘⲐ}$ ,  $\text{ⲘⲐ}$ , etc., for the tenth up to the twenty-seventh  $\text{ⲘⲐ}$ ,  $\text{ⲘⲐ}$ , etc. As these designations occur twice in this text, there was certainly a motive for the change in the formation of the *ordinalia* below and above the tenth. This is proved particularly by an error in copying. The scribe has written by inadvertence instead of the fifteenth in his list (pl. 164) the fifth, and forms it, although in the midst of all the forms with  $\text{Ⲙ}$ , by  $\text{Ⲑ}$  as  $\text{ⲘⲐ}$ . In a similar manner the ritual Brocklehurst forms the second up to the seventh with  $\text{Ⲑ}$  (*l.c.*, pl. 154), that of Nebsemi the second to the eighth with  $\text{Ⲑ}$  (*l.c.*, pl. 155), that of King Sa-Ptah the seventh and ninth by  $\text{Ⲑ}$ , the twelfth to the thirteenth by  $\text{Ⲙ}$ , the fourteenth to the eighteenth by  $\text{Ⲙ}$  (*l.c.*, pl. 156-8). These examples show that the scribes of these texts regarded it as their rule to use for the first the word  $\text{ⲘⲐ}$ , for the higher *ordinalia* up to the ninth the *cardinalia* with the ending  $\text{Ⲑ}$ , fem.  $\text{Ⲑ}$ ; and for the higher *ordinalia* the *cardinalia* with the prefix  $\text{Ⲙ}$ . In the later religious texts this distinction is given up; the Turin text, for example, offers in chaps. 144-7 only the formations with  $\text{Ⲑ}$  and  $\text{Ⲑ}$ .

7. The interpreters of Aeschylus' Hiketides have been very much puzzled by the verse 914, "κάρβανος ὦν ὁ Ἕλλησιν ἐγγυλίετς ἄγαν," the word *κάρβανος* being known otherwise only by a passage of Lycophron, and offering no possible Greek etymology. The ordinary explanation, that it was identical with *βάρβαρος*, and signified, "of a strange people," was only a guess, and could not be proved. With help of the Egyptian texts I believe it possible to obtain another,

quite evident translation. The general context of verse 914 shows that Aeschylus intends to develop here an antithesis between the Egyptians and the Greeks, like verse 761, "βύβλου ἔλ' καρπὸς οὐ κρατεῖ σάχον," where he compares the papyrus eaten by the Egyptians with the corn eaten in Greece, or verse 953, "εὐρήσει' οὐ πίνοντας ἐκ κριθῶν αἴθου," where he alludes to the wine consumed in Hellas, and to the beer taken by the Egyptian people. Consequently, *κάρβανος* must be an equivalent for Egyptian, or rather for the sons of Aegyptos. The region from which these came was about Memphis and Kanobos (*cf. v. 311*); and the mouth of the Nile out of which they sailed, pursuing their cousins, was therefore the Kanobic, this being at the time of Aeschylus the only mouth available for mediating intercourse between Greece and Egypt (*cf. Her., II, 179*).

Strabo, 17, 801, proves that Kanobos itself was not situated on the shore of the sea, but that the traveller sailing from Alexandria to the east, saw first Kanobos, then Herakleion, and then the Kanobic mouth; hence Herakleion was the last place in Egypt passed by the ships going from Kanobos to the Mediterranean. The distance between this and the town was but short. Aeschylus, who knew the Delta well, it having during the first part of the 5th century a large interest for the Greeks, as forming the centre of a strongly maintained opposition against the Persian Empire, says ("Prom.," 845, *sq.*), "ἔστιν πόλις Κάνωβος ἐσχάτη χθονὸς, Νείλου πρὸς αὐτῇ στόματι καὶ πρυσχάματι." Herakleion and Kanobos could, therefore, in speaking of anyone coming from the Delta, be used almost as synonymous.

The Egyptian name of Herakleion is given by the decree of Kanopus as  Kerb (*cf. Aeg. Zeitschr., 1887, p. 98 sqq.*), and the same name appears in older texts as    Karbu-t and      Karbana-t. After these texts Karbana was situated quite in the north-west of the Delta, at the mouth of a canal, and adored as a principal divinity Amon, identified probably in his local form by the Greeks with Herakles, whose temple at Herakleion is often quoted by their authors (*cf. my "Herodots Zweites Buch," p. 436*). Karbana appears further in Assurbanipal's annals as Kar-ba-ni-ti (Maspero, "Mél. d'arch. ég.," I, p. 110) or Kar-(îlu)-Bâni-ti, as the place from which the Assyrians, joined with the forces and ships of the twenty-two kings at and in the Mediterranean sea, advanced against the Egyptian troops coming down from Memphis.

The formation of the name of the town is not of an Egyptian type, and points rather to a Libyan origin; its ending and spelling bring to mind the ethnographical name Schardana.


The Greeks must have called an inhabitant of Karbana *Κάρβατος*, and I think it evident that the passage of Aeschylus must be translated, "you, a man of Karbana in Egypt, will be insolent against Greeks." If the name of Karbana does not appear in the later Greek literature, this is not strange, for it was substituted by the name of a neighbouring temple, which had the advantage of being in itself intelligible to the Greeks, and offered no barbarous form like Karbana.

8. In his publication of the fragments of a Coptic alchemical text, in *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, 1885, p. 102 *sqq.*, Dr. Stern points to the fact, that the manuscript is a palimpsest, in which the older text is, as he remarks, still legible. He mentions from it the words **ⲧⲱⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲗⲗⲓⲛⲁⲃⲁⲃⲛ ⲛⲢⲞⲛ ⲛⲧⲉϥ**...., which he thinks are not of a biblical origin. But we find the name Aminadab in Exodus vi, 23, in a passage (the parallel words of the Memphitic text are **ⲧⲱⲉⲣⲓ ⲛⲁⲗⲗⲓⲛⲁⲃⲁⲃⲛ ⲧⲢⲠⲛⲓ ⲛⲁⲤⲢⲠⲛ ⲉⲧⲥⲗⲓⲗⲓ ⲛⲁϥ**, etc.), of which the words quoted might very well offer the Sahidic version. Under this circumstance a careful examination of the primary text of this palimpsest would be very desirable, the more so as a Sahidic version of the first eleven chapters of Exodus has not yet been discovered.

9. The collection of Dr. Grant at Kairo contains the first half of an architrave of stone, in the middle of which the ordinary Coptic cross was engraved in the centre of a circle. The remaining part offers in beautiful and clear characters the beginning of four lines :  
**ⲫ ⲛⲓⲱⲧⲛⲱⲛⲣⲉⲡⲉ** . . . . . (2) **ⲀⲠⲀⲒⲈⲚⲘⲒⲀⲤⲀⲠ** . . . . .  
 (3) **ⲢⲟⲒⲤⲉⲡⲎⲤⲟⲛⲘⲀ**, . . . (4) **ⲧⲘⲤⲘⲎⲒⲈⲚⲘⲒⲀⲤ** . . .

10. In the Vatican a Coptic stela shows the same type as the monuments published by Gayet, "Les monuments Coptes du Musée de Boulaq." At the top a stylised flower, as in Gayet pl. 24 (*cf.* pl. 17), above the adoring man, and underneath some ornaments are figured. Then follows in the centre a standing bird very similar to that in Gayet, pl. 16, 57-61, 73, only the wings are down, and the upper head is higher. At the right and left of the bird stand pillars similar to

that in Gayet, pl. 22. Underneath are the remains of two lines of inscription : **ΕΙΘΘΕΟCΟΒΟΗΘ** [then first stroke of **Ω**]. . . . .  
 (2) . . . . **ΙΡΕΒΕΚΛ** . . . . .

This book I have quoted by Gayet is one of the most interesting publications of recent times, being the first which enables us to study Coptic art. It is particularly curious as showing a nearly absolute want of Egyptian motives. Among the ornaments, only the palm-leaf (pl. 17, 20, etc.) is taken from Egyptian ideas, all the others point rather to a Byzantine origin ; even the Coptic cross, with the handle at the top, is different in its form from the Egyptian symbol , the handle being always not fixed to the cross-beam, but placed somewhat higher (*cf.* pl. 31-3, 70, 71). The position of the adoring figures, the selected animals, fish, hare, peacock, cock, eagle (?), are the ordinary Christian ones, and show no Egyptian heathen forms;\* even the picture of St. George on horseback killing the dragon (pl. 86), for which the representations of Horus would have given a good type, is quite different from the latter. The only exception to this rule would be offered by pl. 90, but here we have before us not, as the author proposes (p. 24), a representation of the Madonna with the Child, but a stela in the Meroitic style, showing at the top the remains of the winged disk with the uræus, below the hieroglyph of the sky, then Isis with Horus, before whom a worshipper stands. The lines for the inscriptions are drawn, but were not filled with signs, as is often the case in the late Egyptian monuments. The very striking leaf with a long stalk in the hand of the worshipper is found in a large series of Ethiopic reliefs (*p. ex.*, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, V, 20, 21, 26, 31, 64), where also the seat of the god is drawn in the manner as on this stela (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, VI, 10 nr. 45). The heathen origin of the relief explains also the fact that there is no cross upon it, which would not have been forgotten over a representation of the Virgin.

Another remark to be made about these monuments is, that all their ornaments are in imitation of wood carving, notwithstanding their being carved in stone ; a fact giving again a hint of the non-Egyptian, but Byzantine origin of the art. It would be very interesting to know how far this avoidance of the old native forms is conveyed through the other Coptic productions, such as statuettes, amulets, etc., and it would be very meritorious if Mr. Gayet was

\* The camel figured on pl. 54 is rarely represented on Egyptian monuments.



able to complete his publication by another volume, giving a selection of these small monuments, very rare in European collections, but of which a large quantity exist in the Museum of Kairo. Only for one branch of Coptic industry, for the textile fabrics, already several small essays and one lately published larger work (Gerspach, "Les tapisseries Coptes," Paris, 1890, with 153 plates) exist. Many of the productions of this art show as well as the Byzantine mummies in the work of Gayet, pl. A and B, in opposition to the stelas, old Egyptian figures used as ornaments side by side with Greek motives.

11. The last part of the "Mittheilungen aus der Samml. der Pap. Erzherzog Rainer" (Vol. V, p. 63 *sq.*) ends with an interesting notice, in which Mr. Karabacek has collected a series of Arabic passages mentioning the use of potsherds as a writing material by the Arabs, adding that examples of such ostraka are not known in collections. Nevertheless they existed; in 1881 I picked up an undoubtedly antique ostrakon at Der el Medinet, bearing in old Arabic letters the beginning of the introductory formula, "in the name of God, etc." Only the word **بِسْمِ** and the first signs of **اللَّهُ** remain, but even in this fragmentary form the piece sufficiently proves the correctness of the assertions quoted from the Arabic authors. At the end of his article Mr. Karabacek expresses his opinion that the forgers of ostraka will produce very soon Arabic pieces. This is already the case; in the year mentioned above I saw at Karnak a fragment of ancient pottery, on which an Arab had just written some Arabic words. I do not remember exactly what they were, but it was something like "damned Christian."














LEIDE, 17 Janvier, 1891.

CHER MR. RENOUF,

La lecture de l'article de Mr. Piehl (*Proceedings*, 1890, p. 106, etc.) m'a suggéré une idée, de mémorer encore une fois ce que j'ai dit à plusieurs reprises dans mes études égyptologiques, et que je veux répéter, parceque les scribes antiques, aussi bien que les scribes de nos jours, sont le souffre-douleur n'observant pas assez cette axiome. Feu de Rougé a fait l'observation, et j'ai une quantité de preuves directes de la justesse de ce qu'il a avancé, que les textes hiéroglyphiques sont des transcriptions des textes hiératiques soit en écriture soit monumentales, et que les fausses variantes ne sont que des fautes de transcription.



Ainsi pour faire la recherche sur un signe inexplicable, on trouvera l'explication, en le transcrivant en hiératique.

Ainsi  pour quarante est dérivé de ,  pour *χnum* dérive de , signe hiératique de .  donnant , . Le dernier mal expliqué peut produire le héron , et est presque identique au signe du veau sautant .



Donc le  au lieu du veau sautant est une faute du scribe aussi bien que le héron, et je crois qu'on ferait mal, si on donnait pour cela la valeur d'*âb* à ces deux signes.

Ce qui est encore plus curieux c'est que à cause de cela, on prend l'ibis *texu* en parallélisme avec le pot du cœur, lu aussi *texu*, dans certains cas, pour équivalents d'*âb*.

Nous savons que le nom du numéro sept est dans toutes les périodes *sefeχ*, en Copt *ⲥⲁⲩⲉⲩⲉ*. Or c'est bien instructif comment ce même numéro a reçu la valeur de *tep*, signifiant la tête. Voici la route des idées : l'hiératique *sept* mal transcrit, a été pris pour la tête, et après qu'il était introduit pour équivalent du numéro 7, le scribe inscient du système hiéroglyphique prenait à tour de rôle le numéro *sept* pour indiquer la tête. Le seul moyen qui nous peut tirer de ce dédale, c'est de transcrire en hiératique les lectures incertaines des hiéroglyphes.

Si l'on regarde les variantes de *sept*, les signes  et , lus *htp*, ou *hpt*, on doit penser à d'autres mots que *tep*. Ces signes se

trouvent dans un temps de bas époque, où l'on connaissait déjà une quantité de mots grecs, et on regarde ces mots pour la traduction Grecque de *sept*, *ἑπτα*.

Si l'on pourrait s'en douter que la tête soit dérivée de l'hieratique *sept*, je veux rappeler la faucille pour neuf , le  $\square = 60$ , le  = 80, ou peut on expliquer ces variantes autrement que par des fautes de scribe, qui ne savait pas lire l'hieratique.

Recevez, mon cher Mr. Renouf, cette note avec mes meilleurs vœux pour votre salut en l'année qui vient de paraître.




Votre tout dévoué,




W. PLEYTE.



### REMARKS.

By. P. LE PAGE RENOUF.






The general truth of Dr. Pleyte's remarks is incontrovertible. Every one who has given much attention to hieratic texts will probably be able to add a large number of instances to those he has cited.

I am not so certain about the case of , though it is of course quite possible to confound badly written hieratic forms of  and of . But the hieratic form of the latter very much more resembles that of  $\square\square$ , yet does not appear ever to have been confounded with it.

That  stood for 7 long before the Egyptians had heard of the Greek *ἑπτα* is manifest from the inscription of Rameses III at Medinet Habu (Duemichen, *Hist. In.*, I, 9, 18), wherein 14, or  $2 \times 7$ , is written , where the corresponding passage in the great tablet of Ipsambul has .

I have received a letter from our admirable colleague Professor Piehl, in reply to my note in the December *Proceedings*. He still clings to the notion that  is a single group, and in the second part of the letter he furnishes a list of instances of the formative .

I cannot agree with him on the latter subject, but it is right that he should be heard, and this portion of his letter will appear in our next number.

The first part of Professor Piehl's letter I have very justly drawn upon myself, for in my pursuit of *brevity* I have left my meaning obscure. In referring to Brugsch and Goodwin as having pointed out that  was a separate word, I did not mean and could not mean to imply that the explanations of this word at the references given were sound. I perfectly agree with Dr. Piehl that both explanations are untenable. But I ought to have added a *third* reference, viz., Brugsch's *Lexicon*, p. 1673, which gives the right explanation.  is in the Esneh Calendar, a document of the Roman period, put for , and Brugsch quotes from Dendera the decisive variants  and  with another of equivalent value.



The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 7th April, 1891, at 8 p.m., when the following papers will be read:—

J. POLLARD.—“On the Baal and Ashtoreth Altar, discovered at Kanawat in Syria,” now in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge.

REV. C. J. BALL:—“Ideograms common to Accadian and Chinese.” Part II.

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY PUBLICATIONS



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[SHALMANESER II, B.C. 859-825.]

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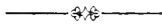
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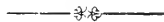
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*Sixth Meeting, April 7th, 1891.*



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# SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

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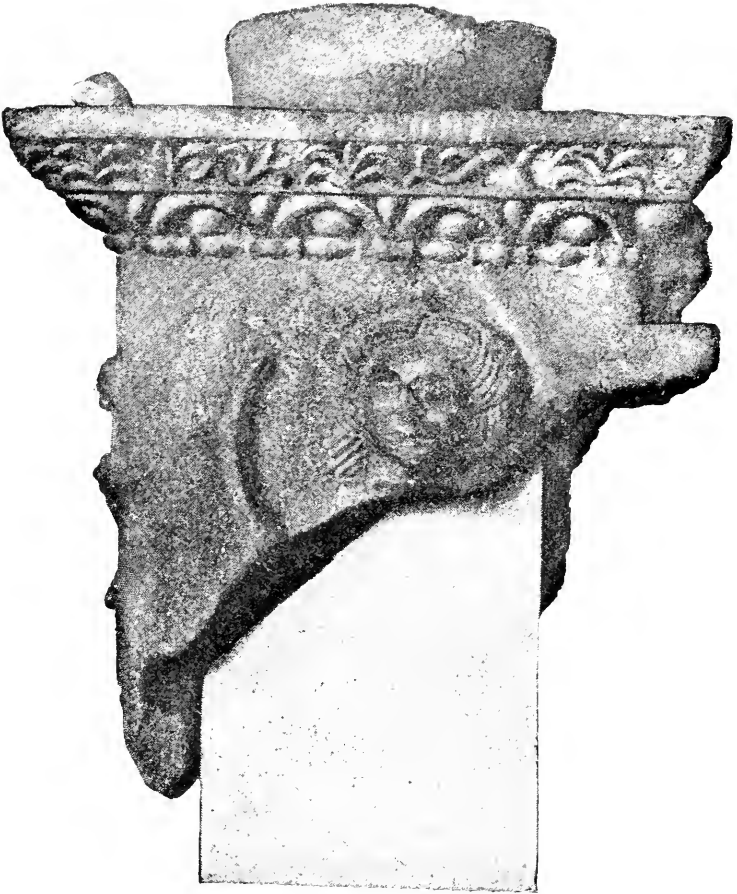
A few complete sets of the Transactions still remain for sale, which may be obtained on application to the Secretary, W. H. RYLANDS, F.S.A., 11, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.





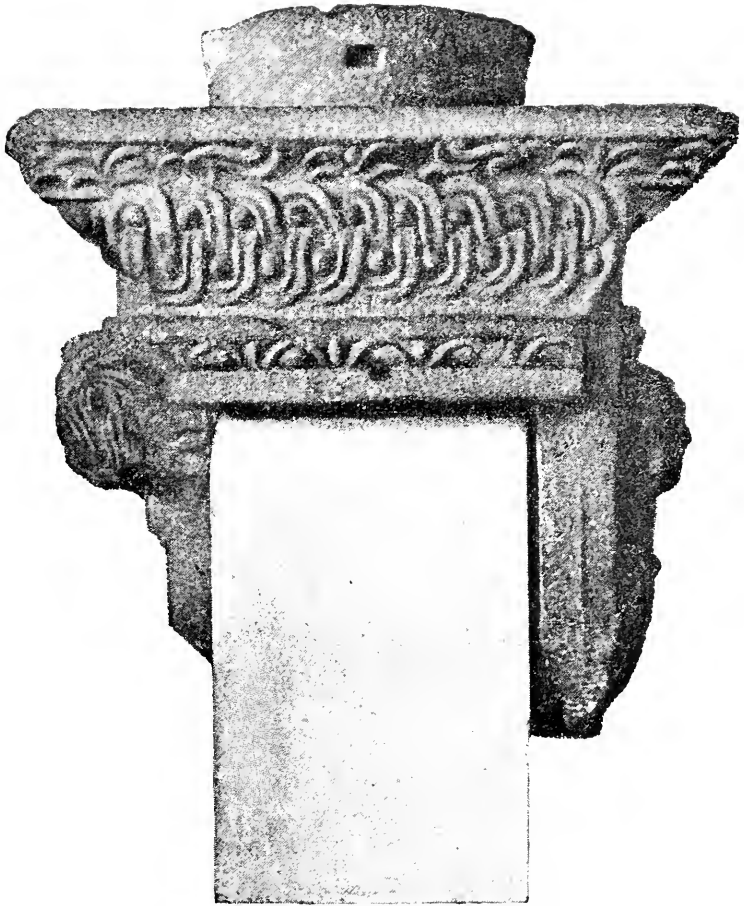
I. ALTAR FROM KANAWAT  
IN THE FITZ-WILLIAM MUSEUM, CAMBRIDGE.





II. ALTAR FROM KANAWAT  
IN THE FITZ-WILLIAM MUSEUM, CAMBRIDGE.





III. ALTAR FROM KANAWAT  
IN THE FITZ-WILLIAM MUSEUM, CAMBRIDGE.



PROCEEDINGS  
OF  
THE SOCIETY  
OF  
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TWENTY-FIRST SESSION, 1890-91.

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*Sixth Meeting, 7th April, 1891.*

REV. JAMES MARSHALL, M.A.,  
IN THE CHAIR.

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— 9:6 9:6 —

The Chairman announced the loss the Society had recently suffered in the death of the REV. SAMUEL SAVAGE LEWIS, F.S.A., Librarian of Corpus Christi Coll., Camb.; one of the earliest members, and a life member of the Society. He always took the greatest interest in the subjects for which our Society was founded, as well as in its welfare. On every occasion in his power he used his influence to advance its interests, and did not omit to take advantage of any opportunity of calling attention to the work upon which it is employed.

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

From B. D. Wrangham:—Johannis Buxtorfii P. Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum et Rabbinicum. Basileæ. Folio. MDCXXXIX.

From the Author:—Prof. G. Maspero. La Carrière administrative de Deux Hauts Fonctionnaires Égyptiens vers la fin de la III<sup>e</sup> Dynastie (environ 4500 ans avant Jésus-Christ), et les quatre noms officiels des rois d'Égypte. Paris. 8vo. 1890.

Études Égyptiennes. Tome II. 2<sup>e</sup> fascicule.

From the Author:—J. Menant. Études Hétéennes. Les inscriptions de Hamath.

Tirage à part du Recueil des Travaux, etc. Vol. XIII.

Kar-kemish, sa position d'après les découvertes modernes, par M. Joachim Menant. Paris. 1891. 4to.

Mém. de l'Accad. des Inscr. et Belles. Lettres. Tome XXII. 2<sup>e</sup> partie.

From M. J. Menant:—Les Hétéens Histoire d'un Empire oublié, par A. H. Sayce. Traduit de l'Anglais avec autorisation de l'Auteur. Préface et Appendices par M. J. Menant. Paris, 1891. 8vo.

Annales des Musée Guimet. Bibliothèque de Vulgarisation.

From the Rev. Robert Gwynne (*Secretary for Foreign Correspondence*):—An Arabic Reading Book. Compiled by W. Wright, LL.D. Part First. The Texts. 8vo. 1870.

From the Rev. Robert Gwynne:—Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages, from the papers of the late William Wright, LL.D. 1890. 8vo.

From the Rev. Robert Gwynne:—Das elfte Jahr des Kambyses, etc. By Prof. Eb. Schrader. Zeits. für Aegypt. Spr., 1879.

From the Rev. Robert Gwynne:—Die Datirung der babylonischen sogenannten Arscideninschriften By Prof. E. Schrader. 8vo. Sitzungsberichte der Konig. Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. 1890 and 1891. 2 parts.

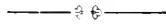
From Rev. Robert Gwynne:—Die Keilinschriftliche babylonische Königsliste. Mit einer Tafel von Prof. Eb. Schrader. 8vo. 1887. Sitzungberichte der Koenig. Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaft zu Berlin.



From Rev. Robert Gwynne :—Prolegomena zu einer Babylonisch-Assyrischen Grammatik. By Dr. C. Bezold. 8vo. Wien. 1887. Verhand. des VII Internat. Orient. Congres. S. 73 ff.

The following Candidates were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated at the last Meeting, on the 3rd March.

The Most Rev. His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.  
The Right Hon. Lord Herschell, 46, Grosvenor Gardens, S.W.  
A. M. Davies, M.R.C.S., D.P.H. Camb., Surgeon Army Medical Staff: Assistant Professor of Hygiene, Army Medical School, Royal Victoria Hospital, Netley, near Southampton.



The Most Rev. His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury was elected a Vice-President of the Society.

A Paper was read by J. Pollard, on the Baal and Ashtoreth Altar, discovered at Kanawât in Syria, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge.

Remarks were added by Mr. Geo. Thorpe, F.S.A., Mr. T. Tyler, Mr. A. Payne, Mr. P. R. Reed, Rev. C. J. Ball, Mr. J. Pollard, and the Chairman.

The Rev. C. J. Ball read a paper in continuation of his researches into the relation of Accadian and Chinese Ideograms.

Thanks were returned for these communications.



ON THE BAAL AND ASHTORETH ALTAR DISCOVERED  
AT KANAWÁT IN SYRIA, NOW IN THE FITZ-  
WILLIAM MUSEUM AT CAMBRIDGE.

BY J. POLLARD.

The Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge possesses a monument of considerable antiquity, and of great interest to all biblical and archæological students. I have long desired to obtain a description of it for the Society of Biblical Archæology, and am happy to say that the kind permission of Professor Middleton, the Director of the Museum, to have the monument photographed has been recently granted to me; and Mr. Stearn of Cambridge has prepared three photographs, which accompany this paper. The descriptive label on the object reads as follows: "14. Fragment of an Altar, upper part, from Kanawát in Syria. From the square surface projects the raised rim (h. 0·06) of a well-shaped cavity sunk (d. 0·11) into the body of the Altar; the bottom of this cavity is now perforated. On one side of the rim near its upper edge is a round hole of little depth; on each of the four corners are traces of a raised projection, the surface is surrounded by a moulding. On the body of the Altar are the following reliefs. In front, head of a youthful god (Baal) with nine *leaf-like* rays, and wearing a chiton, which is furnished on both shoulders with a button. On the right, besides some architectural ornament, the *lintel* of a doorway, the interior of which is quite hollowed out; on the back a female head of Ashtoreth over a crescent moon. On the left a flower, and characters below. Coarse stone. H. 0·54, L. 0·43, D. 0·43. Presented by the Executors of the late C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake, Esq., 1874." This monument is in a certain sense unique, no one object at all resembling it, so far as I am able to ascertain, existing in any museum—and this is very little known.

The attention drawn to this part of Syria by the publication of "The Giant-Cities of Bashan and Syria's Holy Places," by the late Rev. J. L. Porter, in 1869, and works by other authors, with the establishment of the Palestine Exploration Fund about the same

time, led the late Sir Richard Burton, and his friend the late C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake, to visit north-east Palestine, and the results of their explorations were given to the public in 1872 in a work of two volumes, entitled "Unexplored Syria." It is to the *first* of these that we must turn for the account of the discovery of the altar. Sir Richard Burton thus writes :\* "*May 27, 28, 1871.*—Two whole days were spent in studying the remains of Kanawàt, the antient Canatha or Kenath, a city of Og. We here for the first time remarked the *beauty of Bashan* in a comparatively well-wooded country, contrasting pleasantly with treeless plains and black cities of the Hauran. We copied many inscriptions, and found a few broken statues in the so-called Hippodrome ; Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake secured a stone, which is evidently *the head of an altar* ; with central bowl for blood, small horns at the four corners, and holes in the flat surface for metal plates. Upon the opposite sides appear the features of Baal and Ashtarah of the 'two cusps' (Karnaim)\* boldly cut in high relief *upon the CLOSEST BASALT*, with foliage, showing the artistic hand here unusual."† It was afterwards presented, as we have seen, to the Fitzwilliam Museum,

The Rev. J. L. Porter visited Kanawàt in the year 1864 or 5, he says :‡ "In no other city of Palestine did I see so many statues as there are here. Unfortunately, they are all mutilated, but fragments meet one on every side. A colossal head of Ashtoreth, sadly broken, lies before a little temple, of which probably it was once the chief idol. The crescent moon which gave the goddess the name 'Karnaim' (the 'two horned') is on her brow. I was much interested in this fragment, because it is a visible illustration of the worship of the goddess alluded to in Gen. xiv, 5, where the kings of the east on their way to Sodom are stated to have smitten the Rephaim in *Ashteroth Karnaim*. *Can this be the very city?*" The reply to this query is found in the "List of Names," in the Old Testament, &c., published by the Palestine Exploration Fund, we there read that "The modern Tel Asherah, near the Haj road, 50 miles south of Damascus, and 30 miles west of Kanawàt, is the probable site of

\* Vol. I, p. 165.

† Sir R. Burton adds at foot of the page the following note, "Murillo's celebrated picture *absolutely reproduces the idea of Ashtarah Karnaim!* This fine relic was deposited at the Anthropological Institute, exhibited at the Society of Antiquaries, and forms the frontispiece of this volume."

‡ "Giant Cities," p. 43.

Ashteroth Karnaim."\* No mention is made by Mr. Porter of any altar having been seen by him. The colossal head was recently photographed by Dr. Selah Merrill of Jerusalem, and appears in his book "East of the Jordan," published in 1887.† Dr. Merrill confirms the site of Ashteroth Karnaim at Tel Asherah.

The earliest mention of the ancient Kenath is in Numbers xxxii, 42, where we read, "And Nobah went and took Kenath, and the villages thereof, and called it Nobah after his own name."

"The district of Bashan in which it was situated, was awarded to the half tribe of Manasseh, it is briefly mentioned in 1 Kings iv, 13, during the reign of Solomon, and we hear no more of it until we read of its devastation by Hazael, the king of Syria, after that Jehu, the king of Israel, had become tributary to Shalmaneser II, king of Assyria (corroborated by the inscription on the Black Obelisk of Nimroud in the British Museum), and thus become hostile to Syria, 'In those days the Lord began to cut Israel short, and Hazael smote them in all the coasts of Israel: *from Jordan eastwards*, all the land of Gilead, the Reubenites, and the *Manassites* . . . even Gilead and *Bashan*.'"‡

Dr. Wright, the author of "The Empire of the Hittites," &c., was also in Syria about the time of Mr. Drake's discovery, and has given a very interesting account of his visit to "the Land of the Giant Cities" in the *Leisure Hour* for 1874. He says, p. 598:—

"The ruins of Kanawât are among the most important in Bashan, and they date chiefly from the early centuries of our era. There is little doubt that Kanatha or Kanawât grew into importance as the summer residence of the Roman rulers of Bashan. It was the sanatorium of the district, and what Simla is to the English in India, that was Kanawât to the Romans, whose presence brought order and prosperity, for the first and last time, to the manifold districts of Bashan. At Kanawât they had wooded hill, and bracing air, and ice-cold springs, and murmuring streams; and they had their temples, and their theatres, their hippodrome, and their baths, and their promenades."

Dr. Wright is of opinion that Kanawât does not represent the ancient Kenath, which he places nearer the Jordan in Gilead, and states that in Roman times there were two cities of almost the same name in Bashan, one *Kanata*, the other *Kanatha*. *Kanata*

\* Page 18.

† Pages 40-42.

‡ 2 Kings x, 32, 33.

he considers to be *Kerak*, near Bosrah, *the ancient Kenath*, and Kanatha the present Kanawât. The Palestine Exploration Fund List of identifications, however, marks Kanawat as the ancient Kenath.

We will now turn to the photographs. These at first sight give an impression of considerable size; this is not so, the altar is small, the scale of the photographs is, as nearly as possible, one-sixth of the size of the original; the widest part from edge to edge of the cornice is 17 inches, the width below the cornice is 12 inches—the object in taking the photographs was to secure a clear definition of the ornamentation, which has been very satisfactorily attained.

#### NO. I.—*The Head of Baal.*

The late Dr. von Doellinger in his “Heidenthum und Judenthum” tells us that “In earlier times Baal had been worshipped at Tyre and its colonies *without an image*; but after a time his worship grew into an idolatry of the most wanton character, directed by a numerous priesthood, who had their headquarters at Tyre. His statue was frequently placed upon a bull, that animal being the symbol of generative power; he was also represented with bunches of grapes or pomegranates in his hands.

“As the people of (Western) Asia distinguished, properly speaking, only two deities of nature, a male and a female, so Baal was of an elemental and sidereal character at once. As the former he was god of the creative power, bringing all things to life everywhere, and in particular, god of fire; but he was the *sun-god* besides, and, *as such, to human lineaments, he added the crown of rays about the head*, so peculiar to this god.”

Dean Stanley, in his “Lectures on the Jewish Church,” says,\* in describing the house of Baal built by Ahab: “In the interior was a kind of inner fortress, or adytum, in which were seated, or raised on pillars, the figures carved in wood,† of all the Phœnician deities. . . . In the centre was *Baal the sun-god*; around him were the inferior divinities. . . . In front of the temple stood, on a stone‡ pillar, the figure of Baal alone.”

The name Baal means master or lord, a title of honour applied to divinities, hence we have in the Scriptures, Baalim, the plural of Baal, as he was adored under many forms, as Baal Berith, “the

\* Vol. II, p. 288.

† 2 Kings x, 27

2 Kings iii, 2.

covenant lord"; Baal Peor, "the god of the opening," or the "cleft in the rocks"; Baal Gad, "the god of good fortune," at Baniyas, or Cæsarea Philippi; Baal Zebub, "the god of flies," the sun being pictured as a huge fly; Baal Shemesh, "the sun"; Baal Samen, "the lord of heaven," was the supreme Baal of Phœnicia;\* but it was rather to Baal as the fierce and cruel *Moloch* or *Milcom*, "the king," that worship was especially paid. Baal Moloch demanded the best and dearest that the worshipper could give, and the parent was required to offer his eldest or only son as a sacrifice, while the victim's cries were drowned by the noise of drums, &c. The two aspects of the sun-god, the baneful and the beneficent, were united in Baal Melkarth, "the king of the city," the patron god of Tyre, where his temple stood, probably the oldest building there; he was identified by the Greeks with Hercules.† The mountains also were Baalim, the worship of the sun-god on a mountain peak being transferred to the peak itself; on the coasts of Syria and Africa temples were dedicated to Baal Zephon, "the lord of the north." At Carthage Baal Hammon was worshipped as the fire-god and sun-god united, the great deity of solar heat which at once creates and destroys; the fire which symbolized him was perpetually burning upon his altar; instead, however, of the *crown and rays of light* which, as in the figure on the altar is the usual form of the sun-god, his head is represented with ram's horns on each side—the Greeks hence confounded him with Amen Ra, the Egyptian deity of Thebes, or with Ammon, of the African Oasis. Another head of Baal as the sun-god was found at Atil, in the neighbourhood of Kanawât, by Dr. Merrill,‡ in which the rays tapered to a fine point, on the Kanawât head they terminate in blunt ends.

The other side of the altar contains, according to the descriptive label of the museum, "*a flower, with characters below*," and in Sir Richard Burton's account it is described as *foliage*. I would suggest that it is in all probability the "Palmette" ornament, beneath which is a crescent moon. *The Palmette* frequently occurs in Phœnician decorative art; we are told by Messrs. Perrot and Chipiez, in their "History of Art in Phœnicia, &c.,"§ that "*it is a borrowed motive from Assyria, and is even more conventional than in the*

\* Sayce, "Ancient Empires of the East," pp. 198, 201.

† *Ibid.*, p. 201.

‡ "East of Jordan," p. 41.

§ "History of Art in Phœnicia, &c.," Vol. I, p. 135.

*Assyrian examples*; when it resembles what is termed 'The Sacred Tree' its stem is a kind of architectonic column, with rudimentary volutes, and its leaves are very symmetrical, even rigid, and on the whole it is much further removed from the vegetable world than its Mesopotamian original." It appears on a variety of objects—it has been found on a portion of a throne, on sarcophagi, on various slabs of stone, and in art jewellery, on rings, bracelets, and ear-rings. There is a gold bracelet\* in the British Museum from Tharros the ornamentation of which consists entirely of the "Palmette."

"In "the History of Art in Assyria,"† by the same authors, we read: "The fondness of the Assyrians for these particular curves is also betrayed in that religious and symbolic device which has been sometimes called *the tree of life*. *Some day perhaps the exact significance of this emblem may be explained*; meanwhile we are content to point out the variety and happy arrangement of the sinuous lines which surround and enframe the richly decorated pilaster that acts as its stem." The discovery of *the significance of this emblem* referred to above was, I think, most happily made by Mr. E. B. Tylor last year, when he shewed in his very interesting and valuable paper "On the Winged Figures of Assyrian and other Ancient Monuments," read before this Society on the 4th March, and printed in the *Proceedings*,‡ that the office performed by the winged figures with the cone in their hand over the sacred tree was the fertilization of the flowers of the date-palm by the pollen of the male palm, an operation of husbandry well known to and practiced by horticulturists in many cases at the present day; and hence I believe the selection of the *palmette*, to which such a prominent position on the altar was given by the Phœnician artist as *an emblem of nature worship*.

I do not know at what date the honeysuckle ornament, as it is called, first appeared in Greek architecture, or whether it was a modification of the Assyrian and Phœnician palmette, which it certainly resembles. Some fine examples of it are to be seen in the Elgin and other Greek rooms of the British Museum, especially those from the Erechtheum at Athens, dating from the close of the 5th century B.C., and others from the temple of Athene Polias, dating from the end of the 4th century B.C.

\* 11.390.

† "History of Art in Assyria," Vol. I, p. 212.

‡ Vol. XII, 1890, p. 383.

The late Sir J. Fergusson, in his "Illustrated Handbook of Architecture,"\* in describing a pillar found at Allahabad, says: "The necking immediately below the capital represents, with considerable purity, the honeysuckle ornament of the Assyrians, which the Greeks borrowed from them with the Ionic order. It is very interesting to meet with it also on the earliest known monument of Buddhist art."

Another example of this ornament exists on an archaic Etruscan Vase (in Case No. 8, British Museum), which is supposed to be at least 500 B.C.

It is interesting to notice in most of these examples the distinct botanic character portrayed, shewing the flowers to be *uni-sexual*. The Assyrian cone represents more fully the *catkin* or *regime* of the palm, containing the fertilizing pollen. But in all cases two distinct flowers are shewn, alternating. In the Allahabad example, figured by Sir J. Fergusson, the male flower is small, but distinct, and to my mind is intended to convey the same idea as the Assyrian design.

The honeysuckle, or woodbine—*Louicera Periclymenum*—is not a uni-sexual, but a bi-sexual plant, stamens and pistil being both present and perfect. It is therefore not a suitable illustration or emblem of nature worship.

The Phœnician palmette differs slightly from its Assyrian ancestor; it has invariably *five lobes*, whereas the Assyrian, the Etruscan, and the Greek (honeysuckle as it is called) have each *seven*. On the altar we see the *five broken ends* of the lobes distinctly, while underneath is the crescent moon, the emblem of the nature goddess.

I am well aware that objects may not convey to all minds the inference intended, and this palmette ornament may have often been employed for decoration simply. It would be equally rational to suppose that every one who wore a cross was an exemplary Christian. At one time the cross was only used as a religious symbol, but it has become very generally employed in art jewellery, and is worn by many who never think of its emblematic character.

#### No. 2.—*Head of Ashtoreth with Crescent Moon.*

The companion goddess of Baal was Ashtoreth, Ashterah, or Astarte, the queen of heaven and goddess of the moon, the Istar

\* Page 7.



or Ishtar of Mesopotamia, with slightly altered name, but with the same emblems and attributes. She was represented by the lunar crescent, and was also identified with the planet Venus. The prophet Jeremiah\* speaks of the queen of heaven, in allusion to the idolatrous worship of the inhabitants of Judah "making cakes unto the queen of heaven." It is a remarkable fact that this ceremony of making cakes to the queen of heaven still exists in Palestine. Some years ago Mr. H. A. Harper, author of "The Bible and Modern Discovery," "Walks in Palestine," etc., when on one of his sketching tours in the Holy Land, in the neighbourhood of Nazareth, came upon some fellaheen women, 250 to 300 in number, in the act of celebrating this religious rite, which consisted chiefly of dancing, and of which he was allowed to make some drawings, and was *also presented with two of the cakes*, made of slightly baked dough, circular in form, *with the crescent moon marked upon them*; these he kindly shewed to me when describing the event. I hope that in some future publication he will give certain details of this very remarkable and probably unique experience, which he is so well able to describe.

Ashtoreth was the great nature goddess, the mother of life and goddess of fecundity, the supreme female divinity of the western Asiatics, and her worship was everywhere associated with the same licentious rites. She was worshipped under the form of emblems rather than of statues. The emblems, which were of wood, of stone, or of metal, sometimes in the form of cones or pillars of stone, or bare stems of trees, were called Asherim, and were generally set up at the entrance of Phœnician temples, or, as in 2 Kings xxi, 7, xxxiii, 6, within them. They may have been sometimes worshipped in the open air, under the shade of trees; hence the Greek translators of the Hebrew Scriptures, confounding the emblems with their surroundings, rendered the term by *ἄλλος*, "grove," which the Vulgate replaced by "lucus," whence "the grove" of the authorized version.

### No. 3.

The moulding on the cornice of this side differs from the others. It resembles a *double braid with a berry* between each fold. The label says, "besides some architectural ornament, *the lintel of a doorway* which is quite hollowed out."

\* Jeremiah vii, 18; xlv, 17, etc.

The altar itself appears to have been *hollow inside*, and there may have been a door-like aperture here for removal of any ashes, etc., that might pass into the interior from the basin above. Can it have had any other object? Did it *face the East*, and *receive into its interior* the first rays of the *rising sun* as *into a naos of the god*? Was it a sacrificial altar, or did the basin only serve to hold the materials for sustaining the perpetually burning light which represented the deity? I think that this was its more probable use, and that blood was not offered in it. Unfortunately it is only a fragment; the lower portions of the sides of the altar were not found. The thickness of the stone is about one inch and a half to two inches.

Sir R. Burton mentions "small horns" at the four corners. A portion of one remains, and the fracture of the stone at the other three corners shews that formerly a horn existed at each corner. From the remaining fragment one would imagine that when perfect they resembled the horns of a bull.

In the exact centre of each side between the horns is a hole cut square, about an inch in diameter, in which Sir R. Burton suggests that metal plates were placed.

The mouldings on the other parts of the cornice are alike, and consist of a bead-moulding known, I believe, as the block and berry. Above this comes the egg and tongue, and finally an unconventional elegant decoration consisting of foliage and shewing great artistic skill. The execution throughout is remarkably fine.

The question now arises, for whom could this beautiful and highly finished work of art have been wrought? It must have been for a person of high rank and position, probably for royalty—a king or a queen. Could it have been in any way connected with Jezebel and her endeavour to convert Israel to the religion of the Phœnicians?

Kenath, it is true, lay at a considerable distance from Samaria, the metropolis of the kingdom, and from Jezreel the royal residence: indeed it was on the very borders of Israel; nevertheless the influence of this religious propagandism of the queen was *felt throughout the entire kingdom*, and the determination to effect the establishment of her religion is shown "by the first of a long series of like events in ecclesiastical history, *the Great Persecution*—which (Dean Stanley says) was the first persecution on a large scale which the Church had witnessed in any shape. . . . It was reserved for the heathen

Jezebel to exemplify the principle of persecution in its most direct form. To her . . . the bitter inheritance of modern times must look back as its legitimate ancestress.\* Ahab, we know, reigned for twenty-one years, and Jezebel survived him for no less than fourteen more, and maintained the idolatrous state religion during the reigns of her two sons Ahaziah and Jehoram, as she had done during the reign of their father Ahab.

At last Jehu, the son of Nimshi, was anointed king of Israel, and commenced his reign with avenging the blood of Naboth, and all the other crimes of the queen, by the death of Jezebel, the entire extinction of the race of Ahab, and the destruction of the temple of Baal at Samaria, with all the worshippers of Baal. "And they brought forth the images out of the house of Baal, and *burned them*. And they *brake down the image of Baal*, and brake down the house of Baal, and made it a draught house unto this day. Thus Jehu destroyed Baal out of Israel." †

Most of my hearers are probably well acquainted with the beautiful descriptions given by Dean Stanley in his lectures on the Jewish Church of this period of history, ‡ where he treats of the House of Omri, and more especially with those grand scenes in the life of the prophet Elijah, the sacrifice on Carmel, the vision of Horeb, the vineyard of Naboth, and Elijah's curse on Ahab, the call of Jehu and the death of Jezebel, descriptions which can never be forgotten.

Canon Rawlinson has given also a very concise and interesting account in his recent volume on "Phœnicia." § He tells us that Eth-baal, the high priest of Astarte, about fifty years after the death of Hiram, became also *king* of Tyre by the murder of Phales, who had previously assassinated his elder brother Aserynus, with whom the dynasty of Hiram ended. Ethbaal seems to have been a religious enthusiast, and to have earnestly desired the spread of the Phœnician religion into other lands besides his own. To effect this purpose he married his daughter Jezebel, whom he had thoroughly imbued with his spirit, to Ahab, king of Israel, the son of Omri, the founder of Samaria. . . . Ethbaal may have hoped to gain political advantages from the alliance, but *its primary motive* appears to have been religious propagandism. The Phœnician princess took with

\* "Jewish Church," Vol. II, 289; 1 Kings xvii, xix; 2 Kings ix, 7.

† 2 Kings x, 26, 28.

‡ "Lectures," Vol. II, xxx, xxxv.

§ "Phœnicia," p. 108.

her from Tyre the paraphernalia of her religious worship, together with a sacerdotal *entourage*, which gave her at once a court of her own creatures, a band of unscrupulous adherents, and a means of displaying the ceremonial of the new religion on a most magnificent scale. Four hundred and fifty ministering priests of Baal were attached to the worship of that god in the Israelite capital, while four hundred others, devoted to Ashtoreth, hung about the royal palace at Jezreel, and feasted daily at the table which Jezebel provided for their entertainment. Ahab was persuaded to build a great sanctuary for Baal on the hill of Samaria. . . . A sanctuary was also assigned to Ashtoreth at Jezreel, where Jezebel's four hundred priests or "prophets" ministered, and presented to the Israelites a form of religion which was so attractive to them, that very soon the whole people fell away from the worship of Jehovah, and proclaimed themselves votaries of the two new deities, Baal and Ashtoreth.

To the corrupting influence thus introduced, the gradual declension, and ultimately the fall and destruction of the Israelite kingdom, are distinctly ascribed.\* Nor did the evil stop there: for the daughter of Ethbaal passed on the malign contagion of her evil genius to her own daughter Athaliah, a daughter worthy of such a mother, who became the queen of Ahaziah, monarch of the rival kingdom of Judah, and took advantage of her position to bring Judah, no less than Israel, within the sphere of the fatal fascination. The terrible *virus* introduced by her into the Jewish State clung to it to the end, and hastened that end. Vain were the reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah. The Phœnician rites brought in by Athaliah took a firm hold on the Jewish people, and are declared by the prophet Ezekiel to have been among the chief causes of the captivity.†

It now only remains for us to consider the probable date of the altar which we have been examining in detail; its substance is described by the museum authorities as *coarse stone*, and by its discoverer as *closest basalt*. Basalt and other volcanic rocks are frequently found throughout the Hauran, and this may account for its employment in the present instance, as in other works of later date found in the neighbourhood. Sir R. Burton thus describes the Temple of Sia: "whose acanthus capitals, grape vine ornaments, and figures of gazelles and eagles, *all cut as if the hardest basalt were*

\* 2 Kings xvii, 16, 18.

† 2 Kings viii, 6, 18.

*the softest limestone!*" (the ancients certainly possessed a wonderful power of working and sculpturing these very hard stones with apparent ease—in this altar the work is wonderfully fine and sharp—) but I think that the employment of this hard rock of itself indicates antiquity, most of the ancient monuments, the Lion of Marash, with other Hittite monuments, the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser II from Nimroud, and the Phœnician sarcophagi are all worked in basalt or a similar substance. It remains to be ascertained whether the character of the sculpture and style of the workmanship would synchronize with the time of Phœnician influence and ascendancy over Israel and Judah. So far as the χιτων worn by the figure of Baal is concerned, it would also point to an early date. We find that in the Homeric age it was a garment *worn only by men*, but subsequently it became modified in form, and was generally worn by both sexes. If however the style of sculpture should be thought to point to a more recent date than that I have suggested, I would say that the Altar to my mind illustrates the character of (and in that case exhibits the survival of) a worship which was perhaps at its highest point of ascendancy at the period of the rule of the house of Omri, during the reigns of Ahab and his two sons Ahaziah and Jehoram, from 918 to 884 B.C., or possibly somewhat later according to Assyrian chronology.



## NOTES AU JOUR LE JOUR.




PAR G. MASPERO.

§ 1.—Le passage d'Hérodote relatif aux Samiens de la tribu .Eskhrionie, établis dans l'Oasis de Thèbes (III, 26), a excité toujours l'étonnement des commentateurs : . . . ἐς Ὀασιν πόλιω, τὴν ἔχουσι μὲν Σάμιοι τῆς Αἰσχριωνίης φυλῆς λεγόμενοι εἶναι. Bähr a pensé qu'il s'agissait d'un comptoir établi là pour le commerce, mais la plupart se sont récriés devant l'in vraisemblance d'un pareil établissement, et ont préféré croire avec Dahlmann qu'Hérodote, trompé par une ressemblance fortuite de nom, a pris pour des Samiens des gens qui n'étaient ni Samiens, ni même Grecs.

Je ne vois, pour ma part, aucune objection à admettre qu'Hérodote ne s'est pas trompé, et qu'il y avait réellement des Samiens dans l'Oasis de Thèbes. L'étonnement et le scepticisme des commentateurs viennent de ce qu'ils imaginent, partout où on leur mentionne la présence de Grecs en pays étranger, une colonie complète, ville, population civile et religieuse, temples, lois helléniques, quelque chose dans le genre de Cyrène ou de Naucratis. Mais il n'est pas nécessaire de supposer tant de choses à la fois. Il y a aujourd'hui encore en Égypte une multitude de Grecs, rayas ou indépendants, qui sont dispersés et établis à la surface du pays. La plus petite ville, même de Nubie, avait et a probablement encore son *bacal*, Grec d'Asie-Mineure, de l'Hellade, ou des Iles, qui vend aux fellahs des épices, des liqueurs, des conserves, des salaisons, des confitures, du tabac, fait la contrebande de la poudre et des armes, prête à la petite semaine et pratique l'usure sous toutes ses formes, trafique des antiquités, n'épargne rien pour s'enrichir au plus vite. Beaucoup d'entre eux quittent le pays après fortune faite ; beaucoup y restent, s'y marient, ou y ont des enfants, et forment çà et là de petits noyaux de population hellénique qui gardent avec ténacité le langage de leurs parents et le souvenir de leur origine, chypriote, corfiote, etc. La famille des Ianni, dont les premiers membres connus ont été à Thèbes les agents de fouilles de Drovetti, de Salt, de Mimaut, existe encore à Louxor, y possède des terres, des maisons, et s'y maintient grecque à la troisième

génération. J'ai rencontré à Qénéh, à Sohag, à Siout, à Rodah de Moyenne Égypte, des familles du même genre, dont quelques-unes étaient sur place avant l'expédition de Bonaparte, et se sont fait donner alors la protection ou la naturalisation française qu'elles gardent précieusement. Elles sont parfois les véritables maîtresses de certains villages, et n'ont, en tout cas, rien perdu de leur physionomie hellénique, malgré le temps. Les Samiens dont on signala la présence à Hérodote étaient bien certainement des gens de cette espèce. C'étaient une ou plusieurs familles, soit de *bacals* antiques, soit de mercenaires, qui conservaient au milieu du désert leur langue et leur état civil avec l'obstination propre à la race grecque.

Que l'Égypte ait eu déjà à cette époque ces groupes de Grecs marchands on n'en saurait douter lorsqu'on étudie les *graffiti* d'Abydos. Le passage d'Hérodote nous reporte au milieu du V<sup>e</sup> siècle, et, parmi les centaines de *graffiti* grecs qu'on lit sur les murs du temple de Sési 1<sup>er</sup> à Abydos, j'en ai relevé plusieurs qui, par l'apparence paléographique, se laissent ramener sans peine à cette époque. Ceux qui les ont tracés faisaient déjà ce que font les Grecs d'aujourd'hui quand ils remontent et descendent le Nil pour affaires : ils écrivaient leurs noms sur les murs des endroits qu'ils visitaient. Un oracle les attirait à Abydos, et un auteur inconnu que Gutschmid croit être Aristagoras,\* attribuait même à cette ville une origine milésienne, ou plutôt, comme l'a vu Letronne, connaissait à Abydos un établissement de Milésiens.† Mais le nome Thinite où est situé Abydos comprenait de toute antiquité l'Oasis thébaine, et la vallée qui s'ouvre derrière Abydos est aujourd'hui encore la route la plus courte de l'Oasis. En quatre jours de désert on va d'el-Khargéh d'Abydos à el-Khargéh de l'Oasis. Peut-être quelques-uns des noms qu'on lit encore sur les murailles ont-ils appartenu à ces Samiens dont parle Hérodote ; ils venaient rendre leurs hommages au dieu avant de prendre la route qui mène de la vallée du Nil à l'Oasis.

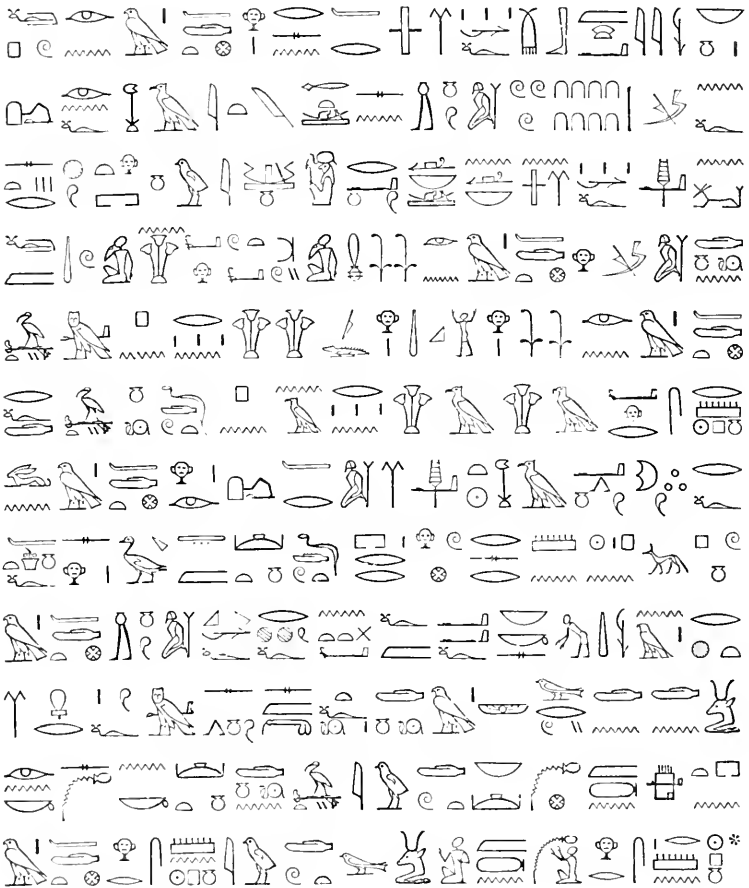
§ 2.—J'ai indiqué ailleurs (*Zeitschrift*, 1883, p. 69 ; 1885, p. 9) les preuves de la lecture , , pour .‡ Le texte d'Edfou,

\* Gutschmid, *Kleine Schriften*, T. I, pp. 148, 202, 217.

† Letronne, *La Civilisation Égyptienne*, p. 13.

‡ *Cfr.* dans les *Proceedings*, 1887, p. 314, une note de M. le Page Renouf, qui considère ces variantes comme une erreur du scribe ou du graveur ancien.

publié par Naville il y a vingt ans, en donne une preuve nouvelle. Il raconte les luttes que Har-houditi d'Edfou eut à soutenir contre Sit dans le nome typhonien d'Oxyrrhynchos, et chacun des épisodes de la bataille lui sert à expliquer par allitération le nom d'une des localités divines de ce nome.



“Quand Harhouditi fut sorti contre les maudits avec ses compagnons, muni de tout son harnois de bataille, il fit un grand carnage parmi eux, il prit trois cent quatre-vingt-un maudits, et les égorgea en face de la barque de Rā, puis il remit chacun d’eux à un

\* Naville, *Le Mythe d'Horus*, pl. XV, l. 4-8.



de ses compagnons. Et voici, Typhon se manifesta d'une voix orageuse (NEHA) proférant des hurlements, à cause de ce qu'avait fait Harhouditi en tuant les maudits. Rā dit donc à Thot: 'N'est ce pas là *les bouches de l'orageux* (MĀ PEN ROOU NEHAHA) qui lève la voix à cause de ce qu'a fait Hardouditi contre lui?' Thot dit à Rā: 'Soit-il appelé *celui des bouches orageuses* (PEN NA ROOU NEHAHA) à cause de cela, jusqu'à ce jour! Et puisque Harhouditi a livré bataille (𓂏𓂏) avec le maudit un moment, et qu'il a lancé sa lance contre lui et qu'il l'a terrassé en cette place, soit dite cette

place Oxyrrhynchos (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏) jusqu'à ce jour.' Quand donc Harhouditi fut venu amenant le maudit, le carcan de bois au cou, la corde aux mains, courbé, la lance de Hor lui fermant la bouche, il le présenta à son père Rā, et Rā dit: 'Grand est l'effort (OUIROU DONDEN) que tu as fait quand tu as purifié (SOUĀBOU) cette place.' Rā dit à Thot: 'On nommera *Maître de la place pure* (NIB AÏT OUĀB) le palais d'Harhouditi, à cause de cela, jusqu'à ce jour, et on nommera *Grand de l'effort* (OIROU DONDEN), le prêtre à cause de cela jusqu'à ce jour.'" Le texte continue sur le même ton longtemps encore; j'en ai cité assez pour qu'on saisisse la façon dont il procède. La question de Rā, "N'est-ce pas là les bouches de l'orageux?"

est donnée comme l'origine du nom (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏) ; le prêtre s'appelle





(𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏) OIROU DONDEN, et la localité (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏) NIB AÏT OUĀB.

parce que Rā avait employé dans sa conversation avec Thot les mots (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏) OUROU DONDEN, et (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏) SOUĀBOU - NAK AÏT - TEN. Le nom d'Oxyrrhynchos,

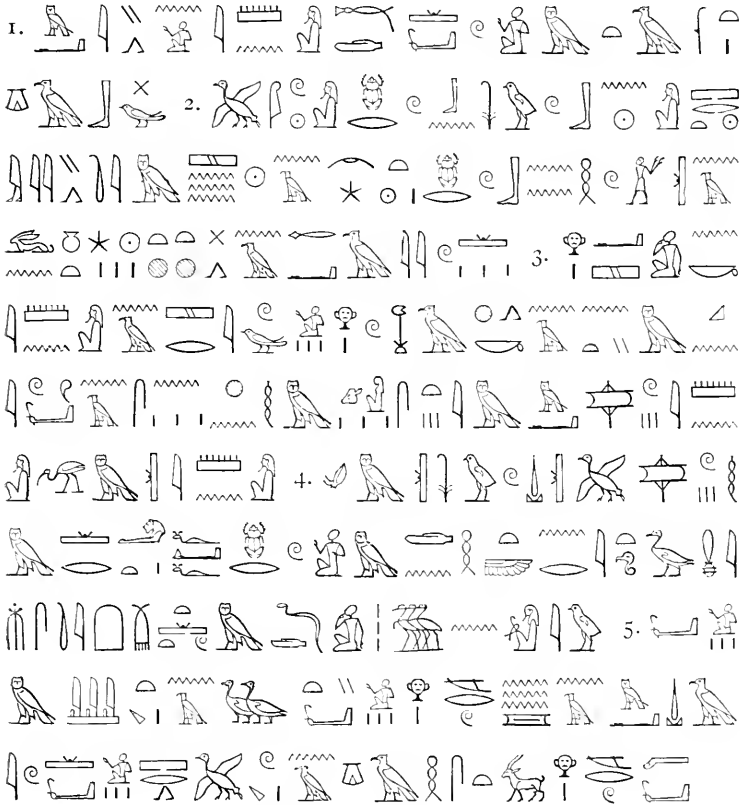
PIRRAHOU, ne peut s'expliquer, comme le fait notre texte, par la phrase (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏) qu'à la condition que

dans (𓂏𓂏) le signe (𓂏) ait été prononcé AHOU, AHE, AH, et ait eu l'orthographe que je lui ai signalée ailleurs: l'allitération est, comme on voit, entre le verbe composé IRI-AHOU, ER-AHOU, ER-AHE, et le nom PIRRAHOU, PIRRAHE.








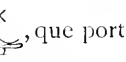


Le   OUÀOU n'est pas un officier, comme on le dit, et comme je l'ai dit moi-même ; c'est, je crois, l'homme d'armes héréditaire, le μάχιμος, le *timariote*, celui des enfants qu'un possesseur de terres assujéties à la servitude militaire élevait pour la guerre, afin de pouvoir conserver son fief. Ici, il sert dans les troupes à pied, ailleurs il est   παραβάτης, combattant à char : dans les deux cas, on le prend dès l'enfance pour le dresser à son métier.

§ 4.—Derrière la formule que je viens de traduire on lit un petit texte\* dont voici d'abord la transcription :



\* Papyrus Anastasi II, p. 10, l. 1-5.

Heath est le premier égyptologue qui se soit occupé de ce texte.\* Bientôt après, Brugsch traduisit dans ses *Nouvelles Recherches* la seconde ligne presque entière à l'appui du sens, alors nouveau, qu'il prêtait aux noms des saisons  et .† Presque en même temps, Goodwin donnait une interprétation incomplète encore, mais plus exacte que celle de Heath.‡ Depuis lors Chabas, Brugsch, et d'autres ont cité quelques passages en discutant le sens de certains mots égyptiens, mais personne n'a essayé, à ma connaissance, de montrer le sens de l'ensemble.

Le début a été rendu par Goodwin : "May Amen deliver me from the cold season, when the sun does not shine, the winter comes instead of summer, the month is stormy, the hours shortened (?)." Il s'agirait, comme on voit, d'une saison froide pour l'Égypte, et, dans cette hypothèse, la traduction de Goodwin présente une suite d'idées assez logique. Elle repose malheureusement sur une confusion de deux mots qui n'ont rien de commun,  et  :  : , que porte notre texte, n'a jamais signifié *froid*, comme le montra Chabas, qui fit la critique de la traduction de Goodwin sans la citer.§ Chabas, qui reconnaît à notre mot le sens *faible, impuissant, fâcheux, mauvais*, traduit lui-même de façon assez différente : "Amon délivre-moi de la saison mauvaise, pendant laquelle le soleil paraît mais ne brille pas, l'hiver vient en été, les mois deviennent rétrogrades, les heures confuses ou difficiles."|| Chabas précise le détail ; mais, tout en modifiant les nuances, il conserve la donnée générale de Goodwin, qu'il s'agit d'une *saison*, et le sens de *saison* est si bien ancré dans son esprit que, citant de mémoire le passage, il met au lieu de , que porte l'original, .¶ C'est bien certainement

\* Heath, *the Exodus Papyri*, p. 222.

† Brugsch, *Nouvelles Recherches sur la Division de l'Année des anciens Égyptiens*, 1856, p. 10.


‡ Goodwin, *Hieratic Papyri*, dans les *Cambridge Essays*, pp. 258, 259.


§ Chabas, *Le Voyage d'un Égyptien*, pp. 138, 139.

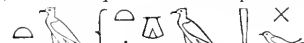
|| Cette traduction est formée par le rapprochement de divers passages de Chabas, *Voyage*, p. 28, 138, 139, etc.


¶ Chabas, *Voyage*, p. 138.

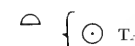
à Chabas que Brugsch a emprunté pour son *Dictionnaire*\* l'exemple


, qu'il traduit *die Zeit des Unglücks, Gebugtsein's*, avec un renvoi à *Sallier I*, 7, qui est inexact: la page 7 de *Sallier I* ne renferme pas cette locution. On le voit, toutes ces traductions reposent sur une mauvaise lecture et sur une mauvaise

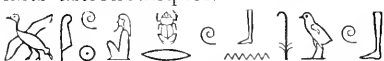
traduction,  ou , *saison mauvaise* ou *temps de malheur*, d'une portion de phrase


qui se lit sans aucun doute possible 

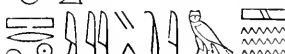
TA RONPIT GABE, avec le mot féminin  RONPIT, *année*, et non

pas avec le mot masculin  TAOUROU, TAROU, *saison*. La

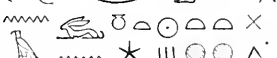
traduction exacte est donc: "Amon délivre-moi, débarrasse-moi de l'année " et la définition du sens que nous devons donner à l'épithète GABE ressortira de l'examen des faits exposés dans la seconde ligne, et qui constituent l'idée que les Égyptiens qualifiaient ainsi.

Or tous ces faits sont des faits astronomiques. 1<sup>o</sup> "Le dieu Shou devient ne se levant plus" 

; 2<sup>o</sup> "la saison PIRIT s'en vient à l'état de saison SHOMOU"




3<sup>o</sup> "les mois deviennent marchant en s'éloignant" 

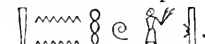
4<sup>o</sup> "les heures sont brouillées" 


Ce ne sont pas là des développements de pure rhétorique, mais on reconnaît de prime abord plusieurs assertions d'aspect très précis. Ainsi, "la saison PIRIT qui s'en vient à l'état de saison SHOMOU" est une réalité dans la constitution de l'année égyptienne. Cette année vague, qui perdait un peu plus d'un jour tous les quatre ans, entraînait des déplacements constants de saisons. Tous les quatre ans, le premier du premier mois de PIRIT avançait d'un jour, si bien qu'au bout d'un temps mathématiquement calculable, le premier mois de PIRIT avait envahi la saison où se trouvait auparavant le dernier mois de SHOMOU, et que, le mouvement continuant, toute

\* Brugsch, *Dictionnaire Hiéroglyphique*, p. 1510.

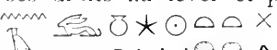
la saison de SHOMOU se trouvait transportée à la place où était auparavant la saison de PIRIT: comme le dit notre papyrus,

 "la saison PIRIT s'en venait à l'état de saison SHOMOU." Comme conséquence naturelle, les mois



s'éloignaient du point qu'ils occupaient, et notre texte les représente s'en allant processionnellement en retournant la tête et le buste pour saluer des deux mains l'endroit qu'ils quittent .


Ces deux explications absolument certaines nous obligent à chercher dans la même direction d'idées l'interprétation du premier et du dernier membre de la phrase. Le premier 

se traduit littéralement: "le dieu SHOU devient qui ne se lève plus," en d'autres termes, "le dieu SHOU cesse de se lever." Je traduis avec intention *le dieu SHOU*, et non pas comme on a fait jusqu'à présent *le soleil*. Il s'agit en effet ici d'un fait mythologique et non pas d'un fait d'astronomie naturelle. SHOU était, à l'époque des Ramessides et plus tard, le dieu du soleil solstitial, du soleil d'été, comme Brugsch l'a montré fort ingénieusement.\* Or, si les mois et les saisons de l'année égyptienne s'en vont, les saisons naturelles restent immobiles. Il arrive donc nécessairement un moment où la saison de PIRIT ayant reculé devant la saison de SHOMOU, l'été réel se trouve correspondre à ce qui est la saison d'hiver de l'année vague.

On peut alors émettre deux hypothèses: 1° SHOU qui est le dieu-soleil de l'été a émigré avec les mois qui forment la saison d'été de l'année vague et arrive dans une saison réelle où il n'a plus sa raison d'être. 2° SHOU qui est le dieu-soleil de l'été demeure à sa place astronomique, tandis que les mois défilent devant lui, et finit par se trouver envahi par les mois qui composent la saison d'hiver, et dans lesquels il n'a plus sa place. Des deux manières, le scribe a le droit de dire que SHOU *devient qui ne se lève plus*, ou qu'il *cesse de se lever*. Le soleil d'été ne peut conserver son nom de Shou, ou comme disaient les Égyptiens, *se lever à l'état de SHOU*, qu'à la condition que le temps de l'été réel coïncide plus ou moins exactement avec la saison de SHOMOU; passé ce temps, il perdait, pour ainsi dire, ses droits au lever et presque à l'existence. La dernière phrase  me paraît contenir, elle

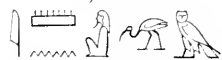

\* Brugsch, *Religion und Mythologie*, p. 120 sqq., p. 432, etc.



aussi, une mention d'astronomie religieuse. Les heures qui se brouillent ne sont pas celles du calendrier naturel, ce sont celles du calendrier religieux, celles qui réglait le service des *prêtres de l'heure*, , OUNOUIYOU, dans les temples. Le déplacement des mois entraînait le déplacement des heures consacrées au culte de certaines divinités, telles qu'Isis-Sothis ou Osiris-Orion, ou Shou-soleil solstitial, pour ne prendre que ces exemples : ces heures, ne coïncidant plus avec les moments astronomiques où le culte des divinités auxquelles elles appartenaient était attaché, passaient à d'autres moments qui étaient reliés de la même façon au culte d'autres divinités, si bien que , "les heures du culte se brouillaient."



L'année  était donc, dans la pensée du scribe qui rédigea notre texte, une des années où le désaccord commençait à devenir complet entre l'ordre naturel et l'ordre calendrique des saisons. On peut comprendre le trouble que cette dissociation de l'année usuelle et de l'année astronomique devait jeter à la longue dans un pays où les faits principaux de la vie civile et de la vie agricole étaient liés pour la plupart à des jours de dénomination fixe. L'année égyptienne était comme ces horloges qui retardent d'une quantité de minutes déterminée par chaque jour : celui qui se réglerait machinalement sur elles pour l'emploi de sa journée verrait bientôt toutes ses occupations se détraquer et ses affaires s'en aller à vau-l'eau. Lorsqu'on a le malheur de posséder un chronomètre pareil, et qu'on ne sait comment le régler exactement, on ne s'amuse pas à calculer pour lui un cycle qui permet d'attendre le moment où, de retard en retard, il sera retombé sur l'heure juste : on tolère son irrégularité tant que la vie réelle n'en souffre pas, puis, quand le désaccord devient incommode, on ramène l'aiguille d'un coup de pouce au point du cadran qui répond à peu-près à l'heure exacte, et l'on recommence l'opération chaque fois qu'il est nécessaire, sans règle précise. Il en était, je crois, de même de l'année égyptienne, jusqu'à une époque très voisine de notre ère. Elle s'en allait à travers les saisons, retardant de plus en plus, jusqu'au jour où le désaccord devenant trop considérable, le roi ou les autorités constituées prenaient le parti de donner à la machine un coup de pouce pour la remettre au point. Le décret de Canope nous apprend ce que fut une de ces opérations,


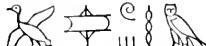
qui étaient purement empiriques et ne revenaient point à date fixe, du moins rien ne le prouve jusqu'à présent. Jusqu'à quel point les années troubles qui précédaient un raccord et le rendaient nécessaire étaient redoutées des Égyptiens, la ferveur de la prière contenue dans notre texte *Anastasi* le prouve suffisamment. L'insertion dans un papyrus datant du règne de Sèti II montre peut-être, qu'en l'an II de ce règne on commençait à entrer dans une de ces périodes de trouble que le désaccord entre la notation officielle et l'année naturelle produisait sans cesse.


Le début de notre texte peut donc se traduire: "Viens à moi, Amon, me délivrer de l'année fâcheuse, où le dieu Shou ne se lève plus, où l'hiver vient où était l'été, où les mois s'en vont hors leur place, où les heures se brouillent, où les grands t'appellent, ô Amon, où les petits te cherchent, où ceux même qui sont encore dans les bras de leur nourrice, ceux-là [crient]: 'Donne les souffles!'" La suite est assez difficile, car l'écolier qui nous a légué le papyrus ne nous a transmis qu'un texte incorrect. Le mouvement général du morceau exige qu'après l'invocation vienne un développement où l'on montre le dieu exauçant la prière qu'il vient de recevoir: ainsi, dans le poème de Qadshou, l'arrivée d'Amon sur le champ de bataille suit brusquement l'appel désespéré de Ramsès II. Ici, l'action du dieu est exprimée d'abord par de termes généraux:

 | *Amon trouve* |  | *Amon entend,*  
évidemment *ceux qui l'implore.* Au-delà, le texte est corrompu.

























L'exemplaire que le copiste de notre manuscrit avait sous les yeux, ou portait en cet endroit une surcharge, ou bien avait été lui-même copié sur un manuscrit surchargé où quelques lettres, passées puis mises entre les lignes par un copiste distrait, n'avaient pas été bien lues par ceux qui les reproduisirent et avaient été fac-similées tant bien que mal. Le groupe de signes qui suit  renferme d'abord un  en ligature avec deux traits verticaux un peu endommagés.

























Le  est certain, car partout dans notre papyrus (p. 10, l. 10, 11, etc.) le verbe  SOTMOU a un déterminatif qui est le rouleau.

Dans le groupe qui suit je reconnais le mot  OUZA, mal tracé, et, au delà, recommence une autre phrase 







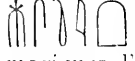
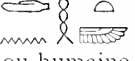
 "le souffle délicieux [marche] devant lui." Cette con-




station nous contraint, je crois, à prendre @   comme étant en parallélisme avec les mots   QIMOU et   SOTMOU, désignant comme eux une des qualités d'Amon: les deux traits qui le précèdent et qui sont en surcharge seraient alors un équivalent du nom   , probablement le pronom  @. Le tout se lirait donc             @   "Amon trouve, Amon écoute, il est le sain devant qui marche le doux souffle (qui vivifie), il donne que je sois comme l'aile du vautour, comme la palette chargée des formules des esprits . . . ."


Les derniers mots de cette phrase ne peuvent se comprendre qu'à la condition qu'on ait déjà expliqué la fin du morceau, et la fin du morceau présente des difficultés de texte qu'il faut résoudre de prime abord. On y remarque, au passage de la quatrième à la cinquième ligne, une locution un peu mutilée. Le parallélisme des derniers mots nous montre qu'il y a là un nom de métier qui s'exerce à la campagne, comme celui des    blanchisseurs ou des      gardes-champêtres cités ensuite s'exerce sur l'eau ou dans le désert. Or ce nom nous est donné par plus d'un texte hiéroglyphique ou hiératique; c'est celui des bergers et les restes de signes qu'on lit à la fin de la ligne 4 concordent assez exactement avec l'orthographe que le mot *berger* a au *Papyrus magique Harris* par exemple,\* pour qu'on puisse rétablir ici en toute sécurité le groupe    [ @ ]   ou   . Le parallélisme me porte même à croire que le texte original portait ici l'article pluriel  qui se rencontre devant    et devant    . On devra donc traduire: "La palette chargée des paroles des esprits aux bergers dans les près, aux blanchisseurs sur le douet, aux garde-chasse . . . ." Ces *paroles des esprits* sont les formules magiques que les bergers prononçaient pour se défendre eux et leurs troupeaux, que les blanchisseurs récitaient avant de se mettre à l'eau pour écarter d'eux les crocodiles, ainsi que les chasseurs avant de s'enfoncer dans le désert. Dans

\* Chabas, *Le Papyrus magique Harris*, pl. A, l. 1, pl. B, l. 1.

ce dernier membre de phrase, il y a une petite faute de copiste  pour , qui s'explique aisément par le choc dans la prononciation de  préposition avec  finale du verbe : ajoutons enfin que  MOUROU est le mot qui désigne le *laçage*, la chasse au lasso, et nous traduirons, “. . . aux garde-chasse qui sortent au canton des gazelles pour chasser au lasso.” On remarquera ici que le scribe souhaite devenir l'instrument de protection et non pas seulement le protégé, la palette  MASITI au moyen de laquelle on trace les formules magiques, l'aile  de vautour qui se déploie et enserre la personne divine ou humaine que la déesse vautour entend préserver de tout mal.

Il ne me reste plus qu'à donner la traduction suivie du texte dont je viens d'expliquer le sens et le développement littéraire. “Viens à moi, Amon, me délivrer de l'année fâcheuse, où le dieu Shou ne se lève plus, où vient l'hiver où était l'été, où les mois s'en vont hors leur place, où les heures se brouillent, où les grands t'appellent, ô Amon, où les petits te cherchent, où ceux même qui sont encore dans les bras de leur nourrice, ceux-là [crient]: ‘Donne les souffles!’—Amon trouve, Amon écoute, Amon est le sain devant qui marchent les souffles agréables; il me donne d'être comme l'aile du vautour, comme la palette chargée des discours des Esprits pour les bergers dans les champs, pour les laveurs sur la berge, pour les garde-chasse qui sortent au territoire des gazelles afin de lacer [le gibier].”


§ 5.—L'étude des signes hiéroglyphiques nous permet de pénétrer dans les profondeurs de l'antiquité égyptienne beaucoup plus avant que ne font les textes les plus anciens. Les signes ont gardé souvent en effet les formes d'objets qui étaient en usage aux premiers temps de l'écriture, puis qui cessèrent d'être employés à mesure que la civilisation perfectionnait son outillage. Le *bras armé*  me paraît offrir un bon exemple du fait que j'avance.

Le *bras armé*  est l'abrégé d'un signe plus complet où l'homme entier tient à une seule main ou à deux mains le même objet qu'on voit dans le poing fermé du bras seul. On dit d'habitude que cet objet est une massue, un casse-tête, formé d'une branche ou d'une tige taillée court et terminée par un nœud. J'ai examiné sur les monuments même des milliers d'exemples du signe













en question, et j'ai été frappé de voir que, là où il était tracé avec soin, l'instrument que tient la main n'est pas certainement un morceau de bois. C'est un objet assez court terminé en haut par


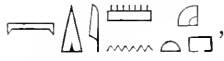






























un bulbe simple ou légèrement séparé en deux, bref un os d'animal, l'os d'une jambe de bœuf ou de mouton.

L'arme que tient le *bras armé*  est donc un gros os d'animal, et le signe nous reporte à un temps où, pour l'Égyptien, l'arme de main la plus commune était un os d'animal, longtemps par conséquent avant l'époque monumentale.

On croit peut-être qu'une arme pareille devait être peu redoutable : ce serait une erreur de l'imaginer. Quand on feuillète les rapports de police, on constate que beaucoup des rôdeurs de barrière les plus dangereux portent sur eux, dans leur poche, quand on les arrête, un os de mouton, court et de forme semblable à celui que les Égyptiens mettaient dans la main du *bras armé*. Les agents ne s'y trompent pas et y reconnaissent un casse-tête, qui, manié par un voleur adroit, assomme aussi certainement son homme que l'instrument le plus perfectionné. L'os des Égyptiens, qu'il fût un os de bœuf ou qu'il appartint à un quadrupède d'une espèce plus petite, était donc une arme réelle, assez meurtrière et assez répandue aux temps primitifs pour devenir dans l'écriture le déterminatif naturel des idées de lutte et de violence.

§ 6.—Les textes ptolémaïques nous donnent fréquemment l'orthographe  au lieu de . Les variantes ptolémaïques ne sont pas souvent, comme on le croit d'ordinaire, de pures fantaisies des scribes et des graveurs ; elles ont été déterminées presque toujours, au moins dans les premiers temps, par la valeur vocalique des signes qu'elles employaient, et peuvent parfois nous donner des renseignements précieux sur la prononciation de l'époque. Ainsi la variante  de l'article masculin singulier  nous montre quelle était la vocalisation de cet article.  répond à l'antique , *ciel* ; mais, sous les Ptolémées, le *t* féminin a disparu depuis longtemps de la prononciation et n'est plus qu'une survivance orthographique. Les transcriptions coptes nous montrent au lieu du groupe ancien  la prononciation *πε*, *T.*, *φε*, *M.*, et en composition, selon les dialectes *-πε*, *-πι*,   , *πεπιπε*, *βεπιπε*, *T.* *βεπιπι*, *M.* Si on a choisi ce signe , prononcé *pe*, *pi*, pour remplacer le signe , c'est que l'article singulier

masculin ne possédait plus une prononciation *pa*, mais avait pris déjà la prononciation ΠΕ, ΠΙ, qu'il a en copte suivant les dialectes. Et de fait on trouve le nom , variante , transcrit sur la stèle bilingue de Turin, Πετ-μεροψις, avec  = *pe*.\* Si, dans les textes ptolémaïques, on trouve  à côté de , c'est que  avait alors la même prononciation que . Or, des exemples, comme ceux de , *la ville*, transcrit en copte  $\text{Ⲣⲉⲓ. M.}$ ,  $\text{Ⲣⲉⲉ. T.}$ , nous donnent une prononciation MI, ME, selon les dialectes, pour le groupe , , , aux derniers temps de l'écriture hiéroglyphique.  d'autre part est l'expression du verbe *aimer*, où le  final du  antique peut tomber dans l'usage courant:  est le copte  $\text{ⲉⲉ}$ ,  $\text{ⲉⲉⲓ}$ , si bien que l'orthographe  nous ramène comme l'orthographe  à une prononciation MITI, METET, ou plutôt avec chute du -i féminin finale, MITI, MÊTÉ, dont les nuances répondent probablement aux différences des dialectes de la dernière époque égyptienne.

Si nous remontons à l'autre extrémité de l'histoire de la langue, nous trouvons dans les textes des Pyramides des faits analogues à ceux que je viens de rappeler, et qui semblent indiquer pour le groupe , et surtout pour la conjonction , une prononciation MI, au moins dans le dialecte usité aux environs de Memphis. La conjonction  est écrite assez fréquemment dans ces textes , qu'on ne doit pas décomposer en M  + :  est un syllabique formé d'une consonne et d'une voyelle, et, selon l'usage des syllabiques, il peut s'écrire à volonté avec son expression phonétique complète , ou avec l'un ou l'autre des éléments qui entrent dans sa composition , , . A cette conjonction vient souvent se joindre la préposition  intercalée entre elle et le mot auquel s'applique l'idée de comparaison expliquée par . Ainsi:



“PEPI prend là sa couronne comme HOROU, fils de TOUMOU.” †

\* San-Quintino, *Iscrizione bilingue sopra una mummia Egizia*, T. I-II.

† *Pyramide de Pepi 1<sup>er</sup>*, l. 162.





curieuse, parce qu'elle donne la vocalisation complète en lettres alphabétiques de la locution que nous étudions en ce moment :



. Le groupe MI-R est l'équivalent exact de MIR, employé comme expression graphique de , et nous avons du même coup la prononciation MIR pour *aimer*, la prononciation MI pour , dans le dialecte memphitique de cette époque reculée. L'orthographe s'explique par ce fait que préposition avait une voyelle finale qui était parfois i : cet se heurtant au de IOU, *aller*, donnait probablement lieu à une sorte de diphthongaison AMIRI-IOU ou plutôt d'i mouillé.







## QUELQUES LETTRES DE TELL EL-AMARNA.

PAR A. J. DELATTRE, S.J.

I.—90.

ZIMRIDDI, GOUVERNEUR DE SIDON, AU ROI D'ÉGYPTE.

Zimriddi, gouverneur de Sidon, avait probablement été nommé à ce poste après la chute du roi de Sidon dont il est question No. 99, ligne 40.

Zimriddi a reçu des ordres du roi d'Égypte ; il vante son empressement à les exécuter. Il demande du secours contre des ennemis puissants qui l'attaquent.

*Texte.*

RECTO.

1. *A-na šar-ri bil-ia*
2. *ilani-ia Šamši-ia ša-ri bi-la-ia*
3. *ki ti-ma*
4. *um-ma : Zi-im-ri-id-di,*
5. *amīlu ḥa-za-nu ša maḥazi Zi-du-na,*
6. *a-na šipi bil-ia ilani Šamši ša-ri*
7. *ša bi-la-ia, a-na šipi bil-ia*
8. *ilani-ia šamši-ia ša-ri bi-la-ia*
9. *VII šu u VII mini am-ku-ut.*
10. *Lu-u i-di šarru bil-ia i-nu-ma*
11. *šal-ma-at maḥazu Zi-du-na, šâl-lat-ti*
12. *sârri bil-ia ša i-din i-na ḫa-ti-ia ;*
13. *u i-nu-ma iš-ti-mi a-ma-at*
14. *šarri bil-ia. I-nu-ma iš-tap-par a-na ardi-šu,*
15. *u i-iḫ-di lib-bi-ia u*
16. *i-ša-ki riš-ia u in-nam-ru*
17. *II inâ-ia, usna-ia i-na-ša-mi*
18. *a-ma-at šarri bil-ia u i-di*

VERSO.

19. *šarru i-nu-ma šu-ti-ra-ku ; i-na*
20. *pa-ni šabi bi-ta-ti šarri bil-ia*
21. *šu-ti-ra-ku kab-ba ki-ma ḫa-bi šarri bil-ia.*
22. *U i-di šarru bil-ia i-nu-ma*

23. *da-na-at nu-kur-tum rabiš ili-ia* ;  
 24. *kab-bi . . . . . a ša i-din šarru*  
 25. *i-na . . . . . in-ni-ip-šu*  
 26. *u amiuu . . . . . marani u i-din-ni*  
 27. *šarru i- . . . . . u niši ša i-la-ak*  
 28. *i-na pa-ni šabi bi-ta-at šarri*  
 29. *a-na ša-riš (?) maḥaz ḥal-su (+ signe du pluriel) ša in-ni-ip-šu*  
 30. *a-na amiluti tiduki,*  
 31. *u ut-ta-ri-ši-na i-na*  
 32. *ka-ti-ia, u i-li-ia ra-ši*  
 33. *sarru bil-ia ki-i-ma amiluti a-bu-ti . .*  
 34. *pa-na-nu-um.*

## TRADUCTION.

(1) Au roi mon maître, (2) à mon dieu, mon Soleil, au roi mon maître, (3) pour information, (4) en ces termes: Zimridi, (5) gouverneur de la ville de Ziduna. (6) Aux pieds de mon maître, du dieu, Soleil, du roi (7) qui est mon maître, (8) mon dieu, mon Soleil, roi mon maître, (9) sept fois et sept fois, je me suis prosterné. (10) Le roi mon maître saura que (11) la ville de Ziduna est sauvée. [Ziduna] proie (12) du roi mon maître, qu'il a remise entre mes mains, et que j'ai entendu l'ordre (14) du roi mon maître. Quand il le manda à son serviteur, (15) mon cœur s'est réjoui et (16) ma tête s'est relevée, mes deux yeux ont brillé. Mes oreilles gardent (18) l'ordre du roi mon maître. Sache, (19) ô roi, que je [l']exécute; en (20) présence des hommes de *bitati* du roi mon maître, (21) j'exécute tout, suivant la parole du roi mon maître. (22) Sache, ô roi mon maître, que (23) des ennemis sont nombreux contre moi . . . . .

(27) . . . . . des gens qui se rendent (28) en présence des hommes de *bitati* du roi, (29) pour *plaindre* (?) les villes qui ont été remises (30) aux soldats (31, 32) et que j'ai replacées en mon pouvoir. (32-34) Que le roi mon maître ait des sentiments favorables pour moi, si des ennemis . . .

## REMARQUES.

l. 9.—*Ta-a-an*, souvent écrit dans ces lettres *ta-an*, doit se lire *mini* ou *minu*. Voir le No. 130, l. 6, et Brünnow, 3969.

l. 17.—*Uzna* est écrit au moyen d'un idéogramme particulier et d'un complément phonétique *na*. Conjectural.

## II.—No. 123.

ZIMRIDİ, PRÉFET DE LAKIS, AU ROI D'ÉGYPTE.

Zimridi et Zimriddi sont probablement un seul et même personnage dans des situations diverses.

*Texte.*

RECTO.

1. *A-na šarri bil-ia*
2. *ilani-ia Šamši-ia,*
3. *Šamaš ša iš-tu*
4. *Sami sa-mi-i,*
5. *umma : Zi-im-ri-di*
6. *bilu ša maḥazu La-ki-ša,*
7. *ardu-ka, ip-ri*
8. *ša šipi-ka.*
9. *a-na šipi šarri bil-ia*
10. *Šamši i(š-tu) sami sa-mi-i*
11. *VII šu (u VII) mini*
12. *iš-ti-ḥa-ḥi-in.*
13. *Amilu mar ši-ip-ri*

VERSO.

14. *ša šarri bil-ia*
15. *ša iš-tap-ra-an-ni,*
16. *iš-ti-mi amati*
17. *rabiš rabiš,*
18. *u a-nu-ma*
19. *u-ši-ši-ru-mi*
20. *ki-ma ša ḥa-bi-šu.*

TRADUCTION.

(1) Au roi, mon maître, (2) mon dieu, mon Soleil, (7) Soleil qui [est issu] du (4) ciel, (5) en ces termes : Zimridi, (6) chef de la ville de Lakis, (7) ton serviteur, la poussière (8) de tes pieds. (9) Aux pieds du roi mon maître, (10) du Soleil qui [est issu] du ciel, (11) sept fois et sept fois, (12) je me prosterne.

(13) Le messenger (14) du roi mon maître, (15) que [celui-ci] m'a envoyé, (16) j'ai entendu ses communications (17) parfaitement, (18) et maintenant, (19) j'exécuterai [les ordres] (20) suivant sa parole.

## REMARKS.

L. 16.—*Ištīmi*, pour *aštīmi*, est une première personne. C'est une simple différence de prononciation, analogue à celles qui existent dans les dialectes arabes.

L. 19.—*Ušišīru*. Voix III, 1, du verbe *ašaru*.

## III.—No. 97.

## ARAD-ASRATOU AU ROI D'ÉGYPTE.

L'auteur de cette lettre, dont le nom, s'écrit aussi Arad-Asirtou est le père d'Azirou (No. 41, ll. 26, 27), père au sens propre, et non dans un sens figuré comme l'égyptien Doudou (voir le No. 39, traduit précédemment dans les *Proceedings*). Arad-Asirtou, comme son fils Azirou, est adversaire de Rib-Addou (No. 74, l. 78). Il est constamment question de cette rivalité dans les lettres de ce dernier. Arad-Asratou proteste de son dévouement au roi d'Égypte, et tient sous ce rapport le même langage que son rival.

La lettre compte 32 lignes, dont huit (13-20) incomplètes.

## Texte.

## RECTO.

1. (A)-na šarri Šamši bil-ia
2. um-ma : Arad-Aš-ra-tú
3. ardu-ka ip-ri ša šipi-(ka).
4. A-na šipi šarri bil-ia
5. VII šu u VII šu am-kut.
6. A-mur a-na-ku arad šarri u
7. kalbu ša bitī-šu, u
8. mat A-mur-ri kab-ba-šu
9. a-na šarri bil-ia a-na-ša-ar-šu.
10. Ak-bi aš-ta-ni a-na Pa-ḥa-na-ti
11. amili ḥazani-ia, li-ḫa-mi
12. Šabi bi-ta-ti a-na na-ša-ri
13. niši šar-ri . . . . .

## VERSO.

- . . . . .
22. Šum-ma la a-na-ša-ar
  23. maḥaza Šu-mu-ri, maḥazú Ul-la-za . . .
  24. I-nu-ma amilu ḥazani-ia

25. *i-na-ši šim-ti sarri Šamši,*  
 26. *u a-na-ku iṣida itti*  
 27. *ša maḥazu Šu-mur u kab-bi*  
 28. *matâti a-na šarri Samši-ia*  
 29. *bil-ia a-na-ša-ar-šu*

## TRADUCTION.

(1) Au roi, Soleil, mon maître, (2) en ces termes : Arad-Asratou, (3) ton serviteur, la poussière de (tes) pieds. (4) Aux pieds du roi mon maître, (5) sept fois et sept fois, je me suis prosterné. (6) Je suis le serviteur du roi, et (7) le chien de sa maison, et (8) le pays d'Amourou tout entier (9), pour le roi mon maître je le garde. (10) Je l'ai dit et répété à Pakhanati (11) mon gouverneur, puissé-je recevoir (12) des hommes [ou soldats] de *bitati*, pour garder [avec leur secours], (13) les gens [les sujets] du roi . . . . . (22) Si je ne (les) garde (23) la ville de Zoumour, la ville d'Ullaza . . . . . (24) Pendant que mon gouverneur (25) apporte la décision du roi Soleil, (26-29) je garderai la moisson de froment de la ville de Zoumour et de tous les territoires, pour le roi mon Soleil, mon maître.

## REMARQUES.

Ligne 5.—On rencontre ici VII *šu u* VII *šu*, au lieu de VII *šu u* VII *ta-a-an* (ou *ta-an*), qu'on trouve dans la plupart des autres lettres. Cela semble indiquer que *šu* exprime le même mot que *ta-a-an*, et qu'il faut le lire *mini*. Voir plus haut, I, note sur la ligne 9.

Ligne 8.—Nous avons dit dans un travail précédent pourquoi nous lisions *A-mur-ri* et non *A-ḥar-ri*. Rib-Addou, dans une de ses lettres (No. 77, ll. 8, 9), se plaint de ce que les fils d'Arad-Asirtou ont envahi le pays d'Amouri (ou Amourri). Azirou, fils d'Arad-Asirtou, semble s'y être définitivement établi (No. 40, ll. 15, 16).

Lignes 10 et 11.—Arad-Asirtou est donc subordonné à un *ḥazanu*, gouverneur. Le nom de ce dernier, *Paḥanati*, a l'allure égyptienne.—L'idéogramme que je lis *ḥazanu*, se rencontre suivi de sa lecture No. 129, l. 21. Voir plus loin, No. VII, ligne 21 du texte.

Lignes 26-29.—Arad-Asirtou, à ce qu'il prétend, garde les blés pour le roi d'Égypte ; il veut probablement dire : pour le cas où ils seraient nécessaires à l'entretien des troupes du roi en Phénicie.

Ligne 23.—La ville de Zoumour, d'après cela, fait partie du pays d'Amourou.

## IV.—No. 99.

## ABI-SARRI AU ROI D'ÉGYPTE.

Abi-sarri, chargé précédemment de la garde d'une ville, a essuyé des pertes en luttant contre le roi de Sidon. Il demande, pour rétablir ses affaires, la jouissance de la ville d'Ouzou. Il renseigne le roi d'Égypte sur les mouvements du roi de Khazour.—La ville d'Ouzou est peut-être la même que la ville d'Ousou, *Ušu*, que les documents de Sennachérib et d'Assurbanipal fixent sur la Méditerranée, non loin de Saint-Jean d'Acre. Khazour s'identifie naturellement avec le Khatsor (Azor) biblique.

*Texte.*

## RECTO.

1. *A-na šarri bil-ia ilani-ia Šamsi-ia*
2. *um-ma : Abi-šarri arad-ka.*
3. VII u VII *a-na šipi šarri bili-ia.*
4. *Šarru bi-li-ia iš-ta-par*
5. *aš-šum ta-mi-ku ša i-pa-aš-ši*
6. *it-ti-ia ; at-ta-din*
7. *a-na šarri bi-li-ia*
8. I. C *ša(?) ki niru (?) ; u*
9. *li-it-ta-din šarru bi-li-ia*
10. *pa-ni-šu a-na ardi-šu,*
11. *u li-id-din maḥaza U-zu*
12. *a-na ardi-šu ga-tar(?) a-ku-ni u mi-ma*
13. *a-na damḫati(?) šu li-it-ta-din*
14. *šarru bi-li-ia, u amil niruti-šu*
15. *a-na na-ša-ri*
16. *maḥaza-šu ; u li-ru-ub*
17. *u li-mur pa-ni šarri bi-li-ia*
18. *a-na pa-nu-ia a-na*
19. *muḫ-ḫi šarri bi-li-ia,*

## VERSO.

20. *ki-i-mi i-nu-ma*
21. *i-p-ki-id-ni šarru bi-li*
22. *a-na na-ša-ri maḥaza-šu ;*
23. *u aš-ta-par a-na šarri bi-li*
24. *i-nu-ma um-mi ša-ma-ma*
25. *Il-gi šar maḥazi Zi-du-na*

26. *amil niruti-ia. Li-it-ta-ši*  
 27. *pa-ni-šu šar-ru a-na ardi-šu*  
 28. *u li-iḫ-ki-id*  
 29. *a-na amili hazani-šu u*  
 30. *li-id-din maḥaza U-zu*  
 31. *a-na nuḫi (?) mi-i-ma*  
 32. *a-na ardi-šu, a-na la-ki*  
 33. *iṣi, a-na in(?) ti-ib-nu,*  
 34. *a-na ti-i-ti i-nu-ma*  
 35. *i-ḫu-uš nu-kur-tu.*  
 36. *La-a it-ti-ir*  
 37. *ma-mi-ta*  
 38. *ia-nu . . . ti-ib-nu,*  
 39. *ša iš-ḫa-ta mat šarri*  
 40. *šar maḥazi Zi-du-nu.*  
 41. *Šar maḥazi Ḫa-zu-ra*

## MARGE.

42. *i-ti-zu-ib maḥaza-šu u it-ta-ša-(ma)*  
 43. *it-ti amil ti-du-ki ; li-i-ti*  
 44. *šarru a-na amil niruti ni-ru-ti-su, nu-ud . . . . u*  
 45. *i-bu-uš mat šarri a-na amil tiduki*  
 46. *Li-iš-pur(?) šarru amila hazana-šu ša i-na*  
 47. *mat Ki . .*

## TRANSDUCTION.

(1) Au roi mon maître, mon dieu, mon Soleil, (2) en ces termes :  
 Abi-sarri ton serviteur. (3) Sept fois et sept fois aux pieds du roi  
 mon maître.

(4) Le roi mon maître m'a envoyé message (5) par l'effet de la  
 bonté qu'il a (6) pour moi. Je donnerai (7) au roi mon maître  
 (8) cent . . . . . et (9) que le roi mon maître tourne (10) sa  
 face vers son serviteur, (11) et qu'il donne la ville d'Ouzou (12) à  
 son serviteur, *je [l'en] supplie (?)*, et toute chose, (13, 14) que le roi  
 mon maître me la donne selon sa bonté, et aussi des hommes de  
 char [montés sur des chars] (15) pour garder (16) sa ville ; et que je  
 puisse entrer, (17) et voir la face du roi mon maître (18, 19) [tourné]  
 vers ma face, en présence du roi mon maître, (20) comme lorsque  
 (21) le roi seigneur me chargea [précédemment] de la garde de sa  
 ville [c'est-à-dire, d'une de ses villes]. J'envoie [ce message] au roi  
 mon maître, (24, 25) alors que Ilgi, roi de Sidon a défait (26) mes

hommes de char. Qu'il [le roi d'Égypte] tourne sa face (27) vers son serviteur; (28) qu'il donne des ordres (29) à son gouverneur et (30) qu'il donne la ville d'Ouzou [avec son territoire], (31) en toute jouissance (?) (32) à son serviteur, pour [y] prendre (33) du bois, pour [y] *prendre* (?) du fourrage, (34) pour s'[y] retirer quand (35) on exercera des hostilités [contre lui]. (36) *Il ne reste plus* (37) de *subsistance* (?) [là où je suis]; (38) il n'y a plus . . . fourrage, (39, 40) parce que le roi de Sidon a ravagé le territoire du roi [d'Égypte].

(41) Le roi de Khazour (42) a quitté sa ville et est sorti (43) avec des hommes de guerre. (43, 44) Que le roi *donne ses ordres* (?) à ses hommes de char . . . (45) et je remettrai le pays du roi à ses soldats. (46) Que le roi envoie son gouverneur qui est dans (47) le pays de Ki . . . .

## REMARQUES.

L. 14.—Cf. l. 44, où l'idéogramme que nous transcrivons *niruti* se trouve suivi de sa lecture. Voir Brünnow, 9189. *Niru* ou *nirut* signifie proprement *joug*, *attelage*.

L. 33.—Le signe incertain qui semble figurer *in*, doit être un idéogramme et présenter un sens comme *prendre*, que suggère le contexte. Il se peut aussi qu'on doive lire *a-na tibnu ti-ib-nu*, par pléonasme graphique, et traduire *pour fourrage*. Voir Brünnow, 4321.

## V.—No. 109.

## MILKILI (OU IŠKILI) AU ROI D'ÉGYPTE.

*Texte.*

## RECTO.

1. *A-na šarri bil-ia*
2. (*il*)*ani-ia Šamši-ia*
3. *ki ti-ma*
4. *um-ma : Mil-ki-li ardu-ka-ma*
5. *ip-ri ša šipi-ka.*
6. *a-na šipi šarri bil-ia*
7. *ilani-ia Šamši-ia*
8. VII *su* VII *mini am-ku-ut.*
9. *A-ma-at ul-ti-bi-la*
10. *šarru bil-ia ilani-ia*
11. *Šamšu-ia a-na ia-ši.*



12. *A-nu-um-ma i-ma-ši-ru-šu*  
 13. *a-na šarri bil-ia*  
 14. *Šamši iš-tu sami sa-mi,*

## VERSO.

15. *u lu i-i-ti*  
 16. *šarru bilu-ia ilani-ia*  
 17. *Šamšu-ia i-nu-ma*  
 18. *ša-lim a-šar*  
 19. *šarri-ia ša*  
 20. *it-ti-ia*

## TRANSLATION.

(1) Au roi mon maître, (2) mon dieu, mon soleil (3) pour information, (4) en ces termes : Milkili (ou Iskili) ton serviteur, (5) la poussière de tes pieds. (6) Aux pieds du roi mon maître, (7) mon dieu, mon soleil, (8) sept fois et sept fois je me suis prosterné. (9-11) Le roi, mon maître, mon soleil, m'a fait parvenir un ordre (12) Maintenant, je l'exécute (13) pour le roi mon maître. (14) soleil [venu] du ciel. (15) Et sache (17) le roi mon maître, mon dieu, mon soleil, (18) qu'il est en bon état le territoire (19) du roi qui (20) [se trouve] dans mon voisinage.

## VI.—110.

## MILKILI AU ROI D'ÉGYPTE.

La pièce compte 27 lignes, les huit dernières fortement endommagées.

*Texte.*

## RECTO.

9. *I-di šarru bili*  
 10. *i-nu-ma da-na-at*  
 11. *nu-kur-tu ili-ia*  
 12. *u ili Šu-pi-ar-da-ta,*  
 13. *u i-ki-im*  
 14. *šarra bili mata-šu*  
 15. *iš-tu ka-at*

## VERSO.

16. *amilúti tiduki.*
17. *Šum-ma ia-nu*
18. *i-uš-šî-ra*
19. *šarru bili narkabâti*
20. *a-na la-ki . . . . .*

## TRADUCTION.

(9) Le roi seigneur saura (10) qu'une grande (11) force ennemie [s'est levée] contre moi (12) et contre Supiardata, (13) et qu'elle a pris (14) au roi seigneur son territoire (14) des mains (16) de [ses] soldats. (17) Si le roi n'envoie point des chars, (20) pour prendre . . . . .

## VII.—129.

## DAGANTAKALA AU ROI D'ÉGYPTE.

Dagantakala proteste d'une pleine soumission. Le premier élément du nom, *Dagan*, est précédé du déterminatif des noms divins.

*Texte.*

## RECTO.

1. *A-na šarri rabi bi-li-ia . . . . .*
2. *Da-ga-an-ta-ka-la*
3. *ardu-ka ikbi.*
4. VII šu u VII šu-ma
5. *a-na 11 šîpi šarri rabi bi-li-ia*
6. *im-ku-ut.*
7. *U i-na-na a-na šarri rabi*
8. *bi-li-ia*
9. *Da-ga-an-ta-ka-la*
10. *ardu-ka a-(na-ku ; a-na) a-ma-ti*
11. *šarri rabi bi-li-ia*
12. *iš-mi da-ni-iš.*
13. *Da-ga-an-ta-ka-la*
14. *(ik)bi : ki-ma a-bi-ia*
15. *(u abi) a-bi-ia-ma*

## VERSO.

16. (i)-bu-šu a-na šarri rabi,  
 17. a-na-ku a-na šarri rabi  
 18. bi-li-ia i-bu-uš.  
 19. U šarru rabu bi-li-ia  
 20. ik-ti a-na ia-ši:  
 21. ši-mi-ma a-na amili hazani ha-za-ni-ka.  
 22. A-na-ku iš-mi-ma da-ni-iš,  
 23. u šum-ma la-a  
 24. iš-mi a-na amili ha-za-ni  
 25. u šu i-i-ti-ma.

## TRADUCTION.

(1) Au grand roi mon maître . . . . (2)<sup>1</sup> Dagantakala (3) ton serviteur parle. (4) Sept fois et sept fois (5) aux deux pieds du grand roi, mon maître, (6) je me prosterne. (7) Et maintenant au grand roi (8) mon maître: [moi] (9) Dagantakala, (10) je suis ton serviteur; aux ordres (11) du grand roi mon maître (12) j'obéis parfaitement. (13) Dagantakala (14) dit: Comme mon père (15) et le père) de mon père (16) ont agi envers le grand roi, (17) moi envers le grand roi (18) mon maître, j'ai agi. (19) Et le grand roi mon maître (20) m'a dit: (21) obéis à ton gouverneur. (22) Moi j'ai parfaitement obéi; (23, 24) et si je n'ai pas obéi au gouverneur, (25) il le sait.

## REMARQUES.

L. 22.—*Išmi*, qui a pour sujet *anaku*, est évidemment une première personne.



## THE RHIND MATHEMATICAL PAPYRUS.

BY F. L. GRIFFITH.

This most important document was acquired by the British Museum in 1865:\* in 1868 Dr. Birch wrote a short account of it with well-deciphered extracts (*Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache*, p. 108 ff.). A facsimile was prepared, and in the spring of 1872 Dr. Birch gave prints of it to Professor Eisenlohr, but appears to have taken no further steps towards publication. In 1874 Professor Brugsch saw the papyrus and made some very able remarks upon it in the *Zeitschrift*, p. 147. Meanwhile Eisenlohr, who had previously given especial attention to Egyptian land-measures, was engaged in a systematic decipherment of the text, a task in which he was aided by two mathematicians, his brother Professor Fr. Eisenlohr, and Dr. Cantor, author of important treatises on the history of mathematics. After five years' work he published the results of his studies, and the "Mathematisches Handbuch der alten Aegypter" (Leipzig, 1877), which included the text conveniently arranged in an atlas, as well as a full transcription and commentary, was immediately welcomed on its appearance.†

Owing to the irregular manner of its publication, the papyrus itself has never been described; as to the facsimile, the strokes of the scribe are very tolerably well rendered, but it undoubtedly never received the final revision to which one may suppose that Dr. Birch would have subjected it if he had carried out his intention of publishing the document: the actual mistakes are few, the most serious perhaps being the frequent failure to mark off accurately the mendings

\* How A. H. Rhind obtained it is not known. That explorer does not allude to it in his remarkable book, "Thebes, its Tombs and their Tenants" (1862). He states (p. 90, note) that he had presented all his antiquities to the Edinburgh Museum. But the MSS. were not included in the gift, some being presented and some sold, after his death in 1864, to the British Museum.

† Reviewed by Ebers, *Liter. Centralblatt*, 1878, p. 1350. Cantor's *Vorlesungen über Geschichte der Mathematik*, Kap. I, is founded upon it. The following references will be useful to some. Eisenlohr, *Proc. S. B. A.*, III, 1881, p. 97, for the identification of the Hyksos king. Rodet, *Bull. du Soc. mathématique de France*, 1878, p. 139, and *Journal asiatique*, 7<sup>e</sup> série, tome 18, p. 184 ff; Révillout, *Rev. égypt.*, II, 287 ff.; Schaack, *Rec. de trav.*, III, 152-154; Erman, *Aegypten*, p. 487 ff.; Brugsch, *Aegyptologie*, p. 366 ff.; Erman, *Aeg. Zeits.*, XXIX, p. 59.

from the original papyrus. Eisenlohr's transcription and commentary naturally require correction in many places, and these corrections I propose to print as they become apparent to me, and not necessarily in the order of the composition : plates accompanying these notes will contain the *corrigenda* of the facsimile, and I shall commence at once with a description of the papyrus, for which Borchardt's and Erman's researches\* have been a good preparation.

The mathematical papyrus consists of two sheets (numbered B.M. Pap. 10,058 and 10,057). In Eisenlohr's plates they are treated as if they had once been united, but although they are of the same *format* and are parts of the same work I believe that they must be independent.

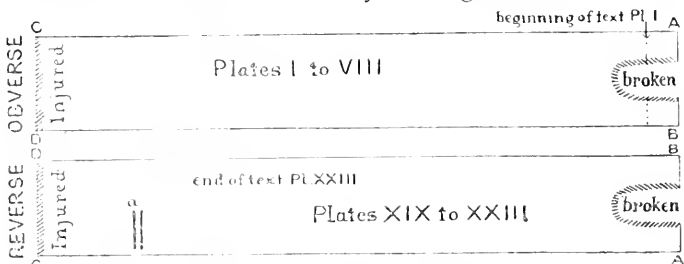
Although the papyrus is of good quality, still retaining its pale yellow colour, and not at all decayed, it has been injured in places, and has been clumsily mended with pieces of whiter papyrus pasted on to the reverse over the holes and cracks : as this proceeding sometimes threatened to cover up writing, a copy of the hieratic was first made with some care on the new piece : these recent portions are indicated in the facsimile by dotted lines. The restorer of the d'Orbiney papyrus was ready to invent writing where he did not find it : Rhind, if it was he, acted with a better intention, but the mending was unnecessary, and has made some interesting passages uncertain. Altogether it has suffered the common fate of these ancient records, having been mended and mounted by a person who could not read it, possibly even by some dealer who felt no scientific interest in the matter. Thanks to its excellent condition it passed well through the ordeal, but where there is a split the edges have been ill adjusted, and the small loose fragments, of which there were several, have not been put carefully in their place. In my errata I have restored some of these to their correct position.

The length of the pages does not necessarily follow that of the leaves, but was evidently influenced by it : in 10,057 generally two pages are written in one leaf, a few signs overflowing the junction ; the horizontal lines which divide the greater part of the two sheets into bands, were sometimes ruled a page at a time if it were a long one, but more often a leaf at a time : the end of each ruling was marked with a spot of ink † as a guide, and the lines frequently

\* Borchardt, "Remarks on the Egyptian MSS. of the Berlin Museum," *A.Z.*, XXVII, p. 118 ff. Erman, *Westcar*, I, pp. 2-6.

† On the reverse of 10,058 these are black, elsewhere they are red.

crossed the junction of the leaves, showing that this operation was performed after the leaves had been joined together.



*a.* The "motto," Pl. XXIV, No. 85, placed upside down.

**B.M. Pap. 10,058. Scale 1: 25.**

10,058 measures 6 feet  $9\frac{1}{2}$  inches (2 m. 9 cm.), and is made up of 6 leaves, each  $12\frac{3}{4}$  inches (31 cm.) high, and very nearly 16 inches (40 cm.) long, pasted together, the right hand leaf in each pair overlapping that on the left to the extent of about  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch on the obverse (which side is distinguished by the fibres running horizontally). Of the first leaf,  $13\frac{3}{4}$  inches remain; thus 2 inches of it are lost, and probably a vertical strip protecting the beginning of the roll\* has been torn off with them. The 5th leaf is overlapped by the previous one to the extent of  $\frac{5}{8}$  inch, so that only 15 inches are available for writing: of the 6th leaf only 6 inches remain, thus  $9\frac{3}{4}$  inches have been broken away.

*Obverse.* The first leaf comprises a blank border, the introduction, and two-thirds of the first *nās* page (Eisenlohr, Pl. I). The two vertical lines appear to have been drawn without guiding spots of ink, but on the second the distances of the horizontal lines are marked in red.

*Reverse.* First leaf (Eisenlohr, Pl. XIX), black dashes mark the commencement of the horizontal lines, and are placed some on one and some on the other of the two vertical lines. The writing ceases at the end of the 4th leaf, but in the middle of the 5th is the "motto."<sup>†</sup>

10,057 measures 10 feet  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches (3 m. 19 cm.)  $\times$   $12\frac{3}{4}$  inches (31 cm.), and consists of 9 leaves of the same size as in 10,058. The writing is almost confined to the obverse, in the middle of which is

\* Borchardt, l. c, p. 119.

† Eisenlohr's Pl. XXII is made up of entries taken from the fifth and sixth lines only, thus:—80 follows 78 (Pl. XXI) in the 5th line: the whole of the long entry 81 is in the 6th line, the first half being beneath 78 and 80, and the second half beneath 83 (Pl. XXIII).

a large blank space. Of the 1st leaf only 3 inches remain, thus  $12\frac{3}{4}$  inches are broken away; the 9th leaf is of the full length ( $15\frac{1}{2}$  inches), but shows no vertical strip or guard; possibly an entire leaf is missing; the same leaf has been injured near the end, and some strips of writing (Eisenlohr, Pl. XXIV, No. 86) have been pasted upside down on the reverse to strengthen it, the writing being displayed. This was probably done in ancient times, as there are examples of the practice from Kahun.

*Obverse.* The pages follow each other generally at the rate of two to one leaf, but a few signs of each page are carried over the edges, and in one case half of a long page extends on to a second leaf; the sheet is lined throughout, and in each leaf the positions of the horizontal lines are marked with red dots. 5th leaf. One half of this is without writing, and is omitted by Eisenlohr (after Pl. XIV). The blank is continued throughout the obverse of the 6th leaf, the text beginning again abruptly on the 7th leaf (Eisenlohr, Pl. XV). 7-9, containing the geometrical portion of the work, must therefore have been written separately and afterwards glued on; indeed, there is every appearance of this having been done. Moreover, near the junction on the reverse, namely, from the end of the 6th leaf to the middle of the 7th, are the curious calendrical entries (Eisenlohr, Pl. IV No. 87) written between the top lines. These, like the calendar on the reverse of the Ebers papyrus, appear to me to certify some propitious dates, possibly concerning the manufacture of the papyrus. Curiously enough, they commence on the reverse of the 6th leaf, exactly at the point where the text on the obverse ends, as if some idea of sanctity were attached, demanding that they should be written on a *clean* sheet of papyrus, like a charm. The analogy of the Ebers calendar is not complete, for that is said to be written on the back of the *first* page.

*Reverse.* With the exception of the calendrical entries and the added strips referred to above, the reverse is hidden by the mount. Presumably it was lined throughout, but was otherwise blank.

According to my view, the two sheets 10,058 and 10,057 are separate, and the order of Eisenlohr's plates should be I-VIII, XIX-XXIII, IX-XVIII. In favour of the old view according to which the 6th leaf of 10,058 and the 1st of 10,057 would be in reality parts of one and the same leaf, it might be contended that my measurements agree sufficiently well with such a supposition. The existing remains of 10,058, 6th leaf and 10,071, 1st leaf, together make 6 + 3

= 9 inches, thus  $6\frac{3}{4}$  inches would be broken away between them. Now the end of the last page of 10,058 needs about 3 inches to complete it, and the beginning of Pl. IX about 2 inches; thus 5 inches are accounted for and the remaining  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inch might have been occupied by vertical dividing lines or even by a line of writing.

But there are sufficiently decisive arguments on the opposite side: first, a gap in the middle of a well preserved roll of papyrus could not be caused by natural decay or by wear, which would take place only at the ends of the sheet: but if the finders had torn the papyrus across at a point where there appeared to be an important division, in order to sell the two portions separately at a higher price, they would have been more careful than to destroy 6 inches of writing in doing so: besides, the native dealers seldom venture to do more than unroll the first page of a papyrus, and it must be remembered that both halves came into Rhind's possession.

The second argument relates to the text, and the truth of it can only be realized after considerable acquaintance with the latter: put boldly, it takes shape in the following brief list of contents, which will speak for itself, and which I consider embodies a generally correct though somewhat too sharply defined view of the nature of the document.

- (10,058). Title and date (Pl. I.)  
 „ Part I. Practical Arithmetical tables, viz., a table of the division of odd numbers by 2.—(Pl. I–VIII); and a table of the division of fractions, together with a simple “rule of thumb” constantly required (Pl. XIX, 61).  
 „ Part II. Problems and useful tables for daily *fellâh* life (Pl. XIX, 62—Pl. XXIII).  
 (10,057). Part III. Higher and Scientific Arithmetic, viz., *methods* of performing several arithmetical operations (Pl. IX–XIV).  
 „ Part IV. Mensuration (Pl. XV–XVIII).

Part I is divided from Part II by two vertical lines; Part III is at the beginning of the second sheet, Part IV follows after a long blank space (see above). To separate Pl. XIX, 61, from Pl. I–VIII, and insert it after Part IV, seems to me to introduce a very serious anomaly into the composition. Eisenlohr, who had not the original papyrus to work upon, was not in a position to discover the true order of the subjects: the facsimile alone without a description was in fact misleading.





## SUR DIFFÉRENTS MOTS ET NOMS ÉGYPTIENS.—III.

PAR E. LEFÉBURE.

## LA MENAT ET LE NOM DE L'EUNUQUE.

## I.

Quelques textes du temple de Dendérah permettent de reconnaître, avec une grande probabilité, le principal nom égyptien de l'eunuque, qui n'a pas encore été retrouvé malgré quelques tentatives en ce sens,\* et que le copte remplace par un terme différent de celui qu'emploient les hiéroglyphes.

Ces textes concernent l'objet appelé *Menat*, qui est fort ancien. Une statue du jeune dieu Ahi, offerte par le roi Pépi I, et représentée à Dendérah, tient la menat et le sistre.† Au papyrus de la 12<sup>e</sup> dynastie qui contient l'histoire de Sineh, les enfants royaux portent aussi le sistre et la menat.‡ Une menat qui daterait de l'époque Saïte, d'après M. Wiedemann, est au nom d'un roi du moyen empire.§ Sous la première dynastie du nouvel empire, on voit le haut fonctionnaire Rekhmara offrir des sistres et des menat aux invitées d'une fête,|| Thotmès I donner à Osiris d'Abydos des sistres et des menat,  Thotmès III donner à Ammon des tables, des colliers et des menat, , faits de l'or affiné rapporté par le roi des pays du Sud, sur leurs tributs annuels; \*\* etc.

La Menat, qui se composait d'une sorte de bulle ou de disque, d'un manche adapté à la bulle et d'un cordon adapté au manche †† (parfois aussi de deux bulles et de deux manches †††), avait des

\* Cf. Duemichen, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 182.

† Dendérah, II, 67, b, et III, 39.

‡ *Denkmaeler*, VI, 107, l. 268.

§ *Proceedings*, Mai 1887, p. 181.

|| Virey, *le Tombeau de Rekhmara*, 40.

¶ J. de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, I, 20, l. 8; cf. Mariette, *Abydos*, II, 31, et III, p. 376.

\*\* Champollion, *Notices*, II, p. 165-6.

†† Cf. Perrot et Chipiez, *l'Art égyptien*, p. 821.

††† Lepsius, *Aelteste Texte*, 42; et Stèle C 15 du Louvre.

usages assez différents : elle était tenue à la main ou portée au cou. Mais, dans les deux cas, elle avait la propriété d'amener la joie et de produire le salut. A Philæ, le jeune dieu Ahi agissant comme prêtre assistant (ou *camillus*), adresse la parole à Hathor : *je prends le sistre pour apaiser ton cœur, je saisis la menat et j'éloigne de toi le chagrin.\** A Dendérah, un Ptolémée dit à la même déesse : *je t'offre cette menat d'or et de perles, . . . je te la donne, qu'elle soit placée à ton cou ; réjouis-toi de la voir, que s'éclaire ta face, que se dilate le cœur de ta Majesté ; ô bonheur ! plus de trouble en toi.†*

Comme objet de main, la menat était tenue dans les fêtes publiques aussi bien que dans les réjouissances privées, avec le sistre, le tambourin, etc. *Les Hathoriennes prennent leurs tambours, et les Dames tiennent leurs menat,*



lit-on à Dendérah dans la description d'une cérémonie, où ces corporations de prêtresses et de matrones qui existaient aussi à Memphis et à Héliopolis,§ rappellent les réunions des dames romaines.|| Mais c'est surtout avec le sistre qu'on portait la menat ; les deux objets étaient presque inséparables, si bien que, dans la capitale même du 7<sup>e</sup> nome de la Haute Égypte, *la Ville des sistres* par excellence, l'un était aussi en honneur que l'autre : *il l'amène Ha-sekhem-u-t avec la menat et le sistre,*



Le sistre se tenait dans la main droite et la menat dans la main gauche.\*\* Portés ainsi, on agitait la menat avec le sistre, et il semble qu'on l'employait alors comme une sorte de fouet, ce qui rappelle les courroies rompues dans les temples pour chasser les démons, suivant Eusèbe.†† Il y a des menat à cordons dénoués ‡‡ dont la forme est bien celle du fouet, qui d'ailleurs se porte souvent au cou, encore aujourd'hui.

\* *Denkmaeler*, IV, 62, b.

† Dendérah, II, 79, b.

‡ Dendérah, III, 15.

§ Cf. *Transactions*, Vol. VII, part 1, Naville, *le Décret de Ptah Tatunen*, l. 5 et p. 130.

|| Cf. Tite Live, X, 23, XXVII, 37, etc.

¶ Brugsch, *Géographie*, I, 20.

\*\* J. de Rougé, *Edfou*, I, 33 ; et Dendérah, III, 32, c et d.

†† 1 réparation évangélique, IV, 23.

‡‡ J. de Rougé, *Edfou*, I, 33, et II, 163 ; Brugsch, *Supplément au Dictionnaire*, p. 850 ; *Denkmaeler*, IV, 79, a ; J. de Rougé, *Inscriptions*, I, 20, l. 8 ; cf. Naville, *Mythe d'Horus*, 13.

II.

Comme [collier, la menat se plaçait de telle sorte que le disque pendait dans le dos : elle recevait souvent un bourrelet protecteur pour le cou, et souvent aussi, ce qui l'a fait prendre pour un contre-poids de collier, elle supportait par devant un pectoral.\*




Dans ce rôle, la menat était en rapport intime avec son nom, qui appartient à la même racine que ceux de la nourrice, et de la mamelle, , impliquant par là des idées de production, de nutrition et de protection qu'exprime la présence de l'objet au cou des vaches divines ou des vautours divins,† et des déesses mères. Celles-ci le tendent souvent aux rois comme un talisman destiné à produire une sorte d'effet magique. L'effet ou l'objet magique s'appelait en égyptien *sa*, et de là vint probablement la valeur *s* donnée à la menat dans pour Osiris,‡ au sistre dans pour et même au Tat dans pour en écriture secrète.|| A Médinet-Abou, Hathor tend à Ramsès III son collier menat et un sistre d'où pendant les signes en disant : *je te présente la menat et le sistre ; jeunesse à ton nez en vie et bonheur!*¶

A Spéos Artémidos, la lionne Pakht en Hathor présente au roi la menat : *je te donne, lui dit-elle, la menat qui fait ta protection* (*sa*), . \*\* Il reste de l'époque saïte un assez grand nombre de menat (et de sistres) en terre émaillée, ayant servi d'amulettes†† funéraires ; l'épervier momifié de Sokaris portait parfois la menat sur le dos ; le jeune dieu Nefer-tmu avait souvent deux menat dans son emblème ; Isis enceinte, suivant le dire un peu succinct de Plutarque,‡‡ suspendit à son cou l'amulette



\* Mariette, *Boulaq*, 3<sup>e</sup> édition, p. 144.  
 † Cf. Naville, *Todtenbuch*, I, 29 ; Dendérah, III, 78 ; etc.  
 ‡ Pierret, *Etudes égyptologiques*, VIII, p. 130.  
 § Pierret, *Etudes égyptologiques*, VIII, p. 96.  
 || Pierret, *Etudes égyptologiques*, VIII, p. 46, stèle C 65 du Louvre.  
 ¶ Champollion, *Notices*, I, p. 362.  
 \*\* Champollion, *Notices*, II, p. 331.  
 †† Pierret, *Catalogue de la salle historique*, p. 161-4.  
 ‡‡ De *Iside et Osiride*, 68.

βϑ, qui semble bien dériver de la plume β mise sur la tête des femmes enceintes, et de la forme ϑ appartenant à la menat; etc.

Le nom des vaches nourricières s'écrit quelquefois par la menat,\* et on en s'étonnera pas si l'objet, porté surtout comme fouet par les prêtres et prêtresses nommés Ahi, était particulièrement consacré, comme collier, à la déesse vache et mère par excellence, Hathor. Cette déesse, mère du jeune dieu Ahi, était la dame du sistre et de la menat;† elle allait même jusqu'à les personnifier, comme le montre notamment une stèle de Turin,‡ et on la surnommait

ou , § à peu près comme une de ses prêtresses dite  et .

A Dendérah, où il y a une chambre du sistre à droite et une chambre de la menat à gauche, correspondant la première au côté Sud et la seconde au côté Nord du temple hathorien,\*\* il existe naturellement, dans les chambres de la menat et dans les cryptes, différentes représentations de l'objet; l'une d'elles commence par un buste d'Hathor †† tenant un enfant,‡‡ une autre réunit en pectoral quatre sistres, dont deux dans une barque.§§ Du reste, l'offrande de la menat se voit un peu partout dans le temple, et c'est cette offrande qui nous révèle le nom de l'eunuque, grâce au rapport établi par les Égyptiens entre la vitalité et la menat.

Dans la crypte No. 8, le don d'une menat est annoncé ainsi: *je donne la menat à la Solaire, à la dame de la menat, mettant en joie le cœur de la maîtresse de Dendérah. J'élève l's*  *de celui dont l'acte est maudit,*  *, et je réjouis le cœur de la*

\* Champollion, *Notices*, I, p. 196, 627 et 686; J. de Rougé, *Edfou*, I, 24.

† Dendérah, III, 19, o, etc.

‡ Maspero, *Recueil*, IV, p. 144, stèle 125 du musée de Turin.

§ Dendérah, II, 79, b, III, 53, et IV, 24, a.

|| Dendérah, II, 80.

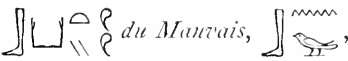
■ Dendérah, IV, 78, n.



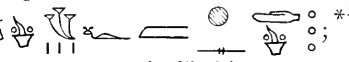
\*\* Dendérah, I, 6, a.


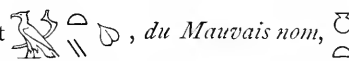
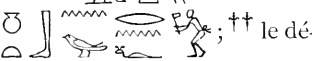
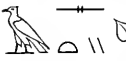

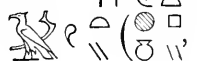

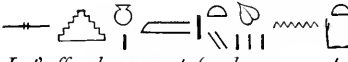

†† Cf. Champollion, *Notices*, I, p. 169, et II, p. 109; Wilkinson, édition Birch, III, p. 21; etc.

‡‡ Dendérah, II, 80; et III, 43, q.

§§ Dendérah, III, 43, p.

*maîtresse des deux pays. Je porte les*  *du Mauvais, en face de ta figure : réjouis ton cœur à leur vue.\**

Le mot *sam-ti* est rendu par *testicules* dans le Supplément du Dictionnaire de M. Brugsch; † quant au mot *bek-ti*, il reproduit le nom des mamelles, *keb*, et aussi *bek*, par exemple dans l'expression  ou  ‡ *ouvrir les mamelles des femmes, ou des jeunes femmes*; la racine d'où il dérive, *keb*, a quelquefois pour déterminatifs ○ § et ○, || ce qui implique une idée de bouton ou de rondeur; dans certains cas, par allusion à l'emblème de Nefer-tmu, la forme de la menat semble donnée aux boutons du lotus, ¶ plante dont une partie se nommait *keb*: *le beau lotus d'or avec ses keb de lapis*, ; \*\* sur le bouton terminal de l'instrument, on figurait d'habitude une fleur.

Dans une autre offrande la menat est dite  (crypte No 2), et  *du Mauvais nom*, ; †† le déterminatif représente sans équivoque possible le membre lui-même.  est pour ; †† *mati* est écrit dans la chambre de la menat  (○ ||, *les parties de la victime*), et, dans la crypte No. 1,  *je viens à toi*, dit le roi dans cette dernière scène, *dame du temple, Nut, Urthakau, puissance et salut*,  *j'apporte les parties à ton génie. Je l'offre la menat fondue en or et les parties du Malfaiteur*, 

\* Dendérah, III, 72, c.

† P. 1054.

‡ J. de Rougé, *Edfou*, I, 33.

§ Lieblein, *Dictionnaire de noms propres hiéroglyphiques*, No. 237.

|| Tombeau de Ramsès IX, 3<sup>e</sup> Corridor, paroi droite.

¶ Dendérah, II, 87.

\*\* Dendérah, III, 20, s.

†† Dendérah, III, 20, q.

‡‡ Brugsch, *Dictionnaire*, p. 121.


§§ Dendérah, II, 79, a.

||| Dendérah, III, 10.

## III.

La menat, d'après ces textes, remet en mémoire la serrure talismanique que porte l'enfant chinois,\* et surtout la bulle de la matrone ou de l'enfant romains, dans laquelle Plutarque † voyait un emblème de la lune, et Macrobe ‡ une figure du cœur, § mais qui était en tous cas le récipient d'un amulette quelconque. Les Romains ajoutaient de même des phylactères aux bracelets : ainsi la première dent d'un enfant, en bracelet, préservait des maux de matrice, || et Néron enfant avait dans un bracelet de la peau de serpent. ¶

La nature des objets rappelés par la menat, ou contenus dans la menat, ou peut-être à l'origine composant la menat, nous est révélée à Dendérah, et l'un d'eux a pour analogue un singulier phylactère africain. Les lettres des missionnaires rapportent que la fille convertie du roi Mtésa, dans l'Ouganda, "mit en pièces et jeta dans un trou une amulette immonde et honteuse que les princes et princesses reçoivent à leur naissance, et qu'ils doivent conserver avec respect durant toute leur vie. A leur mort elle est l'objet d'un culte ridicule : on croit que l'âme du défunt y réside, et il n'est pas rare qu'on lui accorde des sacrifices humains." \*\*

On comprend que l'un des organes de la génération ait passé pour favoriser la croissance ou la vitalité. C'est en vertu de cette idée, et pour acquérir la virilité de l'ennemi, que les Égyptiens après une victoire coupaient les phallus de leurs adversaires morts, coutume qui a existé chez d'autres peuples, par exemple à la Nouvelle Calédonie, où les parties viriles du vaincu appartenait au vainqueur. †† De même encore dans les rites de l'Ap-ro, on frottait la bouche et les yeux de la statue, pour les *ouvrir*, avec quatre parties ovales prises au corps du taureau sacrifié, les , c'est-à-dire, sans doute, les rognons et les testicules.

\* J. F. Davis, *la Chine*, traduction d'A. Pichard, t. II, p. 91.

† Questions Romaines, 101.

‡ Saturnales, I, 6.

§ Cf. Dendérah, III, 42, o.

|| Pline, *Histoire naturelle*, XXVIII, 4.

¶ Suétone, *Néron*, 6.

\*\* *Le Correspondant*, 10 Septembre 1890, Félix Klein, *Un royaume de chrétiens nègres dans l'Afrique équatoriale*, p. 890.

†† Labillardière, *Relation du voyage à la recherche de la Pérouse*.

Une influence non moins propice paraissait résider dans la mamelle, ce qui a donné lieu à nombre de pratiques ou de croyances chez différents peuples. Un voyageur italien du 13<sup>e</sup> siècle, Jean du Plan de Carpin, dit que chez les Tartares il y a de chaque côté de la porte deux idoles de feutre, et, sorte d'ébauche barbare d'une autre Diane d'Ephèse, "je ne sais quoi de même étoffe en forme de mamelles; ils croient que c'est ce qui garde leurs troupeaux et qui leur donne du lait et des petits."\* A Rome, où l'on adorait la déesse de l'allaitement, Rumilia ou Rumina,† et où les noms de Romulus et de Rémus seraient venus de Ruma, selon Plutarque,‡ il y avait une chapelle de la Mère Mamelle, *Ædicula Matris Ruma*;§ de plus, et par suite peut-être de quelque superstition analogue, les salles à manger dites Mammées, du nom de la mère d'Alexandre Sévère, Mammæa, devinrent pour le vulgaire les salles de la Mamelle, *ad Mammam*.|| On se figurera assez bien la menat (placée sur le dos parce que l'influence protectrice s'exerçait souvent par là ¶), d'après l'amulette romain contre les fausses couches comprenant, dans une peau de gazelle portée au cou, la chair blanche de la poitrine de la hyène, animal cru hermaphrodite, sept poils, et les parties génitales du cerf.\*\*

Pour les Égyptiens la menat était donc, d'après son rôle et son nom, une sorte de talisman de la nutrition comme de la force, et son pouvoir était produit ou redoublé par celui qu'on prenait aux mamelles et aux testicules des victimes: l'influence mâle et femelle se trouvait réunie là, comme dans *la couvade*.

Le fait de porter l'objet au cou n'a rien que de naturel. Le collier, qui est adhérent et circulaire, et qui sert facilement de support, a toujours semblé un des meilleurs agents possibles pour transmettre une action magique, comme l'ont bien remarqué les anciens.†† D'après Valerius Flaccus,‡‡ Médée dut sa passion pour Jason au collier de Vénus :

Quaque dedit teneros aurum furiale per artus,  
Deficit.

\* Cf. *Voyage de Guillaume de Rubruquis à la Tartarie et à la Chine*, ch. 3.

† Plutarque, *Romulus*, 3.

‡ Plutarque, *Romulus*, 5.

§ Sextus Rufus, *de Regionibus urbis*.

|| Lampride, *Alexandre Sévère*, 25.

¶ Cf. Pierret, *Études égyptologiques*, VIII, p. 127.

\*\* Pline, XXVIII, 27.

†† Cf. Pline, XXXII, 2, XXXVIII, 3; etc.

‡‡ Argonautiques, l. VI.

Les Grecs disaient, après la guerre sacrée et le pillage du temple de Delphes, que la femme d'un chef Phocidien se prostitua parce qu'elle avait pris le collier d'Hélène, et qu'une autre fut brûlée parce qu'elle avait porté le collier d'Eriphile.\* Lorsque Séréna fut *étranglée*, pendant le siège de Rome par Alaric, on crut que la mère des dieux la punissait par là de lui avoir jadis pris son collier.† De nos jours, le général Daumas a observé en Algérie une croyance analogue, mais dans un sens favorable: un marabout faisant la paix entre deux tribus, "prit un chapelet qui lui vient de son père, le passa au cou de chacun des assistants, et appela sur eux, sur leurs biens et sur leurs familles, les bénédictions de Dieu par des prières appelées *fatha*; il termina par cette bénédiction: que Dieu vous fasse téter à tous le téton de sa miséricorde."‡

## IV.

Ainsi la menat contenait sous une double forme, mâle et femelle, la puissance vitale de Typhon émasculé, c'est-à-dire de quelque animal sacrifié, comme le taureau. Le texte de la crypte No. 2 nous apprend en outre comment se pratiquait l'émascultation et comment se nommait le patient: *je t'offre*, dit le roi à Hathor, *la menat, je porte à ton Génie les testicules du Mauvais nom, ces parties que j'ai coupées de ma main*, , *pour satisfaire le cœur du souverain de la couronne blanche (Osiris §); réjouissez-vous, habitants de Dendérah, la ville est rendue forte en son lieu. On lit ensuite derrière le roi: vive le dieu bon, engendré par Tanen, substance parfaite du dieu Terre*, , *aux bras vaillants pour aire sa garde, celui qui coupe le hem-t en vainqueur*, , *et place sa Majesté (la déesse) à son propre cou à elle.*||

L'opération s'appelait donc *hem-s*, et l'opéré *hem-t* ou plutôt *hem-ti*;|| nos langues, qui n'ont pas les participes futurs du grec

\* Diodore, XVI, 64.

† Zozyne, *Histoire romaine*, l. V.‡ Mœurs et coutumes de l'Algérie, *le Sahara*, p. 358-9.§ Cf. Champollion, *Notices*, II, p. 499, et I, 183; Dendérah, III, 12, e; etc.



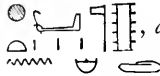

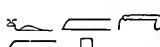
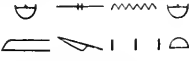
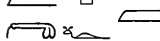
|| Dendérah, III, 20, q.


■ Cf. Brugsch, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 957 et 961, et *Supplément*, p. 819-20; Dendérah, III, 14 a et 28.





et du latin, ne rendent pas bien la nuance de ce dernier mot, car il n'est pas exact de dire, castrer un castrat: en réalité, *hem-ti* signifie *celui de la castration* plutôt que le castrat, de même que *hesek-i*, appliqué à un supplicié, signifie *celui du supplice*.\*

M. Brugsch cite dans son Dictionnaire quelques phrases où les deux expressions sont réunies, comme ici:

remarquable si  n'est pas là pour s †)   
, *castrer le castrat lors de la victoire divine*, ‡   
, *il castré le castrat*, et aussi   
, § *castrons ce castrat avec nos lances*.

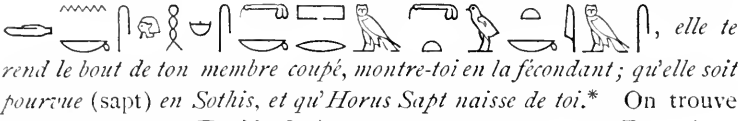
Il s'agit dans le dernier cas d'une bataille, comme au texte des pyramides mentionnant *les castrés des flèches royales*, 

 ou ; || l'effet des dards, tel qu'il est annoncé là, n'a rien d'extraordinaire: la flèche désignée par le mot sanscrit *çalpa* avait le même rôle mythique que la harpé qui émascula Ouranos, ¶ et, pour citer un exemple plus récent, plus réel aussi, on lit dans les Historiettes de Tallemant des Réaux\*\* qu'un personnage de la cour était impuissant par suite "d'un coup de pique en une de ses parties nobles d'en bas." L'instinct qui pousse à frapper là son ennemi est d'ailleurs assez habituel: quand Caligula fut tué, quelques-uns des assassins lui enfoncèrent, dit Suétone, le fer dans les parties viriles. ††

Le mot *hem* ou *hems* est presque toujours en rapport avec le mot *hem-ti*, comme il est naturel. On le trouve cependant seul, mais avec *le déterminatif du phallus*, à une époque très ancienne, dans une phrase des pyramides royales où il s'agit de la reconstitution du corps Osirien qui avait, comme on le sait, été émas-

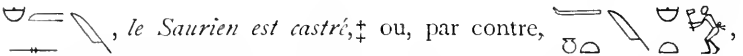
\* Champollion, *Notices*, II, p. 510.  
 † Cf. Dendérah, III, 28, h'.  
 ‡ *Dictionnaire*, p. 957.  
 § *Supplément au Dictionnaire*, p. 820; cf. Naville, *Mythe d'Horus*, I.  
 || Pyramide de Teti, l. 320, et Pyramide d'Unas, l. 503.  
 ¶ Pictet, *Les Origines Indo-européennes*, 2<sup>e</sup> édition, t. II, p. 138.  
 \*\* Édition Monmerqué, t. X, p. 204.  
 †† Suétone, *Caligula*, 58.

culé par Typhon : *ta sœur Isis vient à toi, réjouie de ton amour,*

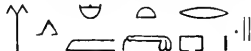



*rend le bout de ton membre coupé, montre-toi en la fécondant ; qu'elle soit*

*pourvue (sapt) en Sothis, et qu'Horus Sapt naisse de toi.\** On trouve



aussi *énerver les rebelles,†* et *le Saurien est castré,‡* ou, par contre, *couper l'eunuque,§* mais ce sont là en quelque sorte des exceptions, et d'ailleurs on voit bien que, dans les deux derniers cas, les scribes rapprochaient avec intention *hem-ti* ou *hems* de *hent*, à cause de la ressemblance des groupes.

D'autre part, *hem-ti* est employé souvent, par assonance aussi, avec *hem*, signifiant *détourner* : *Khem-lion détournait l'eunuque du temple* d'Edfou, 

Le terme d'eunuque, dont les déterminatifs sont assez variés (phallus, âne, ennemi, et ) s'appliquait aux adversaires humains ou bestiaux des divinités, crocodile,\*\* tortue,†† hippopotame,‡‡ âne,§§ etc., comme on vient de le voir.

La même épithète flétrissait les ennemis des rois. On lit sur la stèle de Piankhi l'expression suivante d'un sentiment que d'autres peuples Orientaux,||| par exemple les Assyriens et les Perses,¶¶ ne partageaient pas, au moins lorsqu'ils confiaient la direction des affaires aux eunuques, gens sans famille, et par conséquent maniables :



*pas de durée à une armée dont le chef est un eunuque.\*\*\** Le poème de

\* Pyramide de Teti, l. 276-7, et Pyramide de Pepi I, l. 30-1.

† Dendérah, III, 14, b.

‡ Dendérah, III, 50, i.

§ Dendérah, III, 28, h'.

|| J. de Rougé, *Edfou*, II, 155 ; cf. Champollion, *Notices*, I, p. 191 ; Dendérah, III, 14, a, etc.

¶¶ Dendérah, IV, 79.      \*\* Dendérah, III, 50, i.      †† Dendérah, 73, a.






‡‡ Naville, *Mythe d'Horus*, 3, l. 6 ; 4, l. 2 ; 5, l. 4, etc. ; Dendérah, III, 73, b ; etc.

§§ Dendérah, *passim*.



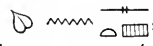
||| Cf. Tacite, *Annales*, VI, 31.

¶¶ Cf. Hérodote, VIII, 105.

\*\*\* L. 5.



Pentaur a dans ce sens la forme sans suffixe ;\* une stèle d'Userthesen II a la même forme,† et les instructions d'Amenemha I, le même probablement qui fut assassiné par ses eunuques, d'après Manéthon,‡ ont la forme  ou  .§ Enfin, *hem* était déjà une injure qui s'échangeait entre particuliers sous l'ancien Empire, , *ce sont des eunuques.*||

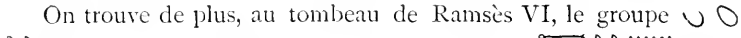






V.

On voit que le mot et la chose remontent très haut, et persistèrent fort longtemps. Nombre de faits et de documents confirment cette conclusion, sans parler du cas assez énigmatique de Khunaten. Sous l'ancien Empire, la castration du taureau est désignée par l'expression *seben*, plus tard *sab*¶ (qui en copte n'a plus trait qu'à la circoncision, sorte de castration atténuée ou plutôt simulée); l'animal de sacrifice, qui est ou sera châtré, s'appelle , . *L'œil d'Horus est tombé, les testicules du taureau sont enlevés: tombe, châtré!* dit un texte des pyramides royales,†† faisant par là une allusion évidente, qu'on retrouve aussi dans l'Ap-ro, à la lutte dans laquelle Typhon arracha l'œil d'Horus, et Horus les testicules de Set.‡‡ Ainsi, suivant la légende, Typhon avait été émasculé par Horus, dont la statue, à Coptos, tenait en main le trophée de sa victoire,§§ ces *aîçōia* de Typhon, , qui, à en croire les listes ptolémaïques d'Edfou, étaient conservés dans le 19° nome de la Haute Égypte.||||

\* Papyrus Sallier III, 5; cf. J. de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, III, 222.  
 † *Denkmaeler*, II, 136, h, l. 10.  
 ‡ *Fragmenta historicorum Græcorum*, édition Didot, II, p. 560.  
 § Papyrus Sallier II, 2, 2, et Papyrus Millingen, p. 2.  
 || Brugsch, *die Aegyptische Graeberwelt*, pl. V, No. 165, cité par Maspero, *Etudes égyptiennes*, t. II, fascicule I, p. 82.  
 ¶ Cf. Brugsch, *Journal égyptologique*, I, p. 28.  
 \*\* Pyramide de Teti, l. 343, et Pyramide de Pepi I, l. 222.  
 †† Pyramide d'Unas, l. 532 et 614.  
 ‡‡ *Todtenbuch*, ch. 17, l. 26; et *Aelteste Texte*, 2, l. 18, etc.  
 §§ Plutarque, *de Iside et Osiride*, 55; cf. J. de Rougé, *Edfou*, II, 137.  
 ||| J. de Rougé, *Edfou*, II, 142.

Les textes qui mentionnent ce châtement du mauvais dieu ne peuvent manquer de faire quelque allusion à la lascivité du monstre ; aussi lit-on dans la vieille conjuration contre le serpent et le taureau de Typhon : *Tombe, châtré ! Sur ta face !* etc. *Tu as forniqué à la divine porte de pierre, certes !\** (Cette profanation du pylône divin est analogue au méfait de l'hippopotame de Paprémis, qui fit violence à sa mère dans la temple même de la déesse.†)

D'autres légendes révèlent d'autres mutilations. D'après le chapitre 17 du *Todtenbuch*, dont les plus anciennes éditions connues remontent à la 12<sup>e</sup> dynastie, Ra *voulut se mutiler lui-même*,  ‡ et, d'après le conte des Deux frères, Batau, sorte d'Atys ou de Galle, se coupa le phallus,  ; il le jeta dans l'eau, où un poisson le dévora, comme celui d'Osiris §

On trouve de plus, au tombeau de Ramsès VI, le groupe  dans un passage où il s'agit des damnés  et où l'on s'attendrait à lire le mot habituel  le lieu de la destruction, qui s'écrit d'ailleurs de plusieurs manières, par exemple . \*\* Les deux ovales , peints en jaune, ne sont pas les prunelles,  †† représentées rondes et noires, et ne peuvent être que des œufs ou les testicules, appelés parfois les œufs : †† au tombeau de Ramsès VI, les morceaux de chair reçoivent la couleur jaune comme la couleur rouge. §§ Si l'on considérait  comme étant en rapport direct avec la castration (le lieu de la castration, cf. la localité dite Seben|||), on aurait une lecture *hemit* pour *hetmit*, métathèse qui existe sous une forme analogue dans les variantes

\* Pyramide d'Unas, l. 323-6.

† Hérodote, II, 63, 64 et 71 ; et Plutarque, *de Iside et Osiride*, 32.

‡ *Todtenbuch*, ch. 17, l. 33 ; cf. *Älteste Texte*, l. 16.

§ Papyrus d'Orbiney, p. 7, l. 9 ; cf. Plutarque, *de Iside et Osiride*, 18.

|| Cf. Tombeau de Ramsès VII, salle, paroi gauche.

¶ Champollion, *Notices*, II, p. 569.


\*\* Champollion, *Notices*, II, p. 515.

†† Dendérah, III, 28, c.


‡‡ Birch, *Zeitschrift*, 1868, p. 10.

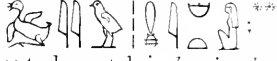
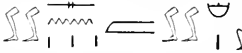

§§ Champollion, *Notices*, II, pp. 529 et 589.

||| Pyramide d'Unas, l. 330.

du nom de la hyène, *hemt* pour *hetm*,  d'où vient peut-être la croyance, adoptée par les Grecs, que la hyène était mâle et femelle ‡ (*hem-t*).

Si l'on cherche maintenant pourquoi l'eunuque a reçu le nom de *hem-ti*, on s'en rendra facilement compte.

Au roman des Deux Frères, Batau devient une femme, *hem-t*, après sa mutilation,  dit-il. § Cette expression révèle bien le sens du nom de l'eunuque, car on ne saurait guère envisager *hem* ou *hem-s* (sans doute pour *s-hem*), et *hem-ti*, que comme deux dérivés de la racine *hem* qui désigne la femme; l'un signifie *efféminer*, et l'autre *efféminé*, en copte ⲁⲧⲡⲱⲗⲉ. C'est pour cela que le nom du taureau châtré recevait comme déterminatif l'hieroglyphe de la femme, et que le *hem-ti* était distingué de l'homme, comme on le verra.

Les Egyptiens ainsi que bien d'autres peuples (surtout les Perses), || comparaient aux femmes les hommes mous ou lâches. ¶ Les habitants d'une ville ennemie devinrent *comme des femmes* à l'approche du roi, suivant une inscription d'Aménophis II, : Piankhi dit de ses adversaires qu'ils avaient devant lui *des jambes comme des jambes de femme*, ; †† la crainte du Pharaon rendait les hommes comme des femmes,  †† etc.

D'après les Grecs, Sésostris aurait fait graver les parties naturelles de la femme sur ses stèles, dans les pays peu belliqueux, §§ allusion au nom et à l'hieroglyphe de la femme ou de l'eunuque.

\* *Denkmaeler*, II, 22.

† Lieblein, *Dictionnaire de noms propres*, No. 249, stèle du Louvre.

‡ Horapollon, II, 69, édition Lcemans, et p. 360.

§ Papyrus d'Orbiney, p. 7, l. 9, et p. 10, l. 2.

|| Hérodote, IX, 20 et 107; cf. Plutarque, *Artaxerxès*, 5.

¶ Cf. Homère, *Iliade*, XXII, 125; Plutarque, *Timoléon*, 37; Tite Live, VII, 13, et IX, 19; etc.

\*\* Champollion, *Notices*, II, p. 186; cf. J. de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, III, 176.

†† Stèle de Piankhi, l. 149-150.

‡‡ J. de Rougé, *Edfou*, I, 6.

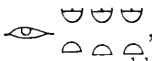
§§ Hérodote, II, 102; et Diodore, I, 55.

En dehors de l'Égypte, un curieux exemple de l'assimilation des eunuques aux femmes, fréquente dans Aristote,\* est fourni par Lucien, faisant dire à l'un de ses personnages qu'il serait injuste d'exclure un eunuque de la philosophie, puisqu'elle admet les femmes.† Catulle ‡ aussi appelle Atys mutilé une femme nouvelle, *nova mulier*, et *deum ministra*, *Cybeles famula*, *Mænas*.

Hippocrate rapporte que les eunuques des Scythes s'habillaient en femmes.

## VI.

Jusqu'à présent le mot *hem-ti* a été traduit surtout par *poltron*, ce qui ne s'accorde, ni avec le déterminatif du phallus, ni avec la violence du crocodile ou de l'hippopotame; § le jeu de mots sur l'eunuque qu'on chasse, *s-hem*, et qui recule, *hem*, semblait favoriser cette interprétation, spéciale d'ailleurs en un sens, *eunuchi imbelles*, || (cf. l'italien *capponne*).

Plusieurs savants ont vu aussi dans le mot *hem-ti* l'idée de la pédérastie (l'homme faisant la femme), , ¶ ce qui ne convient nullement pour les animaux, tortue, crocodile, bœuf ou hippopotame. Le mot ne comportait pas originairement une telle signification, mais la débauche néanmoins a pu finir par rattacher quelque allusion semblable aux eunuques, grâce au rôle obscène que leur donna généralement l'antiquité; \*\* cette impudicité forcée a aussi sa part, sans aucun doute, dans l'impureté religieuse qu'on leur attribuait parfois, †† à preuve le déterminatif ☉ en Égypte (quand ils n'avaient pas un caractère sacré comme les prêtres de Cybèle, ou, à la basse époque, les prêtres du Nil). ††

Ac veluti caveant, ne quo consistere virtus  
Possit pura loco, cunctas hoc ore laborant  
Incestare vias. §§

\* Aristote, *de Animalium generatione*, IV, 1, et V, 4, et *Problematum sect.*, X, 36.

† Lucien, *l'Eunuque*, 7.

‡ *De Bercynthia et Aty*.

§ Cf. Plutarque, *de Iside et Osiride*, 50.

|| Juvénal, VI, 366.


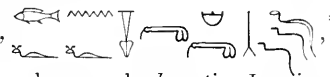
¶ Naville, *Mythe d'Horus*, 7, l. 6.


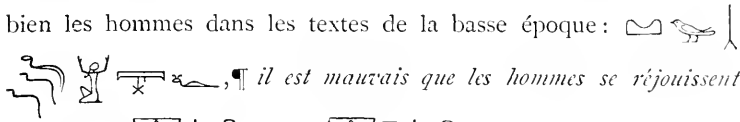
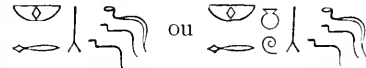
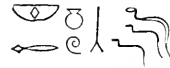
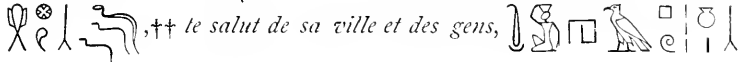



\*\* Cf. Tacite, *Annales*, IV, 10; Claudien, *Contre Eutrope*, I, *passim*; Stace, *Capilli Flavii Earini*; etc.

†† Cf. Deutéronome, xxx, 1; Lucien, *l'Eunuque*, 6; Lampride, *Vie d'Alexandre Sévère*, 22; etc.

‡‡ Mariette, *Boulay*, 3e édition, p. 141-2; Eusèbe, *Vie de Constantin*, IV, 25; et Xiphilin, *Trajan*.

§§ Claudien, *Contre Eutrope*, II, 75-7.

Voici quelques exemples du rôle obscène de l'eunuque chez les Égyptiens : à Sébennytus, dont le temple était *la demeure du mâle de la maison des femmes*,  , on ne devait *s'unir ni à un eunuque, ni à un homme*,  ,\* distinction qui a son importance pour le sens de *hem-ti*. La signification du mot *sam*, qui désigne aussi le membre viril,† ressort du contexte.‡

Le mot  , que M. Brugsch traduit dans son *Dictionnaire* par *sujets*, avec doute,§ et par *hommes* dans son *Calendrier*,|| désigne bien les hommes dans les textes de la basse époque :  ,¶ *il est mauvais que les hommes se réjouissent en sa nuit*,  ou  ,\*\* *grande fête des gens*,  ,†† *le salut de sa ville et des gens*,  ,‡‡ *il, c'est-à-dire Tibère, à Esneh, fixe les lois des hommes, comme Thoth, pour pratiquer la justice*, et   , *hommes à immoler*, selon le texte de la dispersion des hommes, où, *après le massacre des ennemis en ce pays, Harkhuti dit : des impies rebelles, qui sont des hommes à immoler, ceux qui sont allés au sud, c'est Kousch,§§ etc.*

\* J. de Rougé, *Edfou*, II, 146.

† Cf. Pleyte, *Recueil de travaux*, III, p. 59 et 60.

‡ Cf. *Calendrier Sallier*, 7 Tobî.

§ *Supplément au Dictionnaire*, p. 763 ; cf. *id.*, p. 1389.

|| *Matériaux pour le Calendrier*, p. 21.


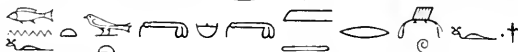
¶ J. de Rougé, *Edfou*, II, 146.

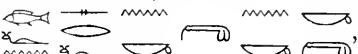

\*\* Dendérah, III, 62, k et n.

†† J. de Rougé, *Edfou*, II, 147.

‡‡ Champollion, *Notices*, I, p. 290.

§§ Naville, *Mythe d'Horus*, 21, l. 2 et 3.

A Memphis, il était surtout *défendu de souiller* (*tur-t*, mot analogue au nom des damnés *mouillés*, ) un *eunuque dans le pays entier*, .

Ailleurs, le vice contre nature que ces prohibitions flétrissent, et dont on a cru retrouver des traces sous l'ancien Empire, † était désigné d'une manière plus générale, sans distinction entre l'homme et l'eunuque; la défense dans le 20<sup>e</sup> nome de la Basse Égypte, consacré à l'enfant divin, visait les accointances avec un débauché, *pathicus*, §  || expression qui se retrouve au *Todtenbuch*, dans une des clauses de la confession négative, , je n'ai pas fornicé avec un débauché: ce péché était puni par un dieu de Memphis, dont le nom de *Face en arrière* ¶ est fort ancien. \*\*

De nombreuses figures gréco-égyptiennes font allusion à la pédérastie des basses époques, par exemple le bronze qui est catalogué ainsi par le Dr. Lee: "a Græco-Egyptian figure, representing a boy (with the Egyptian lock of hair ††) sitting on a cushion, terminating at both ends in a phallus. This is one of those vulgar figures that are so common in the latter Greek and Roman periods in Egypt, and so commonly found in the ruins of Pompei and Herculanium. This specimen was found at Thebes." †††

Les révélations d'Anacréon, de Martial, de Strabon, de Juvénal, etc., sur le *canobisme* égyptien, sont confirmées par ces renseignements dont l'un, celui que fournit le *Todtenbuch*, date de l'époque thébaine. Il suit de là que le vice grec (palestinien aussi §§) était

\* Champollion, *Notices*, II, p. 569.  
 † J. de Rougé, *Edfou*, II, 143.  
 ‡ Maspero, *Recueil*, V, p. 40.  
 § Cf. Catulle, 16, *ad Aurelium et Furium*.  
 || J. de Rougé, *Edfou*, II, 148.  
 ¶ Naville, *Todtenbuch*, II, 302.  
 \*\* Cf. Pyramide d'Unas, l. 603-4, et Pyramide de Pepi I, l. 411.  
 †† Cf. Lucien, *le Navire*, 2 et 3.  
 ††† Catalogue of the Egyptian Antiquities in the Museum of Hartwell House, p. 47, No. 379.  
 §§ Cf. Genèse xix; Juges xix; Lévitique xviii, 22, xx, 13; Deutéronome xxii, 18; I Rois xiv, 24, et xv, 22; etc.



familier aux Égyptiens, grâce sans doute à la nudité quasi absolue des adolescents, à la séparation des célibataires,\* et à la réclusion relative des femmes, plutôt encore qu'au climat de l'Orient, qui ne peut être considéré ici comme une cause absolue, si l'on songe aux mœurs des Gaulois.† Il est juste d'ajouter en terminant que, si l'Égypte a connu et pratiqué des débauches contre nature, elle n'a jamais été aussi loin dans cette voie que les anciens Américains, qui avaient un dieu de la pédérastie dans le Yucatan et le Honduras.

\* Inscription d'Ahmès, l. 5 ; cf. Plutarque, *Lycurgue*, 23, 27, et 29, et *Pelopidas*, 19.

† Cf. Diodore, V, 32.



NOTES DE PHILOGIE ÉGYPTIENNE.

PAR KARL PIEHL.

(Suite.)\*

38. Nouvelles preuves en faveur de l'équation @ = š ; 39. Le mot : 40. Différents passages, empruntés au deux premières pages du Papyrus Prisse ; 41. Le sens du mot composé ; 42. Divers points de la grande stèle d'Ipsamboul ; 43. Correction à apporter aux textes du sarcophage de Taperit ; 44. Le mot



38. Dans un mémoire, lu au Congrès des Orientalistes de Stockholm et imprimé dans les Actes du même Congrès, j'ai montré d'une manière absolument irrécusable, que le signe @ des textes ptolémaïques ou plus récents souvent correspond à la lettre š. J'ai cru devoir expliquer cette équivalence par la supposition que la lettre initiale du mot (qui représente la valeur phonétique du chiffre @) serait venue se substituer en partie à la lecture habituelle *u* du signe @, conformément au système acrologique qui à ces époques envahit l'écriture égyptienne.



Aux 9 exemples † que j'ai fournis à l'illustration de cette nouvelle règle, à savoir : "cèdre," "réciter," "obscurité," "se courber" (?), "nuits," "commencer," "rebelle," "fenêtre" "joie," je suis actuellement en mesure d'ajouter encore une demi-douzaine :



[de ROUGÉ, *Notices d'Edfou*, 38, 19] = [BRUGSCH, *Wörterbuch*, II, page 421].



\* Continued from *Proceedings*, Vol. XIII, p. 245.



† A ces exemples on peut ajouter ceux qu'a recueillis BRUGSCH [*Dictionnaire: Supplément*] et où il tend à établir que @ quelquefois est *fautif* pour β.


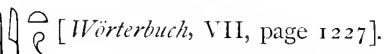
 [BRUGSCH, *Recueil*, IV, 98] =  [BRUGSCH, *Wörterbuch*, VI, page 698].

 [BRUGSCH, *Recueil*, IV, 66, 4] =  [*Wörterbuch*, VII, page 1340].






 [PIEHL, *Inscr.*, Sec. Série, 32, 3] =  [*Wörterbuch*, IV, page 1387].

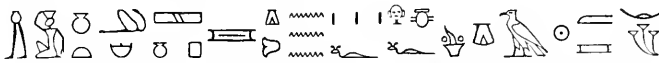
 [DÜMICHEN, *Tempel-Inscr.*, I, 47, 5a] =  [*Wörterbuch*, IV, page 1401].


 [BRUGSCH, *Wörterbuch*, I, page 248: *ub*] =  [*Wörterbuch*, VI, page 906].

 [BRUGSCH, *Wörterbuch*, V, page 299: *uaua-t*] =  [*Wörterbuch*, VII, page 1227].

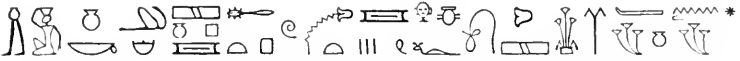
Devant ces faits, la nouvelle règle, je pense, peut être regardée comme définitive.

39. Les textes ptolémaïques nous fournissent un groupe  qui n'est pas au Dictionnaire de BRUGSCH. Le signe  des basses époques équivalant quelquefois à  *n*, il est probable que le dit savant ait regardé  comme une variante d'écriture pure et simple du groupe bien fréquent . DÜMICHEN\* transcrit *ubek* la forme qui nous occupe, mais il n'en donne d'ailleurs aucune explication. La question paraissant donc non tranchée, elle mérite sans doute d'être examinée de plus près. La meilleure manière de poursuivre ce dernier but consiste à donner des exemples du mot en litige. En voici quelques-uns :

a.  "Il te présente la terre marécageuse de *Schenep* avec ses eaux qui foisonnent en fleurs."† Un double de ce texte a la forme suivante :

\* *Zeitschrift*, 1871, page 109. C'est évidemment à ce passage que fait allusion M. PIERRET [*Vocabulaire*, page 90] par sa notice succincte :  (*sic*) *ubak*, rayonner (Dümichen).

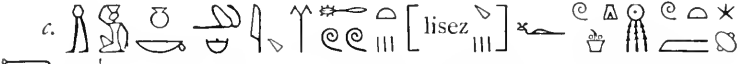
† BRUGSCH et DÜMICHEN, *Recueil*, V, LXII.



“ Il t’apporte la terre marécageuse, dite *Schenep*, avec ses eaux qui prospèrent par les herbes (?) qui y sont.”



b. . . . . l’apporte l’eau de l’inondation qui abonde en toutes choses à sa saison.” †



c. “ Il t’apporte le bas pays, dit *Am*, avec ses terres (?) qui foisonnent en . . . . . plantes.” ‡



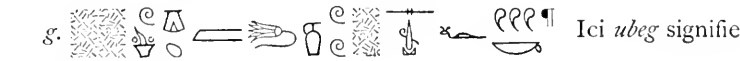
d. exemple qui ressemble beaucoup au suivant :



e. qui signifient tous les deux à peu près : “ Il t’apporte le bas pays, dit *Sechet*, resplendissant de fleurs, afin de te présenter les herbes de *Seb*. Il fait épanouir pour toi *ten* et les branches.”




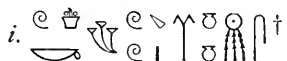
f. Pour cet exemple voir BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire*, VII, page 1039. Ici le sens “ épanouir ” convient fort bien au groupe que nous étudions.




g. Ici *ubeg* signifie “ abonder, foisonner.”


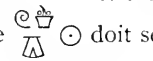




\* DE ROUGÉ, *Inscriptions et Notices d’Edfou*, Pl. 48.  
† DE ROUGÉ, *ibid.*, Pl. III.  
‡ DE ROUGÉ, *l.l.* Pl. 50. Cfr. BRUGSCH et DÜMICHEN, *Recueil*, III, page 72.  
§ DE ROUGÉ, *l.l.* 37.  
|| DE ROUGÉ, *l.l.* 77. En traduisant, j’ai corrigé l’un texte par l’autre, et *vice versa*. Ici, comme pour les autres exemples, je décline toute responsabilité pour les erreurs de lectures, dues aux copistes modernes.  
¶ DE ROUGÉ, *l.l.* 40.


h.  "Elle éclaire les deux terres, elle illumine les contrées de ses rayons."

i.  "Qui fait prospérer le terrain par son rayonnement."

k.  ce qu'a fort bien traduit BRUGSCH: "ich gebe dir das Erdreich bewachsen mit Erdhaaren d. h. Pflanzen." †

l.  ce qui signifie selon BRUGSCH: § "es wachsen für sie die Pflanzen auf dem Rücken des Erdgottes."


L'examen de cette série d'exemples montre bien que le signe  du groupe  doit se transcrire par *k*, non pas par *n*. Sous ce rapport, les variantes, données sous les lettres *h-k*, sont absolument concluantes. Cela nous autorise donc à exiger || de la place, au dictionnaire hiéroglyphique, pour le groupe  et varr. Les sens "resplendir, faire prospérer, pousser, foisonner," etc., qui semblent convenir à l'emploi de notre groupe, nous portent à établir une parenté entre le groupe  et celui que nous offre déjà le dictionnaire sous la forme de . Cette parenté nous paraît d'autant plus possible que le mot  semble être d'origine très moderne: je n'en connais aucune preuve antérieure aux basses époques.



Quant au mot , BRUGSCH (*Wörterbuch*, V, page 311) nous enseigne que c'est un "Stamm, dessen Verständniss immer noch gewisse Schwierigkeiten darbietet." Je ne puis croire à cette asser





\* BRUGSCH et DÜMICHEN, *Recueil*, V, page 76.

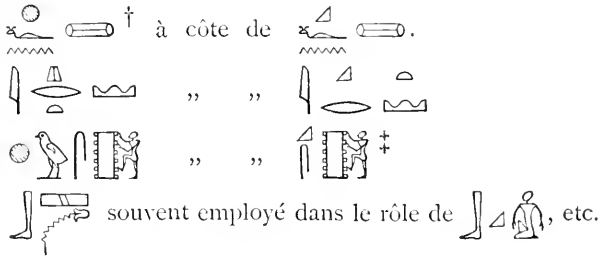
† MARIETTE, *Dendérah*, III, 52 r.

‡ BRUGSCH, *Wörterbuch*, V, page 307.

§ A la même fois que nous formulons cette proposition, nous nous voyons dans la nécessité de demander que le groupe  *ūak* (BRUGSCH, *Wörterbuch*, V, page 307), qui n'est qu'une variante du mot *ubek*, soit rayé du Dictionnaire hiéroglyphique.

tion, au moins si je ne tiens compte que des exemples qui me sont connus de cette racine. Partout les sens de "être blanc, être rayonnant, briller, resplendir, être magnifique," que lui attribue, ou à peu près, BRUGSCH, me semblent à propos, et pour le substantif  dérivé, il est clair qu'il doit représenter une pièce d'étoffe qui a les particularités, qui caractérisent le sens de la racine *ubech*. Cette étoffe (pièce d'habillement?) ayant pu compter comme précieuse, elle a pu devenir un objet de jalousie, d'où je m'explique le sens de l'expression , que BRUGSCH désigne comme "dunkel," et que je crois devoir traduire: "Garde-toi de la jalousie" (que te portent d'autres).\*

En rapprochant les deux mots  (et varr.) et , dont les sens respectifs pourraient bien appartenir à une seule racine, je pars du fait que, pour les basses époques, nous sommes en mesure de constater un pareil échange entre  $\Delta$  () et  $\circ$  () que le cas étudié nous offre. A ce sujet je citerai :


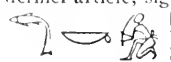


\* Ma traduction dans ce cas est purement conjecturale. S'il pouvait s'établir que les égyptiens pour leurs maisons se servaient de jalousies, ayant le nom de *ubech*, alors elle serait presque assurée.

† VON BERGMANN, *Der Sarkofag des Panchemisis*, page 12.

‡ PIEHL, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques*. Seconde Série, page 76, l. 1. —

L'équation  qu'il y a bien des années, j'avais établie, je l'ai reconnue comme inexacte, déjà avant l'apparition de l'intéressante note relative au "Sunstroke" de M. LE PAGE RENOUF [*Proceedings*, XII, page 460].

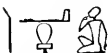

Le passage , cité d'après la *stèle Metternich* dans ce dernier article, signifie "frappez les hommes (= les bons?) et les diables," le mot , suivant mon expérience, étant toujours substantif.

D'ailleurs, nous avons beaucoup de mots coptes à citer en faveur de la parenté présumée. En cette dernière langue,  $\text{X}$  (⊙),  $\text{K}$  (Δ) s'échangent, comme on sait, suivant les dialectes.

40. Le Papyrus Prisse est de ces documents qui déjouent encore sur bien des points la sagacité des explorateurs. Quand même, présentement, on ne doit guère nier qu'il n'y en ait nombre de passages qui sont bien intelligibles, il faut néanmoins reconnaître que les paroles qu'a énoncées CHABAS\* au sujet de ce texte: "la plupart des maximes qu'il renferme demeurent pour moi à peu près lettres closes"—après vingt années, gardent encore beaucoup de leur actualité. Cela dit, je m'empresse de constater que le dernier essai de traduction que nous connaissons pour ce document éminemment important—j'entends celui qui, relatif aux 5 premières pages, a paru dans les *Proceedings* †—sur plusieurs points me semble former un pas en avant vers l'intelligence définitive du Papyrus Prisse.

Je demande la permission d'apporter quelques observations aux explications, fournies dans le dit travail pour les deux premières pages, tout en convenant que j'aurai probablement à m'attendre à mon tour à ce que mes vues seront modifiées par de futurs investigateurs.

Pour commencer, je suis complètement d'accord avec M. GRIFFITH, concernant la manière dont il faut couper les phrases des quatre premières lignes de la page 1. Toutefois, j'aimerais mieux donner une forme narrative au début de la tradition que d'admettre la forme exhortative, employée par l'auteur en question. Mais le commencement du texte ayant été enlevé, on ne peut se prononcer avec certitude sur ce point.

Page 1, line 5.—Le mot douteux de cet endroit doit se lire , et l'expression  signifie littéralement, "il y a là du cachet." Ce qui, pris *in malam partem*, comme

\* *Zeitschrift*, 1870, page 84.—Cfr. PIEHL, *Remarques générales sur le dictionnaire hiéroglyphique* (*Actes du 8<sup>e</sup> Congrès des Orientalistes, III*), page 4 et suiv.




† *Proceedings*, XIII, page 65 et suiv.


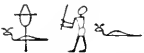



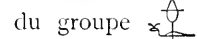




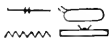



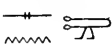
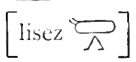





“C'est un dégoût pour sa mère, ses ‘vassaux’ sont tout le monde.”

Ici, le mot  paraît être pris au figuré—*ennemi*. Cela reviendrait à dire que la condition de cette classe, déjà à l'époque où le *Papyrus Prisse* a été composé, a dû être des plus tristes, ce qui de son côté aurait provoqué une haine plus ou moins féroce contre la classe prépondérante de la société, classe à laquelle appartenait notre auteur de cette partie du *Papyrus Prisse*. Peut-être même, pourrait-on voir en  de notre passage un calembour *per antiphrasin* avec le mot  “aimer.”—Toutefois, je conviens que mon explication est hasardée, et qu'il faut peut-être plutôt supposer une erreur au texte.\*



Page II, line 2.— (*sic*)  
. “On ne sait ce qui peut arriver, ce que fait Dieu, quand on l'écarte” (c'est-à-dire: *quand on agit contre sa volonté*). Le papyrus donne ici très-distinctement le mot , dont le  a été absorbé par le  du groupe  qui suit.











































Page II, line 5.—  
 “N'excède pas ce qui a été ordonné.” Le sens qu'ici nous conférons au mot  semble être applicable à un autre passage de notre Papyrus, où se voit aussi le mot . *Cfr.* d'ailleurs des expressions, comme   
 “J'ai surpassé ce qui a été fait auparavant;”†   
 [lisez ]  “Il a surpassé ce qu'ont fait









\* Si mon acception est juste, la suite de ce passage signifierait : “arrange-toi de sorte que ton nom soit connu ! Étant discret de ta bouche, tu seras hautement mentionné” (la discrétion serait, en d'autres mots, le moyen d'avoir son nom connu).

† DE ROUCÉ, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques*, XXI, page 18. J'ai cru devoir apporter une petite modification à la lecture de ce savant.



“ouvrir, fendre” (le substantif  ×  O, “anneau,” signifie littér. “fente, ouverture”), ce qui nécessite pour la locution *seš āk*, le sens de “ouvrir les pattes ou les griffes.”

De l'autre côté, nous ne connaissons pas d'exemples qui autorisent la traduction “krallenlos” pour    , car dans la phrase, très fréquente,    (quelquefois déterminé par  |), le mot  n'est pas substantif. Des exemples, comme : \*              , “Tu es parfait de forme, beau de face”;              , “soldats de belle prestance,” † nous amènent nécessairement à conférer au groupe  de l'expression    , une signification affirmative. Alors, celle de (oiseau) “à pattes excellentes” (ou peut-être “qui ferme les pattes, les griffes”) doit être admise.

Lorsque je pense à ce que     peut signifier (oiseau) “qui marche bien,” je n'hésite pas à adopter le sens de (oiseau) “à pattes excellentes” pour le groupe composé    .

42. Je lis, au *Journal Asiatique*, ‡ les paroles suivantes : “M. Guieysse donne une édition définitive de l'inscription historique de Sêti I<sup>er</sup> à Karnak et de Ramsès II à Ipsamboul, les deux grands princes conquérants de la XIX<sup>e</sup> dynastie.”

Je ne puis supprimer un sentiment d'étonnement qu'on puisse parler d'édition définitive, quand il s'agit de textes dont les originaux sont mutilés en plus d'un point, comme c'est le cas des deux textes sus-mentionnés. Pour ma part, j'ai cru et je crois toujours que nous sommes bien loin de l'époque où l'on pourra § prétendre éditer des textes égyptiens d'une manière définitive. C'est que nous connais-

\* DE ROUGÉ, *Inscriptions d'Edfou*, LXVII.


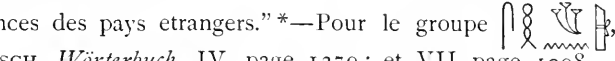
† DE ROUGÉ, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques*, XXVIII.

‡ *Juillet, Août*, 1890, page 145.



§ Dans les derniers temps, on a vu surgir nombre d'ouvrages égyptologiques qui très-souvent se distinguent par un manque peu commun de connaissances de la langue égyptienne. Ce sont visiblement des personnes travaillées par une espèce de prurit de publicité littéraire dont les vues se sont données libre carrière





sons encore trop imparfaitement la grammaire, et surtout la syntaxe égyptiennes, dont on découvre, pour ainsi dire tous les jours, de nouvelles lois. M. LE PAGE RENOUF a dit quelque part : "The Egyptian science is still in its infancy," thèse que nous voudrions adopter comme la nôtre ; à tel point *le définitif* actuellement nous semble éloigné de l'égyptologie.

Je passe maintenant à l'examen de quelques points de la grande stèle d'Ipsamboul, et à celui de la dernière édition de ce texte, ce que me permettra de montrer que cette dernière est bien loin d'être définitive. Je choisirai particulièrement des passages pour lesquels je suis en mesure de citer des analogies concluantes.



Ligne 3.—La reconstitution de cet endroit est peut-être la suivante :  "Celui qui soigne les deux terres ; bouche, ayant de l'autorité vis-à-vis des princes des pays étrangers."\*—Pour le groupe , voir BRUGSCH, *Wörterbuch*, IV, page 1279 ; et VII, page 1098.—



La traduction :  "palais" n'a aucun appui des textes égyptiens. Le composé  est formé sur le modèle de , etc.





Ligne 5.—La reconstitution d'ici est :   Cfr. la stèle de *Kuban*, l. 2.

Lignes 5, 6.—Ici, je crois devoir lire :  , en renvoyant à l'expression que voici :   [LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, III, 73 f.]



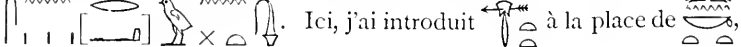


dans ces œuvres qui réellement la plupart des fois auraient pu être supprimées, dans l'intérêt de notre science. On se sent tenté de citer à ce propos les célèbres paroles de P. L. Courier : ' On écrit aujourd'hui assez ordinairement sur les choses qu'on entend le moins. Il n'y a si petit écolier qui ne s'érige en docteur. A voir ce qui s'imprime tous les jours, on dirait que chacun se croit obligé de faire preuve d'ignorance.'



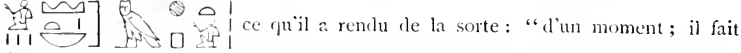
\* M. GUIEYSSE : "Il a rempli son palais des chefs des nations," avec restitution de  à la place de .

Ligne 7.—La lecture , que donne en cet endroit la publication de Lepsius, est parfaitement autorisée. Bien entendu, le signe  $\Delta$  doit être regardé comme une forme de  $\mathcal{E}$ ; *cf.* la variante  de notre groupe [REINISCH, *Chrestomathie*, pl. 9].

Ligne 13.—La reconstitution est sans doute:   
. Comparez la stèle de *Kuban*, où le roi est dit être   
, “Taureau victorieux contre le vil Kasch, celui dont le beuglement pénètre jusqu’au pays des nègres, dont les ongles écrasent les *An*.”



Ligne 16.—Je lis   
, le reste me paraît actuellement\* illisible. Le mot  qui suit, après une petite lacune, doit peut-être se lire .

Ligne 17.—Probablement à lire: †   
  
. Ici, j’ai introduit  à la place de .


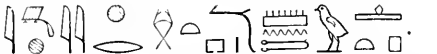
\* M. GUIEYSSE donne ici la reconstitution suivante:   
  
 ce qu’il a rendu de la sorte: “d’un moment; il fait des offrandes comme seigneur divin, auguste et bien pourvu, il immole les grands des nations (qu’il a) captivés.” J’avoue que en l’absence de points d’interrogation je trouve cette traduction éminemment hardie.




† Voici comment je traduirais ce passage: “celui qui fait reculer les Sati, qui combattent sur le champ de bataille; ils ne se servent points de leurs arcs, étant réduits à feu.” La traduction de M. GUIEYSSE est celle-ci: “Il fait reculer les



mot , comparez les exemples donnés par BRUGSCH (Z.Z. VI, page 689) *sub voce* .

Comme on peut le voir, l'édition prétendue définitive de la grande stèle d'Ipsamboul n'est pas définitive. Par cela, je n'adresse aucun blâme au dernier éditeur du dit texte qui, suivant ses forces, s'est acquitté de sa tâche ardue. J'exprime seulement l'opinion et l'espoir que dorénavant on ne répande pas dans le monde l'idée, bien fautive, que les égyptologues actuellement soient en état de traduire et de reconstituer *définitivement* les textes hiéroglyphiques.\*

43. Au numéro de Novembre des *Proceedings* (page 16), M. PLEYTE, citant l'expression que voici, , ajoute: "Le signe qui suit le mot χu est déterminé par MM. Piehl et Maspero comme étant le scorpion. Toutefois les textes bien écrits et les originaux, que je connais, nous montrent tous une espèce de *homard* ou *langouste*, selon d'autres une *Nepa* ou punaise. Partout il manque de queue." L'observation de notre savant confrère est tout-à-fait exacte, et trouve sa confirmation par la forme que présente le sarcophage de Stockholm, pour le signe en question. Il y a dix-sept ou dix-huit ans, j'avais attiré l'attention d'un collègue sur le signe curieux du monument de *Taperit* et, pour fournir une bonne analogie à cet égard, j'avais cité le frontispice du Catalogue de PASSALACQUA, où se lit: . Toutefois, ce passage paraissant être relatif à la déesse Selkit, j'avais cru que le signe qui nous occupe représentât une forme abusive du scorpion, supposition qui tombe devant la remarque judicieuse de l'égyptologue hollandais.

44. Les textes ptolémaïques connaissent un groupe  qui paraît être synonyme du mot , comme, p. ex., dans l'exemple que voici: , "tous les fruits doux et délicieux." †

\* Ayant également protesté contre l'emploi de la qualification "définitif" par rapport à l'édition qu'a fournie M. P. GUIEYSSE pour l'inscription historique de Sétî Ier, je m'engage aussi au besoin à prouver qu'on a eu tort d'user d'une pareille expression quant à la sus-dite édition.



† DE ROUGÉ, *Notices d'Edfoi*, XXVII.





C'est là le même mot que nous offre un document, datant de la 21<sup>e</sup> dynastie, dans la phrase suivante :



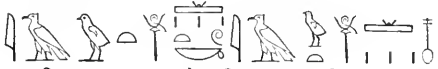


“dont le nom est doux, dont l'amour est délicieux, le très respectable qu'implore, le matin, tout le monde.”\*


Il est évident que le vocable nouveau dérive de la racine bien connue  , “plier, se plier, pencher, accorder,” etc.

\* MASPERO, *Les momies royales de Deir el-Bahari*, Pl. XXV. Ce savant,

qui a transcrit le début du texte hiéroglyphique de la manière suivante, , nous fournit pour le tout la traduction que voici : “lui dont le nom est doux, lui dont l'amour est plaisant, au matin, tous les hommes l'implorent à cause de la grandeur de sa force.” La partie soulignée de cette traduction serait juste, s'il y avait un  à la fin de la phrase à traduire. Mais comme il n'y en a pas, il faut interpréter ce passage suivant la règle établie par nous il y a longtemps (PIEHL, *Zeitschrift*, 1886, page 18, § XXV). Aux exemples donnés en faveur de la sus-dite règle.

je joins maintenant les suivants : ,


etc. [LEPSIUS, *Todtenbuch*, L];   
 “Tes professions sont de bonnes professions, ô seigneur puissant. Joyeux est quiconque les exerce” [*Pap. Anastasi*, V, 10, 2—M. MASPERO (*Du genre épistolaire*, page 26) traduit ce passage de la sorte : “Tes mérites sont des mérites supérieurs à tout : force, valeur, et joie à qui les possède”]. 













 “Tu es Nou qui produit toutes les choses vivantes. Elles sortent de toi, leur scheik (?)” [DE ROUGÉ, *Inscriptions d'Edfou*, XVIII.]



















The following is an extract from the letter addressed to the President, alluded to in the last number of the *Proceedings*.




ON THE FORMATIVE LETTER .

Concernant  comme élément formatif, vous paraissez un peu sceptique. En examinant la liste suivante :

|                                                                                   |           |                                                                                   |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|  | à côté de |  |
|  | " "       |  |
|  | " "       |  |
|  | " "       |  |
|  | " "       |  |
|  | " "       |  |

vous ne pouvez ne pas reconnaître, que chaque paire de mots en présente une conformité de sens qui est difficilement fortuite, quand elle se produit dans un si grand nombre de cas. Au moins, on n'est guère trop hardi, en se permettant, devant de pareils faits, l'énoncé d'une hypothèse, j'entends celle de l'existence en égyptien d'une lettre formative . Cette hypothèse concorde parfaitement avec les doubles lectures *tep*, *hotep* du signe . Et même en admettant l'exactitude de votre opinion sur cette dernière matière, l'application de mon hypothèse n'offre rien d'in vraisemblable. Entre le substantif  "tête," et la préposition , "sur, au-dessus de," etc., on a bien de quoi présumer une parenté intime. Probablement le second dérive du premier, ce qui revient à dire, que le  ici est relativement récent.

Une espèce d'analogie, à l'appui de mon hypothèse sur l'existence d'un  formatif, offre le changement du mot   en celui de , dans la formule si fréquente :       , ou le *χάμψαι*, que Hérodote nous donne

pour le mot égyptien  : le  de ces deux exemples montre un penchant marqué de se déplacer et de former des mots d'après le type à  formatif.

\* \* \* \* \*

En terminant, permettez-moi de corriger un *lapsus calami* de mes dernières "Notes." C'est à la page 107, où l'exemple relatif à la déesse Nebuut doit se traduire ainsi : "Nebuut, celle qui *abhorre* la faim et la soif."

Veillez agréer, cher Monsieur et vénéré confrère, l'assurance de mes sentiments respectueux,

Votre bien dévoué,

KARL PIEHL.


UPSALA, 15 *janvier*, 1891.








## IDEOGRAMS COMMON TO ACCADIAN AND CHINESE.



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



BY REV. C. J. BALL.

*(Continued from Proceedings, December, 1890, p. 105.)*1.  DIM-MEN, *Written Documents*.

The inscribed cylinders of clay which the Babylonian sovereigns were wont to bury in the foundations of temples and palaces, and which served as memorials of their works, were called in Accadian DIMMEN, or, as the term is written with the so-called vowel of prolongation, DIMMENNA; a spelling which shows that the accent lay on the second syllable. The Semitic Babylonians adopted this alien vocable, and pronounced it *temennu*.


The character  appears in the very ancient linear writing of En-anna-du in the form ; in that of Gudia thus, . The Chinese *màn, wǎn*, anciently *men*, "writing," is the corresponding character and sound. Its old forms are , , and similar figures, which obviously resemble the Babylonian symbols. Looking at the "modern" Chinese form side by side with the oldest of the Accadian linear forms, one is astonished to note how little the lapse of 6000 years has affected their similarity.\*

2.  ITU, *Moon, Month*; 3.  GID, *Sprout, Shine*.

The symbol  ITU, variant ITI, moon, month (*arhu*, S<sup>b</sup> 86), appears in old Babylonian as ; a figure which is the evident prototype of the Chinese , moon, month, with its old form .

As the Accadian figure resembles *the circle of the sun*, so does the Accadian sound appear to be closely related to the Accadian

\* The accented syllable is preserved. DIMMĒN is to *men* as GUŠKĪN is to *kin*, or as GARSÚ is to *su*: see No. 8 below.

The first element in the compound DIM-MEN is seen also in the Accadian  DIMMU, letter (*tĕmu, sipru*), and in DIM-SAR, writer. It may be compared with the Chinese *tien*, records, *t'sien, t'sim, chiam* (=dim), a written response, to subscribe one's name, *chang, ch'ung, tiang, tsang*, written documents, and other cognate words.

word for sun, UD, UTU. In fact, UTU is given as a name of the moon: 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, which is the common ideogram for the sun, occurs, with the gloss u-tu, as an equivalent of Ai the moon-goddess (2 R. 57, 15 a). UTU or UD, moon, is also seen in the compound 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎶 UD-SHAR, new moon. Thus we have the gradual differentiation UTU, ITU, ITI, in the Accadian term for moon, month.

If the Chinese and Accadian symbols are similar, the words may be said to be identical. For 月 is still read *üt* in Cantonese, and *yüeh* (older *yut*) in Mandarin.

It is not surprising that the root UD, UT, should have supplied the names for both sun and moon, because UD, originally GUD, meant "bright"; cf. ĠUD, "to shine" (written 𐎶𐎶), which supplies the transition-sound (𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵).

The Chinese *yüeh* implies an earlier *gut* or *git*; indeed, *gwat* is the Amoy, and *nguyet* the Annamite pronunciation of the character; cf. the Japanese *get-su*, *guwat-su*, moon.

Now the sound GUD (UD, UT) passing into GID, ĠID (ID, IT, I) meant, to begin with, *coming forth*, *springing*, *rising*, as a plant above the ground, and so, *becoming visible*, *conspicuous*, *bright*. The fact is certain from the usage of both languages.

\* In Chinese we have 乙 *yüeh*, or *yih*, the fifth radical, which denotes *the bursting forth of vegetation*. The figure was originally intended to represent a *sprout*, or *shoot*. The dialectic sounds are *üt*, *it*, *i* (Canton, Amoy, Shanghai), and the old sounds implied by *yueh*, *yih*, are *yut*, *yit* = *gut*, *git*. In Japanese the sign is called *it-su*. As the second of the ten stems, 乙 is said to relate to *the east*, and to *wood*; an obvious reference to the ideas of *coming out* and *sprouting* (Accadian UD-DU). Its use in the sense of "bent," "curved," suggests the curved or crescent moon (*yüeh*).

The corresponding Accadian sound is GID, "a stalk," "stem," "tree" (*iṣu*; 4 R. 18, 59 a), "a sprout or shoot" (*pirḫu*, Br. 7531), "to be or become long" (*arāku*). The ideogram is 𐎶𐎶, linear 𐎶𐎶, a sprouting plant with its root; of which the old forms of the Chinese character present vestiges (see Morrison, s.v., *yih*). Cf. also the Accadian í (𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶) and I, GIT (𐎶𐎶, *aṣû*), "to come forth," "shoot," etc., and, on the other hand, ĠID, "bright."

This character, however, also denotes *light*, *to shine*, *to kindle or blaze up* (*nûru*, *namâru*, *naḫû*); in which meanings it was read

ŠIR, SIR, BU, and doubtless also GID. The compound  $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$  GIŠŠIR, "light," may thus be analysed into GID + SIR (ŠIR or SIR = *nūru*).<sup>\*</sup> As GIŠŠIR (or GIŠŠIR) is a name of the sun, so  $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$  (the god) GID, is defined Sin, the moon ( $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ ).

Lastly the term  $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$  ID, IT, written ideographically  $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$  (sun + moon : like the Chinese 明, "bright"), means "pure," "bright," "shining" (*ibbu, ellu, namru*), and is a close relation of the terms above discussed.

We thus have the following equivalence :—

| <i>Accadian.</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | <i>Chinese.</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |             |             |                |     |  |                                                    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The above was shown to Professor Douglas in MSS. more than a year ago ; but I see no reason to make any substantial alteration in the comparisons instituted or the conclusions suggested.

#### 4. $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ KAL, LIB, LIG, DAN,

*High, noble, strong, to set up, etc.*


The old writing of this character, as we see it in Gudía's  $\text{𐎶}$  shows that we were not wrong in comparing the Chinese 高 *kao, ko*, "high," "noble," "eminent," with the Accadian KAL, which has the like meanings. The old Chinese character is  $\text{𠄎}$ , among other more or less similar figures ; and the word is used as an honorific epithet precisely like the Accadian KAL, "first," "chief," "excellent" (*ša rištān, ašaridu, aḫru*, etc.).

The reading LIB, "advanced," "foremost," "chief," (*šūtuku*, S<sup>a</sup> 3. 17), with LIG, a dialectic pronunciation, which occurs in the sense of "to cause to stand," "set up," or "erect," answers to the Chinese 立, old form  $\text{𠄎}$ , *li, līp*, old sound *lip* or *lap*, "to stand," or "set up," "erect" (the Accadian symbol was also read LAB), which looks like the


<sup>\*</sup> If it be said that GIŠŠIR is rather GUŠŠIR = GUŠ (*bright*) + ŠIR (*light*) or GIŠ (*heaven*) + ŠIR, I answer that GUŠ = GIŠ = GID.

Accadian character reversed. Another value of the ideogram  $\Sigma\Pi\Pi$  is DAN. So far from being derived from the Assyrian *dannu*, "strong," *danānu*, "to be set up, to be erect, firm, strong," those terms are themselves borrowed from this Accadian sound, which doubtless had the same meanings; *cp.* the Chinese 站 *chan*, old *tan*, "to stand." In 5 R. 62, 57 a, LIG is rendered by the causative of *danānu*, in the sense of "to set up," and is parallel to *ušmid*, "cause to stand." And Nebuchadrezzar uses *udannin*, in the sense of "I erected" a wall.\*




The connexion of meanings becomes clear when we remember that *stand* suggests *steady*, *firm*, *standing fast*. The transition of thought from *set up*, *erect*, to *high*, is quite as easy. Now in Chinese we have another ideogram, which appears to be related to  $\Sigma\Pi\Pi$  LIG "strong," viz., 力 *lik*, *li*, "strength," the 19th radical. The old form 𠂔 has been said to represent the sinews; but it is far more likely to be another modification of the Accadian ideogram we are considering. The term is involved in the Accadian compound *si-lig*, "strong," "leader."


The fact that the grammatical name of the sign  $\Sigma\Pi\Pi$  was *Gurušu*, and that it was read GURUŠ in the sense of *iḫlu*, "hero," reminds us that the originally similar ideogram  $\Sigma\Pi\Pi$  uš, "to stand," "to set up," was also read GURUŠ (2 R. 32, 64 a). The linear form  (*Stèle des Vautours*) and the meanings of this symbol, prove that it originally represented the male organ of generation. It may be the ultimate source of all the ideograms considered under this head.†



\*  $\Sigma\Pi\Pi$  — *edu*, "one," is simply TAN-AŠ = AŠ-TAN; another instance of reversed writing.






† This same ideogram was also read NITAĠU in the sense of "to stand," and NITAĠ in that of "male," "man" (*zikaru*); *cp.* the other linear form  in Gudía's writing; and NITA in NITA-LAM, NITA-DAM, "spouse." As it was also read GIŠ in the sense of "straight," *rectus* (*išaru*), I think that UŠ is worn down from GUŠ (= GIŠ), and NITA-ĠU from NITA-ĠUŠ (= NITA-GUŠ).



In 2 R. 34, 67, *sqq.*, we have the character  $\Sigma\Pi\Pi$  GIŠ, in the sense of *temiru*, "pillar"; as *temiru ša ipri*, "column, of dust," *temiru ša gušuri*, "pillar, of a beam," and *temiru šu isati*, "pillar, of fire"; the last an interesting equivalent of the familiar Hebrew expression, Exod. xiii, 21.



5.  ĠAD, ĠUD, *Rod, Stylus*; 6.  BIL-LUD, *Decree, Law*;  
7.  (KUN, KAN?), *Staff, Sceptre*.


Nebo, the Babylonian God of Letters, the DIM-SAR, or "scribe," *par excellence*, of the Accadians (2 R. 48, 38 a), was commonly indicated by the ideogram  (god + stylus), of which at least one reading was MŪATI (2 R. 54, 67 g).



The Accadian  is the original of the Chinese 聿 *yuh*, old *yut*, *i.e.*, *ġut*, "stylus"; which only differs from its prototype by the addition of the , *hand* grasping the instrument. The Cantonese and Amoy sound is not *yut*, but *lüt*, recalling the Accadian word BIL-LUD. This Accadian compound answers to the Chinese 法律 *fah-luh* (for which we also find *luh-fah*), "laws," "statutes." The old pronunciation *pat-lut* = *pallud* = *pillud* (by the law of vowel-harmony): *cp.* the Shanghai *fèh-lih*, and Cantonese *fat-lüt*.

The *hand* was added to the Chinese symbol for the writing-stylus to distinguish it, probably, from the symbol 干 *kan*, which means *stalk, stem, rod*, etc. The Accadian  included the senses of *rod, staff, sceptre, and stylus*. With  (wood + rod) and  (wood +  + rod), both meaning "staff," "sceptre," *scipio*, we may therefore compare the Chinese 杆 (*wood + rod*), *kan*, "a pole," "staff," and its synonym 桿 (*wood + sun + rod*), *han, kan*, "staff," "spear-shaft."\* In this connexion it should be noticed that  had also the sound KUN (and, perhaps, KAN).

8.   GAR-ZU OR GAR-SU, *Letter*.

The elements of this compound ideogram are guaranteed by its technical name (see 2 R. 62, 17-19 a). It is composed of  (GAR = ĠAD), *stylus* +  SU or ZU, *skin, document*; and is explained, "written message," or "despatch" (*tirtum*† *ša šipri*, "missive, in the sense of a letter," 2 R. 27, 47 c).



In upright linear writing the form would be ; with which we may compare the old forms of the Chinese 書 *shu, su*, "letter,"


\* The Accadian , linear  has become confused with the symbol for *sun* in other cases also.

† May not the root of this word *tirtu*, "letter," be connected with حَرَّ, II, "to write a letter"? This would be an instance of חָרַר = חָרַר.










“despatch,” “document.” The upper element, as in the Accadian symbol, is *stylus*; the lower is modified so as to suggest *speaking* (see MORRISON, *Dict.*, Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 205, and the *Luh-shu-t'ung*).




And as , linear , *mouth, speak*, had among other values those of *zu* and *su*, while the upper part of it resembles the *su* of our ideogram, we may perhaps think that in this instance of modification the Chinese improvers of the Accadian Syllabary did not proceed altogether arbitrarily.

With the term *shu*, *cp.* also , *šū*, “art or office of writing” (*dupšarrātu*).




### 9. *šUG*, *Food*.

We have but to turn this character over to the right in the usual way, thus, , to see at once a likeness to the Chinese  *shik*, *shih*, “food”; and the linear form used by Gudía, , shows that the resemblance is not confined to the modern Assyrian symbol. The Chinese character appears to confuse the linear form of  with that of *the sun* (see No. 5). The old form is so like the modern that it is not necessary to give it here.\*

In Amoy it is read *sít*, and in Shanghai *zik* (= *zid*, *zig*); sounds which recall the Accadian , linear  *ZID*, “grain” or “meal.” *Cp.* also , *ší(G)*, “wheat.”

When we compare  *lang*, *lung*, now *liāng*, “good,” with , Gudía's  *DUG*, “good,” we seem to note a like confusion of originally distinct forms.

As regards the sound, *lung* = *rung* (*cp.* Japanese *ryō*) = *rug* = *DUG*.


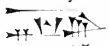

The figure  *DUG*, “knee” (*S<sup>c</sup> 22*), suggests that the primary connexion of ideas was *bending, pliable, ductile*. Hence the extension involved in   *DUG-DUG* or *DU-DU*, “to melt” metals.†

\* The addition at the bottom of the Chinese symbol seems to be *man*.

† *URU-DU*, “copper” = *URU-DUG* = Chinese *t'ung*, *dung*, Japanese *dō*, “copper.” So Accadian *AN (EN)*, “lead,” is the Chinese *yen*, Japanese *en*, “lead.” The Chinese call copper “the red metal (*ch'ih kin*); and *ch'ih*, dial. *ch'ik*, *ts'ik* (= *dig*, *zig* = *dug*, *zug*), means not only “red,” but “any highly polished metal.” *Cp.* also *chu*, *tsu*, “red.”



DUG, "knee," dialectic ZAG, may be compared with Chinese *t'ui*, "leg," "thigh"; *tsuk*, *tsu*, Amoy *chiok* (= dug), Annamite *tuk*, "leg," "foot." Accadian also presents DUB and ZIB or ŠIB, "knee."\*

### 10. 𒍪 DUG, *Wine-cup*.

The Babylonian form of this character, viz., , and the archaic  of Samsi-Rammân, prove that it was originally a compound of 𒍪 *water* + 𒍪 *wine-vessel*. The old form of 𒍪, which we see in , is a wine-vessel of some kind, and, as I pointed out in my first paper on *The New Accadian*, GAŠ has become *yu* in Chinese (*yu* = *yot* = *yat* = *gat* = *gaš*).


Now 酉 *yu*, "spirits," "wine," is properly a vessel that contains the liquor, or in which it is prepared; and this radical occurs in the word 酒 (*water* + *wine-vessel*) *tsü*, "wine," dialectic, *tsau*, *chü* (*zu*, *du*). This last character, therefore, preserves the Accadian DUG, "wine-cup"; which, as we saw, is a compound of 𒍪 *water* + 𒍪 *wine-vessel*.



Thus both *yu* and *tsü* are instances of the same transference of ideas from the vessel to the liquor filling it; and both are found already existing in the old Accadian writing.



\* "As for the 'dialectic' phonetic changes between 'Accadian' and 'Sumerian,' the change of *g* and *d*, . . . of *dug* and *zib*, I regard them as simply impossible from the point of view of the physiology of sound." Prof. Delitzsch thus appeals from the laws of Accadian to the laws of universal philology. Meeting him upon this ground, we may ask whether *τις* and *quis*, *quattuor* and *τέτταρα*, *ὄκα* and *ὄτε*, *κέϊνος* and *τηνος*, *decem* and *zehn*, *Dyauš* and *Zeùs* (= Bœotian *Δεὺς*), are totally unrelated words; and if not, why may not similar phonetic relations be allowed in the Accadian dialects? The truth is that, whether we refer to Aryan or Semitic or Tatar languages, we shall find that the phonetic changes observable in Accadian are neither exceptional nor anomalous. They are perfectly conformable to the general laws of "the physiology of sound." As regards *d*=*z*, indeed, it is simply amazing that the learned Professor, whose labours have so greatly furthered the progress of Assyriology, should have committed himself to the above assertion. He cannot be unaware that an Aramean *d* corresponds to the Hebrew *z*, that  = , or that 𐤎 is found for 𐤏 in certain Aramean inscriptions; even if he has failed to notice that a corresponding equivalence is one of the commonest phenomena of much more familiar languages (*duo*, *two*, *zwei*; *dens*, *tooth*, *zahn*; *dolus*, A.S. *tel*, O.H.G. *zâla*; *to*, *zu*; *tongue*, *zunge*; etc., etc.).

Much more might be said with reference to the strangely gratuitous assumption that the dialectic changes of Accadian are arbitrary or impossible. But I prefer to show by examples that the impossibilities of Accadian phonetism are actualities of Chinese.




11.  LAG, *Offering*.

This ideogram was read LAG, in the sense of "offering" or "sacrifice," as appears from the Syllabary (= *kirbannu*, S<sup>b</sup> 241; *kurbannu*, , 2 R. 38, 11 c).

The linear form  is inferred from Gudía's equivalent for the derived symbol .

The corresponding Chinese form is  *li*, old *lak*, "sacrificial vessel," "offerings," "worship." Cf. the old form . The upper part of the two symbols represents the things offered; the lower part is, in each case, a dish. The division of the Chinese character is like that of KAL in *kao* (No. 4).

12.  NUN, *Great*.







This familiar symbol is defined *rabú* (S<sup>b</sup> 129). The linear form  (Gudía) is sufficiently like the Chinese  *jin*, old *nin*, "great," "full;" a character which is but little modified from its *ku-wen* form. It is related to  *t'ing*, dialectic *teng*, *niǎng*, "good," "full." The fact illustrates the relation  $n = d$ ; which is borne out by the name of the Accadian sign, NUN-TIN, so called from its two values.

It is plain that the difference between the oldest attainable Chinese form and the very ancient linear Accadian is only the natural difference of simplification by omission.

13.  NIM, TUM, *High : Flies*.

This is another instance of the close relation between  $n$  and  $d$ , as well as of the perpetual interchange between  $u$  and  $i$ .

In the sense of "high," (*šakú*, S<sup>b</sup> 356) and "heaven" (*šamú*, 2 R. 50, 29 c), the symbol was read NIM and INIM (*vid. infr.*, No. 14).

The Archaic form of  is  (Gudía); cf. Hammurabi's . Besides the above meanings, the ideogram is also used as the determinative prefix (or radical) of insects like bees and flies, and is defined *zumbi*, "flies," . The Accadian TUM, "flies," "flying insects," answers very well to the Chinese  *ch'ung*, *t'iong*, "insects," with its ancient form . The vague use of the Chinese term, which covers all sorts of small creeping things, snakes, toads, etc., does not invalidate this comparison. If, as Delitzsch supposes, the

original idea of the Accadian word is to be found in *piercing, stinging*,\* we see a reason for its extension so as to include various kinds of noxious creatures. And we may remember the connexion between words denoting *sharp, pointed, and high*, as the link between the principal uses of the ideogram. (See 5 R. 27, 7 gh, *sqq.*, and *cp. zakkitu* with 𐎠𐎫).

14. 𐎠𐎫 IDIM (= earlier IDIN), *Heaven*.

The latest form of this ideogram is so little modified from the earliest, that it is needless to give the latter. On setting it upright in the usual way, we notice at once that the Accadian 𐎠𐎫 IDIM, heaven, is like enough to the Chinese 天 *t'ien, t'in*, heaven, and its more ancient forms 𐎠𐎫, 𐎠𐎫, 𐎠𐎫. (The second and third figures have the sun at the top.) I pointed out in a former paper that the sounds IDIM and *t'in* were clearly akin. The fluctuation between the finals m, ng, n, is common to the Accadian and the Chinese dialects (for Accadian, *cp.* 𐎠𐎫, read SUN, SIG = SING, SUM or SIM).


That IDIM, "heaven," was a principal value of the Accadian ideogram appears from its being called *Itimmu* by the Assyrian scribes (S<sup>a</sup> 6, 6; S<sup>c</sup> 190). With the sound IDIM, ÍDIM, it is explained *šamû*, "heaven," 2 R. 50, 30 c; 7 26 a, and elsewhere.




Bearing in mind the close relation of *n* and *d*, we may compare with ÍDIM the term ÍNIM "heaven."





Besides ÍDIM, "heaven," 𐎠𐎫 also represents ÍDIM, *naḳbu*, "a well" or "pit," especially the great well of waters underneath the earth, whence the springs and rivers flow, the counterpart of the celestial ocean (Gen. i, 7; vii, 11). Traces of this word are seen in 泉 *ts'ün, ch'üen*, "spring," with its old form 𐎠𐎫, and in 井 *tsing, ching* (= zim, dim), "well." And as sh = t, d, we may also compare 深 *shin* (= tin), "deep," of which an old form is 𐎠𐎫.


\* *Cp.* the Chinese 丁 *ting*, "a sting," also "a full grown man," with TUM, "to prick, to pierce, sting," and with 𐎠𐎫 TUNGA, "a man" (*zikaru*).




Other words, in which Accadian TUG, *i.e.*, TUNG, reappears in a Chinese *ting*, are 𐎠𐎫 TUNGA, "to be at rest" = 定 *ting*, "at rest, fixed," 停 *t'ing*, "to rest"; 𐎠𐎫 *ting*, "firm, settled, to establish"; 𐎠𐎫 AN-TUGGA AN is not (where the prefix of divinity, as Brunnow seems to suppose), *našû ša mimma*, "to bear, of anything" = 丁 *ting*, "to sustain, bear," 頂 *ting*, "to carry on the head."



15.  ŠU, šUTA, *Sheaf*.



The name of this character, which comprises the elements *Lagab* () and *shusharu* () leaves no room for doubt as to its original shape. The meaning is a "sheaf" or "heap" of corn (*zirku*, 2 R. 48, 23 a).<sup>\*</sup> It survives in the Chinese 束 *shuh, shuk* (= SHUG for SHUD), "to tie together," "a sheaf," "a bundle"; composed of  to surround, enclose + 木 *tree*.




The fact that the  SHU, "collection" or "multitude" (*kiššatu*), of the Accadian sign has been replaced by *mu*, "tree," in Chinese, may imply that the phonetic element  had not been added to the symbol , at the time when the syllabary was carried to China: in other words, that at that early period  had also the value SHU. Otherwise, the *tree* may be only one of the numerous instances of modification by the Chinese literati. The substitution may have been determined by the fact that *shu* is Chinese for *a tree*.




The Accadian , like the corresponding Chinese sign, meant "to bind" (KUR = *rakásu*), and "to collect together" (*paḥáru*).




The Accadian   (SHU + KUR or GUR?), "collection," "total," Assyrian *napharu*, may be compared with  (*shau* + *hwui* = *kui*), read *k'au, k'ù*, "to hook on," "buckle."

The Accadian  (*enclosure* + *water*) SUG, ZUG, "field," "common," Assyrian *šéru*, may be compared with the Chinese  *tsi, tsu*, "an untilled field," "waste land" (*water* + *field*).

16.  SUD, SUG, SU,  (GAM?).

This ideogram, in its meaning "to walk," "go" (*šadūhu*), answers to the 35th Chinese radical *sui*, "to walk." The word *šiu*, "walk," "way" ( *alaktu*), may also be cognate with both. The linear form of SUD, , is not altogether unlike the Chinese radical *攴* *sui*, in its old form .

The important word *sui*, old *sut*, "a year," may represent the Accadian SUD in    GAN-USUD, "a year" (*šattu*);

<sup>\*</sup> With *immeru*, a synonym of *zirku* (2 R. 25, 6 a b), *cf.* Heb. , "heap," Judges, xv, 16; , Exod. viii, 10; and , "sheaf," Lev. xxiii, 10.

where GAN may be compared with *nien*, *nín*, "year," as a cognate *n*-form.

𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 SU-SU, "the beard" (*zaknu*, 4 R. 9, 19a), answers perfectly to the Chinese *sü*, "the beard."

SUD, SUG, is also "bright" (*cp.* SIG, SHIG); and SUD-GAN (OR GAM), SUDDA—𠄎𠄎𠄎, SUGGA—𠄎𠄎𠄎, are given as titles of *Ai*, the moon (2 R. 57, 23, 24a; 3c, 31a). Now the expression ANA-SUD—𠄎𠄎𠄎 is explained as meaning "the light of heaven," *nûr šamê*; and that 𠄎𠄎𠄎 meant "bright," "light," is probable from its form (*fire* within an *enclosure*), as well as from its presence in these compounds. The linear form of this character, 𠄎𠄎, agrees well with the Chinese 光 *kwang*, *kong*, "light," "bright," and its ancient form 𠄎𠄎 given in the *Luh-shu-t'ung*.

*kwang*, *kong*, imply a primary *kam*, *kan*, or *kum*, *kun* = *gam*, *gan*, etc.; and we know that GAN, GUN, GIN, ĜUN, KUN, meant "bright," "shine," in Accadian. It seems likely, too, that in the above combinations RAM (= GAM) was read GAN or GAM, according to the variant SUD-GAN (with which compare *Sui-yin*, the Chinese Prometheus). At all events, ANGA, ANGI, with the dialectic AM, IM, the more usual sounds of the character, imply a primary GAM, GAN (KAM, KAN). Moreover, it appears also to have been read KING (2 R. 27, 45 c). 𠄎𠄎𠄎, AM, IM, "lead," is Amoy *ien*, Canton *ün*, Shanghai *kè*, "lead": *cp.* 𠄎𠄎, ANA, "lead."

17. 𠄎𠄎 NAM, NA, 𠄎𠄎 𠄎 NAM-ME, 𠄎 𠄎 ME-A, 𠄎 ME,

18. 𠄎 MU, 𠄎 𠄎 BARA, 𠄎 BA, 𠄎 𠄎 RA, *Not*.

The linear figure of NAM is a bird at rest, exactly corresponding to the 196th Chinese radical 鳥 *nîu*, *nîâu*, *nîo*.\* The inserted *i* of *nîôo* or *nîâu*, and many other Chinese words, is modern, and may be compared with the common Turkish *i*, in terms borrowed from the Arabic, like *kiâmîl* = *kâmîl* (كامل). The sign NAM had also the value NA in Accadian, and it is not difficult to see how *na* might become *nîu* (almost *nîi*).

\* The Annamite reading of this character is *dien*, which preserves a trace of another Accadian word, TIN, in MU-TIN, bird.

The sense of a negative particle is not retained by the Chinese radical. This loss is, however, compensated by the fact that the common Chinese particle 不 *puh, pat*, "not," was originally a figure of a bird soaring or flying away. The old form 𪗇 may be compared with the linear Accadian 𪗇 BA and 𪗇 BA-RA. In this connexion it should be noted that the Accadian 𪗇 GU, MU-ŠIN, "bird," was also read PAG (=PAD).

The Accadian MU, "not," linear 𪗇 MU, *a tree*, answers perfectly to the Chinese 未, archaic 𪗇 *mei, mi, wei*, "not," and to the very similar *moh, mut, bwat, meh*, "not," which are *trees* also. In Accadian MU is dialectic for NU, *e.g.*, in MU-GIB = NU-GIG. ME or MÍ appears not only in NAM-ME, but also in ME "(is) not," "(are) not," (*yānu*; *cp.* the Heb. 𪗇). Further, Haupt has suggested that the sign NAM was also read MU.

RA is also explained to mean "not." Now the sound *r* is rarely preserved in Chinese. It has usually become *l* or *y*. With RA, "not," therefore, I compare 休 (*man + tree*) *yau, hui*, of which the older sounds *gu, ku*, point to a primary *ga = ra*. This relation of *g* and *r* is already observable in Accadian, where we have GUŠ, ĞUS, RUŠ, RUS, "bright," like *yung*, Pekingese *rung*, "bright"; where both RA and GA are explained *rahāsu*, "to pour down," "flood"; where GIN and RA(N), *cp.* ĞARRAN, are both "to go"; where the sign 𪗇 is both GAS and RAS; and so in many other cases.

19. 𪗇 UMU, *Mother*; 𪗇 DA, (𪗇) DIM, *Ship*.

The sign 𪗇 UMU, "mother" (S<sup>b</sup> 118, *ummu*), is not perhaps much like the modern Chinese 母, *mu*, "a mother," though the sounds are strangely similar. But Gudía's forms of 𪗇 are 𪗇 and 𪗇, which are already a good deal nearer to the Chinese form. The dots in the Chinese character were once, probably, cross-lines, as in the Accadian; *cp.* the old form 𪗇. They have been modified to suggest the female breasts; much as the cross-benches of 舟, *chau*, "boat," have been reduced to dots. This radical is the Accadian DA, "ship," in the expression NIN-DA, "the lord of the ship," and *ch'üen*, "ship," Canton. *shün*, is the Accadian DIM, "ship," in the word 𪗇 𪗇 DIM-GUL (3 R. 68, 6, e f; Flood, 97.)

20. ¶ GI(š), DIŠ ; — AŠ (iš), DIL (= DIŠ) ; ID, I ; *One* ;  
*Two* ; etc.

In the transition from Accadian to Chinese, the change from final š, s, to t, is normal. But the same process is already visible in such Accadian cognates as (g)uš and gud (lu-gud) and mud, "blood" ; in giš and gid () "trunk," "tree" ; in kuš () "decision," and kud, "to decide" ; in ġud, "to sparkle," and ġus, "to glitter" ; and in giš, "one" = id, "one."

We have already seen that both in Accadian and in Chinese there is a dialectic interchange between initial t and š. No one will be surprised at the fact, who remembers that the Hebrew *šôr* = Aramean *štaur* = Arab. *thaur* = Ethiop. *sôr*, "ox" ; or that Sk. *katur* = Gk. *tessara*, *tettara* (Epic. *písura*) "four" ; or that Lat. und-a = Norse vand = wat-er = Wass-er ; or, indeed, that a modern Jew says *br̄shis* for *br̄shith*.

The change from g to y is equally trite : see the Turkish dictionary *passim* ; or compare our yellow, yester, yarn, with gelb, gestern, gara, or year with A.S. gear, or Chaucer's "yeve" and "yate" with *give* and *gate*.

The symbol ¶, read GI (= GIŠ) and DIŠ, represented the numeral One (*ištin*). There is a variant GI.



Now GIŠ, GI, evidently correspond to the Chinese *yít*, *yí*, "one" ; while DIŠ and DIL are the ancient equivalents of *chít*, *chih*, old sound *dít*, "only," "alone," and of *chih*, dialectic *chek*, *tsèk* (= dig, zig, for dit, zit), "one."


The character , read *yít* in Kwangtung and *i* at Peking, is pronounced *it* in the dialect of Amoy, and *i* in that of Shanghai. This agrees with the Accadian ID, I, "one" : *cp.* the Japanese *it-su*, "one" (*su* = Accad. SHU, "times," Mal).


As ID, originally doubtless GID, means "hand" (*idu*), and GAD is also "hand" (*kátu*), it is probable that AŠ (= GAŠ) had the same original meaning. One hand was naturally held up to indicate *one*. The change of vowel from (G)AŠ to GIŠ is seen also in GAŠ, "liquor," GÍŠ-TIN, "spirits," "wine," in MAN, MIN, "two," &c.

In comparing the Accadian and Chinese numerals we have to bear in mind that the former language possessed more than one word for each number. As regards the mode of writing, both



originally represented the first four numerals by combinations of straight lines. It may be added that MAŠ, one of the Accadian terms for "five," appears to be the m-form of YA, A, I (= GA-Š, GA, GI-Š, GI), "five," strictly again, "one hand" (*cp.* Japanese *it-su*, "one," and "five"). At any rate, the Accadian MAŠ (MAT), "five," is the Chinese *wu*, old sound *wot* (= *mat*), "five." Moreover the figure , MAŠ (×), may be the origin of the ancient Chinese , *wot*, "five."


The Accadian , "seven," was read ŠI-SIN, ŠISINNA, as well as I-MIN, IMINNA. The former is ŠI, "five," + SIN, "three," just as the latter is I, "five," + MIN, "two." Thus ŠI-SIN, "seven," supplies us with the counterparts of the Chinese *sī*, "four," and *san*, "three."

The Chinese *er*, "two," may be related to , RAŠ, RA, "two," (*šina*; AL<sup>3</sup> No. 114); and as RAŠ = GAŠ (KAS),\* we may think that the Cantonese *i* = *yi* = *gi* = *ga*(š). The Shanghai *ni*, and Japanese *ni*, "two," agree with the Accadian NIN "four" (*i.e.*, NI + NI, two + two).













We thus have the following equivalence:—


| <i>Accadian.</i>                | <i>Chinese.</i>                |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| GIŠ, GI                         | yit, yi                        |
| DIŠ (DIT)                       | chit, chek                     |
| ID, I                           | it, i                          |
| BAR, BA, half ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ) | pan, half ( $\frac{1}{2}$ )    |
| RA-Š, RA                        | er                             |
| N1                              | ni                             |
| GA-Š (GA, GI)                   | i                              |
| SIN, three                      | san, three                     |
| SHI, four                       | sī, su, four                   |
| MAŠ (MAT), five                 | <i>wu</i> ( <i>wot</i> ), five |

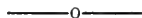
The amount of agreement here visible is greater than has been shown to exist between these Accadian and the corresponding old Turkic numerals (*see ZK. I, 213 sq.*). I may add that the TAN of

\* The character  had these values also. Hommel reads it GAŠ, in the sense of "two."

AŠ-TAN, "one only," still exists in the Chinese *tan*, *té*, "only," "odd," of numbers.

| ACCADIAN SIGNS.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | CHINESE SIGNS. |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| 1.  and                                                                                         | —              |
| $\frac{1}{2}$                                                                                                                                                                    | 半              |
| 2.  or <br>or  | 二              |
| 3.  or                                                                                          | 三              |
| 4.  or <br>or  | ≡ or 四         |
| 5.                                                                                                                                                                               | ⊗              |

With regard to these symbols, more agreement is visible than might have been expected. The common Chinese symbol for "four" is 四, with old forms 𠄎, 𠄏. Chambers says it is doubtless a modification of four vertical strokes, so that it may really be a Chinese adaptation of the Babylonian .



The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 5th May, 1891, at 8 p.m., when the following Papers will be read:—

PROFESSOR E. REVILLOUT.—"A Bilingual Papyrus in the British Museum, Demotic and Greek."

W. F. AINSWORTH, F.S.A.—"Haran in Mesopotamia."

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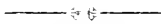
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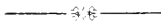
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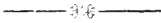
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*Seventh Meeting, May 5th, 1891.*



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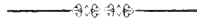
TWENTY-FIRST SESSION, 1890-91.

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*Seventh Meeting, 5th May, 1891.*

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 Author:—Rev. C. A. de Cara, S.J. *Ricerche di Archeologia Biblico-Italica degli Hittim o Hethai e delle loro migrazioni. Civiltà Cattolica. Serie XIV. Vol. X. Aprile, 1891.*

From the Editor:—M. V. Nikolsky, *Oriental Antiquities. Proceedings of the Oriental Commission of the Imperial Archæological Society of Moscow. Vol. I, Part 2 (in Russian). 4to. Moscow, 1891.*

From the Author:—Prof. W. D. Whitney (*Hon. Member*).

The Roots of the Sanskrit Language.

Translation of the *Kaṭha-Upanishad*; Introduction.

*Böhtlingk's Upanishads.*

On *Böhtlingk's Upanishads.*

On the Second Volume of Eggeling's Translation of the *Çatapatha Brāhmana.*

Reprints from the *Trans. American Philol. Assoc.*, 1885-86; *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. XI, No. 4; and the *American Oriental Soc. Proc.*, 1888-90. 8vo.

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next meeting on June the 2nd.

Charles H. S. Davis, M.D., Ph.D., Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.  
Mrs. Grenfell, 55, West Cromwell Road, S.W.

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Mr. Renouf read a translation of the Egyptian Tales of Wonder contained in the Westcar Papyrus, belonging formerly to Professor Lepsius, and since his death to the Royal Museum of Berlin. The *facsimile* of this document has recently been published,\* with an introduction and commentary, a German version and glossary, a hieroglyphic transcription and an extremely valuable palæographical dissertation by Dr. Erman.

Remarks were added by Rev. R. Gwynne, Dr. M. Gaster, Rev. James Marshall, and Rev. A. Löwy.

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A Paper by Prof. E. Revillout was read, on "A Bilingual Papyrus (Demotic and Greek) in the British Museum," which will be printed in a future number of the *Proceedings*.

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A Paper by W. Francis Ainsworth, F.S.A., entitled "Haran in Mesopotamia," was read by the Secretary.

Remarks were added by Mr. W. Boscawen, Dr. M. Gaster, Rev. A. Löwy, Mr. F. D. Mocatta, and Rev. R. Gwynne.

\* Königliche Museen zu Berlin. Mittheilungen aus den Orientalischen Sammlungen. Heft V und VI; Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar, herausgegeben von Adolf Erman.



## HARAN IN MESOPOTAMIA.

BY WILLIAM FRANCIS AINSWORTH, F.S.A., F.R.G.S.

This ancient city of Mesopotamia is supposed to have derived its name from Haran, the brother of Abraham and father of Lot, but it has been objected to this supposition, that there is no ground for it except the identity of names. But there is something in a name, and when we consider that this city was the first abode of the family—that Abraham tarried here until his father Terah died—that another neighbouring city was called after another member of the family, Serug or Saruj, and the ancient city of Ur or Urfah obtained its name ‘Ur of the Khaldis’ in commemoration of the first home of the family—the conclusion becomes all the more acceptable.

The elder branch of the family still remained at Haran after Abraham had proceeded to the land of Canaan (Gen. xi. 31, 38; Acts vii, 4), a circumstance which led to the interesting journeys thither described in the patriarchal history—first, that of Abraham’s servant to obtain a wife for Isaac (Gen. xxiv), and next, that of Jacob when he fled to evade the wrath of Esau (Gen. xxviii, 10).

But it is not alone in patriarchal history that Haran possesses interest. It is mentioned in 2 Kings xix, 12, and Isa. xxxvii, 12, as a place which the Assyrians had destroyed, and we were enabled to discover traces of their passage or of their dwelling here both at Haran and at the neighbouring site of Serug.

The name also appears in the history of the Roman domination, and it obtained a sad celebrity in connection with the defeat of the Roman army by the Parthians in the vicinity, and the death of the Triumvir Cassius, as also that of his son. “*Care clade Crasi nobiles,*” says Pliny (V, xxiv), and

“*miserando funere Crassus  
Assyrias Latio maculavit sanguine Carras.*”

writes Lucanus (Lib. I, vers. 104).

Haran probably attained its greatest prosperity at the time of the same domination, and that of the ascendancy of the Christian Church at Edessa, as Urfah was then called, as also in the time of the Crusades. A Bishop of Haran was present at the Council of Constantinople in A.D. 381; and we find Ignatius, according to Plutarch (Dio Appian), arriving at the place at midnight to oppose

“the degraded and broken spirited spoliator of the Holy of Holies” after his defeat. The magnificence of its cathedral, as attested by the existing ruins, are the best proof of the importance of the place. Nothing like them are to be met with in Edessa itself. The Sabeans are also said to have had a church here in olden times dedicated to Abraham.\*

The name of the place, although traceable to one source, that of Haran, brother of Abraham, and representing two Hebrew words, of which one means a mountaineer and the other free or rugged, is very variously written. In Acts vii, 2, 4, it is called Charran (Sept. *Χάρραν*). The Roman historians wrote indifferently Carra, Carræ, and Carras. It was also known as Carrenorum colonia, Metropoleos Carrenorum, and as Metropoleos coloniæ Carrenorum.

It is spoken of in the beautiful narrative of the betrothal of Rebekah as the city of Nahor (the brother of Abraham who was left behind), as being in Padan Aram, and “in the land of the people of the East.” It is still known by the Arabs under its ancient name of Hāran or Harran. We gather also from Holy Writ that the language spoken there was not Hebrew, but Syriac or Chaldee

\* General Chesney (*Euphrates Expedition*, Vol. I, pp. 112, 115) describes the place as ‘a city of the Sabeans,’ after Ibn Haukal, and as having a sovereign as late as 1199, on the authority of De Guignes (*Hist. des Huns.*, Vol. I, p. 345). He further adds that the Sabeans make pilgrimages to the city which, they look upon as the burial place of Seth, from whose son Saba they are supposed by some to derive their name.

It is now, however, generally admitted that the Sheba rendered Sabeans in Job i, 15, were, as distinguished from the Sheba of Meroë in Ethiopia, who were Cushites, Abrahamite Sabeans (Gen. xxv, 3).

General Chesney further advances, upon the authority of Abū-l-Faraj (*Hist. Dynast.*, p. 16, and *Chron. Syr.*, p. 7), that at the time of the dispersion of the human race into seven different nations, the Shemitic branch settled in Haran under Arphaxad, who named the place after his son.

But Celarius in his *Notitiæ Orbis Antiqui* (Vol. II, p. 654), in his notice of Arrapachit, derived from Ptolemy (Lib. VI, cap. i), describes the province as being the most northerly one of Assyria, and next to Armenia. “*Videtur*,” he adds in a note, “*nomen habere ab Arpachado filis Sem*” (Gen. x, 22). I have noticed this identification in my *Personal Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition* (Vol. II, p. 322), pointing out at the same time that Asshur was also a son of Shem, implying thereby that the brothers may have lived in proximity the one to the other.

The “land of Uz” being admitted as the same as the “land of Ur,” and as the home of Job, I have also pointed out in my *Personal Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition* (Vol. I, p. 208), that the Sabeans of Haran were early distinguished from the Khaldeans, for the Sabeans fell upon the Patriarch’s oxen and asses, while the Khaldeans fell upon the camels.

(Khaldi), as was the case at the time of its ascendancy as a Christian Episcopacy, and as it is among the Christians to the present day.

This ancient site was first explored by a party detached from the Euphrates Expedition, consisting of Captain Blosse Lynch, C.B., Lieutenant Eden, R.N., and the writer, and the discovery of Assyrian lions both at Haran and Serug, antedated the wondrous disinterments effected by Sir Henry Austin Layard in Assyria proper, and I have entered at length upon the deep interest involved in the Biblical history of this peculiar territory in the north-west corner of Mesopotamia in my narrative of that expedition, but accident has since placed in my hands the original manuscript record of that exploration, and it is accompanied by a few details, and pen and ink sketches, which cannot but be considered as well worthy of preservation.

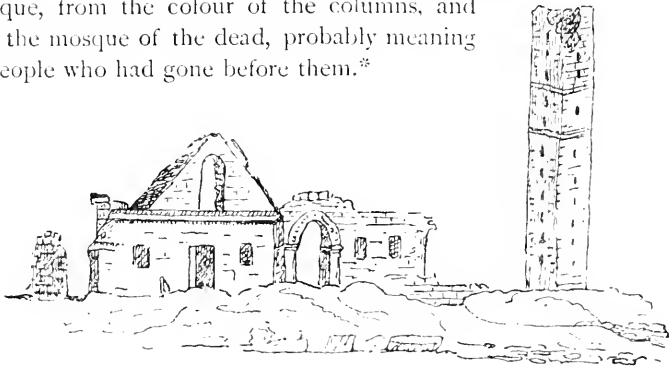
The walls of Haran, although in a great state of dilapidation, are yet continuous throughout, and a sketch of the gateway opening to the west by Lieutenant Eden is given in General Chesney's work (*Euphrates Expedition*, Vol. I, p. 115). This gate is flanked by three towers. The walls are very irregularly disposed. Starting from a point where there is a deviation of 60 paces S. 65 E. from the general direction, they follow a course N. 25 E. for 106 paces, then N. 18 E. 370 paces, N. 110 paces, N. 80 W. 40 paces, N. 5 E. 289 paces, N. 55 W. 520 paces, S. 80 W. 49 paces, ditto 238 paces, S. 60 W. 398 paces, S. 15 W. 406 paces. (The masjid or mosque stands at this point, 128 paces from the wall.) S. 172 paces (gate at this point), S. 25 W. 178 paces, S. 15 W. 150 paces, S. 25 F. 280 paces, S. 40 E. 220 paces (gate at this point), N. 85 E. 270 paces, N. 80 E. 270 paces, N. 70 E. 200 paces. This makes a total of 4,412 paces, or about two geographical miles.

On entering the walls, and indeed on approaching the place, the first object that strikes the spectator is a low range of hills or mounds (well worthy of archaeological exploration), divided into two portions by the river of Haran, and occupying almost the entire south-easterly portion of the enclosure.\* The easterly portion is marked by a ziyareh or Muhammadan saint's tomb, and a place of pilgrimage; the south-westerly portion by the ancient castle, and on its southern side by a delapidated khan and the ruins of dwelling houses. These are on the way to the gate, beyond which is a well, traditionally pointed out as that at which Rebekah was met.

\* The mound or tell of Haran bore due south-east from the west angle of the castle of Urfah; a distance of some seven miles as the crow would fly. The town of Urfah itself bore north 25 east, roughly taken from the top of the mounds.

These mounds rise to a height of scarcely over 200 feet and the castle occupies the south-east angle. The ruins of this building are very conspicuous. Towers and stone walls of great thickness have resisted the devastations of man and of the elements. We occupied the chief hall of this ancient edifice during our stay at Haran. Square columns 8 feet thick supported an arched roof at least 30 feet high. Light was only admitted by the door and a deep aperture above, thus leaving the hall in a semi obscurity probably refreshing during the heats of summer.

The only other important remnant of olden times is the cathedral, with its lofty tower or belfry, and of which I am happy to have preserved a pen and ink sketch. It stands at a distance of 456 paces from the castle, and the interval between is in part occupied by the bee-hive huts of the Arabs, who call the cathedral the red mosque, from the colour of the columns, and also the mosque of the dead, probably meaning of people who had gone before them.\*



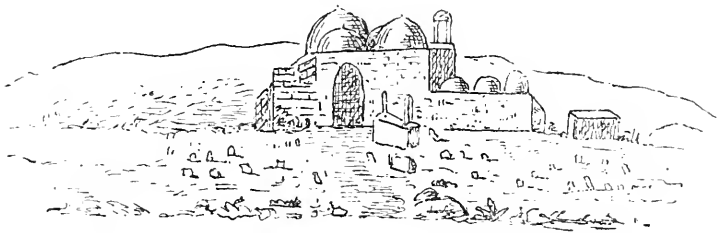
The south front of this edifice had an extent of 130 paces. The tower, which was quadrilateral, stood 28 paces from the east angle, and its sides were 17 feet in depth. The height was estimated at about 80 feet, and there were apertures in the walls at regular intervals. In the centre of the yard, between the cathedral and the belfry, was an octagon fountain of marble, each side being 5 feet in width, and the whole circumference 40 feet 8 inches. There were also a number of little cavities with re-entering angles.

The north front presented an extent of 130 paces, like that to the south, with a width of 38 paces. The nave and aisles ran the

\* It is open to question if the cathedral at Haran was not used after the Muhammadan conquest as a masjid or mosque, since it is called the red mosque, as occurred in many instances, as in that of St. Sophia. But I do not remember having met with a square minar (*i.e.*, minaret). One minar or tower indicates a Masjid, two or more, a Jumna.

whole depth across, intercepted by a lofty arch. The sides of this arch were 6 feet 6 inches high to the spring of the arch, but in the interior only 5 feet ; the width was 27 feet. Within the arch stood the fragment of a column of pink marble, 3 feet 9 inches in diameter. There were also two smaller columns of the same rock, which was something like the Scottish Tیره marble, only the former is striated with pink, the latter with red. Although the cathedral was 456 paces from the castle, it was only 262 paces from the summit of the hill. The cathedral itself, it is to be observed, occupied an enclosed space of 101 yards square. The church, which consisted of a central nave and two aisles, was on the western side. The fountain was on the east side of the yard ; the belfry also stood to the eastward. The vast extent enclosed within the walls of the city and lying to the north, present nothing to the eye but fragments of dwelling houses. The followers of the prophet levelled the dwellings of the Christian people to the dust, leaving only castle, church, and tower. This occurred, according to Al Wakedi, at a time when one Shariyad or Shahriyad was king of the Christians in the north-west corner of Mesopotamia (his nephew ruling at Karkish (Cercusium). Edessa, however, was in possession of the Armenians, and Sharayad had his quarters at Ras al Ain (Resaina).

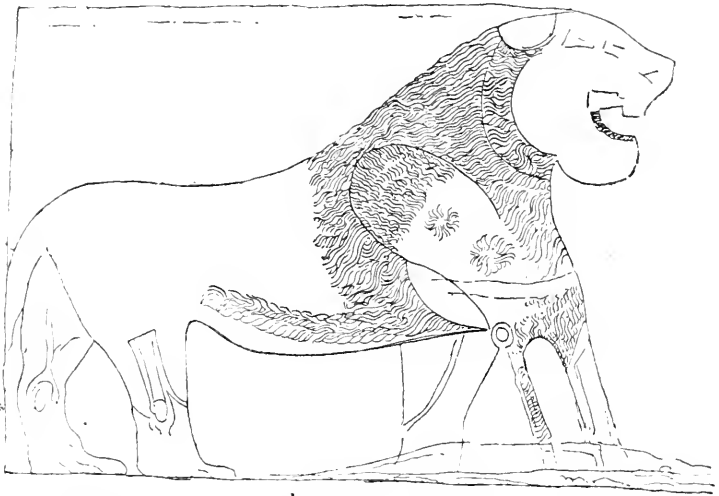
The masjid or mosque erected subsequently by the Arabs, stood, as we have seen, outside the walls, as if the earlier Mussulmans had deemed that an edifice sacred to their prophet would be defiled by being erected within the precincts of a city so long the stronghold of Sabeans and star-worshippers and of an early Christianity. This mosque, of which I have likewise preserved a pen and ink sketch, is



remarkable for a little cupola supported by slender columns. It may have been originally a sepulchral chapel, sacred to one of the early followers of the prophet who fell before the walls of Haran, and hence its peculiar position.

Besides numerous fragments of ruin contained within the walls, a considerable extent of ruin is observable at the entrance to the town,

where is the well traditionally associated with the story of Rebekah, and among these we discovered a fragment of an Assyrian lion, of which I am enabled to give an outline.



The Haran river, a tributary to the Basileus or "Royal River" of Strabo, is about ten feet in width and four feet in depth. But inundating the plain, this river and its tributaries, in places, bring fertility to what is otherwise an argillaceous sandy soil.\* The spur-winged Aleppo plover was here represented by a grey species with white wings and a black terminal bar. Jerboas abound on the plain, and from feathers seen at the mouth of their holes seemed to be destructive to birds.

A low ridge of limestone rocks, with at times upheaved plutonic rocks, at others covered with basalts, basanites, spilites, and diorites, separated the plain of Haran from that of Serug, or Saruj, as the Arabs pronounce it. This district, besides its retention of a patriarchal name, was a well-known episcopacy attached to Urfah or Edessa, and was still better known as the Roman Batnæ, celebrated

\* General Chesney says of the Belik or Belitz river (the Basileus of Strabo), that it rises near Haran at a spring called Dhahabiyah or Dabanæa ("the Golden") by Abu l fedah (*Euphrates Expedition*, Vol. I, p. 48). It has, however, its main source in the Nimrud Tagh, east of Urfah, where it is called the Jalab (anc. Kalaba). While the almost equally abundant waters from Urfah (also called Cahlirrhoe, or "beautiful waters"), one of whose springs, known, as Daisan by the Syrians and Scirtos by the Greeks, both names alluding to its sudden rises, (*Personal Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*, Vol. I, p. 198), unite to form the Belik.

alike for its fair and as the seat of frequent contests. The plain is more or less oval, its greatest extent being from N. 50, W. to S. 50 E. and we counted and took bearings to upwards of thirty villages. This little region is, indeed, the most fertile and productive in rice of any in North Syria or Mesopotamia.

Two Assyrian lions are met with nigh the south extremity of the plain, some ten miles from the site of the town of Serug or Batnæ, and at a place known to the Arabs as the "Lion's rock." One of the lions is still standing upright, but the other, the largest, has fallen down. The latter has been reproduced by General Chesney in his work on the Euphrates Expedition from a sketch made on the spot by Lieutenant Eden, but I subjoin one made by myself, as preserving an unnoticed peculiarity, that the animal is represented as having five legs, so that whichever way it is looked upon it appears complete.

The larger lion may be said to be of colossal dimensions: the height being 7 feet 3 inches, the length to extremity of nose 12 feet, the width 1 foot 4 inches to 2 feet. The upright lion, of which a sketch is also given, was 3 feet in width across the chest.\* The plain of Serug is watered by a stream known to the Arabs by the not uncommon name of Ras al Ain, or "the head spring," and there are several other springs, especially at a village with a tell or mound, about half way between the Lion rock and Serug. These by irrigation contribute to the fertility of the soil.



A column of pink marble, same as at Haran, about 6 feet high, and broken shaft, and another fragment of a column of white limestone breccia, is all that remains of ancient Serug, but the existence of a former large town at the spot is attested by the number of hewn stones and pottery scattered widely over the plain. In one of the cottages alone we found a small sculptured balineum or balneum. A Numenius or Ibis, with white body and black tipped wings, and red legs and bill, built its nest in the few trees around the village, and like the stork in other places, was evidently protected by the inhabitants. A black headed tern was also seen roving over the plain.

\* General Chesney says, after Lynch or Eden, that "the stone used is basalt" (*Euphrate: Expedition*, Vol. I, p. 114). I find also in my own notes, that the stone is a siliceous basalt, with decomposed ferruginous crysolite.

THE METROLOGY OF THE MEDICAL PAPYRUS  
EBERS.\*

BY F. L. GRIFFITH.

This subject was treated in 1875 by Ebers ("Pap. Ebers," Vol. I, p. 18 ff.), and glanced at by Stern (*l.c.*, Vol. II, p. VII), and in 1889 elaborately worked over by Ebers in a special brochure of 60 pages† which was favourably reviewed ‡ by Hultsch and Maspero, the latter, however, disclaiming all special knowledge of the subject. Some of the results have been utilized by Dr. Joachim, a physician at Berlin, who with the assistance of several Egyptologists has produced a valuable translation § of the great medical papyrus, but Erman and Lieblein || look upon the results as hypothetical, though obtained by singular learning and acuteness, and Brugsch ¶ appears to be inclined to the same opinion. On turning over the pages the Egyptian symbols reminded me of the series contained in the Rhind papyrus, having totally different values from those assigned by Ebers, while the arguments of the celebrated writer and Professor by whose name the great papyrus is known, appeared to me by no means conclusive as to their meaning. Turning to the facsimile, I collected the signs (which are written in red and therefore are easily discernible) and observed their use, and working in the light afforded by the Rhind symbols, found that as fast as facts could be collected they could be explained. The result of a few hours' search was an absolute solution of most of the main questions involved, and a

\* A certain number of errors are allowed to remain in the text of this paper, but are corrected by footnotes in accordance with results obtained in the second appendix; the evidence being circumstantial rather than direct, it seemed better to let the whole discussion stand, than to tamper with the already printed arguments.

† "Papyrus Ebers, Die Masse (und das Kapitel über die Augenkrankheiten)," Leipzig, from the XIth band of the "Abh. der phil.-hist. classe d. kgl. Sächsischen gesells. d. Wissenschaften." It is intended to be the commencement of an exposition of the entire papyrus for the use of students of ancient medicine: only 40 pages (159-198 of the "Abhandlungen") are occupied by the metrology.

‡ *Literarisches Centralblatt*, 1889, 1746, ff., *Revue Critique*, November, 1889, p. 363.

§ "Papyrus Ebers, das älteste buch über heilkunde," v. Dr. Med. H. Joachim: Berlin, 1890.

|| Both in Joachim, *l.c.*, p. xiii.

¶ "Aegyptologie," pp. 409, 410.



very great narrowing of the uncertainties as to the remainder: on the other hand the systems hitherto in vogue for explaining the indications of measure or weight vanished thereby into thin air.

Not a few inquirers are deeply interested in the subject of ancient metrology, and to identify with precision most of the measures in Egyptian pharmacy has an importance of its own. I have no doubt that a detailed examination of the whole papyrus will bring to light important passages and facts bearing on the metrology that have been overlooked in preparing the present essay; but the main results are proved beyond question: indeed, when once a fair start is made, the problem works out with singular simplicity and certainty.

The text of the Ebers papyrus, written in 110\* pages, consists almost entirely of prescriptions: in these sometimes the substances alone are named, but very frequently a numeral (whole or fractional), a symbol or a word or phrase written in red ink follows each name, and must indicate either the weight or the measure or the proportional amount to be used. From the frequent occurrence of some signs and the rarer occurrence of others, it became evident to me that the Egyptians had a preference for prescribing certain amounts or proportions. The numeral 1 was very common, and usually ran through a whole prescription without any admixture of other numerals, while whole numbers above unity were rare. The general appearance of the prescriptions in which fractions occurred indicated definite amounts and not proportions, for the sum of the fractions did not produce a whole number or any regular result.

What fractions were most commonly prescribed the following table will show.

STATISTICAL TABLE OF FRACTIONS OCCURRING IN THE FIRST TWENTY PAGES.

| Fraction.                                    | Times of occurrence. |
|----------------------------------------------|----------------------|
| $\frac{1}{1\frac{1}{2}}$ ( $= \frac{2}{3}$ ) | 1 (p. vi, 20)        |
| $\frac{1}{2}$                                | 1 (p. vii, 12)       |
| $\frac{1}{4}$                                | 11                   |
| $\frac{1}{8}$                                | 37                   |
| $\frac{1}{16}$                               | 15                   |
| $\frac{1}{32}$                               | 15                   |
| $\frac{1}{64}$                               | 5                    |

\* 110 was a perfect number in Egypt: it was here obtained by a little falsification in the numbering of the pages, for xxviii and xxix do not exist.

Thus  $\frac{1}{8}$  of some unit was the favourite quantum, and forms the central point from which there is a decline on each side, most rapid on that of increase towards unity: in fact the common amount lay between  $\frac{1}{4}x$  and  $\frac{1}{6}x$ . The fractions after  $\frac{2}{3}$  proceed regularly by *dimidiation*.

The cyphers or symbols are less numerous but still common enough. They are scattered up and down amongst the fractions, and when tabulated might well show a similar rule of occurrence: assigning to them the values belonging to their nearest equivalents in the Rhind papyrus\* we obtain the following dimidiated series:  $\overline{\text{7}} = \frac{1}{16}$ ,  $\overline{\text{3}} = \frac{1}{32}$ ,  $\overline{\text{4}}$  and  $\overline{\text{+}} = \frac{1}{64}$ . The statistical table of the symbols and their combinations can now be drawn up.

TABLE OF THE SYMBOLS OF MEASUREMENT AND OF THEIR COMBINATIONS OCCURRING IN THE FIRST TWENTY PAGES OF THE PAPYRUS EBERS.

| Symbol.                  | Fraction of $\frac{\overline{\text{0}}}{\overline{\text{1}}}$ . | Value in <i>hnu</i> .†                                        | Value in $\ominus$ . | Times of occurrence. |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| $\overline{\text{+7}}$   | $\frac{1}{16} + \frac{1}{64}$                                   | $(\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{8}) + (\frac{1}{8} + \frac{1}{32})$  | 25                   | 8                    |
| $\overline{\text{7}}$    | $\frac{1}{16}$                                                  | $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{8}$                                   | 20                   | 3                    |
| $\overline{\text{+3}}$   | $\frac{1}{32} + \frac{1}{64}$                                   | $(\frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{16}) + (\frac{1}{8} + \frac{1}{32})$ | 15                   | $4^{\ddagger}$       |
| $\overline{\text{3}}$    | $\frac{1}{32}$                                                  | $\frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{16}$                                  | 10                   | 6 } = 7              |
| $\overline{\text{+4}}$ § | $\frac{1}{64} + \frac{1}{64}$                                   | $2(\frac{1}{8} + \frac{1}{32})$                               | 10                   |                      |
| $\overline{\text{+}}$    | $\frac{1}{64}$                                                  | $\frac{1}{8} + \frac{1}{32}$                                  | 5                    | 23                   |
| $\overline{\text{+}}$ §  | $\frac{1}{2}$ of $\frac{1}{64}$                                 | $\frac{1}{16} + \frac{1}{64}$                                 | $2\frac{1}{2}$       | 2                    |

The central point of frequency is here 5 *re*, but the decrease in this case is most rapid to the lower value.

\* Compare Eisenlohr, "Mathematisches Handbuch, Commentar," p. 12.

The unit is the  $\frac{\overline{\text{0}}}{\overline{\text{1}}}$  of  $\overline{\text{10}}$   $\overline{\text{10}}$   $\overline{\text{10}}$  *hnu*, and the *hnu* contained 32  $\ominus$ .

† The values of the symbols in *hnu* are given in the Rhind Papyrus, Pl. XXII.

‡ In one case, Pl. xvii, 7, the scribe has wrongly separated the signs—thus

$\overline{\text{+}} \dots \overline{\text{3}}$ .

§ The value assigned to this compound is shown to be correct later on.







The statistics of the two series combined agree so remarkably in increase and decrease with those of the fractional series, that there can be no doubt of the correctness of the hypothesis as to the unit in the latter, and on that hypothesis the series are made to dovetail into each other, the central points of each almost coinciding in a manner that could not by any possibility be fortuitous. The central point is 4 *re*,  $\frac{1}{8}$  of the *hnu* with 37 instances, and the times of occurrence drop off on each side, most rapidly on that of increase. The only exception to the regular fall is in the case of  $\overline{\text{f}}$ ,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  *re*: the *re* being almost the unit of the series,\* an awkward fraction like  $2\frac{1}{2}$  would be avoided, though in case of necessity it would serve instead of 3 *re*, an amount which is not expressed by either of the two series.

I hope that those who have followed my argument will see the force of it, and not imagine that this is mere juggling. The statistics of a dimidiated series of plain fractions are tabulated in the natural order of the fractions, and show a central point of frequency. To a number of symbols found scattered amongst the fractions are assigned the values of symbols identical with or closely resembling them, and obtained from another document. These symbols and their combinations are then arranged in a natural series, and their occurrences are tabulated. After the elimination of a disturbing element, a rise and fall of frequency is found to exist resembling that already found in the fractional series. The values of these symbols are now known, and a conjecture can be made as to the unit of the fractions. The unit is assumed, the fractions and the symbols are converted into terms of one unit, and the result is a new series of great regularity, the central points of each of the original series falling side by side.

Thus, excluding the constant numeral 1, the bulk of the metrical entries in the papyrus are in  $\ominus$ ,† expressed in *dimidiated* series of the  $\overset{\circ}{\Delta} \text{I}$  and the  $\overline{\square} \overset{\circ}{\text{I}}$ . As I have remarked before, multiples and subdivisions proceeded mainly by 2 and 10; the  $\overset{\circ}{\Delta} \text{I}$  contained 10 *hnu*, and proceeding from each of these measures we have found a series of dimidiated (halved) subdivisions.

\* Not true, see Appendix II, the unit is here  $\text{+}$  and its fractions are rare.

† The words "in  $\ominus$ ," should be omitted.






The *hnu* is calculated to have contained about .456 litre or  $\frac{1}{3}$  pint: the *r* would be  $\frac{1}{3 \cdot 2}$  of this,  $\frac{1}{6}$  of a pint, or nearly  $\frac{7}{8}$  of a cubic inch. The mouth could just receive and masticate this quantity, if soft; hence no doubt the name  *r*, "mouth," a shortened expression for , "mouthful." It was the smallest unit in Egyptian measures.




The indications of measurement not yet discussed may be grouped as follows:—







1. Those that contain the name, or part of the name of the unit.
2. The rarer symbols.
3. The rarer fractions.
4. The whole number 1.
5. The whole numbers above 1.

Some of these can be easily identified, but many require a much more thorough knowledge of the contents and subject matter of the Ebers Papyrus in order to test the probabilities in each case individually, and arrive at absolute certainty. As I have pointed out before, certain liquids (amongst which water, beer, sweet beer and milk are the most conspicuous and constant in their agreement to the rule), if they occur at all, are almost invariably prescribed in larger proportions than any other ingredient. This fact will be frequently appealed to in order to solve doubtful points.

**1. The written units—**





a.    *hnu* as a measure occurs not uncommonly in *black* ink: sometimes no numeral occurs after it, sometimes 1, once 6 (see Stern's "Glossar.," s.v.). When written in black ink it may have a vaguer meaning like our "tumbler-full," especially if there is no numeral with it. In *red* ink it occurs lv, 14, *hnu* 1 in association with   1 and II.









   as a measure in its strict sense has been shown by Chabas to have contained .456 litre or  $\frac{1}{3}$  of a pint.





b.   probably to be read as equivalent to     *hnu*, but the latter spelling is not used in the Ebers with the sense of a measure. It occurs in red ink on pages xxxiv, 1, and liv, and in black ink page lxxvi, 18. In 1, 5 and 12, and lxxvi, 18, one *hnu* occurs as

the amount of beer and *šbt*-liquid to be mixed with other substances **l, l, l**. I conclude from this that the *hnu* is of greater bulk than the measure denoted by the numeral 1.

In liv, 15 ff., 1 *hnu* (□) + 1 *hnu* + 2 *hnu* of "water of *sarm*" + 1 *hnu* are severally prescribed. If the "water of *sarm*" were one of the important liquids, it would appear that 2 *hnu* were greater than 1 *hnu* (□); but there is little evidence for the premiss.

On the other hand, xxxiv, 5, 6 seems to give a definite guide to the capacity of the , although the text is difficult or corrupt. "Herbs called 'catch me and seize me,' let lie [in? ?]  of water for a night, and drink a *hnu* of the water from it daily to 4 days." Thus the *hnu* should not much exceed  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the  or 5 *r*.

c.  occurs five times as a measure of honey, once (xci, 7) , 4 times (xliv, 14, 17, 19, xlv, 3)  , its "half." I suspect that it is the determinative only of the name of some ordinary measure of honey, but I do not know with what word to connect it. Honey is abundantly represented in the prescriptions, and there is a decided tendency to make the proportion of it small—equal to, or less than, the least of the other ingredients, although there are rare instances of its being prescribed like one of the liquids. On pp. xliv and xlv with  $\frac{1}{2}$   of honey there are prescribed of other ingredients: a.  $\frac{1}{16}$ ,  $\frac{1}{8}$ ,  $\frac{1}{64}$ ; b.  $\frac{1}{8}$ ,  $\frac{1}{8}$ ,  $\frac{1}{16}$ ,  $\frac{1}{64}$ ,  $\frac{1}{32}$ ; c.  $\frac{1}{32}$ ,  $\frac{1}{16}$ ,  $\frac{1}{8}$ ,  $\frac{1}{16}$ ; d.  $\frac{1}{32}$ ,  $\frac{1}{32}$ ,  $\frac{1}{32}$ ,  $\frac{1}{8}$ ,  $\frac{1}{32}$ ,  $\frac{1}{8}$ ,  $\frac{1}{32}$ ,  $\frac{1}{8}$ ,  $\frac{1}{64}$ .  $\frac{1}{64}$  of honey is very rarely prescribed, so perhaps the  $\frac{1}{2}$   may approximate to  $\frac{1}{32}$  *hnu* and the  to  $\frac{1}{16}$  or 2 *r*; in xci, 7, the  of honey is prescribed with the rare fraction  $\frac{2}{3}$  of oil.

d.  may be dealt with here: it is written in red as a measure in two passages, namely, xii, 21, with **l, l, l, l**, and xliii, 16, with **+, +, ×, +, +**. The nature of the sign indicates the meaning of "a little." *Šr*, meaning "small" (*parvus*, not *pauum*) can hardly be the correct reading of the sign, which rather seems (like ) to be only the determinative of a word. Possibly   (cf. xlvi, 18) was intended by it.





e.  $\overline{\text{⊕}}$  has also been explained above as  $\frac{1}{2} \text{⊕} = 2\frac{1}{2} r$ ; that it is not a larger quantity (viz.,  $\frac{1}{2} hnu + \text{⊕} = 21 r$ ) is shown clearly by its being used only for the drugs: in fact the liquids contained in the same prescriptions are generally of less bulk than  $21 r$ .

f.  $\supset \text{⊕}$ , xxxviii, 7, xl, top of page, li, 10, must be  $1\frac{1}{2} \text{⊕} = 7\frac{1}{2} r$ . That it cannot be the same as  $\overline{\text{⊕}}$  is shown especially by its occurrence with the liquid in li, 10.

g. In l, 9, with the liquid is the curious combination  $\text{⊕} \supset \text{⊕}$ , probably =  $(1\frac{1}{2} + 1) \text{⊕} = 2\frac{1}{2} \text{⊕} = 12\frac{1}{2} r = \overline{\text{⊕}}$  } , which latter does not occur.

h. I have also noted  $\times \underline{\text{⊕}}$  xl, 3, it must of course be  $1 + \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{4} \text{⊕} = 8\frac{3}{4} re$ .

i.  $\frac{1}{4} \text{⊕}$  is however not  $\frac{\times}{\text{⊕}}$  but  $\text{⊕} \frac{\times}{\text{~~~~}}$ , liii, 5, lit. " $\frac{1}{4}$  of  $\text{⊕}$ " =  $1\frac{1}{4} re$ .

k.  $\overline{\text{⊕}}$  is noted by Stern (Pap. Ebers, Vol. II, p. vii), but I have not myself found it. It should be =  $\frac{1}{2} \overline{\text{⊕}} = \}$ , and shows that the Egyptians had a *tendency* to treat  $\overline{\text{⊕}}$ , as well as  $\text{⊕}$ , as a *unit* of measurement. It may be noted that  $\text{⊕}$  could be interpreted as a picture of the division by four, like  $\times$  the ordinary symbol for  $\frac{1}{4}$ , and in fact  $4 \text{⊕} = \overline{\text{⊕}}$ : but on the other hand  $\text{⊕}$  is often written  $\frac{1}{4}$ .









### 3. The rarer fractions—

a.  $\text{⊕} \times \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{4} = \frac{3}{4}$ , xlvi, 22, of water, with  $\frac{1}{8}, \frac{1}{4}, \frac{1}{4}$ , lxii, 11.




b.  $\overline{\text{⊕}}$   $\frac{1}{4} = \frac{2}{3}$ , vi, 20, of sweet beer, with  $\text{⊕}$ : xli, 8, certain drugs are to be boiled in a mixture of  $\frac{2}{3}$  oil and  $\frac{1}{3}$  honey: xci, 7,  $\frac{2}{3}$  oil and  $\frac{1}{3}$  honey.

c.  $\text{⊕}$   $\frac{1}{2}$ , viii, 12, xxiv, 4, 5, xxxiii, 5-7, xli, 17, xlvi, 5, lxii, 11, lxxxix, 17, in the first of these it is attached to the liquid, in the second it is prescribed with no less than  $40 r$  of liquid.

d.  $\overline{\text{⊕}}$ , hieratic  $\text{⊕}$ ,  $\frac{1}{3}$  xli, 8 (once only) with  $\frac{2}{3}$ .

In nearly all cases I recognize these as fractions of the *hnu*, but some of the instances have interesting peculiarities and point perhaps to a different unit. lxii, 11 (with  and ) I leave alone for the present. If the analogy of xli, 8 with xci, 7 is pressed,  would contain about  $\frac{1}{3}$  (*hnu*?), but other evidence suggests that  = about 2 *r*. xlvi, 5, where  $\frac{1}{2}$  of honey occurs reminds one of the  $\frac{1}{2}$   of honey. The instances of  in xxiv, 4, 5, xxxiii, 5-7, are not very satisfactory, supposing that the *hnu* is the unit, as the amounts seem then too large. On the other hand, Ebers suspected a very large unit in lxxxix, 17,\* the translation of which is not easy; but the only rendering that appears to me grammatically possible is "date-meal , water , boiled as that which remains of 2 *hnu*,"† *i.e.*, 2 *hnu* of water are to be boiled down to  $\frac{1}{2}$  *hnu*.

**5 The numeral 1**—In many hundreds of prescriptions the series of quantities throughout runs 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, etc., reminding the English reader of a "pound cake" (into which a pound of each ingredient is supposed to enter). This was a very favourite system of prescribing, and culminates in a list of 35 ingredients on pages lxxxii, l. 22—lxxxiii, l. 8. One might suppose that the numerals indicated merely *equal* portions,‡ but in a few cases the series is interrupted by a symbol of measurement, and a prescription may consist of one drug only, having attached to it the numeral 1 (see vi, 12). 1 therefore refers to a definite unit.§

Professor Ebers thinks that *x* must have two values. The principal value he supposes to be 1 , and here he is undoubtedly near the truth: but to the numeral which follows the last liquid or semi-liquid, such as honey, beer, oil, often placed at the end of the prescription, he would attribute a much higher value, believing that this liquid or semi-liquid is a "bindemittel" to combine the solids. It would obviously be impossible to combine 8 or 9  of solid material by means of 1  of semi-liquid.

\* Ebers, "Masse," p. 183.

†  II, compare the passage xxiv, 3, already translated.

‡ The formula is very rarely found with any other numeral than 1, but lix, 12, furnishes an instance with  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

§ This unit I shall sometimes designate by the letter *x*.

But many prescriptions contain no liquid at all, and this shows that a "bindemittel" was not necessary. It is unadvisable to disturb the "pound cake" idea of equally proportioned ingredients which, primitive, unscientific, and even superstitious though it be, lies at the root of all the  $x$  prescriptions, so that even those particular liquids (water, beer, and sweet beer) which I have designated as the "important liquids" are forced to comply with it.

There is one instance, however, which might have been absolutely fatal to the "pound cake" theory: Professor Ebers quotes from xxxv, 22—xxxvi, 2, a prescription in which (according to his statement) 8 solid substances, 1 [◊?] of each, are to be *cooked* with only 1 [◊?] of liquid. Luckily the quotation is wrong, the last 1 is entirely imaginary, and there is *no indication whatever* of the amount of liquid, which the physician was free to add in any quantity required for the purpose of cooking.

We believe, therefore, that the numeral 1 has only one value: what is this value? We can fix certain limits for it, but within those limits it must for the present remain a matter of opinion.\*

The "pound cake" formula was occasionally broken through for some particular reason, but then in those rare cases the variation was made openly and was clearly marked: thus liii, 9-10,  $x + x$  of solids were to be mixed with 1  $hnu$   $\square$   $\overline{\text{O}}$   $\text{O}$   $\overline{\text{O}}$  1 of milk and *drunk*. Now I should be unwilling to believe that a pint of milk could liquefy *more* than  $\frac{1}{4}$  pint of dried dates and beans so as to make them drinkable, thus  $x + x$  cannot be *more* than  $\frac{1}{4} hnu$ , or in other words  $x$  cannot be *more* than  $\frac{1}{8} hnu = 4 \text{ } \overline{\text{O}}$ . Page l, 5, in much the same way  $x + x$  is to be mixed with 1  $\overline{\text{O}}$   $\overline{\text{O}}$   $\overline{\text{O}}$  of beer, but the latter is unfortunately an unknown quantity. xlix, 15, "a  $hnu$  full of  $x, x, x, x, x, x, x$ ." If the  $hnu$  is here a measure,  $x$  cannot have amounted to much more than  $\frac{1}{7} hnu$ , and if the word *full* is to be taken strictly it cannot have been much less, but two liquids are included, and these might have been soaked up in the interstices of the solids without increasing the bulk. The limits indicated by this would be  $x = \frac{1}{8} hnu = 6\frac{1}{2} \text{ } \overline{\text{O}}$  and  $x = \frac{1}{8} hnu = 4 \text{ } \overline{\text{O}}$ .

In xii, 18, we have 1, 1, 1,  $\overline{\text{O}}$ , 1. The only other instance of  $\overline{\text{O}}$  is xliii, 15,  $+$ ,  $+$ ,  $\times$ ,  $\overline{\text{O}}$ , *i.e.*, 5, 5, 8  $\overline{\text{O}}$  and  $\overline{\text{O}}$ .

\* This is no longer true: it is eventually proved to be  $+$  = 5  $\overline{\text{O}}$ .

lxxxix, 19, gives  $x, x, x, x$  of solids with  $\oplus$ , *i.e.*, 5  $\ominus$  of an important liquid, namely sweet beer.  $x$  is therefore a less quantity than 5  $\ominus$ . xxxi, 17, gives 1, 1, 1 honey  $\oplus$ ; xxvii, 2, oil  $\oplus$  } with 1, 1, 1, 1.

### 6. The whole numbers generally—

7 occurs in lxx, 8: 1, 7, 1, 1, 7.

6 occurs in ix, 17, with *knkn* to be mixed with honey and eaten soaked in  $\oplus$  of wine.

These two numerals 7 and 6 are probably the numbers of the individual beans, onions, and portions of *usā*-plant to be put in the medicine; otherwise they may belong to a  $y$  unit.

4, 3,  $2\frac{1}{2}$ ,\* 2,  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , and 1 also occur rarely, mixed with the other signs and symbols. For the present I will leave out of the question the ophthalmic section of the work, lv, 20–lxiv, 5, which has some peculiarities of its own: elsewhere we have:

xxx, 19:  $1\frac{1}{2}, \frac{1}{4}, \frac{1}{4}, \frac{1}{6}, \frac{1}{4}, \frac{1}{8}$ .

xliv, 1: the figures are 2, 2, 1.

xliv, 8: 1,  $\frac{1}{8}, \frac{1}{8}, \frac{1}{32}, \frac{1}{32}, \frac{1}{32}$ , honey  $\frac{1}{4}$ , water  $\nearrow$ .

xliv, 7:  $\frac{1}{6}, \oplus, 1, 1$ .

liii, 15:  $\frac{1}{4}, \frac{1}{4}, \frac{1}{4}, 1, 1$ .

The only important example is xliv, 8. The directions are difficult to construe, but it seems that the mixture is to stand for the night and be drunk, *i.e.*, the infusion is to be drunk. Now the 11  $\ominus$  +  $y$  of solids would leave little to drink of 20  $\ominus$  water and 8  $\ominus$  of honey, unless  $y$  were very much less than the *hnu* = 32  $\ominus$ . If we give to  $y$  a maximum value of 8  $\ominus$  the proposition becomes more reasonable: this brings us near to the maximum of 5  $\ominus$  found for  $x$  in the "pound cake" examples, and there can be no question that  $y$  in all these cases is identical with  $x$ .

The section dealing with eye diseases, lv, 20–lxiv, 5, must now be considered. The  $x$  prescriptions are the rule, fractions are rare, and the symbols of division of the  $\frac{\circ}{\ominus}$  are entirely absent: on the

\* The strange  $\text{II} \times$ , lxii, 14, might conceivably be read  $\frac{1}{4} \text{hnu} + 2 = 8 \ominus + 2y$  but cannot in reality be anything else than a graphic error for  $\frac{1}{32}$ .

other hand whole numbers above 1 are far more common than elsewhere, and an expression  $\int \frac{\circ}{\Sigma} \circ \int \frac{\circ}{\Sigma}$  (p. lxi *passim*) occurs several times and has been recognized from the first to mean "in equal quantities."

All the cases that are not purely  $x$  may be tabulated thus:—

Whole numbers only:

lvii, 7 (1, 4, 1, 1, 1, 1). lxi, 21 (4, 3). lxii, 3 (2, 2, 4).

Fractions only:

lix, 4 ( $\frac{1}{32}, \frac{1}{16}, \frac{1}{16}, \frac{1}{64}, \frac{1}{64}, \frac{1}{64}$ ) = 1, 2, 2,  $\frac{1}{2}, \frac{1}{2}$   $\circ$ .

lix, 12 ( $\frac{1}{8}, \frac{1}{8}, \frac{1}{8}, \frac{1}{8}$ ) = 4, 4, 4, 4  $\circ$ .

lx, 2 ( $\frac{1}{5}, \frac{1}{4}, \frac{1}{4}, \frac{1}{64}, \frac{1}{64}, \frac{1}{64}$ ) = 4, 8, 8,  $\frac{1}{2}, \frac{1}{2}, \frac{1}{2}$   $\circ$ .

lxii, 11 ( $\frac{1}{2}, \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{4}$ ) = 16, 24?  $\circ$ .

lxii, 13 ( $\frac{1}{32}, \frac{1}{4}, \frac{1}{32}, \frac{1}{16}, \frac{1}{32}$ ) = 1, 8, 1, 2, 1  $\circ$ .

lxii, 15 ( $\frac{1}{64}, \frac{1}{64}, \frac{1}{8}, \frac{1}{8}, \frac{1}{32}$ ) =  $\frac{1}{2}, \frac{1}{2}, 4, 4, 1$   $\circ$ .

Fractions with whole numbers:

lxi, 10 (1,  $\frac{1}{8}, \frac{1}{16}, \frac{1}{16}, \frac{1}{64}, \frac{1}{64}, \frac{1}{64}, \frac{1}{64}$ ) = 1 and 4, 2,  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\circ$ .

lxii, 2 (2, 4,  $\frac{1}{4}, \frac{1}{4}$ ) = 21, 41, and 8, 8  $\circ$ .

lxii, 12 (2,  $\frac{1}{64}, \frac{1}{16}, \frac{1}{8}, \frac{1}{8}$ ) = 21, and  $\frac{1}{2}, 2, 4, 4$   $\circ$ .

lxii, 15 ( $\frac{1}{32}, \frac{1}{8}, 1, 1$ ) = 1, 4  $\circ$ , and 1, 1.



lxii, 22 (2, 1,  $2\frac{1}{2}, 1, \frac{1}{8}$ ) = 21, 1,  $2\frac{1}{2}, 1, 1$ , and 4  $\circ$ .


The fractions being divisions of the *hnu*, one would wish to see multiples of the same measure in the integers, but the evidence already brought forward is sufficient to disprove that idea and can easily be multiplied.\* The  $\circ$  in a sort of way underlies as an implied unit the combined system of symbols and fractions: † is it the actual unit of the whole numbers? If so, the entire system of symbols, fractions and whole numbers could be founded on the  $\circ$ . That we are now near the truth is at least probable, but it can be urged that 2 occurs in the same prescription as  $\frac{1}{16}$  *hnu*, lxii, 2, and 1 with  $\frac{1}{32}$  *hnu* (= 1  $\circ$ ), xlv, 8, lxii, 15. Such varying notation of the same measure in the same prescription would be anomalous: also it might be said that  $2\frac{1}{2}$  (lxii, 22) should have been expressed by  $\frac{5}{2}$ : but I do not look upon these objections as insuperable, nor that implied in xlix, 15, for my deduction from the


\* E.g., lxi, 10, the proportion of the least amount to the greatest would be as low as 1 : 64.


† Not true.


latter example is contradicted by other evidence,\* and I think that *hnu* must there denote only a particular form of vessel and not a measure.


If ever a new unit, whether measure or weight, can be proved for the whole numbers, I should expect it to lie between 1 and 5 . For the present I can only suggest as a reasonable amount 3 , which would give a series:—


$$1 = 3 \text{ .}$$


$$1\frac{1}{2} = 4\frac{1}{2} \text{ .}$$


$$2 = 6 \text{ .}$$

$$2\frac{1}{2} = 7\frac{1}{2} \text{ .}$$

$$3 = 9 \text{ .}$$



$$4 = 12 \text{ .}$$

This would usefully fill up gaps in the other two series, and interferes with none of them, while 3  approaches very near to the “central points.” and would therefore be sufficiently probable; but then one would expect to see the figure 1 used more frequently amongst the symbols of the other series.

Perhaps  has nothing to do with it: in any case a multiple by 3 would be unusual, and if it existed must have been in its origin accidental.

Further study will perhaps throw more light on the integral series, one of the most important and certainly the most difficult in the papyrus.

From the point of view of comparative metrology the most interesting result of all the foregoing investigation is that the hypothesis of an ancient sexagesimal system † in Egypt, whether of native growth or introduced from Babylonia, is now overthrown. On the one hand the decimal system of notation, and on the other the binary system of multiplication and division (duplication and dimidiation) in Egyptian arithmetic produced corresponding systems in the metrology; any essential variation from them must have been introduced under pressure, and probably at a much later date than the XVIIIth dynasty.

\* Namely by the example lxxxix, 19, but when  is eventually proved to be 5 , lxxxix, 19 assumes a new aspect as a strict “pound-cake” example.



† Ebers, “Masse,” p. 162 ff. Hultsch in his review accepts it provisionally.

[The two Appendices will be printed in the next number of the Proceedings.]

## NOTES AU JOUR LE JOUR.

PAR G. MASPERO.



*(Suite.)*

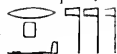





§ 7. Le nom du dieu invoqué dans la *Stèle de Naples* est toujours écrit par un idéogramme, un homme accroupi à tête de bélier, couronné ou non du disque solaire, tenant ou ne tenant pas un sceptre à la main . Brugsch, qui a le premier attiré l'attention des savants sur ce curieux monument,\* a transcrit ce nom KHNOUMOU, et son opinion a fait loi jusqu'à ce jour. Je crois que c'est une erreur et qu'il faut le transcrire partout dans la stèle par HARSHAFIOU. Je ne prétends pas discuter ici les théories de Brugsch sur le dieu Khnoumou et sur l'identité de tous les dieux égyptiens béliers ou à tête de bélier: † la réfutation m'entraînerait trop loin. Ce que je veux établir pour le moment, c'est que le dieu invoqué dans la *Stèle de Naples* l'était sous le nom de HARSHAFIOU, en d'autres termes, que l'idéogramme  de la stèle et ses variantes était prononcé HARSHAFIOU, non pas KHNOUMOU, par les Egyptiens qui rédigeaient, gravèrent, et lurent ce texte. J'en ai trois preuves de valeur inégale.

a. La première, qui est la moins forte pour des lecteurs modernes, résulte de la teneur de l'inscription en général. Samtooui-Tafnakhti, qui l'a fait graver, était un dévot qui attribuait à la protection efficace du dieu de Hninsou tous les succès qu'il avait remportés au cours de sa longue carrière. "Je suis ton hiérodoule, lui dit-il, mon cœur a été dans tes eaux, et j'ai empli mon cœur de toi . . . . Tu m'as protégé dans la guerre des Grecs, lorsque


\* Brugsch, *Geogr. Inschriften*, T. I, pl. LXVIII, et *Thesaurus*, p. 632. Une autre reproduction en a été donnée dans une brochure, aujourd'hui introuvable, de L. Vassalli; elle présentait sur la première copie de Brugsch l'avantage d'avoir en tête la représentation des treize personnages divins en adoration devant le dieu à tête de bélier. Le même Vassalli a publié une traduction de notre texte dans une autre brochure in-4<sup>o</sup>, où il a réuni deux mémoires: le second, intitulé *Di alcuni Monumenti del Museo Egizio di Napoli*, contient la traduction en question.

† Brugsch, *Religion und Mythologie*, p. 290 sqq.


tu repoussas les Asiatiques : tandis qu'ils massacraient des milliers à mes côtés, pas un d'eux ne leva la main contre moi. Puis ensuite comme, tandis que mes deux yeux dormaient, la Sainteté me dit (𓂏, 𓂏, 𓂏, pour 𓂏) : "Rends-toi à Hninsou, je serai avec toi!" j'ai couru à travers les pays étrangers tout seul, je me suis embarqué sur mer, sans craindre le naufrage et sans transgresser en rien ce que tu avais dit, je suis parvenu à Hninsou." Là, il éleva sa stèle en l'honneur du dieu qu'il l'avait sauvé, et il se servit d'une dalle, détachée d'un bloc arraché à un monument de l'époque des Psamitik.\* C'est évidemment au dieu de Hninsou que ce dévot consacre l'inscription qui rappelle les bienfaits du dieu de Hninsou à son égard, et c'est en effet l'image du dieu de Hninsou qui est figurée dans le tableau d'en haut. Or le dieu de Hninsou n'est pas Khnoumou, c'est , Harshafiu, comme chacun sait.† Il y a donc de ce chef une très forte probabilité que l'idéogramme  doit se lire HARSHAFIOU, et non pas KHNOUMOU, comme on l'a fait jusqu'à présent sur la foi de Brugsch.




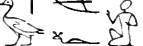


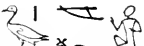
b. Les dieux égyptiens, au moins les plus importants, ont chacun une ou plusieurs épithètes caractéristiques, qui leur appartiennent en propre et qui accompagnent leur nom sur la plupart des monuments qui leur sont consacrés. Ainsi SIBOU est  ROPAI NOUITROU, tandis qu'Amon est  SOUTN-NOUITROU, *συν-ἰήρ*. Voyons quelles sont les épithètes qui suivent l'idéogramme  dans notre stèle, et auquel des dieux béliers ou à tête de bélier elles appartiennent en propre. Or, dans notre stèle, partout où revient le nom , il est accompagné soit de  SOUTN-TOOUI, roi des deux terres, soit du titre plus développé  SOUTN-TOOUI HIQOU

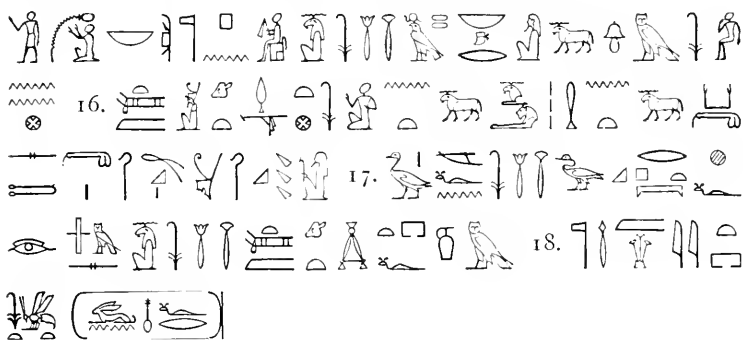
\* Vassalli, *op. l.*, p. 19-20.


† M. Brugsch dans son *Thesaurus*, p. 643, n° 19, donne Khnoumou comme un titre d'Héracléopolis, et semble avoir pour lui l'autorité des listes égyptiennes. Quand on y regarde d'un peu près, on s'aperçoit que, des deux listes dont sa page 643 paraît donner la traduction, l'une, celle de la page 619, est mutilée au n° 19, l'autre, celle de la page 621, donne  *harshafi*, pour le nom du dieu d'Héracléopolis. C'est donc de sa propre autorité, en vertu de l'hypothèse d'après laquelle Harshafi n'est autre que Khnoumou, que Brugsch a attribué aux listes la mention d'un Khnoumou, seigneur d'Héracléopolis : les listes qu'il cite ne portent rien de pareil.



ATBOUOU. Or ce sont les épithètes caractéristiques du dieu HARSHAFIOU, celles qu'on trouve sur ses monuments ;\* ce ne sont pas celles du dieu Khnoumou. Le  de notre stèle n'est donc pas Khnoumou, mais HARSHAFIOU, "le maître des dieux, roi des pays du Nord et du Sud, régent des terroirs de l'Est et de l'Ouest," en d'autres termes, maître des quatre *maisons* du monde, maître du monde entier.

c. Les prêtres attachés au culte de chacun des dieux féodaux avaient des titres qui leur étaient propres, et que nous commençons à connaître assez exactement. Ainsi les prêtres du Khnoumou authentique de la cataracte s'appelaient l'un  TAS-RI, l'autre  HON-NOUTIR HÂPI ; † ceux du dieu bélier d'Héracléopolis, Harshafiou, s'appelaient  SOUTON,  SI-MIRIE, et  HIQOU ÂRQOU, selon qu'ils s'adressaient au dieu vivant  ou au dieu mort, à qui son fils  rendait les devoirs funéraires. Or notre stèle se termine par une invocation aux prêtres du dieu à tête de bélier, où les titres de ces prêtres sont énumérés ainsi que Brugsch lui-même l'a reconnu : ‡



"O vous tous prêtres qui servez ce dieu vénérable,  roi des deux pays du Nord et du Sud, Harmakhis-Nibzorou, bélier créateur dans



\* Mariette, *Monuments Diverss*, pl. 21a ; Pierret, *Recueil d'Inscriptions*, I, p. 15, etc.

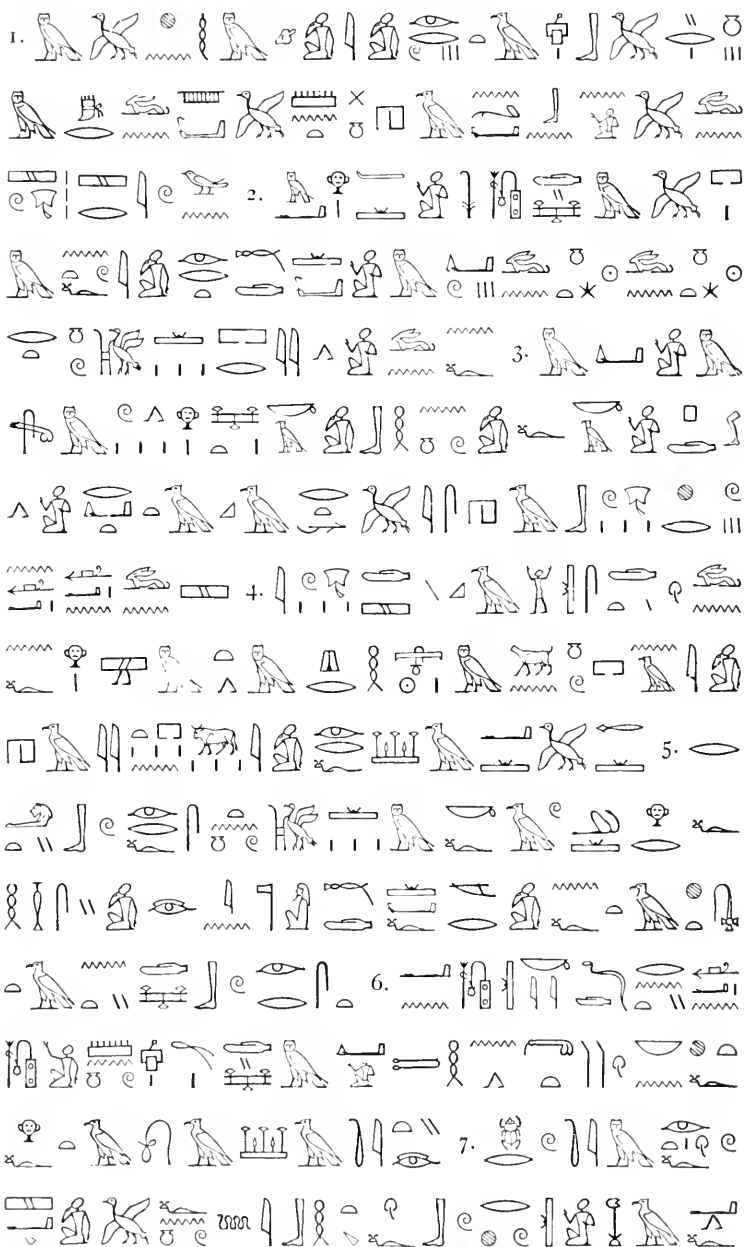
† Brugsch, *Dict. Géogr.*, p. 1374.

‡ Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, p. 671.





\* Le manuscrit porte ici un caractère indécié , qui me paraît être la reproduction, mal comprise par le scribe, du signe , écrit très cursivement dans l'original qu'il copiait.

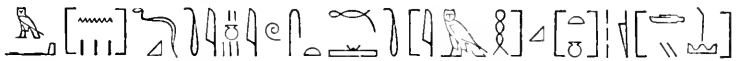




Une autre version du même texte existait, comme je l'ai montré il y a longtemps dans la partie mutilée du *Papyrus Anastasi V*.\* Il n'en subsiste plus que quelques mots qui servent à combler une petite lacune de notre texte. C'est d'abord une ligne,



qui correspond à partie de la ligne 6 de notre texte *Anastasi IV*, puis un autre fragment



qui correspond à partie de notre ligne 11. Le texte a été traduit pour la première fois par Goodwin,† puis plus complètement dans le *Genre Epistolaire*.‡ Cette dernière traduction a été adoptée dans l'ensemble jusque dans ces derniers temps :§ toutefois, comme elle remonte à vingt ans bientôt, il n'est pas inutile de la revoir et d'y introduire les changements que les critiques de quelques égyptologues et une étude nouvelle m'ont suggérés.



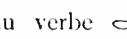


Le début se compose de petites phrases exprimant l'inaction de l'écrivain et les causes de cette inaction. Je les traduirai d'abord isolément sans rechercher le lien qui les rattache. C'est en premier l'indication de la localité : "Je suis installé (lit., assis, *homsou*) à  $\Delta \Delta$   $\overline{\text{~~~~~}}$ ." Le nom est bien écrit comme je l'indique en cet endroit ; à la fin de la lettre nous trouverons  $\Delta \Delta$   $\overline{\text{~~~~~}}$   $\otimes$ , qui est, je crois, la vraie forme.  $\Delta \Delta$   $\overline{\text{~~~~~}}$  est une simple abréviation graphique : le scribe, au lieu de placer sous chaque  $\Delta$  le trait


\* *Papyrus Anastasi V*, pl. XCIX.

† Dans son mémoire *Hieratic Papyri* (*Cambridge Essays*, 1858), p. 259-260.


‡ Maspero, *du Genre Epistolaire*, p. 20-22.


§ Dümichen dans Moldenke, *Ueber die in altägyptischen Texten erwähnten Bäume*, p. 43-44 ; Erman, *Ägypten*, p. 171.



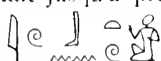
horizontal qui représente  en hiératique, l'a prolongé sous le second  $\Delta$ . Le site de la localité est inconnu, et c'est sans grand motif que Brugsch l'a indiqué comme voisin de l'une ou l'autre des Oasis du désert Libyque.\* Le second membre de phrase contient le factitif  du verbe  *dobhou*, qui signifie, entre autres sens, *fournir, approvisionner* de ce qui est nécessaire : le  suffixe est la forme défective du  -


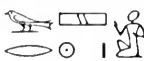
*koui* de la première personne. Le tout signifie : "Je ne suis pas approvisionné, je manque de tout ce qui est nécessaire, car il n'y point d'hommes pour mouler la brique, point de paille dans le canton : " le mot , TEHAMOUT, me paraît

être une faute pour , *tohaout*,  $\tau\omicron\theta\upsilon$ , *M. T\omega\upsilon*,



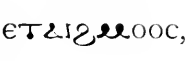
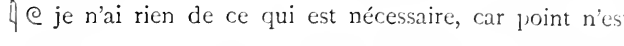
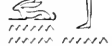
*T. palea, pabulum, fanum*. Ce qui suit, 

 a été traduit de manière très différente. La façon la plus simple de l'entendre est,




ce me semble : "Quand () vient ( $\tau\omega\ \lambda$  *si*) les apports de moi en approvisionnements, point d'ânes, se gâter eux." Comme ce membre de phrase vient après celui où l'auteur déclare qu'il n'y a point de paille dans le canton où il est, je pense qu'il exprime une idée analogue : quand l'employé inactif essaie de se faire fournir de la paille du dehors, comme il n'a point d'ânes pour la transporter, elle se gâte et se détruit . Toutes ces petites phrases s'expliquent donc assez aisément dans le détail, mais faut-il les traduire isolément comme on a fait jusqu'à présent? Les formes grammaticales qui les régissent  au *ben toui* . . .





 *ouonen ben* . . . sont celles que l'Égyptien de Pépoque emploie pour introduire les propositions subordonnées : on ne voit de forme marquant franchement la proposition principale qu'à partir de la ligne 7,  *ourshou-i* . . . Tout le début de cette lettre me paraît donc être une longue période, commençant par une série de propositions circonstancielles, et dont voici le calque

\* Brugsch, *Dict. Géogr.*, p. 851-852.
































littéral en mots français : “ Je suis installé (lit. *assis*, ) à Qonqentouui, étant  ET  à Qonqentouui, étant  je n'ai rien de ce qui est nécessaire, car point n'est  d'hommes pour mouler la brique. point n'est de paille dans le canton, quand viennent mes arrivages de ce qui est nécessaire, point n'est d'ânes et ils se gâtent, je passe mon temps à regarder . . . .’


Mettant ce mot-à-mot barbare en langage courant, on obtient la traduction que voici : “ Depuis que je suis installé à Qonqentouui, comme je manque de tout,—car il n’y a point d’hommes pour mouler la brique, il n’y a point de paille dans le canton, et quand mes convois de ce qui m’est nécessaire arrivent, ils se gâtent faute d’ânes (pour les charroyer),—je passe mon temps à regarder . . . .”

Les lignes suivantes contiennent l'énumération des passe-temps divers par lesquels notre fonctionnaire s'efforce de tromper son ennui. En premier lieu, dit-il,  Bien que le mot composé  *ari-pit*, n'est pas ici de déterminatif significatif, Brugsch propose de le traduire *oiseau*, comme aux endroits où il est accompagné de .\*

Peut-être vaudrait-il mieux donner ici au composé  un sens plus général, et traduire “ à contempler tout ce qui est au ciel,” les oiseaux comme le reste. J'admets pourtant l'interprétation de Brugsch avec d'autant moins de scrupule, que nous avons en français une expression *bayer aux corneilles*, qui répond assez convenablement au sens, sinon à la lettre même, de la locution égyptienne employée ici, *contempler aux oiseaux*. Le second amusement est  OUHÁOU, la pêche et la chasse au filet sur les étangs. En troisième lieu  Le verbe *Hanro*, qui exprime ici l'action de l'œil, se rencontre employé de la même façon dans une épître d'Amenemânit à Pentaôïrit : † “ L'individu sans cœur est là à ses vils travaux manuels 

\* Brugsch, *Dict. H.*, S., p. 101.† *Papyrus Sullier* I, p. 5, l. 9.

son œil est fixé sur eux jusqu'à en souffrir." Le sens est le même ici : "Mon œil s'attache obstinément aux chemins." Le mot  *tosi*, à la terminaison  *i* des noms d'agent, et me semble signifier non pas *monter, s'élever*, mais *l'homme qui monte, l'homme qui s'élève* : l'employé inactif se fatigue la vue à suivre les voyageurs qui montent le chemin de  *Za*, pays dont le nom est un peu mutilé et dont le site n'est pas connu. Le nom est légèrement mutilé, et il semble à première vue qu'il y ait un @ intercalé entre  et . Un @ dans cette position est assez invraisemblable ; j'ai constaté d'ailleurs que parfois dans notre papyrus le trait inférieur en retour du  se relève plus haut que d'habitude jusqu'à former . On a des exemples de cet  à la page 13, l. 7, dans , à la page 15, l. 5, dans   , l. 8, dans    , etc. Il faut donc lire  *Za*, et je me demande si nous n'avons pas ici une faute de copie  *Za*, pour  *Zahi* : le bourg de Qonqentooui serait alors sur la frontière orientale du Delta, au voisinage du château de Ramsès décrit dans un des morceaux précédents. La phrase suivante nous mène dans les jardins et en décrit le misérable état. "Je fais la sieste sous des vergers qui n'ont point de fruits à manger, car, lorsque  viennent  leurs dattes, rien \*, ils n'en produisent pas, car il y a (lit. étant ) Poiseau nommé   au lever du Soleil, Poiseau     à midi, l'oiseau  : " le contexte prouve qu'ici le scribe a passé un ou plusieurs mots et qu'il faut compléter la phrase, comme je l'ai fait ailleurs, par  *au soir*, ou par une

\* Je rapprocherai ce sens de  *anti*, *atti*, *at*, dont j'ai plusieurs exemples, de l'emploi du même mot dans les calculs pour exprimer l'idée de notre Zéro (cfr. E. de Rougé, *Chrestomathie*, II, p. 126).





locution de même sens.\* Ces oiseaux mangeaient évidemment les dattes avant qu'elles n'arrivassent à maturité. M. Brugsch rapproche

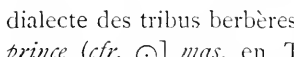



*khnomsou* du copte  $\alpha\upsilon\lambda\alpha\epsilon\varsigma$ ,  $\kappa\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\upsilon\varsigma$ , *culex*, *cousin*, *moustique*, mais cette traduction ne me paraît guères convenir ici : quiconque a vécu en Égypte sait par expérience que les moustiques ne bornent pas au matin le temps de leurs opérations.


D'après des souvenirs et des observations personnelles, je suis tente de croire que cet oiseau n'est autre qu'une espèce de huppe, probablement l'*Urupa erops*, qui est en effet très friande de dattes et


qui repose au fort du jour : le déterminatif  s'explique par la présence dans le mot de la syllabe  *masou*, *mosou*, qui, dans le dialecte des tribus berbères voisines de la vallée du Nil, signifie *chef*,


*prince* (cfr.  $\odot$  *mas*, en Touareg) et que j'ai signalé ailleurs sur quelques monuments égyptiens. Brugsch† rapproche avec doute





*Zaouati*, de  $\Delta$  *Zait*, qui désigne dans les reliefs de l'Ancien Empire une grande espèce de héron : les deux mots sont vocalisés de façon trop différente pour être identique, et le  $\Delta$  du féminin antique ne se transforme jamais en  $\text{||}$  *ti*, à ma connaissance. Je ne sais pas quelle est cette espèce d'oiseau non plus que celle qu'on appelle  *khomi*, à moins que ce ne dernier ne soit le copte  $\text{ϩHEEI}$ ,  $\text{ϩEEI}$ ,  $\text{ϩEEE}$ , le pélican.


Le dernier genre d'amusement est la promenade, dont la description occupe plusieurs membres de phrase. Le premier est indéterminé,  “les jambes à se détirer, traînant elles tout muscle,” en d'autres termes, “Quand les jambes s'étirent et que tous les muscles les entraîne,” par quoi l'auteur me paraît marquer ce fourmillement des jambes et cette impatience qui s'empare d'elles après un long repos, le repos décrit dans la phrase précédente. Le reste du passage montre l'emportement avec lequel l'écrivain se livre à la marche, et ne présente aucune difficulté : “alors je vais comme un homme vigoureux des

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\* M. Dümichen ne croit pas pourtant qu'il soit nécessaire d'admettre une faute du copiste. Voici sa traduction d'après Moldenke (*Ueber die in Altägyptischen Texten erwähnten Bäume*, p. 43-44 : “Denn es ist der Wespenschwarm drüber her bei Sonnenaufgang, das Insekt *T'ouata* am Mittag, und das Insekt *Cicmi* (der Vernichter) die Füße reckend (*ruṭui her neh*) streckt aus die Fühlhörner.”


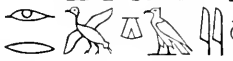

† Brugsch, *Dict. H.*, S., pp. 1389 et 1392.

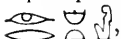
os, je fais le tour des terres plates à pied." Mettant bout à bout les membres de phrase expliqués isolément, on obtient pour cette partie de la lettre : "Je passe mon temps à regarder aux oiseaux ; je pêche et je chasse au marais ; mon œil s'attache à suivre sur la route quelqu'un qui monte vers Za[hi], je fais la sieste sous des vergers où on n'a point de fruits à manger, mais au temps où leurs dattes viennent, rien, ils n'en produisent pas, car il y a la huppe au lever du soleil, la *Zaouati* à midi, le pélican [au soir] ; quand les jambes s'étirent et que leurs muscles les entraînent, comme je marche ainsi qu'un homme vigoureux des os, je cours par la plaine à pied."


Jusqu'à présent le scribe a dépeint les passe-temps qu'il peut se procurer à lui seul, sans compagnons. Dans le paragraphe suivant, il parle d'une sorte de plaisir qui lui est commun avec les gens de la localité et que les chiens indigènes lui gâtent de leur mieux. Le morceau commence par deux propositions circonstanciellles. "Quand parfois on ouvre des bouteilles pleines de bière de Qodi et lorsque  les gens sortent pour faire carousse au dehors . . ."


La forme absolue  *mtou*, qui marque la succession subordonnée des deux membres de phrase, revient assez souvent, une fois entre autres de façon très significative dans une lettre du même *Papyrus Anastasi IV* :

"S'il en est ainsi vraiment  ni Râ ni Phtah ne feront rien entendre contre ces criaileries qu'on entendra, lorsque ce gouverneur mandera" 



.\* La locution  *iri pa kai* signifie littéralement *faire la cruche*.  est employé ici à peu près de la même manière que dans l'expression bien connue,


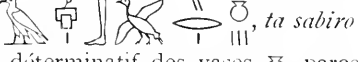





, *iri himit*, lit. *faire femme*, prendre femme, se marier :

 est *faire la cruche*, prendre la cruche, faire la fête, faire carousse. Derrière cette introduction plusieurs incisives s'accablent :

"Etant  deux cents mâtiens avec trois cents chiens-loups, en tout cinq cents chiens qui se tiennent tout le long du jour à la porte de ma maison,† chaque fois que je sors . . . ."



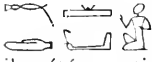
\* *Papyrus Anastasi IV*, p. 10, l. 10-11.




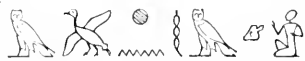

†  *pa* est, comme le copte ΠΛ, le pronom de la première personne, par chute de  dans la langue courante. Cfr. *Etudes Egyptiennes*, T. I, p. 153.




A partir de cet endroit, la construction devient obscure et les difficultés qu'elle offre se compliquent de la présence d'un mot nouveau, , *ta sabiro*, que son orthographe nous invite à rattacher aux langues sémitiques. Transcrit en hébreu, il nous donne, avec le ש pour ס, שָׁבַר, *fregit, confregit*, d'où le nom שָׁבַר, *fractio, fractura*. Le substantif שָׁבַר est mis en rapport avec les cruches à vin, dans un passage talmudique cité par J. Lévy, et où il est dit qu'il faut, dans un cas déterminé, que l'amphore soit *שלום מן השפיכה* sans brisure, et non entamée.\* Ce sens convient au contexte de notre passage : l'Égyptien aura pris une forme féminine שברה, que je ne retrouve dans aucun dictionnaire, pour en faire , *ta sabiro ta sabira*, et aura joint au mot le déterminatif des vases , parce qu'il s'agissait du bris des cruches de bière de Qodi destinées à la fête.  se traduira donc exactement : "lorsqu'ils (les gens qui sortent pour faire carousse au-dehors) font le bris (de la cruche) et quand le minot (de bière) est ouvert." Les cruches de vin, de bière, ou de liqueur, qu'on gardait dans les celliers sous le sceau du propriétaire, ne se débouchaient pas, comme chez nous : on en brisait le cou lorsqu'on voulait les ouvrir, et on trouve partout, dans les ruines des villes, de ces cous d'amphore qui portent encore le bouchon de terre cuite ou de bois, recouvert de terre glaise peinte en jaune, en bleu, ou en rouge.† Le parallélisme nous obligeant à couper la phrase après , il ne reste plus qu'à considérer , *hanou*, comme formant à lui seul une proposition elliptique, que l'on peut traduire soit par un infinitif soit par un substantif pris absolument. Le sens premier de , *hanou* est *écarter avec la main, rejeter, exclure*, par suite *faire un geste de la main*, et, d'une manière générale,

\* J. Lévy, *Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, T. IV, p. 502.

† Il y en avait au Ramesséum de Thèbes, dans cet amas de tessons que M. Wiedemann a décrit, *Ein Fund Thebanischer Ostraka* (*Zeitschrift*, 1882, p. 33-35).



faire un geste, soit avec le bras, soit avec la tête, d'où le sens *annuere*, approuver de la tête ou de la main, et toutes les valeurs qui en dérivent. Ici, le sens *écarter, exclure*, est celui qui me paraît convenir le mieux: "écartement, exclusion, point à moi  le petit chien-loup de Mahihou, le scribe royal qui demeure avec moi dans ma maison, c'est lui qui me délivre  d'eux,"  désignant ici les cinq cents chiens dont il a été question au début.



En résumé, tous les membres de phrase qui précèdent *hanou*  étant construits avec des formes verbales de subordination, c'est  *hanou* et le reste qui forment la proposition principale. Réunissons dans un mot-à-mot rigoureux toutes les parties éparses de cet ensemble, et nous aurons: "Quand parfois on ouvre bouteilles pleines de bière de Qodi et que les gens sortent pour faire carousse au-dehors,—étant deux cents grands mâtiens, avec trois cents chiens-loups, en tout cinq cents, qui se tiennent tout le long de jour à la porte de ma maison,—chaque fois que je sors , quand on fait le bris et que le minot a été ouvert,—écartement, exclusion, point à moi le petit chien de Mahihou, le scribe royal qui demeure dans la maison, c'est lui qui me sauve des autres chiens." Il reste à expliquer les mots  *em pa khinomou*, pour avoir le sens complet du morceau. On sait que 





*khinomou* est le copte  $\text{Ⲭ}\text{ⲏ}\text{ⲛ}\text{ⲟ}\text{ⲙ}\text{ⲟ}\text{ⲩ}$ ,  $\text{ⲛ}\text{ⲓ}\text{ⲙ}$ .  $\text{Ⲭ}\text{ⲏ}\text{ⲛ}\text{ⲟ}\text{ⲩ}$ ,  $\text{Ⲭ}\text{ⲏ}\text{ⲛ}\text{ⲟ}$ ,  $\text{ⲛ}\text{ⲧ}$ . *somnus*. Le premier mouvement est donc de traduire   "chaque fois que je sors du sommeil"; mais cette traduction ne s'accorde pas avec le contexte général du morceau. On voit en effet, par ce qui suit, que l'écrivain parle d'une sortie qu'il fait pendant la nuit, pour aller à la fête "au bris des amphores et à l'ouverture du minot." Il y a donc ici nécessité de traduire  *sortir pendant le sommeil, sortir quand tout dort*, de même qu'on traduit



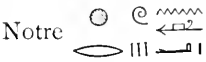


pas *sortir dans le jour, sortir pendant le jour.* En

résumé notre personnage fait allusion ici à une de ces fêtes de soir, où l'on se rassemblait pour boire de la bière jusqu'à une heure avancée, comme aujourd'hui encore les gens des villages du Saïd et de la Nubie, pour boire la *bousah*, la bière douce des Berbérins. Je puis donc maintenant donner de notre passage une traduction complète, où je me suis efforcé d'être intelligible sans trop changer aux tournures de l'original. "Si parfois on ouvre bouteilles pleines de bière de Qodi et que les gens sortent pour faire carousse au-dehors,—comme il y a bien deux cents grands mâtins et trois cents chiens-loups, cinq cents en tout, qui se tiennent tout le long du jour à la porte de ma maison—chaque fois que je sors tandis qu'on dort, quand on casse le cou aux bouteilles et qu'on ouvre le minot, je serais exclu [de la fête], si je n'avais le petit chien-loup de Mahihou, le scribe royal qui demeure avec moi dans ma maison : c'est lui qui me sauve d'eux." Les cinq cents chiens n'ont probablement pas été recensés, mais le nombre, pour être rond, n'en est pas exagéré. Il faut se figurer la maison de notre fonctionnaire située, comme beaucoup des divans des villes et villages de l'Égypte actuelle, sur une place irrégulière, ou plutôt sur une sorte de terrain vague où les chiens du quartier campent soir et matin : pour peu que la bourgade de Qonqentooui fût importante, les chiens s'y comptaient par centaines, et le chiffre de cinq cents ne devait pas être fort éloigné de la vérité. Ils ne disent rien pendant la jour, mais la nuit, quand on les dérange pendant leur sommeil, ils harcèlent le passant et se mettent en bande pour le reconduire à force aboiement, et, s'ils le peuvent, à coups de dents, hors de leur territoire. L'expression  "pendant le sommeil" s'applique aussi bien à eux qu'aux habitants humains de la bourgade. 




La fin du développement montre comment le petit chien s'y prend pour délivrer notre héros et contient une description des gros chiens redoutables. Les premiers mots en sont aisés à comprendre : "Heure et heure chaque fois que je sors, il est avec moi comme guide, comme éclaireur, sur le chemin ; voici  il aboie, voici  je cours donnant du bâton et de la courbache," sur les chiens errants que le petit chien signale par ses aboiements

Dans les phrases suivantes, la difficulté résulte d'un usage peu remarqué de la conjonction , et d'un brusque changement de nombre dans les pronoms des personnes, qui passent du pluriel  ou au singulier . La conjonction  *khor*, jointe à un pronom suffixe des personnes commence assez souvent des phrases auxquelles il semble que cette tournure donne un sens emphatique. Un seul exemple me suffira, parce qu'il est de nature telle qu'on n'en saurait contester la valeur. Un petit texte funéraire, qu'on trouve souvent sur les momies de basse époque, commence par

 ou , pour les hommes ou pour les femmes dont le nom est précédé du titre masculin ,  ou , pour les femmes identifiées, selon l'usage du temps, avec la déesse Hathor.



Notre  répond exactement au  ou  de ces papyrus. Je le traduirai littéralement :

*Quant à eux de un et un de ces chiens-loups*, ou en français intelligible : “C'est qu'en effet ces chiens-loups, un à un . . . .” Les mots




 sont des épithètes de ces chiens : “roux, la queue haute.” Le verbe  *ouonouf* a pour sujet *les chiens*, bien que son pronom soit du singulier. La présence de 


s'explique aisément par l'expression , *un et un* : le scribe







en a retenu l'idée du dénombrement des chiens un par un, et c'est le souvenir de cette forme qui l'a entraîné à substituer partout

dans la suite le pronom singulier  au pronom pluriel , qui commençait la phrase. Cette difficulté levée, le reste se traduit aisément :

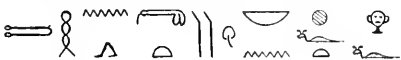
“Ils rôdent de nuit dans les parcs à bœufs ; quand ils commencent à marcher , comme il vient d'être dit, les


grands en avant (corriger  en ) point ils ne se séparent en arrière, leur face fascinatrice, c'est le dieu 

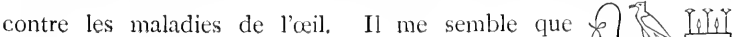
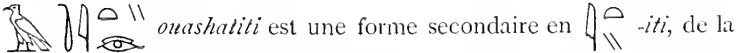
qui incante qui lui plaît, la flamme celle qui reste et qui n'a point de pitié.”  *hosi* est employé de tous les animaux que les Egyptiens croyaient fasciner par le regard, le lion,

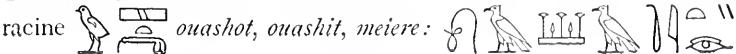

l'onyx, la gazelle, ici une espèce de chien. Le sens de  *shodou*, dans le membre de phrase suivant, est en rapport avec celui de  *hosi*: le dieu qu'on compare au chien fascinateur est nécessairement un dieu qui agit par un pouvoir analogue, un dieu incantateur , *shodou*, un dieu magicien. Quant à , *ânou*, c'est, malgré son premier déterminatif , l'équivalent de  $\Delta\Pi\Delta I$ , *bonus esse*, ou plutôt, avec le renversement ordinaire à ces sortes de racines ,  $\Pi\Delta$ , *T. \Pi\Delta I, M. \Pi\epsilon\epsilon I*, *B. misereri*. Tous ces membres de phrase réunis en traduction suivie donnent le sens suivant: "A quelque heure que je sorte (litt.: *heure et heure, chaque fois que je sors*), il est avec moi en éclairer sur le chemin; dès qu'il aboie, vite je me mets à courir en jouant du gourdin et de la courbache. C'est qu'en effet un chacun de ces chiens-loups, roux, haut la queue, s'en va la nuit dans les parcs des bœufs; quand ils se mettent en branle les grands en avant sans qu'aucun d'eux se sépare (et traîne) en arrière, la face fascinatrice, on dirait le dieu qui frappe d'enchantement qui lui plaît, la flamme qui s'attache et ne pardonne point."

Le postscriptum, comme beaucoup de postscriptums des lettres modernes, contient peut-être en peu de mots le véritable objet de la lettre. Il y est question d'un scribe de l'enregistrement qui est atteint de maladies hideuses. Il a d'abord un *tic douloureux*

 "tous les muscles de sa face tressautent." Une seconde maladie que notre auteur appelle

 *ta ouashatiti*, lui attaque l'œil. Ce mot ne figure pas au *Papyrus Ebers*: on peut en conclure qu'il ne désigne pas une forme fréquente de ces maladies ou qu'il n'est pas le terme technique employé par les médecins. C'est cette dernière hypothèse qui me paraît être la plus vraisemblable, donné le soin avec lequel le compilateur du *Papyrus Ebers* a rassemblé les recettes

contre les maladies de l'œil. Il me semble que  *ouashatiti* est une forme secondaire en  *-iti*, de la

racine  *ouashot, ouashit, meiere*: 








demeure avec moi, tous les muscles de sa face dansent, le catarrhe s'est mis dans ses yeux, le ver lui ronge les dents, et je ne puis le laisser au nombre de mes employés. Qu'on lui serve ses rations de blé et qu'il reste en non-activité dans le canton de Qonqentooui."

Il me reste à donner la traduction suivie de notre morceau. "Depuis que je suis installé à Qonqentooui, comme je manque de tout.—car il n'y a point d'hommes pour mouler la brique, il n'y a point de paille dans le canton, et quand mes convois de ce qui est nécessaire m'arrivent, faute d'ânes (pour les charrois), ils se gâtent,—je passe mon temps à regarder aux oiseaux, je pêche et chasse au marais, mon œil s'attache à suivre un [voyageur] qui monte vers Za[hi], je fais la sieste sous des vergers où on n'a point de fruits à manger, mais au temps où leurs dattes devraient venir, rien, ils n'en donnent plus, car il y a la huppe au lever du soleil, la *Zaouati* à midi, le pélican [le soir]; quand les jambes s'étirent et que leurs muscles les entraînent, comme je marche ainsi qu'un homme aux os solides, je cours à pied par les terres. Si parfois on ouvre des bouteilles pleines de bière de Qodi et que les gens sortent pour faire carousse au-dehors,—comme il y a bien deux cents grands mâtins et trois cents chiens-loups, cinq cents en tout, qui se tiennent tout le long du jour à la porte de ma maison,—chaque fois que je sors au milieu du sommeil [général], quand on casse le cou [aux bouteilles] et qu'on ouvre le minot,—je serais exclu [de la fête], si je n'avais le petit chien-loup de Mâhihou, le scribe royal, qui reste avec moi dans ma maison; c'est lui qui me sauve des chiens: à quelque heure que je sorte, il est avec moi sur le chemin, dès qu'il aboie, vite je me mets à courir en jouant du gourdin et de la courbache. C'est qu'en effet un chacun de ces chiens-loups, roux, haut la queue, s'en va la nuit par les parcs des bœufs; quand ils se mettent en branle, les grands en tête sans qu'aucun d'eux traîne en arrière, la face fascinatrice, on dirait un dieu qui frappe d'enchantement qui lui plaît, la flamme qui s'attache et ne pardonne pas.—Autre sujet. Un scribe de l'enregistrement qui demeure avec moi, tous les muscles de sa face dansent, ses yeux coulent, le ver lui ronge les dents, je ne puis le laisser au nombre de mes employés: qu'on lui alloue ses rations de blé, lui restant en non-activité dans le canton de Qonqentooui."

Si on compare cette traduction aux traductions précédentes, on sera frappé surtout de la longueur des phrases qu'elle renferme. J'ai tenu compte en effet de toutes les indications que l'emploi

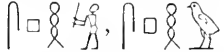
des différentes formes de la conjugaison fournit sur le jeu des propositions différentes. C'est un des points de la syntaxe égyptienne que j'étudie depuis longtemps et dont je cherche le plus soigneusement les exemples. En attendant que je puisse formuler les quelques règles auxquelles il me semble que je suis arrivé, je compte publier de temps à autre la traduction raisonnée des textes qui m'ont servi à les établir. On saisira mieux les lois de position des membres de la période égyptienne en les observant sur le vif de la langue : les axiomes et les formules grammaticales viendront plus tard, s'il y a lieu.


§ 9. Dans une note précédente (§ 4) j'ai indiqué que le mot , *mourou*, signifiait *prendre au lasso, lacer* un animal, au passage que j'étudiais, la gazelle. J'ai commis en cela une légère erreur qu'il importe de rectifier.

Les Egyptiens se sont servis, pour prendre les animaux qu'ils voulaient conserver vivants, de deux armes de jet fort différentes, le *laço* et les *boules*, qui, toutes les deux, sont encore en usage dans l'Amérique du Sud, par exemple. La *boule* se composait chez eux d'une seule pierre arrondie, attachée à une courroie ou à une corde de cinq à six mètres de long. La pierre lancée, la corde allait s'enrouler autour des jambes, du museau, du cou de la bête poursuivie, et y formait un nœud sur lequel on pesait à grand effort de bras et d'épaules jusqu'à ce qu'elle s'affaissât. Il n'y a pas de pierre au *laço*, mais un nœud coulant préparé à l'avance, et l'adresse pour le chasseur consiste à le passer à la volée au cou de la victime, qui, s'ébrouant, le serre elle-même et retombe sur le sol à moitié étranglée. Ces deux armes et la manière de s'en servir sont représentées sur les monuments. Ainsi, à Béni-Hassan, on voit un bœuf à moitié sauvage que la boule a frappé. La corde tombe sur la corne gauche, frappe le museau, et s'enroule autour du cou : le chasseur a passé l'autre extrémité derrière sa nuque et se prépare à se raidir au moment où la bête partira. Une autre scène des mêmes tombeaux représente une gazelle prise de la même façon. Wilkinson a remarqué les deux scènes et les a reproduites ;\* seulement il a méconnu la nature de l'arme employée.



\* Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, 2<sup>e</sup> édition, T. II, p. 87, fig. 352, 353. L'erreur a passé de Wilkinson aux différents savants qui se sont occupés de la matière, en dernier lieu, à Erman (*Aegypten*, p. 332), qui, tout en décrivant l'arme exactement, la qualifie improprement de lasso.

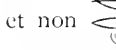

Il l'appelle *the noose*, le nœud coulant, et ajoute: "The noose was very similar to the *lasso* of South America." Ce n'est pas au lasso que ressemble l'arme représentée à Beni-Hassan, c'est aux *boules*. Le lasso réel, avec son nœud coulant, est représenté fort souvent au début du sacrifice royal. On voit par exemple Sêti 1<sup>er</sup> lançant le nœud sur le taureau qu'il va offrir aux dieux,\* et j'ai fait remarquer ailleurs combien ce détail nous reporte haut dans le passé de l'Égypte: il remonte l'institution du rite célébré par le roi jusqu'au temps où le bœuf était encore au moins à demi sauvage, et où il fallait aller le prendre à la chasse pour pouvoir le sacrifier. Ceci en passant: le fait à retenir pour le moment, c'est que les Égyptiens employaient concurremment les deux armes, les boules et le laço.


Or, nous connaissons le mot employé pour la chasse au laço; c'est  @, *sophou*. Brugsch, qui a enregistré le mot.† lui a donné le sens général de *einfangen, fesseln, fangen um in Banden zu legen*, mais d'autres Egyptologues ont vu le sens plus précis de *prendre au lasso, lacer*.‡ On voit en effet, au-dessus de la scène représentée dans Mariette, et où le roi Sêti 1<sup>er</sup> lance le

nœud coulant, la légende , qui, donnée l'action, ne peut se traduire autrement que:

"Lacer le taureau du Sud par le roi, le roi lace le taureau du Sud." La traduction *lacer, chasser au laço*, que j'ai donnée pour

 *mourou*, ne convient donc pas: c'est  @ *sophou*,

et non  *mourou*, qui est le terme technique pour la chasse au laço. Il faut chercher pour  *mourou* un sens différent.


Or  *mourou* est le copte **ⲉⲟⲣ**, **ⲉⲟⲡ**, **ⲉⲟ**, *T.M.*, *ligare*, comme Brugsch l'a vu depuis longtemps,§ et, par conséquent, signifie une action qui se fait sur le gibier au moyen d'un lien. Je crois que c'est *la capture au moyen des boules*, celle même que Wilkinson prenait pour *la capture au moyen du lasso*;

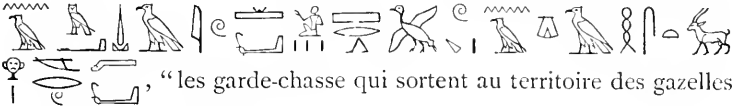
\* Mariette, *Abydos*, T. I, pl. 53.

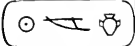

† Brugsch, *Dict. II.*, p. 1203; *cf.* S. Levi, *Vocabolario*, p. 12.



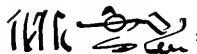




‡ E. Naville, *Les quatre Stèles orientées du musée de Marseille*, 1880, p. 11 *Ounas*, l. 509.

§ Brugsch, *Dict. II.*, 671, *Suppl.*, p. 617-618.

toutefois je ne considérerai ce sens comme définitif que lorsque j'aurai trouvé une scène de chasse aux boules, accompagnée d'une légende où le mot  mourou figurera.

C'est donc avec un très léger doute que je traduirai la phrase , "les garde-chasse qui sortent au territoire des gazelles pour chasser aux boules."

§ 10. Le Louvre possède un scarabée\* au cartouche d'un roi  MIRIBRI, qu'on place ordinairement entre la XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie et les Pasteurs.† Il faut le remettre dans la IX<sup>e</sup> ou dans la X<sup>e</sup> dynastie, comme le prouve la légende d'un monument dont j'ai annoncé la découverte, il y a quelque temps.‡ C'est un petit vase en bronze qui porte sur le pourtour, tracée de droite à gauche, la légende . Le roi MIRIBRI avait pour nom propre KHITI.

Or ce nom  KHITI se rencontre sur les fragments 47 et 48 du Papyrus royal de Turin, § suffisamment bien conservés pour qu'on les reconnaisse sur le champ. Ces débris, dont voici le fac-simile un peu réduit, au fragment 48 , et au fragment 47, , on les a transcrits de différentes manières, selon la lecture qu'on prêtait au signe : M. Brugsch ||  KHEDI, Lieblein, Golénischeff, Lauth, ¶  KHROTI, KHERETI. La transcription réelle est  KHITI, variante connue par plus

\* Pierret, *Catalogue de la Salle historique*, p. 106; le scarabée est publié dans Petrie, *Historical Scarabs*, pl. 11, n° 332.




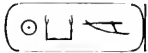
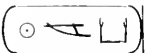

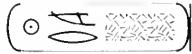

† Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte*, p. 281.

‡ *Bulletin des Musées*, T. II, p. 38.

§ Lepsius, *Auswahl*, Pl. IV.

|| Brugsch, *Histoire d'Égypte*, 1<sup>er</sup> édit., pl. V, n° 60.

¶ Lieblein, *Recherches sur la Chronologie Égyptienne*, pp. 44, 46, etc.; Golénischeff, *Le Papyrus n° 1 de St. Pétersbourg*, dans la *Zeitschrift*, 1876, p. 108; Lauth, *Manetho*, 1865, p. 211.

d'un exemple\* du nom , dérivé d'une épithète d'Horus, *celui est dans le ventre*. Il est question d'un des KHITI dans le *Papyrus n° 1 de St. Pétersbourg*, dont M. Golénischeff prépare la publication, mais il ne me paraît pas qu'on puisse reconnaître l'un d'eux, comme le voudrait M. Wiedemann, † dans le cartouche d'une stèle de Vienne dont M. de Bergmann nous a donné le texte : ‡ dans ce dernier endroit, je lirai plutôt  RÂ, le nom du dieu Râ adoré sous sa forme royale comme c'est parfois le cas. Tous les Egyptologues s'accordent à placer le nom de KHITI entre la VI<sup>e</sup> et la XI<sup>e</sup> dynasties, seulement les uns, comme Brugsch et Lieblein, font de ce prince un roi de la VIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie Memphite, tandis que les autres, comme Lauth, le classent parmi les dynastes héracléopolitains de la IX<sup>e</sup> dynastie. Ce sont ces derniers qui ont raison, car un second monument trouvé avec le vase, très probablement dans des tombes voisines de Siout, porte la légende du  MIRIKARÍ, qui nous est connu par les inscriptions du Stabl-Antar, et qui appartient aux dynasties héracléopolitaines. Je ne sais s'il ne serait pas possible d'identifier ce cartouche  ou  avec les restes du cartouche mutilé  qui au fragment 47 du *Papyrus de Turin* occupe le troisième rang après le premier KHITI. Le soleil ☉ manque au commencement du cartouche, mais il est figuré souvent par un point fort petit, qui a pu disparaître ou être oublié par le dessinateur moderne :  devrait se compléter alors en . Cela toutefois n'est qu'une conjecture à laquelle il n'y a pas lieu de s'arrêter longtemps. Le fait important est la présence de nos deux rois dans une même trouvaille, ce qui semble bien indiquer qu'ils appartenaient à la même famille et n'ont pas dû vivre à long intervalle l'un de l'autre. Le second KHITI, que je reconnais avec M. Lieblein au fragment 48 du *Papyrus royal*, § ne serait très éloigné ni du premier KHITI, ni de MIRIKARÍ.

\* Lieblein, *Dictionnaire des noms propres*, p. 51, n° 168, 95, n° 293.

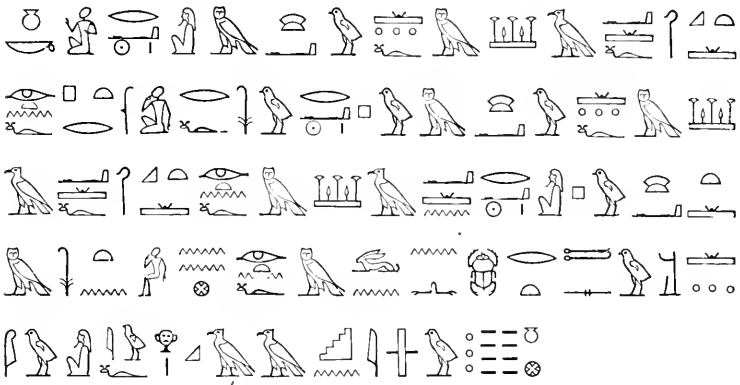
† Wiedemann, *Ägyptische Geschichte*, p. 221.


‡ E. de Bergmann, *Inscriptliche Denkmäler*, dans le *Recueil de Travaux*, T. VII, pp. 183-184.

§ Lieblein, *Recherches chronologiques*, pp. 46, 47.


Voici donc les dynasties héracléopolitaines qui commencent à prendre de la réalité: c'est à elles, je crois, qu'appartiennent les belles tombes découvertes en 1887-1888 un peu au N.O. de Siout, et dont quelqu'un devrait nous donner la description avec le même scrupule d'exactitude que M. Griffith pour le Stabl-Antar.\*

§ II.—Le commentaire du second verset du Chapitre XVII du *Livre des Morts* renferme, dans la Vulgate, une curieuse mention d'Héracléopolis Magna, que voici, d'après une des textes qui me paraissent être le plus correct :




“Je suis Râ en ses levers lorsqu'il a commencé le principat qu'il a exercé.—Qu'est cela, ce Râ en ses levers lorsqu'il a commencé le principat qu'il a exercé?—Ce Râ a commencé de se lever dans Héracléopolis qu'il a faite . . . . quand ne s'étaient pas produits encore les soulèvements de Shou étant sur l'escalier des habitants de Khmounou.” Le sens de la glose est clair, malgré les deux mots que je n'ai pas traduits. Elle est introduite par le  *m* paragogique, et le commentateur y déclare que le Râ en question est le Râ qui s'est levé dans Héracléopolis, avant que Shou n'eût soulevé le ciel. Or nous savons, par le *Récit de la destruction des hommes*, que le soulèvement du ciel par Shou n'eut lieu que longtemps après les débuts de la création, à la fin du règne de Râ, au commencement de celui de Shou, le second roi de la première dynastie et de la

\* J'apprends au dernier moment que les deux monuments, jusqu'à présent uniques, dont il est question dans cet article, viennent d'être acquis par le Louvre pour un prix relativement modéré.

première Ennéade Héliopolitaine divine. Mais la tradition héliopolitaine, à laquelle Râ appartient nécessairement, nous montre Râ paraissant et résidant à Héliopolis dans le *Château du chef*  qui fut plus tard le grand temple de la ville, tandis que la glose de notre verset placerait la première apparition de Râ à Héracléopolis, dont il n'était pas le dieu féodal. La mention d'Héracléopolis indique-t-elle en cet endroit l'incorporation voulue au texte d'une tradition héracléopolitaine, indépendante de l'héliopolitaine, ou bien est-elle une interpolation accidentelle, sans valeur pour l'histoire religieuse de l'Égypte? C'est ce que les variantes des manuscrits vont nous apprendre.



Remarquons en premier lieu que nul des textes du Moyen-Empire que nous connaissons pour ce chapitre, ne contient notre glose. Comme plusieurs d'entre eux sont écrits sur des monuments Memphites,\* et les autres sur des monuments Thébains,† cet accord entre des manuscrits provenant de deux localités éloignées semble bien prouver qu'il n'y a pas là une omission accidentelle: la glose, ou bien n'existait pas encore au moment où ces textes furent tracés à Thèbes ou à Memphis, ou, si elle existait, n'était pas encore admise officiellement dans le corps du chapitre. On ne saurait donc, en tout cas, considérer l'interpolation voulue ou accidentelle du nom d'Héracléopolis comme remontant de façon courante au Moyen-Empire.

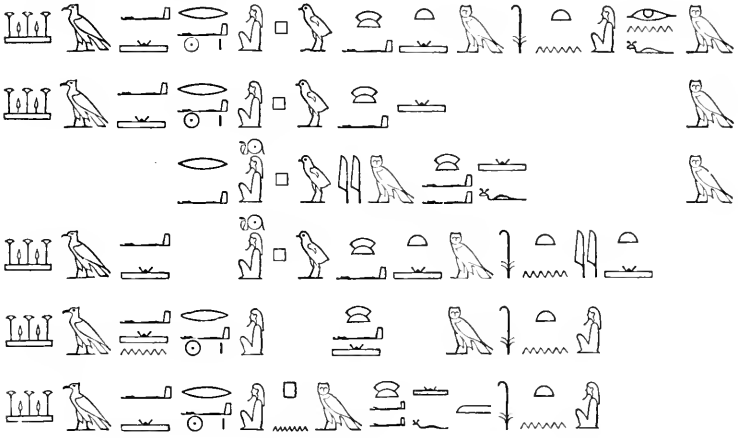
Pour le Nouvel-Empire, l'introduction de la glose est chose faite, et la belle édition de Naville nous fournit le moyen d'en établir solidement le texte. Je laisserai de côté les petites différences qui n'attaquent que les parties faciles à comprendre, et je me bornerai à examiner les variantes qui portent sur le membre de phrase où nous sommes accoutumés à lire le nom d'Héracléopolis. Les quinze manuscrits dont M. Naville a publié la collation, se divisent à cet égard en trois groupes. Le premier groupe formé de *Da*, *La*, *Ap*, *An*, renferme le nom de la ville; le second qui se compose de *Aa* seul remplace le nom de la ville par ; le troisième qui comprend les dix autres manuscrits le remplace par

\* Maspero, *Quatre années de fouilles* dans les *Mémoires de la Mission française*, T. I.


† Lepsius, *Aelteste Texte*, pp. 27, 28; Maspero, *Quatre années*, etc.




 auquel est joint ou n'est pas joint . Si l'on superpose les variantes maîtresses de manière à les embrasser d'un coup d'œil, on obtient le schéma suivant :


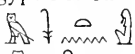

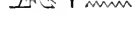




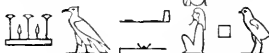






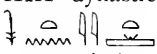




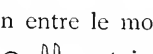

Pour bien comprendre la valeur de ces variantes, il faut se rappeler

le verset dont cette phrase est la glose : 

. Le commentaire consiste 1° à fondre l'un dans l'autre les deux membres de phrase, en les



le texte qu'elle est censée éclaircir qu'un rapport lointain, un rapport d'assonance, mais non de sens, et la finale  y convient si peu, puisque Râ n'a pas *fait* Héracléopolis, qu'un des quatre manuscrits la supprime. La leçon a paru si peu satisfaisante aux Égyptiens eux-mêmes qu'un des manuscrits la combine avec la leçon  et écrit : "Ce Râ commence son lever *en roi qu'il était*  et écrit : "Ce Râ commence son lever *en roi qu'il était*  dans Héracléopolis ".

Je crois pouvoir conclure de cet examen, qu'à une époque indéterminée, entre la XII<sup>e</sup> et la XIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie, on crut nécessaire d'expliquer aux morts la signification exacte du mot  *hiqit*, qui, dans le vieux texte primitif, désignait l'autorité suprême exercée par Râ au début de la création. On introduisit donc à la suite du verset 2 la glose  où la formule *soutnit irit-naf*  est calquée exactement sur celle qu'elle explique . Cette version qui me paraît être la rédaction primitive, la seule exacte, ne subsiste plus que sur un des manuscrits de Naville et fut remplacée d'abord par la version voisine  moins juste puisque  n'est plus le décalque du texte  mais suffisamment compréhensible encore. S'il faut tout dire j'attribue à cette variante une origine purement grammaticale.  était un mot féminin vocalisé selon les dialects *soutnit* ou *soutnet*. Or le *t* du féminin était déjà tombé dans la prononciation de la XIX<sup>e</sup> dynastie, et la chute en avait commencé beaucoup plus tôt : le  *soutnit*, *soutnét*, antique, était donc devenu dans la prononciation courante du Nouvel Empire *Soutni*, *soutné*. D'autre part le mot  *souten*, *roi*, s'il n'était pas vocalisé avec un *i* final, donne naissance au nom d'agent  *soutni*, ou au terme  *soutni*, qu'on trouve dans l'expression fréquente  *soutn* *soutni*, le roi faisant fonction de roi. C'est la confusion entre le mot  *soutnit*, prononcé *soutni*, et le mot  *soutni*, *le royal*, *l'agissant en roi*, qui me paraît avoir





BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON, W.C.,

12th May, 1891.

DEAR RYLANDS,

You may say very justly that there are sculptures enough in the British Museum for me to write about, and that it is no particular concern of mine if an altar from Kanawat, now in Cambridge, was described in the last number of the *Proceedings* as an altar of Baal and Ashtoreth. Nevertheless you may allow me a few words to say that if this altar had been found on any Roman site outside of Syria, probably no one would have thought of describing it as other than an altar to Sol and Luna conjointly (σύνθετοι). The busts of Sol and Luna are plainly sculptured on it. The types of these deities, the style of sculpture, the palmette and the other decorative patterns, are purely classical and of the Roman period. Besides, Syria was a Roman province, and as likely as any other to furnish from its ruins a purely Roman altar. Why introduce the names of Baal and Ashtoreth?

The writer of the article in the *Proceedings* may rest assured that "the character of the sculpture and style of the workmanship would" *not* "synchronize with the time of Phœnician influence and ascendancy over Israel and Judah." He is distinctly wrong when he says: "So far as the χιτών worn by the figure of Baal is concerned, it would also point to an early date." It points unmistakably to a very late period. Nor is he at all justified in describing the execution of the mouldings as "throughout remarkably fine" (p. 294). They also represent a late and comparatively debased age, and it is strange that he should not have perceived this, since he speaks with evident appreciation of some of the decorative patterns of a better time in this Museum.

If Baal in Mr. Pollard's estimation is the same as Sol, and Ashtoreth as Luna, with no difference but in name, it was perhaps natural for him to prefer the names Baal and Ashtoreth for an altar found in Syria. But the person who made the altar was undoubtedly a Roman: he made it for his own divinities Sol and Luna. He has represented them on it under their special Roman type, and with their special Roman attributes, and he has employed in the workmanship purely classical traditions. In these circumstances we should be content to call the altar a Roman altar to Sol and Luna.

Yours sincerely,

A. S. MURRAY.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

In February, 1890, the Society did me the honour to listen to and print a paper entitled "Some Suggestions respecting the Exodus." Briefly stated, my suggestions were that Khuenaten and his sons-in-law and successors were the oppressors of the Israelites, that his daughter Tia was that daughter of Pharaoh who adopted Moses, and that Rameses I was the Pharaoh of the Exodus. My object in writing now is to bring forward some further matters in support of those suggestions.

In addition to the five different theories mentioned in my paper I have found two others: that of Dr. Eisenlohr, who thinks that Seti II was the king of the Exodus, and that Sa Ptah restored order after his death; and that of Osburn ("Monumental History of Egypt"), who thinks the queen of Sa Ptah was the "Pharaoh's daughter" of Moses, and (following a mistake of Champollion, pointed out by Dr. Eisenlohr) considers Seti II to have been the successor of Sa Ptah instead of Setnecht, and to have been the king of the Exodus. As both these theories would place the Exodus at a later date than any of the others, and as the shortness of time between the Exodus and Rehoboam, according to the current theory, is one of my chief objections to that theory, I consider them even more unsatisfactory.

The daughter of Pharaoh is sometimes called Thermuthis and sometimes Merris. I have already suggested that Tia (Tia-mut), the daughter of Khuenaten, was probably Thermuthis; but Khuenaten had also a daughter Mer-t-Aten, who, with her husband, was his immediate successor, and who was likely to have been concerned with her sister in the bringing up of Moses, and might therefore have been the Merris of the old authors.

Osburn ("Monumental History of Egypt") says Khuenaten and his successors evidently had much forced labour at their command, which agrees with my suggestion that they were the kings of the oppression. Osburn also describes the tomb of Rameses I as having been begun on a scale of great magnificence, but only begun, the sarcophagus even being only partly hollowed out, and the name of Rameses roughly scrawled on it. This shows that the death of that king was quite unexpected, at all events by himself, and is very consistent with my suggestion that he was the king of the Exodus.

Lastly I stated in my paper that in order to make my chronology fit I wished to reduce as far as possible the fifty years generally attributed to Seti I, and I find Dr. Wiedemann saying (*Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, XII, 259), "the reign of Seti I was apparently a short one."

Yours faithfully,

A. L. LEWIS.



The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 2nd June, 1891, at 8 p.m., when the following Paper will be read :—

DR. M. GASTER.—"The Targum of the Passover and Pentecost LESSONS."



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



- Zeitsch. der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellsch., Vol. I, 1847; Vols. IV to XII, 1850 to 1858, inclusive; Vol. XX to Vol. XXXII, 1866 to 1878.
- BOTA, 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, 1886.
- Tempel-Inschriften, 1862. 2 vols., folio.
- GOLENISCHEFF, Die Metternichstele. Folio, 1887.
- LEPSIUS, Nubian Grammar, &c., 1880.
- Études Égyptologiques. 13 vols., complete to 1880.
- SCHROEDER, Die Phönizische Sprache.
- HAUPT, Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze.
- RAWLINSON, CANON, 6th Ancient Monarchy.
- BURKHARDT, Eastern Travels.
- CHABAS, Mélanges Égyptologiques. Séries I, III. 1862-1873.
- E. GAYET, Stèles de la XII dynastie au Musée de Louvre.
- LEDRAIN, Les Monuments Égyptiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale.
- SARZEC, Découvertes en Chaldée.
- SAINTE MARIE, Mission à Carthage.
- LEFÈBRE, Le Mythe Osirien. 2nd partie. "Osiris."
- D. G. LYON, An Assyrian Manual.
- A. AMIAUD AND L. MECHINEAU, Tableau Comparé des Écritures Babylooniennes et Assyriennes.
- Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer. 2 parts.
- ROBIOU, Croyances de l'Égypte à l'époque des Pyramides.
- Recherches sur le Calendrier en Égypte et sur le chronologie des Lagides.
- POGNON, Les Inscriptions Babylooniennes du Wadi Brissa.
- AMELINEAU, Histoire du Patriarche Copte Isaac.
- JENSEN, Die Kosmologie der Babylonier.
- WEISSLEACH, F. H., Die Achaemeniden Inschriften Zweiter Art.
- WALTHER, J., Les Découvertes de Ninive et de Babylone au point de vue bibliques. Lausanne, 1890. 4s.
- WINCKLER, HUGO, Der Thontafelfund von El Amarna. Vols. I and II.



SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY PUBLICATIONS



# The Bronze Ornaments of the Palace Gates from Balawat.

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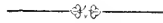
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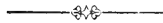
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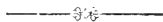
VOL. XIII. TWENTY-FIRST SESSION.

*Eighth Meeting, June 2nd, 1891.*



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A few complete sets of the Transactions still remain for sale, which may be obtained on application to the Secretary, W. H. RYLANDS, F.S.A., 11, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

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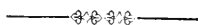
TWENTY-FIRST SESSION, 1890-91.

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*Eighth Meeting, 2nd June, 1891.*

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, ESQ., PRESIDENT.

IN THE CHAIR.



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

From E. Towry Whyte:—Narrative of the operations and recent discoveries, etc., in Egypt and Nubia. By G. Belzoni. 4to. London, 1820.

From the Rev. R. Gwynne, (*Secretary for Foreign Correspondence*):—Ueber die Lage von Tigranokerta. Von Eduard Sachau. Berlin. 4to. 1881.

Königl. Akad. der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1880.

From the Rev. R. Gwynne:—Reise in Syrien u. Mesopotamien von Eduard Sachau. 8vo. Leipzig, 1883.

From the Author:—Prof. E. Révillout. Corpus Papyrorum Egypti. Papyrus démotiques du Louvre. Second Fascicule. (3<sup>e</sup> de la Publication.) Folio. Text only.

From the Author :—Die Astronomie der alten Chaldäer. I. Der Tierkreis. Von Dr. F. Hommel.

Sonderabdruck aus Nr. 13 und 14 des "Ausland."

From the Author :—Dr. A. Wiedemann. Observations sur quelques stèles funéraires égyptiennes. 8vo.

From the Author :—Dr. A. Wiedemann. Die Inschriften des Sarkophages No. 66 zu Marseilles. 8vo. Bonn, 1891.

From Dr. Wiedemann :—De Imperatorum Romanum tertii post Christum natum sæculi temporibus constituendis dissertatio Historica \* \* \* \* Scriptor. Armilius Sadée Rhenanus. 8vo. Bonnae, 1891.

From the Author :—Rev. C. A. de Cara, S.J. Degli Hittim o Hethei e delle loro migrazioni. Ricerche di Archeologica Biblico-italica. Part X.

Estrato dalla Civiltà Cattolica, Serie XIV, Vol. X. 1891. 8vo.

From the Free Public Library and Museum, Liverpool :—

Translation of Hieratic Papyri *Mayer* A and B. By W. Spiegelberg. 8vo. Liverpool. 1891.

Museum Reports. No. 5. Mayer Collection Report, No. 1.

The following Candidates were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated at the last Meeting, held on the 5th of May :—

Charles H. S. Davis, M.D., Ph.D., Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.

Mrs. Grenfell, 55, West Cromwell Road, S.W.

The following Candidates were nominated, and by special order of the Council were submitted for election, and elected Members of the Society :—


Alfred Morrison, Esq., Fonthill, Wilts, and 16, Carlton Terrace, S.W.

Henry Rutter, Esq., LL.B., 4, Warrington Crescent, W.





MR. RENOUF read a translation of the *Tablet of the Seven Years of Famine*, which the distinguished American Egyptologist Mr. Charles E. Wilbour discovered and photographed on the island of Sehel.

In this inscription a message is said to have been received by the governor of Nubia and of the cities of the south, at his residence at Elephantine, from king T'esor () in the 18th year of his reign, describing the terrible condition of Egypt in consequence of the failure of the Nile during seven consecutive years, and asking for authentic information about the rising of the Nile and the gods who take part in the inundation. The governor supplied this information, and gave ample statistics as to the nature of the animal, vegetable, and mineral wealth of the country. The king, on receiving the report, made an offering to the gods and goddesses of Elephantine, and was rewarded with a vision during his slumbers from the great god Chnum, who complained that, from time immemorial, stones were ready, but no man turned them to use for building temples to the gods, or repairing those which were falling into ruin. But the god promised that henceforth the Nile should issue forth, and that not a year should fail; that the famine should cease, that corn should grow in plenty, according to the heart's desire, and more than ever had been heretofore. The king awoke, and his courage revived, and he issued a decree endowing the great god of the Cataracts with the cultivable land on the right and left banks of the Nile, 20 schoeni in all, and with dues to be paid by the inhabitants of the district, from the produce of all the barns, and of whatsoever the fisherman catcheth within his nets, and what the hunter taketh, of whatsoever the angler or the fowler acquireth; of all game and capture of wild animals upon the hills—of all these I offer to thee a tenth part. Of all the calves born within the allotted distance, one tenth shall be destined for the daily service; and herewith shall be combined the payment of the tenth upon the gold, ivory, ebony and other mineral and vegetable articles of commerce. The tithe was to be paid by stonecutters and workers in metal as well as by the traders in the rare stones imported from the south and from the east. This decree is to set up in a conspicuous spot, and engraved with writing corresponding with what is written on the wooden tablets.

Although the inscription professes to record the decree of a king of the third dynasty, the style of it betrays a very late age, perhaps even the Roman. It has been published by Dr. Brugsch\* with a translation and an introduction which deals very minutely with every point requiring illustration.

A number of texts, down to the time of Tiberius, are still extant, recording loyal decrees endowing the temples with 12 schoeni on each side of the river. In each of these the Dodekaschoinos is said to lie between Takomsit and Syene. Herodotos already speaks of the *σχοίνοι ἐνὶώδεκα*. Now as this allotment always remained the same, it is natural to conclude either that the decree remained in form only during the reign of each sovereign and required renewing, or that the priesthood thought it best *ex abundantia cautela* to procure the renewal.

The inscription of the Seven Years of Famine is evidently a pious fraud, drawn up for the purpose of furnishing ancient precedent for recent practice.

It is not the less interesting, as showing that there was a tradition in Egyptian that there had, at some early date, been a period of severe distress through a famine which had lasted for *seven* years. The inscription of Baba, who lived shortly before the eighteenth dynasty, only speaks of a famine of *many* years. But Baba was really a historical personage and his inscription may be relied upon as authentically true. It is of course impossible to think of a synchronism between the time of King T'esor and that of the biblical seven years of famine.

Remarks were added by Rev. Dr. M. Gaster, Rev. A. Löwy, Rev. James Marshall, Rev. Canon Beechey, and Mr. J. Pollard.

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The Rev. Dr. Gaster read a Paper entitled "The Targum of the Passover and Pentecost Lessons."

Remarks were added by the Rev. A. Löwy, Dr. Friedlander, and the President.












Thanks were returned for these communications.

\* *Die biblischen Sieben Jahre der Hungersnoth.* Leipzig, 1891.

## THE SIGN PAPYRUS OF TANIS.









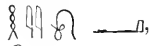








BY W. MAX MÜLLER.

*The following extract from a Letter of Dr. MAX MÜLLER, of Philadelphia, was addressed to Mr. GRIFFITH, who communicates it to the Society.*

The Sign Papyrus from the house of Psenasychis,\* in Tanis, published by you,† seems to me not only an interesting curiosity, as would be a collection of signs composed in the Roman epoch. It is a document which needs only being supplemented and corrected by some other fragments, to show us the authentic arrangement of signs which the ancient Egyptians used for instruction. As you (p. 6) supposed, the papyrus of Tanis has been copied from old originals. This is well shown by the commencement. The signs  and  cannot introduce standing male figures, they must be either corrupted or erroneous. The original of the first sign was , "king of Lower Egypt," and this was explained by the phonetic orthography  () which replaced the standing figure by mistake of a copyist. The second sign was , and there the crown has been omitted. Both mistakes prove that the list passed through the hands of very mechanical copyists. 15, 2,  is explained as ideogram ΕΥΚΗC, "buried," an impossible explanation. Either it results from the frequent mistake  for  and 11, 2 has been forgotten, or else the original was , of which, however, the sense "buried" can be derived only by supposing very serious mistakes of ignorant scribes. 16. 4 we see , "binding, tie, cloth," "field" and "bread," in a senseless

\* Allow me to use this opportunity for correcting the impossible reading "Bakakhuui," for which you personally are not responsible. The name *Βαακχουι* occurs dozens of times in exactly the same orthography as on the photograph in "Tanis" I (Frontispiece No. 7). "Bakakhuui" besides cannot be an Egyptian word at all, and would be a monstrosity in Demotic as well as in Coptic.

† Two Papyri from Tanis, by F. L. Griffith and W. M. Flinders Petrie.

connection of signs. Here the original copy must have had , "grain," explained as , and this explanation (*cf.* 20, 9) passed in the next copy into the column of signs. The same process must have introduced , into this column (16, 1), because apparently  stood as the common explanation "grain, corn," before *ss.* It is true we find , "city," before it, but also this does not form a logical connection with the groups "plants of the field" and "vessels," which are confounded here. Similarly , "skin," must be a mistake (for ?). 19, 1, see below. 20, 1,  is explained as , "striking stick." Were not the mistake of  for  ("strike") combined with the use of  for , we might think of a very archaic original. The confused arrangement 13, 1 seems to find a solution by an original, which connected *pt*, "heaven," and *pay*, "to fly." 13, 4 ought to stand after 13, 13, and *rnpt*, "year," l. 1, at about the same place. 12, 3 has quite a senseless place (*cf.* 26, 5), and must be a mistake for a very old abbreviation ("shepherd's stick and string") for , "shepherd." A good many signs must have been omitted, many corrupted and confounded by the "corrections" and insertions (*e.g.*, pp. 6 and 7) of the copyists. As for the explanatory column, it is certainly too consistent and simple in its orthography to date originally from the 2nd century A.D., but the half demotic orthography (, , *ecq*, but , *ec*) seems to be derived already from the earlier copies, and I see no forcing reason for an age higher than Ptolemaic time. The hieroglyphic column must, of course, be copied from an earlier collection, for that playing with new signs so characteristic of the latest periods is absent. Careful criticism will certainly find decisive indications of date in the selection of signs.



## SUR DIFFÉRENTS MOTS ET NOMS ÉGYPTIENS.—IV.

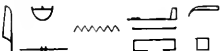
PAR PROF. E. LEFÉBURE.

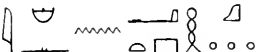
## DEUX TITRES.

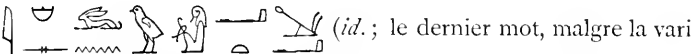







## I.


Certains titres égyptiens offrent à première vue, d'après leur expression graphique, des analogies qui disparaissent lorsqu'on y regarde d'un peu plus près : tels sont ceux dont l'étude suit.


Le premier titre, *Ahems*, paraît ne se rencontrer qu'au moyen Empire, sur les stèles d'Abydos ; il a toujours un complément et figure dans les combinaisons suivantes :

 (Mariette, *Abydos*, III, No. 872, p. 295-6) ;

 (*id.*) ;

 (*id.* ; le dernier mot, malgré la variante  † ou , ‡ semble le même que  §,  ||,  ¶ etc., d'après les formes  \*\*, magasins, et  †† palais) :

 (Mariette, No. 873, p. 296) ;

 (Lieblein, *Dictionnaire de noms propres*, No. 407, Musée de Vienne) ;

\* J. de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, I, 5.

† *Inscription d'Una*, l. 1.

‡ Pierret, *Inscriptions du Louvre*, C 1.

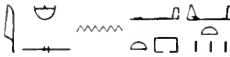
§ Mariette, *Abydos*, III, p. 390.

|| *id.*, p. 68.

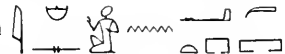

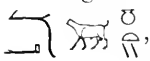

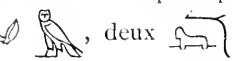
¶ *id.*, p. 121 et 272 ; *Papyrus Prisse*, VIII, 2 et 4 ; *Papyrus Anastasi* III, 5, 2 ; etc.



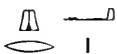
\*\* Lieblein, No. 938.


†† Pierret, *Stèle d'Antef*, C 26, l. 6 et 22.



 (Stèle de Sebek-ur, fils d'Ata, Musée Guimet);




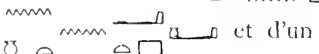


 (Mariette, No. 879, p. 301).

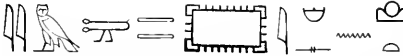
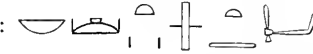


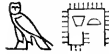
Les trois premiers titres se rencontrent sur une stèle consacrée à des personnages qui les portent, et ne mentionnant pas d'autres fonctions : trois dames rendent hommage aux trois *ahems*. De plus, sur une autre stèle un  rend hommage au frère (?) d'un *mer Khen, chef de Thinis* (Mariette, No. 778, p. 241-2). Sur la stèle No. 907 (p. 320-1), un  rend hommage à un *erpa ha*, avec deux scribes principaux du harem, un , un , deux , un scribe de la table, et un *mer* des prophètes de Sebek de Crocodilopolis.

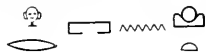
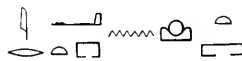
L'*ahems* du *panarium*, son père, sa mère et ses sœurs, sont honorés sur la stèle No. 873 (p. 296), avec un *mer* des barques des sommeliers du trésor, un  de la même administration, un  du *Kep*, un agent  du garde des sceaux, et un *mer* des barques.

Les *ahems* du fruitier sont mentionnés, sur une stèle de Vienne, au nombre de deux, avec d'autres fonctionnaires du même lieu dont le titre est effacé (probablement des gardiens), et avec des  (Lieblein, No. 407).


L'*ahems* des présents se trouve sur une stèle malheureusement très fruste du Musée Guimet, en compagnie d'autres fonctionnaires du même lieu, d'un  et d'un .

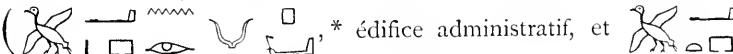
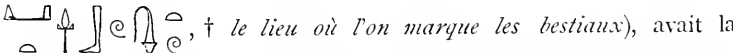
Le dernier *ahems*, celui de la *Khu-t*, figure sur une stèle de Boulaq; c'est un personnage nommé , qu'honore son fils *Abi*, tandis qu'un  reçoit les hommages d'un   et d'un . Cet *ahems* est 



 (Mariette, No. 879, p. 301). Des titres analogues, sauf pourtant le dernier, sont portés par des grands, un *suten rekh* (Mariette, p. 261), un *erpa ha* (p. 320), et un *ha* (p. 326), avec quelques variantes :  (p. 326) pour neb Keras-t atef her, ou les trois derniers de ces mots au pluriel (p. 261 et 320), ou  pour Seb (p. 124), sans parler de l'addition d'un nouveau titre,  (p. 261 et 320), ou *Sakar-ti*  (p. 326).

On remarquera que la *Khu-t* était un édifice (funéraire), puisqu'il existait un , et qu'une stèle du moyen Empire mentionne un  (stèle d'Usertesankh, Musée Guimet).

II

Les *Ahems*, à l'exception peut-être du dernier, occupaient des fonctions peu élevées : ils étaient attachés aux nombreux services d'intérieur, ou de , que comportaient les grandes maisons et les grandes administrations.

Le mot *a-t*, d'ordinaire féminin, et quelquefois masculin, , \* édifice administratif, et , † le lieu où l'on marque les bestiaux), avait la signification générale de place, séjour, retraite, s'appliquant aux forts, aux clos, aux puits, aux chapelles, etc. :


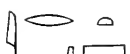
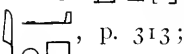





-  ‡ Léontopolis ;
-  § gardien d'étable ;

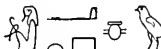




\* Brugsch, *Supplément au Dictionnaire*, p. 185 ; cf. *Recueil*, VI, p. 47.  
 † Chabas, *Troisièmes Mélanges*, t. II, pl. XI, 6, et p. 155.  
 ‡ Champollion, *Notices*, t. II, p. 93.  
 § Mariette, *Abydos*, t. III, p. 285.

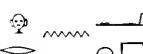
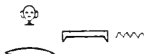




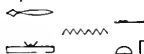


## A-T AU SENS GÉNÉRAL.

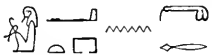
, Mariette, p. 206; , p. 269, 272 et 303; , p. 313; , p. 158, ou , p. 175, 222, 248, etc., ou , p. 326, ou , p. 246; cf. , Lieblein, 239, Leide.

, p. 309, et Pierret, A 76, ou , p. 285 et 336; cf. , p. 303;  et , Pierret, C 25.

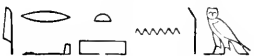
, p. 326, , Lieblein, 499, Boulaq, et , femme, p. 147.

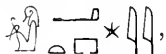
, Chabas, *Troisièmes Mélanges*, t. II, p. 138 (nouvel Empire), et , papyrus judiciaire de Turin, col. 4, l. 2 et 3 (Ramsès III).

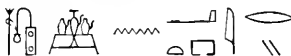
## A-T D'HABITATION.

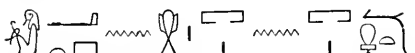
, Mariette, p. 250; il s'agit d'un harem.\*

Ahems, p. 296, et , Lieblein, 146, Florence, et 447, Leide.


, Maspero, *Recueil*, III, p. 122, *gardien de la chambre des Asiatiques*.

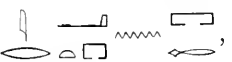
\*, p. 37; cf. p. 51.

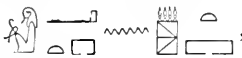
, Lieblein, 679, Londres.

, Lieblein, 718, Londres, fonctionnaire attaché à la maison d'un garde des sceaux, 18<sup>e</sup> dynastie.

\* Cf. J. de Rougé, *Edfou*, 146; Naville, *Mythe d'Horus*, 7, l. 4; et Brug ch, *Zeitschrift*, 1879, p. 2.

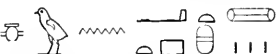
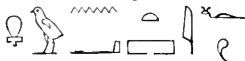

 *suten nes*,\* p. 208; cf. p. 342, un exemple d'après lequel les gardiens de ce genre pouvaient être des deux sexes.

, , p. 223, , etc., p. 552, , Stèle d'Usertesén ankh, Musée Guimet, et Pierret, C 33.


, p. 301 et 348, et Lieblein, 700, Leide, 18<sup>e</sup> dynastie.


, Lieblein, 1162, Boulaq, époque Saïte.

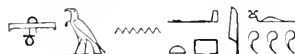
A-T D'APPROVISIONNEMENT.

Ahems, p. 296, et , Mariette, p. 323, Pierret, C 45, et Piehl et Maspero, *Recueil*, III, pp. 72 et 122, Turin. , p. 203, et Lieblein, 146, Florence, ou , p. 290.

, p. 308.

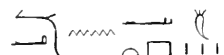
, p. 285 et 309.

, p. 262, Piehl et Maspero, *Recueil*, III, pp. 72 et 122, Turin, et Pierret, C 45.

, Maspero, *id.*


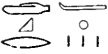

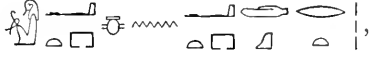
, Pierret, C 45.

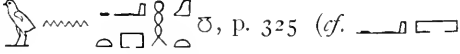
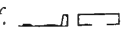
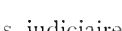
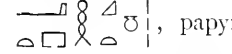
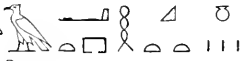
, Pierret, *id.*

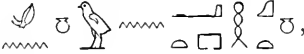
, p. 307.

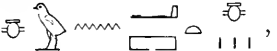
, Lieblein, 872, Vienne.


\* Cf. Mariette, *Dendérah*, IV, 34.

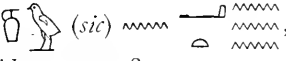
Ahems, Lieblein, 407, et , p. 323, ou , Piehl et Maspero, *Recueil*, III, pp. 72 et 122, Turin, ou , Lieblein, 414, Munich. , p. 336.

Ahems, p. 296, et , p. 325 (cf.  , stèle de Piankhi, l. 134, , papyrus judiciaire de Turin, col. VI, l. 1, et , Maspero, *Etudes égyptiennes*, I, fasc. 3, p. 228).

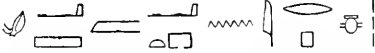

, Lieblein, 844, Leide, 18<sup>e</sup> ou 19<sup>e</sup> dynastie.

, p. 348.

, p. 354; cf. p. 327.



, Champollion, *Notices*, II, p. 383; cf. *id.*, pp. 407-8.

, p. 357; cf. Champollion, *Notices*, II, pp. 382 et 401.

, p. 309, 18<sup>e</sup> dynastie; cf. un  du même titre, p. 466, 21<sup>e</sup> à 25<sup>e</sup> dynastie.


A-T D'ENTREPÔT.

Ahems, p. 296, et , Mariette, p. 243, et Lieblein, 397, Berlin.

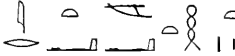
, p. 329, ou , p. 186, 269, 272 et 275; cf. Lieblein, 149, Louvre, C 5.

Ahems (Musée Guimet), et , p. 212, ou




Ahems, p. 301, et , stèle d'Usertesén Ankh, Musée Guimet.

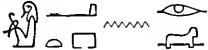
, p. 380.

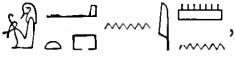
, Pierret, C 1; il s'agit des huiles sacrées.

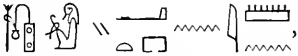
, p. 265, et Lieblein, 462, Vienne; cf. le titre

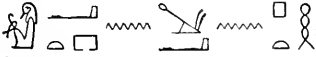
, p. 390, 18<sup>e</sup> dynastie.

, stèle d'Usertesén Ankh, Musée Guimet.

, p. 409, 18<sup>e</sup> dynastie.

, 18<sup>e</sup> dynastie, Lieblein, 682, Londres, et 762, Liverpool.




, Pierret et Devéria, *le Papyrus de Neb-ged*, VI, 9 et 10 (nouvel Empire).


, ou *Ptah res-sebtj-f*, Lieblein, 263, Leide.


### III.


D'après cette liste, fort incomplète d'ailleurs, les *a-t* possédant des fonctionnaires étaient des salles—de harem, de *kef*, de porte, d'appartement royal et de palais,—de pains, de viandes, de provisions, de fruits, de bière, d'eau, de liqueurs et de vin,—de réserve, de trésor, et de dons faits aux grands ou aux rois, — d'observatoire, d'édifice funéraire et de temple. Ces salles étaient desservies ou occupées par des :


, *grand*,

, , *supérieur*, et  *supérieure*,


, *chef de place*,


 et , *chef de section,*


, *factotum,*


, *scribe,*


, et , *employé,*

, *domestique,*

, *chancelier,*

, *suiivante,*

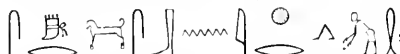

, *contrôleur,*

, *gardien et gardienne,*

*Ahems.*

Qu'était l'*Ahems* parmi ses collègues ?

Il n'y a certainement pas lieu de songer ici à l'eunuque, bien qu'un mot *hems* désigne l'émasculatation. L'un des *ahems* dont il a été parlé, celui de la *Khu-t*, avait un fils, paraît-il ; de plus, aucun texte ne nous montre que l'eunuque ait jamais été regardé autrement qu'avec mépris ; son nom était une injure au même titre que celui d'esclave : " couche-toi, castrat ! tombe, esclave ! le dieu luit," etc.,


, dit une vieille formule des pyramides royales.\* D'après la légende, Horus vainqueur s'était empressé d'émasculer ses ennemis, † et les Égyptiens, qui mutilaient leurs adversaires morts, étaient très capables de faire subir le même traitement à leurs prisonniers, de sorte que le copte *CKOṛp*, *eunuque*, pourrait n'être pas sans rapport avec l'égyptien *seker*, , prisonnier, esclave.

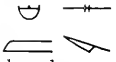
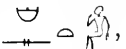

Si les eunuques étaient des esclaves, on ne s'étonnera guère, malgré quelques rares mentions historiques, ‡ de ne point les voir figurer au nombre des gens ayant un grade ou une famille, comme




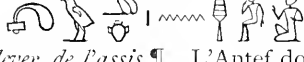
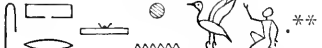
\* Pyramide d'Unas, l. 304-5.

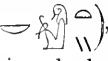
† Mariette, *Dendérah*, IV, 20 ; cf. Brugsch, *Dictionnaire*, p. 1672-3.

‡ Cf. Manéthon, 12<sup>e</sup> dynastie ; Hérodote, III, 4 ; et Pline, XXXVI, 13.

les *ahems* : les esclaves égyptiens n'ont laissé aucun monument connu, tombeau, stèle ou inscription, et ils n'apparaissent qu'incidemment, parmi la domesticité des grands personnages, comme par exemple les serfs royaux, .\*

Le sens de  écarté, il ne reste qu'un seul mot auquel on puisse rattacher le terme *ahems*, qui en est la forme archaïque : c'est *hem*, , , † etc., *s'asseoir*.

Ce mot s'employait aussi comme substantif : . , ‡ les je m'assieds, c'est-à-dire les paresseux. Un grand personnage de la 12<sup>e</sup> dynastie est dit : *celui qui fait parvenir la vérité à son maître, qui lui fait rapport des choses des deux pays*, , *celui qui donne des règles aux semailles en faisant lever l'assis, les deux oreilles de l'unique*, etc. || La même expression, semble-t-il, reparait sur une stèle de Vienne : , le chancelier qui force le cœur pour le lever de l'assis. ¶ L'Antef dont la stèle est au Louvre faisait aussi *sortir l'inactif*, .\*\*

On voit que, en ce qui concerne l'*Ahems*, l'idée de *sédentaire* se présente d'elle-même. Or, parmi les gens des *a-t*, les *gardiens* ou *garde-magasins* †† (très nombreux en raison de l'importance de leur emploi, †† analogue à la fonction même du dieu Anubis, ) §§ avaient un rôle voisin de celui que remplissaient certains de leurs

\* *Denkmaeler*, II, 107 ; cf. Pierret, C 93.

† Cf. *Recueil de travaux*, V, p. 121 ; IX, p. 52 ; *Zeitschrift*, 1890, p. 60-1 ; etc.

‡ Maspero, *Études égyptiennes*, le Conte du prince prédestiné, p. 8.

§ Cf. Pierret, *Inscriptions du Louvre*, A 94.

|| Mariette, *Abydos*, T. III, p. 229.



¶ Lieblein, 465, Vienne, et de Bergmann, *Recueil*, VII, p. 182, 183, et 187 ; cf. Lieblein, 468, Vienne ; *Denkmaeler*, II, 123 e ; et Mariette, *Abydos*, T. III, p. 326.

\*\* C 26, l. 9.

†† Pierret, *Inscriptions du Louvre*, II, p. 42.




‡‡ Cf. Champollion, *Notices*, II, p. 430.










§§ Mariette, *Abydos*, T. III, p. 323.

collègues, car on trouve des *gardiens-contrôleurs* et des *ahems-gardiens*, ou tout au moins faisant fonction,  , de gardiens: sans vouloir rapprocher trop l'*ahems* du dieu Arihems-nefer, le Shu de Philæ, "gardien de Nubie,"\* on peut donc dire que le *Sédentaire* différerait fort peu du gardien, dont M. Pierret l'a cru une variante,† et qu'il devait être un *résident* ‡ ou un *magasinier*, suivant les cas.

Nos administrations emploient encore aujourd'hui des expressions du même genre, *stagiaire*, *sédentaire*, *magistrature assise*. D'après Benjamin de Tudèle les juges juifs de Bagdad, au 12<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère, étaient appelés *les oisifs*. Plusieurs savants ont vu une intention analogue dans le nom donné par Hérodote § à un peuple scythe, les Argippéens (*ἀργία, ἀργός*), qui menaient une vie oisive, ne prenaient part à aucune guerre, et servaient d'arbitres à leurs voisins.

#### IV.

Le titre qui rappelle celui d'*Ahems* est celui de    : le mot *ahems*, en effet, pouvait être déterminé par l'enfant, et il y avait des *ahems d'At du Kef*, comme on l'a vu. L'étude du second titre montrera s'il faut l'assimiler au premier.

Le mot *Kef*, ou *Kap*, s'écrit par un signe , la griffe, que les anciens textes transcrivent   □, || et qui a plusieurs variantes, la main , ou même le bras , la bouche  †, sans doute pour la griffe allongée, l'œil , la ceinture ou l'habit de cuir ¶ , le bracelet , et une sorte d'agrafe copiée en détail par Champollion.\*\*

Dans le titre dont il s'agit, le *Kef* a toujours le déterminatif de la maison quand il a un déterminatif, sauf en un cas où il est suivi du bras armé; †† il représente donc un édifice, et un édifice assez con-

\* Champollion, *Notices*, I, p. 127.

† Pierret, *Mélanges d'Archéologie égyptienne et assyrienne*, fasc. II, p. 65.

‡ *Id.*; cf. Lieblein, *Die Aegyptischen Denkmäler*, p. 23; et Max Müller *Zeitschrift*, 1888, p. 78.

§ IV, 23.

|| *Pyramide d'Unas*, l. 258; Maspero, *Trois années de fouilles*, p. 146; etc.


¶ Cf. Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 241; et Champollion, *Notices*, I, p. 435.


\*\* Champollion, *Notices*, p. 863, B.


†† Pierret, *Études égyptologiques*, VIII, p. 81.

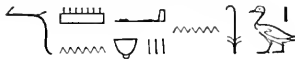







Page 296. Stèle de la même époque : un , *Senmout*, honoré avec divers fonctionnaires déjà mentionnés au sujet de l'*ahems* panetier (stèle n° 873).

Page 404. Stèle de la 18<sup>e</sup> dynastie : un , *Suten ankh*, honoré avec un autre personnage sans titre et une dame par un prêtre à peau de panthère, fils de la dame.

Page 48. Statuette funéraire d'un , de la 13<sup>e</sup> dynastie.


Page 54. Statuette funéraire d'un , *Hui*, de la 18<sup>e</sup> dynastie.

Lieblein, *Dictionnaire de noms propres hiéroglyphiques* :

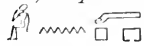

N° 1087. Stèle d'un scribe de troupeaux, *Ahmès*, père d'un scribe de troupeaux et de troupes, *Mahu*, et d'un  ou , *Roi* ; un autre , *Ahmès*, est mentionné sur cette stèle, où le nom d'Ammon a été martelé, et dont les noms propres *Ahmès*, *Mahu*, etc., rappellent la 18<sup>e</sup> dynastie.


#### MUSÉE DU LOUVRE.

Pierret, *Etudes égyptologiques*, II :

Page 101. Dix-huitième dynastie : fragment de dossier de fauteuil au nom du *compagnon du roi dans sa marche, qui ne s'écarte pas des jambes du maître des deux pays, le* , *Mahu*.



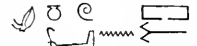
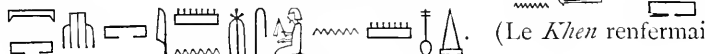
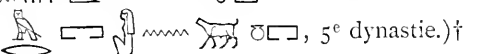
Pierret, *id.*, VIII :

Pages 13-14. Stèle de la 18<sup>e</sup> dynastie, C 76,\* au nom de *celui qui remplit le cœur du roi, le favori du dieu bon, scribe du roi, scribe des recrues, Erpa ha, yeux du roi en tout lieu, scribe réel du roi qui l'aime,* , *Ai* ; son fils est *le parfait unique des amis,* , *Ranuro* ; sur le montant gauche de la stèle, qui a la forme d'une porte, un Kher-heb offre une libation, et sur le montant droit un autre Kher-heb offre de l'encens.

Pages 14-15. Stèle C 93, du règne de Thothmès IV : le  *porte-étendard du Meri-Amen, Paaku*, honoré par sa fille.

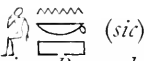

\* Cf. de Rougé, *Nouvelles Notices*, p. 108.



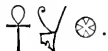
Page 51. Stèle C. 81,\* du , *Mai* (18<sup>e</sup> dynastie).

Page 81. Dix-huitième dynastie: damier semblable à celui de la reine Hatshepsu au nom du  ou , *Amenmès*, qui était aussi *factotum du harem royal*, , et . (Le *Khen* renfermait le harem; cf. le titre , 5<sup>e</sup> dynastie.)†

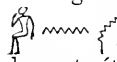
## MUSÉES DIVERS.

Lieblein, *Dictionnaire de noms propres* :


N<sup>o</sup> 263. Stèle de Leide, moyen Empire: un  (*sic*), nommé *Aï*, est fils d'un père divin, chef de Thinis, *Ransneb*; sur la même stèle sont mentionnés deux garde-magasins de Ptah (à Memphis), un , et un prophète de Ptah.

N<sup>o</sup> 551. Stèle de Vienne, moyen Empire: un , *Senbsuma*, mentionné avec un *scribe du Khent*, qui figure en tête, un  et un .

Maspero, *Recueil de travaux*, IV :

Page 136. Stèle de Turin, N<sup>o</sup> 165, dix-huitième dynastie: un , *Arti*, fils d'*Anarti*, qui a le même titre avec celui de porte-étendard.

Lepsius, *Denkmaeler*, III :

Planche 4, e. Stèle du temps d'Aménophis I: un  *Amenneb*, qui est suivi de sa mère, et à qui le Kher-heb Amenhotep fait *l'ouverture de la bouche*.

## TOMBEAUX.

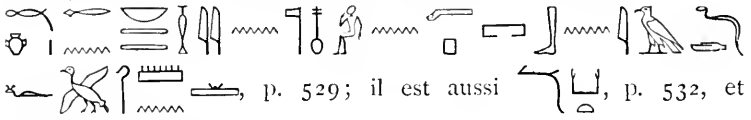
Champollion, *Notices*, I :


Pages 529-32 et 849-50. A Thèbes (vallée d'El-Assasif), "on voit dans la plaine," dit Champollion, "une petite tombe dont toute la première chambre est sculptée en relief et peinte avec beaucoup

\* Cf. de Rougé, *Nouvelles Notices*, p. 109.

† J. de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, I, 4.

de soin et d'un excellent style. . . . Le défunt assis sur un fauteuil tient (une canne) d'une main et un mouchoir de l'autre:" c'est le

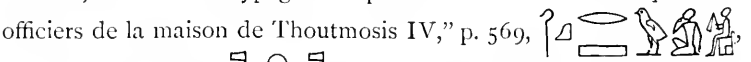



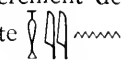
, p. 529; il est aussi , p. 532, et

. Dans une variante où son surnom a la forme ,

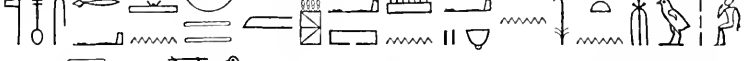
le mot *Amen* est effacé, indice d'après lequel le monument serait de la 18<sup>e</sup> dynastie : Lepsius\* le croit du temps de Horemheb. Le père et la mère de Benaâ, qui portent des noms d'une physionomie peu égyptienne, ont leurs statues à côté de la sienne dans une niche située au fond du tombeau. Les principales scènes décrites par Champollion sont un repas funèbre avec musiciens, un pesage d'objets précieux, *argent, or, ivoire et ébène*, et *la navigation en paix vers Abydos à la grande fête d'Osiris*.



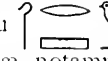
Pages 571-89 et 862-3. Dans le même site, près du tombeau d'*Imasi*, se trouve l'hypogée en partie détruit "d'un des premiers officiers de la maison de Thoutmosis IV," p. 569,



p. 863, un *Erpa ha*, , et porte-flabellum à la droite du roi, qui était *nourricier des enfants royaux*, et particulièrement de l'aîné (Aménophis III), p. 863 ; une de ses légendes porte 

(*ati*), c'est-à-dire, *le favori du dieu bon, l'exalté du maître des deux pays dans le palais, le nourricier des enfants royaux, le*



*le*  *du Kép, l'ami du souverain,* p. 863, B. Ce personnage est sans doute le  ou ,

qui a laissé quelques graffiti sur les rochers de Philæ, notamment à la suite d'une inscription de Thothmès IV, datée de l'an 7.†

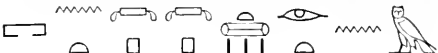
Lepsius, *Denkmaeler*, III, 69, a :


Lepsius a copié, dans un hypogée d'Abd el-Qournah, une scène identique à l'une de celles qui décorent la tombe précédente



\* Lepsius, *Denkmaeler*, III, 122, g.

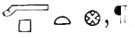
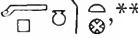
† Champollion, *Notices*, I, p. 164, 615, et 631.




parties de pyramide dont le nom est féminin,\* ni avec certains annexes des palais et des temples, comme *la maison de cuisson des pains cuits faits à Abydos*, , etc.†


C'était un endroit réservé, ainsi que l'indiquent tout d'abord les sens habituels du mot qui le désigne, *prendre, garder, cacher, surveiller*: un père divin se nommait ,

*Son refuge est derrière Mentu*,‡ une femme , *la Vigilante*,§ et un homme , *Celui qui fait* (bonne)

*garde*.|| Les Egyptiens, qui écrivaient ,¶ et ,\*\* le nom de Gabaon, prêtaient en jouant sur les mots quelque chose de mystérieux à cette ville, assez longtemps possédée par eux: *une*

*autre ville mystérieuse, à savoir Gabaon*, 

*lit-on au papyrus Anastasi I, nous parlerons de sa déesse une autre fois*.†† Le caractère secret du *Kep* est démontré par un passage du texte gravé sur la statue d'Aménophis, fils de Paapios et contemporain d'Aménophis

III: *il prospère depuis l'entrée jusqu'à la sortie*, 

*en auditeur des paroles du Kep mystérieux du grand, il pénètre les cours*,‡‡ etc. (Cf. les expressions équivalentes *s'entretenir des affaires dans le lieu mystérieux*, ou *as-t sheta-t*,§§ et *entrer vers son maître dans le lieu saint*,||| ou *as-t ser*).

\* De Rougé, *Six premières dynasties*, p. 138; cf. Maspero, *Proceedings*, Juin, 1889, pp. 311-4, et *Journal Asiatique*, Avril, Mai, Juin, 1890, pp. 404-10; *Denkmaeler*, II, 76, c.

† Pierret, VIII, p. 29, C 15; cf. Mariette, *Abydos*, III, p. 492; et Champollion, *Notices*, II, p. 401, 4<sup>o</sup>, et 407, 5<sup>o</sup>.

‡ De Bergmann, *Recueil*, IX, p. 48.

§ Mariette, *Abydos*, III, p. 480.

|| Wiedemann, *Recueil*, VIII, p. 66.

¶ Maspero, *Recueil*, IV, p. 140.


\*\* Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique*, p. 972; cf. Mariette, *Abydos*, p. 365.

†† Chabas, *Voyage d'un Égyptien*, p. 186.

‡‡ J. de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, I, 24, l. 4.




§§ Stèle d'Antef, l. 5.







||| Mariette, *Abydos*, III, p. 384.

Quant aux  du *Kēp*, on remarque parmi eux, au début du nouvel Empire : un compagnon du roi,—un *Erpa ha* ou prince héréditaire, scribe du roi et scribe des recrues,—un enseigne de vaisseau,—un factotum du harem, majordome dans le palais de Memphis,—un porte-étendard,—un favori et compagnon du roi, chef des travaux dans Karnak,—un *Erpa ha*, père divin et ami divin, nourricier ou gouverneur des enfants royaux,—et deux autres gouverneurs des enfants royaux.

Sous le moyen Empire, on trouve l'un de ces personnages du *Kēp* (celui du harem royal), honoré par un directeur de palais,—un autre, honoré par un *abu* ou contrôleur,—un autre, honoré par un gardien d'arc,—un autre, honoré conjointement avec un *ahems* panetier et des agents d'approvisionnement du trésor par eau et par terre,—un autre, enfin, honoré par un Anmutef, tandis que, par contre, d'autres honorent—un directeur de palais, chef de Thinis, un des chefs du magasin des cadeaux,—et un *suten rek*.




Le même titre, d'après les documents du nouvel Empire, était quelquefois porté par le père et par le fils, ainsi Anarti et Arti, Aï et Ranuro ; mais, dans d'autres cas, l'identité ou la transmission du titre n'apparaît point ; ainsi un père divin et un scribe des troupeaux ont chacun pour fils un personnage du *Kēp*, sans appartenir eux-mêmes au *Kēp*, à en juger du moins d'après les textes publiés.












En somme, le *Kēp* était un lieu secret dont les  étaient susceptibles d'occuper des fonctions très diverses et souvent très élevées. Or ces , de beaucoup plus nombreux que les subalternes et que les directeurs, composaient le véritable personnel de l'endroit : ils en étaient *les enfants*, car le mot  n'ayant pas d'autre sens que celui d'enfant, on ne peut hésiter sur sa traduction.

On trouve d'ailleurs certains Egyptiens désignés d'une manière analogue, qu'elle soit ou non métaphorique : , *l'enfant de la maison*,\* , † *le fils de la maison* (dans une famille de  et de garde-magasins d'Ammon), et , *le gardien des choses, fils de la maison*‡ (cf. , § , ||

\* Lieblein, N° 1060, Londres.

† Mariette, *Abydos*, III, p. 306.‡ Mariette, *Abydos*, III, p. 180.§ *Id.*, p. 331.|| *Id.*, p. 333.

, et ,\* le  de l'ancien Empire). Les Hébreux appelaient l'intendant le fils de la maison et le ministre le fils du roi † (cf. en Egypte le fils royal de Kush, de Nekheb, de Teni, d'An, ou d'Anit, et de tout pays étranger); dans la civilisation assyrienne, "les supérieurs et les inférieurs se donnaient respectivement les noms de père et de fils;" ‡ de même encore, en Macédoine, on disait enfants royaux des fils de grande famille choisis pour servir le roi. §

Dans le titre relatif au *Kep*, la prononciation du signe de l'enfant n'est pas connue; il existe à la vérité une variante , || qui rappelle certains noms propres du moyen Empire, , ¶ , \*\* et qui indiquerait les lectures ou , †† , ‡‡ ou , §§ ou , ||| mais l'a pourrait être tout aussi bien l'initiale archaïque qui se retrouve dans *ahems*. Du reste, toutes les lectures que suggère l'idée d'enfant devaient être possibles ici pour les Egyptiens, à en juger par les variantes des expressions *enfant royal*,  et , ¶¶ ou *enfant de la maison*,  et .\*\*\*

## VI.

L'expression de fils du *Kep* suggère naturellement l'idée d'enfants, ou tout au moins de protégés, placés dans une maison royale ou princière (les enfants de la maison, ou pages, d'après M. de Rougé). †††

\* Champollion, *Notices*, II, p. 415 et 409.

† Genèse xv, 2; 1 Rois xxvii, 26, etc.

‡ Rev. A. J. Delattre, *Proceedings*, Mars, 1891, p. 227.

§ Tite Live, XLV, 6.

¶ Lieblein, N° 1078.

¶ Mariette, *Abydos*, III, p. 359; et *Mastabas*, p. 306.

\*\* Mariette, *Abydos*, p. 318.

†† Cf. Mariette, *Abydos*, III, p. 38.

‡‡ Dendérah, I, 26, n, et IV, 22, b.

§§ Brugsch, *Supplément au Dictionnaire*, p. 64.

¶ Chabas, *Le Papyrus magique Harris*, p. 51.



¶ De Rougé, *Six premières Dynasties*, p. 66.

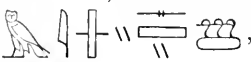


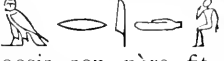
\*\*\* Lieblein, N° 1060; et Mariette, *Abydos*, III, p. 180, 331, et 333.

††† Nouvelles Notices, p. 108.





Quelle que soit la valeur réelle du mot qui les nomme, , *enfants*, ou , \* *jeunes nobles*, on peut les comparer sans beaucoup d'hésitation aux fils du *Kēp*.

Tous ces enfants de la cour, sortes d'Homotimes† égyptiens vivant près du roi, servaient sans doute de compagnons aux jeunes princes, , ‡ dans les lieux de plaisance où se faisait leur éducation. On sait que les enfants royaux, comme ils avaient leur nécropole,§ avaient leur maison, avec *nourriciers*, , et *gouverneurs*, . || (Cf. le titre de ) Diodore rapporte qu'à la naissance de Sésoosis son père fit élever avec lui, par des nourrices et des précepteurs, les enfants nés le même jour que lui,\*\* et l'auteur grec a dû certainement, sous cette forme trop précise ne se rapportant qu'à un jour comme à un roi, tronquer un fait beaucoup plus général. L'habitude de donner des compagnons aux jeunes princes a du reste existé de tous temps; on lit par exemple dans la Correspondance de Brossette que M. de Trévillle fut "élevé auprès de la personne du roi avec M. le Chevalier de Rohan, qui a eu la tête tranchée, M. de Guiche, et M. le Comte de Saulx de Lesdiguières."

Quant au fait d'appeler lieu secret une maison d'enfants nobles, s'ils s'agissait d'un endroit de ce genre, on se l'expliquerait par la nécessité d'isoler la *nursery* ou l'école: en Égypte les adolescents avaient leur dortoir à part †† et les jeunes nobles ne voyageaient pas dans les mêmes barques que leurs sœurs. ††† On ne saurait non plus oublier, ici, la superstition orientale qui consiste à cacher autant que possible les enfants pour que quelque maléfice, comme le regard

\* L. Borchardt, *Zeitschrift*, 1890, p. 89.

† Cf. Xénophon, *Cyropédie*, I, *passim*.

‡ Champollion, *Notices*, I, p. 505.

§ Papyrus Abbott, *passim*.

|| De Rougé, *Six premières Dynasties*, p. 73; Champollion, *Notices*, II, p. 478 et 482.

¶ Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 306.

\*\* I, 53.

†† Inscription d'Ahmès, l. 5.

††† Champollion, *Notices*, II, pp. 400-1.

de l'envie (*invidere\**), ne vienne pas les atteindre. Quelque chose d'analogue apparaît dans le conte égyptien de ce prince que son père enferme parce qu'il est menacé de périr par un serpent, un crocodile ou un chien, à peu près comme dans le conte arabe qui représente un père cachant, par crainte du mauvais œil, son fils qui aura en outre à éviter le chien et le lion.†

Ainsi, le grade de *fihs du Kēp* appartenait vraisemblablement à une catégorie de nobles, installés ou élevés dans l'intimité ou le voisinage d'un souverain ou d'un grand, et il faut voir dans le *Kēp* soit un lieu de retraite dont ils étaient ou les *attachés* ou les *familiers*, soit une maison d'éducation dont ils étaient les *élèves*; dans ce dernier cas ils auraient conservé leur titre toute leur vie, comme on fait encore chez nous pour celui d'élève de l'école polytechnique, par exemple, et comme on faisait jadis pour celui de damoiseau : "le vieux conspirateur," dit un historien du Cardinal de Retz,‡ "portait alors le titre fastueux de damoiseau de Commercy." En Egypte la qualification d'enfant du *Kep* était particulièrement honorifique; aussi figure-t-elle souvent seule, et, à l'ordinaire, précède-t-elle immédiatement le nom propre.

\* Cf. Cicéron, *Tusculanes*, III, 9.

† Lane, *The Thousand and One Nights*, the Story of Ala-ed-deen Abu-shamat, t. II, London, 1859, p. 223 et suivantes.

‡ De Chantelauze, *le Cardinal de Retz et les Jansénistes*.



## SUR DIFFÉRENTS MOTS ET NOMS ÉGYPTIENS.—V.

PAR E. LEFÉBURE.

## KHUNATEN ET SON NOM.

## I.

L'histoire du pharaon Khunaten garde quelque chose d'inexpliqué que Manéthon aiderait à éclaircir, si l'on se rendait un compte exact de la manière dont l'historien a compris la 18<sup>e</sup> dynastie. Malheureusement, les noms donnés et les places assignées par lui à certains rois de la dynastie sont embarrassants, au double point de vue de l'identification et de la succession.

Les difficultés ici ont deux causes, dont la première est une transcription quelquefois inattendue ou variable des noms royaux. La seconde cause vient de ce que les abrégiateurs de Manéthon ont extrait leurs listes d'une narration suivie et composée, où les mêmes faits étaient présentés sous leurs différents aspects et par conséquent répétés plus d'une fois avec plus ou moins de détails : de là nombre de confusions dans lesquelles les compilateurs sont tombés.

On appréciera l'état de la question en comparant les listes manéthoniennes avec les indications monumentales.

*L'Africain, Eusèbe, Le Syncelle, Josèphe.**Monuments.*

1 et 3. Amosis (A. E.), Tethmosis (J.), ou Amosis-Tethmosis (S.)

4. Khébrôn ou Khébrôs (fils de Tethmosis, J.).

2. Aménophis.

5. Amensès ou Amessès (sa sœur, J.).

6. Méphrès ou Misaphrès, ou Misphragmuthosis, ou Méphramuthosis, Mispharmuthosis ou Méphramuthosis, ou Misphragmuthosis, ou Mespfrès.

1. Ahmès I (fils de Kamès? et d'Aahhotep).

2. Aménophis I (fils du précédent).

3. Thotmès I (fils du précédent).

4. Thotmès II (fils de Thotmès I et de Maut-nefert).

5. Amenset (fille de Thotmès I et d'Ahmès).

6. Thotmès III (fils de Thotmès I et d'Isis).



7. Aménophis II (fils du précédent).

- |                                                                           |                                                |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| 8. Touthmosès ou Thmosis (son fils J.).                                   | 8. Thotmès IV (fils du précédent).             |
| 9. Aménophis.<br>Oros ou Horos.                                           | 9. Aménophis III (fils du précédent).          |
| 10. Akhenkhérès (sa fille, J.), ou Akhen-<br>hersès, ou Akherrès.         | 10. Khunaten (fils d'Aménophis III).           |
| 11. Rathôs (frère d'Akhenkérès, J.), ou<br>Rathotis ou Athoris.           | 11. Ra-se-aa-ka.                               |
| 12. Khenkhérès, ou Akhenkhérès, ou<br>Khébris.                            | 12. Tut-ankh-Amen (fils d'Amén-<br>ophis III)  |
| 13. Akherrès, ou Ankhérès, ou Akhen-<br>hérès.<br>Khérès ou Kherrès (E.). | 13. Ai.                                        |
| 14. Armaïos, ou Armaïs, ou Armessès.                                      | 14. Horemheb (descendant de Thot-<br>mès III). |

On voit de suite que les listes manéthoniennes, qui omettent toutes le règne d'Aménophis II, sans doute comme peu important, restent obscures en ce qui concerne Khébrôn, Méphrès, Misphragmuthosis, Orus, Armaïs, et Akhenkhérès. Il est donc nécessaire de revenir sur ces petits problèmes, quitte à répéter des choses dites et aussi à proposer des choses nouvelles, car les conjectures sont permises en pareil cas.

## II.






## KHÉBRÔN.

Manéthon rapportait aux deux règnes belliqueux d'Ahmès I et de Thotmès I les différentes phases de l'expulsion des Hyksos, et les compilateurs ont, en abrégant, attribué cette expulsion tantôt à l'un et tantôt à l'autre roi, qu'ils ont même confondus ; Manéthon avait dû dire quelque chose comme ceci au commencement d'un chapitre : "Lorsque les Pasteurs eurent été chassés par Amosis et Tethmosis, son fils Khébrôn régna, etc." Si l'on admet que Khébrôn, fils de Thotmès I d'après Josèphe, est Thotmès II que Manéthon a, pour le distinguer de son père, désigné par son prénom  \*, *Kheperen-(Ra)*, on comprendra que le déplacement de son père Thotmès I, mis en tête de la liste, ait entraîné le sien et dérangé la série. Il suffira de les remettre tous deux en place pour qu'Aménophis I

\* Table d'Abydos.

se retrouve après Ahmès son père, et dans ce cas, le titre donné à Amenset de sœur de son prédécesseur la fera sœur de Khébrôn, comme il convient.\*

#### MÉPHRÈS ET MÉPHRAMUTHOSIS.

Méphrès ou Mespfrès, et Méphramuthosis ou Misparagmuthosis sont, sans aucun doute, non pas deux noms distincts, mais deux formes du nom de Thotmès III désignant les deux parties de son règne, puisqu'il régna d'abord avec sa sœur Hatshepsu ou Ramaka (Amenset†), puis seul. Dans *Mispfrag* le *g* est pour  ou ,‡ et *Méphrès*, qui est la vraie leçon, représente comme on s'accorde à le penser§ le titre d'enseigne cher à Thotmès III , , , || etc. La variante Alisphragmuthosis vient d'une mauvaise lecture AA ou d'après Lepsius AA,¶ pour M. Les années de règne de la sœur du roi sont portées au compte de celui-ci sur les monuments, comme le montre le grand obélisque de Karnak.\*\* Il en est de même sur les listes de Manéthon, car, en additionnant les 21 ans d'Amessès, les 12 ans de Méphrès, et les 26 de Méphramuthosis, on a un total de 59 ans qui paraît bien représenter les 54 ans de Thotmès III, †† joints aux 5 ans connus d'Aménophis II (ce dernier, qui a pu être associé au trône du vivant de son père, ne figure pas sur les listes). Il y aurait en ce cas à expliquer les 12 ans de Méphrès comme les 26 ans de Méphramuthosis, ce qui pourrait se faire de la manière suivante: Thotmès III, dont le père s'associa Thotmès II pendant un temps encore indéterminé,‡‡ n'était qu'un enfant lorsqu'il monta sur le trône, *an infant boy*;§§ sa minorité a donc pu se prolonger encore pendant 9 ans (quand même l'âge de 10 ans aurait été celui de la majorité égyptienne),|||

\* Cf. *Denkmaeler*, III, 7, a, c, d, 17, b, et 27, 1 et 2.

† Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte*, I, p. 305-6.

‡ Cf. de Vogüé, *Monnaies des rois phéniciens de Citium*, p. 14.

§ Cf. Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, I, p. 450.

|| *Recueil*, III, p. 124; Champollion, *Notices*, II, p. 169, etc.; cf. de Rougé, *Nouvelles Notices*, p. 100.

¶ Lepsius, *Die Chronologie der Aegypter*, p. 540.

\*\* Brugsch, *Egypt*, I, p. 363; et *Denkmaeler*, III, 22.

†† Inscription d'Amenemheb, l. 36, 37.

‡‡ Cf. Brugsch, *Histoire d'Égypte*, première édition, pl. XVI.

§§ Brugsch, *Egypt*, I, p. 349.

||| Cf. Stèle de Kouban, l. 17.

de sorte qu'il aurait régné avec Hatshepsu 9 ans comme mineur et 12 ans comme majeur, c'est-à-dire 21 ans. Si les compilateurs ont conclu de là, par une erreur facile à comprendre, que le règne de Thotmès III (augmenté du court règne d'Aménophis II), s'est composé des 21 ans d'Hatshepsu, des 12 premières années de la majorité du roi, et d'un reliquat final, ce reliquat aura été de 26 ans, de même que la régence illégale d'Hatshepsu était de 12. La brièveté du règne d'Aménophis II est démontrée par la biographie de T'anini. Le scribe T'anini vit et enregistra les campagnes de Thotmès III *en tout pays*, puis servit Aménophis II et Thotmès IV.\* Or, les grandes campagnes de Thotmès III ayant commencé l'an 22,† on doit admettre que leur historiographe est né au moins au début du règne; il avait en conséquence 54 ans, sinon plus, à la mort de Thotmès III, et pour qu'on le retrouve en activité de service comme scribe militaire sous Thotmès IV, il faut que le règne intermédiaire ait été fort court:‡ il n'a pas dû dépasser les 5 années qu'on lui connaît.§ Un autre personnage, le scribe Horemheb, *servit* Aménophis II, Thotmès IV, et Aménophis III.||

#### ORUS ET ARMAÏS.

Horemheb a été dédoublé aussi: il s'appelle d'abord Orus, puis Armaïs, ce qui est le même nom plus ou moins complet, comme il est arrivé pour Méphrès et Méphramuthosis. On a, depuis la découverte de Champollion, reconnu Horemheb tantôt dans Orus et tantôt dans Armaïs, mais si on voit là deux rois distincts, avec qui identifiera-t-on celui qui ne sera pas Horemheb? L'histoire manéthonienne montre, comme on le voit dans Josèphe,¶ que le règne d'Horemheb a été sectionné par la grande hérésie de l'époque, et que les rois hérétiques ou traités comme tels ont été intercalés entre les deux parties de ce règne, considéré comme le seul légitime. Manéthon mettait sans doute au nom d'Orus un certain nombre d'années correspondant à celles des hérétiques, et au nom d'Armaïs

\* Champollion, *Notices*, I, pp. 831-2.

† *Denkmaeler*, III, l. 31.

‡ Cf. Devéria, *Catalogue des manuscrits égyptiens du Louvre*, pp. 179-184.

§ Wiedemann, *Geschichte*, II, p. 374.

|| Champollion, *Notices*, I, p. 835.

¶ *Contre Apion*, I, 26.

les dernières années du règne, postérieures à l'hérésie. Toutes ces années sont réparties ainsi dans les listes manéthoniennes :\*

|                 | Josèphe.         | Le Syncelle. | L'Africain. | Eusèbe. |
|-----------------|------------------|--------------|-------------|---------|
| Orus ... ..     | 36 ans et 5 mois | 48 ans       | 37 ans      | 38 ans  |
| Akhenkhérès ... | 12 „ 1 „         | 25 „         | 32 „        | 12 „    |
| Rathotis ... .. | 9 „              | 29 „         | 6 „         | 9 „     |
| Akenkhérès ...  | 12 „ 5 „         | 26 „         | 12 „        | 16 „    |
| Akenkhérès ...  | 12 „ 3 „         | 8 „          | 12 „        | 8 „     |
| (Khérès) ... .. |                  |              |             | 15 „    |
| Armaïs ... ..   | 4 „ 1 „          | 9 „          | 5 „         | 5 „     |

Il n'y a là que des chiffres trop confus et trop variables pour qu'on doive beaucoup en tenir compte ; toutefois, si l'on veut les éclaircir, il se peut qu'il faille le faire de la sorte : Josèphe, qui à l'habitude relève minutieusement les mois, attribue 9 années juste à Rathotis ; s'il avait pris là des mois pour des années, la durée du règne de Rathotis serait à supprimer presque complètement, et on aurait pour la domination des hérétiques un total de 36 ans, dans Josèphe, correspondant avec exactitude au premier règne d'Horemheb. Or, en appliquant cette règle aux autres listes, on arriverait aux mêmes résultats, sauf à tenir compte des faits suivants :—le Syncelle a évidemment forcé ses chiffres, car il donne 48 ans au lieu de 38 à Horus, puis 25 et 26 au lieu de 15 et de 16 à deux Akhenkhérès ; la rectification de ces chiffres laisse 39 ans aux hérétiques contre 38 à Horus ;—l'Africain prête tout aussi visiblement à tort 32 ans au lieu de 12 à Akhenkhérès ; la rectification donne 36 ans aux hérétiques et 37 à Horus :—Eusèbe seul ajoute aux autres listes les 15 ans d'un Kherrès qui pourraient bien n'être que les 15 mois des derniers règnes de la dynastie, totalisés à partir d'Horus pour être ajoutés à son règne ; la rectification donne 36 ans aux hérétiques et 38 à Horus.—On voit que la domination des uns et le premier règne de l'autre auraient duré concurremment 36 ans en chiffres ronds et près de 38 ans en additionnant les mois. Les 36 ou 38 ans d'Horus représentent la durée théorique plutôt que la durée réelle de son premier règne ; cependant, le roi lui-même les mettait déjà à son actif, comme il est arrivé pour les 54 ans du règne de

\* *Fragmenta historicorum Græcorum*, édition Didot, II, pp. 574, 583 et 609.



Thotmès III : Horemheb a imité là son prédécesseur, ce qui explique pourquoi l'on trouve une date de l'an 21 qui paraît bien lui appartenir, dans le récit d'un procès.\* La table d'Abydos, qui est complète cependant pour la 18<sup>e</sup> dynastie, ne mentionne pas les hérétiques (non plus qu'Hatshepsu), et une nouvelle preuve que leurs années figurent à tort sur les listes de Manéthon ressort de la biographie du dernier d'entre eux, le roi Aï. Ce personnage, (dont un fils vécut sous Sési I, †) était le mari de la nourrice de Khunaten, et Khunaten fut, après le prince Thotmès, ‡ l'un des premiers nés d'Aménophis III et de la reine Tii, mariés en l'an 10 au moins. § Aï naquit donc au plus tard vers le début du règne, comme sa femme, et si l'on voulait utiliser pour lui les chiffres de Manéthon, il faudrait le faire vivre 30 ans au moins sous Aménophis III, puis 36 ans sous Horus, 12 sous Akhenkhérès, 9 sous Rathôs, et 12 sous le deuxième Akhenkhérès, c'est-à-dire 99 ans avant son propre règne. On remarquera que ces 99 ans sont un minimum, car Aménophis régna plus de 30 ans : on a une date monumentale de sa 36<sup>e</sup> année. ||

#### AKHENKHÉRÈS.

Les rois illégitimes, dont le nombre de quatre est confirmé par les monuments, représentent la famille de Khunaten ; des successeurs de ce pharaon, le premier, Ra-se-aa-ka, a été sinon son frère, au moins son gendre ; ¶ le second, Tut-ankh-Amen, a été son gendre \*\* et son frère ; enfin le troisième, Aï, a été son favori en même temps que le mari de sa nourrice ; malgré le retour des deux et même des trois †† derniers à la religion nationale, tous quatre ont formé dans l'esprit des Egyptiens un groupe solidaire, si bien que leurs noms ne semblent, dans Manéthon, que des variantes les uns des autres, sauf pour Rathôs, ou par inversion Athôris, qui est probablement Ra-se-aa-ka, lu *Ra-0-aa* ; cf. Tosorthos et Sésorthos, §§ Tyris et Sar, Rathouris

\* Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, I, p. 525.

† Brugsch, *Egypt*, I, p. 514.

‡ Mariette, *Sérapéum*, p. 124.

§ Pierret, *Etudes égyptologiques*, II, pp. 87, 88.

|| *Denkmaeler*, III, p. 71, c, d.

¶ *Ibid.*, 99.

\*\* Brugsch, *Egypt*, I, pp. 507, 508 ; et Wiedemann, *Geschichte*, II, p. 403.

†† Cf. Wiedemann, *Geschichte, Supplement*, p. 46.

§§ *Fragmenta historicorum Græcorum*, II, p. 544.

et Ranusur,\* etc. De même que nous disons les Disk-worshippers, les Ramessides, les Bubastites, les Saïtes, Manéthon a dit les Akhenkhérès, et l'on sent bien que ce mot est formé avec le nom ou les noms de Khunaten. Mais de quelle manière? L'explication du fait, confirmée par les cunéiformes, est que Manéthon a combiné deux noms du roi, comme il l'avait fait pour Mispfragmuthosis, et que ces deux noms ont été ici les deux cartouches: *Akhun*-(aten) (Nefer)-*Khepru-Ra*, *Akhun-Khepru-Ra*, *Akhun-Khep-Ra*, *Akhenkhérès*, d'où, par une nouvelle abréviation, *Khèbris*, *Akherrès*, *Khèrès*, ce qui est identique au nom cunéiforme *Khuriya* † pour *Napkhuriya* pour *Nefer-Khepru-Ra*, le deuxième cartouche de Khunaten. *Khuriya* pour (Nefer)-*Khepru-Ra*, justifie la disparition du commencement du deuxième cartouche dans *Khèrès*, et montre ainsi pourquoi ce même nom convient aux successeurs de Khunaten, dont les deuxièmes cartouches renferment tous les mots *Khepru-Ra* (cf. Khébrôn). Quant à la disparition de la fin du premier cartouche, dans *Akhenkhérès* pour *Akhen*-(aten)-*Khèrès*, elle tient sans aucun doute à l'omission assez fréquente du nom divin en pareil cas, comme dans *Khufu* pour *Num-Khufu*, *Pumessu* pour *Pe-Ra-messu*, *Timaios* pour *Amuntimaios*, *Serka* pour *Serka-Ra*. *Menkheper*, en cunéiformes *Manahbia*, ‡ pour *Menkheper-Ra*, etc. L'identification de *Khuriya* et d'*Orus*, proposée par M. Sayce, § comporterait deux exceptions, l'absence du  $\chi$  initial, et la finale *pos* pour *ra*, mais en outre, que deviendraient les *Akhenkhérès* ou *Khèrès* de Manéthon?

### III.

En résumé, *Horemheb* serait *Orus-Armaïs* comme *Thotmès III* serait *Méphrès-Méphragmuthosis*, et *Khunaten* serait *Akhenkhérès* comme *Thotmès II* serait *Khébrôn* : ces analogies s'éclairent mutuellement. Obtenue ainsi, l'assimilation de *Khunaten* et d'*Akhenkhérès* permet d'associer au témoignage des monuments celui de *Manéthon*, ce qui jette un nouveau jour sur l'énigmatique pharaon dont il s'agit. Son histoire et sa physionomie se précisent.

A la mort d'*Aménophis III*, il y eut une lutte entre les partisans d'*Amen* et les partisans d'*Aten*, nom contre nom ; les premiers,

\* E. de Rougé, *Six premières dynasties*, pp. 17 et 75.

† A. H. Sayce, *Proceedings*, Juin, 1889, p. 380.

‡ H. Winckler, *Zeitschrift*, 1889, pp. 52, 53 ; et Halévy, *Journal Asiatique*, Mars-Avril, 1891, p. 215.

§ A. H. Sayce, *Proceedings*, Juin, 1889, p. 382.

adorateurs du dieu thébain Ammon, avaient pour eux le sacerdoce et le peuple, c'est-à-dire le sentiment national ; les seconds, adorateurs du dieu héliopolitain et pharaonique Ra ou le soleil, qu'ils appelaient Aten ou le disque, étaient représentés par le harem, la famille et la maison pharaoniques, en outre d'un appoint sémitique considérable que le nom d'Aten comme le culte du disque purent contribuer à rallier, et sans doute aussi d'une sorte d'administration placée, depuis Thotmès IV au moins, sous le patronage d'Aten.

Concurremment peut-être avec Khunaten, chef du parti du disque, le chef du parti d'Ammon, Orus-Armaïs-Horemheb, succéda à Aménophis III. Il voulut voir les dieux, c'est-à-dire inspecter les temples (souillés sans doute par les hérétiques), fait dont parle aussi un texte de Turin,\* et prit conseil là-dessus d'Aménophis fils de Paapios, son contemporain, d'après les documents hiéroglyphiques.† Josèphe, qui rapporte cet épisode, le confond‡ (de même qu'on prenait parfois Horemheb pour le frère de Ramsès II) avec un incident analogue du règne de Ménéptah, sous lequel une faction sémitique organisée par un prêtre *héliopolitain*, Osarsiph ou Moïse, aurait commis toutes sortes d'horreurs en Egypte. Le récit de Josèphe laisse à entendre qu'Orus fut puni de son désir par une déchéance momentanée, les dieux n'aimant pas à être vus ;§ il se serait enfui avec son fils Ramsès et les animaux sacrés vers le Haut Nil, tandis que le fils de Paapios se serait *suicidé*, et que pendant 13 ans (le temps du règne de Khunaten) l'Egypte aurait été en proie aux étrangers, des Ethiopiens venus des bords de l'Indus, au dire du Syncelle.|| Il est facile de reconnaître là les Sémites de la Mésopotamie et de la Syrie, que les Hétéens refoulaient déjà sur divers points, et dont les rapports étroits avec Aménophis III et Khunaten sont démontrés par les tablettes cunéiformes de Tell el-Amarna, comme par le scarabée égyptien relatif à la princesse Kirkip,¶ en babylonien Giluhipa.\*\*

\* Brugsch, *Egypt*, I, p. 520.

† Brugsch, *Zeitschrift*, 1875, pp. 123-8, et 1876, pp. 96-101 ; Erman, *Zeitschrift*, 1887, pp. 147-8 ; Piehl, *Zeitschrift*, 1887, p. 117, et *Petites Etudes*, p. 36 ; etc.



‡ Cf. Haigh, *Zeitschrift*, 1879, p. 154.

§ Cf. Stèle de Piankhi, l. 105.

|| *Fragmenta historicorum Græcorum*, II, p. 609.

¶ Brugsch, *Zeitschrift*, 1880, p. 81.

\*\* A. Erman, *Zeitschrift*, 1890, p. 112.

Les mariages qui furent conclus alors altérèrent la pureté du sang pharaonique, et ce dut être là, comme l'a pensé M. Brugsch,\* le motif de l'illégitimité de Khunaten, qui, pour l'atténuer, parlait sans cesse de sa parenté avec le soleil, dont il se disait *l'unique*, , et le *grand prêtre*, .† Horemheb, dont le nom n'appartenait pas à la famille régnante, eut beau n'être pas fils d'Aménophis III, ce que le dit à tort la version arménienne d'Eusèbe;‡ sa descendance de Thotmès III par lignée collatérale,§ son adoption par Aménophis III, si l'on interprète ici comme M. Brugsch le texte de Turin,|| son mariage avec une princesse qui était sans aucun doute de pur sang royal, et aussi son orthodoxie, réunirent sur sa tête tous les droits à la couronne. C'est en vain que Khunaten retint à sa cour la princesse mariée à son rival, Mautnet'em, et en épousa la sœur, Neferiti,¶ (si la Mautnet'em et la Neferiti de Tell el-Amarna ne sont pas deux filles dénommées à l'égyptienne du roi de Mitanni Dusratta, car une fille de ce roi, veuve d'Aménophis III,\*\* était devenue la femme ou l'une des femmes de Khunaten).†† Le deuxième successeur de l'hérétique, Tut-Ankh-Amen, qui était fils d'Aménophis III ‡‡ comme le savaient Lepsius, de Rougé, Mariette, etc.,§§ et qui paraît s'être réclamé d'une reine Ramerit, sa mère||| ou son aïeule,¶¶ ne put se faire admettre non plus dans la liste des souverains légitimes malgré sa filiation, comme M. Brugsch l'a remarqué dans son *Histoire*,\*\*\* soit qu'il fût né d'une étrangère, soit que son alliance avec Khunaten ait causé sa déchéance et celle de ses enfants, s'il en eut.

\* *Egypt*, I, pp. 490, 491.

† *Denkmaeler*, III, 110, i.

‡ Cf. Champollion-Figeac, *Egypte ancienne*, p. 319.

§ *Denkmaeler*, III, 119, c; et Champollion, *Notices*, I, p. 574.

|| *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, I, p. 515; cf. *Denkmaeler*, III, 9, c et f; et *Zeitschrift*, 1890, pp. 36-43.

¶ *Denkmaeler*, III, 109.

\*\* Sayce, *Proceedings*, Juin, 1889, pp. 389-391.

†† Halévy, *Journal Asiatique*, Nov.-Déc., 1890, p. 421, et Jan.-Fév., 1891, p. 115.

‡‡ Lepsius, *Auswahl*, 13.

§§ Cf. *Fragmenta historicorum Græcorum*, II, p. 586; *Revue archéologique*, 1847, p. 120; Mariette, *Sérapéum*, p. 132; etc.

||| Wiedemann, *Geschichte*, II, p. 404. ¶¶ *Ibid.*, p. 377.

\*\*\* I, p. 512.

C'est avec l'aide des étrangers, qui figurent plus d'une fois dans les tableaux de l'époque,\* et qui plus tard furent chassés ou *remis à leur place*† par Horemheb, que Khunaten, sans doute sémite par sa mère comme Salomon était hétéen par la sienne, s'empara complètement du pouvoir. Son père n'était pas Orus, comme le dit Josèphe, mais Aménophis III, comme le montrent les textes hiéroglyphiques et cunéiformes,‡ qui lui donnent pour mère la reine Tii, femme d'Aménophis III, et pour père ce pharaon; une autre preuve de sa filiation, s'il en était besoin, est son nom de famille Aménophis IV, abandonné ensuite pour celui de Khunaten comme on le voit clairement, par exemple, au tombeau de Ramès: de même Hatshepsu se fit appeler d'abord Amenset-Thotmès, § ce qui a jeté Champollion || dans un singulier embarras. L'erreur de Josèphe s'explique: Orus et Khunaten s'étant disputé et peut-être partagé le pouvoir à la mort d'Aménophis III, Manéthon a pu, dans quelques résumés de chapitres, présenter tantôt Orus, tantôt Khunaten comme le successeur du pharaon défunt: Josèphe, alors, voyant tantôt que Khunaten avait été précédé par Orus, tantôt qu'il avait remplacé son père, aura pris Orus pour ce père, confusion assez semblable à celle qui a eu pour résultat de faire d'Amenset la sœur d'Aménophis I.

## IV.

Ici, Manéthon nous révèle un fait important: c'est que d'après lui Khunaten, ou Akhenkhérès, qu'il appelle la fille de son prédécesseur, τοῦ ἐὲ θυγάτηρ,¶ était une femme.

En effet, les tableaux donnent habituellement à ce souverain, personnage imberbe aux hanches développées et aux membres frêles, les formes typiques de la femme,\*\* avec un costume transparent et presque de tous points féminin,†† si ce n'est que la robe descend dans la plupart des cas un peu moins bas que celle d'une reine: dans d'autres cas, il y a identité.‡‡ Les hésitations de Nestor

\* *Denkmaeler*, III, 92, 97, d, et 104.

† Cf. De Bergmann, *Zeitschrift*, 1889, p. 126.

‡ *Proceedings*, Juin, 1888, p. 546, et Juin, 1889, pp. 389-91; et *Journal Asiatique*, Nov.-Déc., 1890, p. 421.

§ *Denkmaeler*, III, 7, a, c et d, et 27, b.

|| *Lettres écrites d'Égypte et de Nubie*, quinzième Lettre.

¶ Josèphe, *Contre Apion*, I, 15.      \*\* *Denkmaeler*, III, 98.

†† *Denkmaeler*, III, 91, 92, 98, 100, 101 et 109.

‡‡ *Denkmaeler*, III, 99 et 106, c.

L'Hôte à ce sujet sont tout à fait significatives, lorsque, par exemple, après avoir qualifié de "belle figure de la reine assise," une représentation de Khunaten, il ajoute : "j'ai nommé la reine, mais si l'on doit s'en rapporter uniquement à la signification des cartouches au-dessus de sa tête, il faudrait reconnaître le roi dans cette figure, toute féminine qu'elle soit. Du reste, nous n'avons pas encore le dernier mot sur l'espèce de bilogie que semble offrir le personnage royal dont il s'agit."\* Et il ne faut point songer à un homme devenu eunuque après avoir eu sept filles, comme on le dit quelquefois : un homme fait n'aurait pas survécu à l'émascation absolue qu'indiqueraient alors les tableaux, et il aurait survécu que ses formes ne se seraient pas féminisées au point où on les voit ; de plus, il n'aurait pas affiché son état, si honteux chez les anciens, en se laissant contre l'usage représenter à peu près nu.

L'influence des femmes était considérable sous la 18<sup>e</sup> dynastie, comme l'indiquent le rôle de Tii à la cour d'Aménophis III et de son successeur, le mariage d'Ammon et de la mère d'Aménophis III, le culte rendu à la mère d'Aménophis I, et surtout le règne d'Hatshepsu, enté sur ceux de Thotmès I, de Thotmès II, et de Thotmès III, † au détriment peut-être du premier héritier Amenmès, qui avait le cartouche : ‡ cette reine prenait le costume viril, portait la barbe postiche, et se trouvait assez souvent mentionnée au masculin, § ce qui fait songer, en un sens, à la coutume qu'ont les poètes arabes de célébrer leur maîtresse comme si c'était un homme.

Qu'elle ait ou non supprimé ou annulé quelque frère, soit mari, soit pupille, comme Hatshepsu le fit pour Thotmès II, ou quelque époux étranger, Khunaten aura été une autre Hatshepsu, la Sémiramis, la Cléopâtre ou la Chadjeret ed-Dorr de l'époque. Bien que femme et habillée en femme, elle eut toujours les cartouches comme le langage d'un pharaon, et, comme un pharaon aussi, elle entretenit un harem, || avec des concubines ¶ (un texte cunéiforme dit des

\* *Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, pp. 66, 67.

† Cf. de Rougé, *Mélanges d'archéologie égyptienne et assyrienne*, I, pp. 43-50.

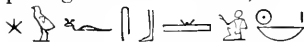

‡ Grébaut, *Recueil de travaux*, VII, p. 142.

§ Cf. Brugsch, *Égypte*, I, pp. 350 et 362 ; Champollion, *Notices*, I, p. 515 ; *Recueil*, X, p. 142 ; etc.

¶ *Denkmaeler*, III, 100, d et e, et 102.

• Halévy, *Journal Asiatique*, Sept.-Oct., 1890, pp. 313, 316, etc.

concupins\*), et une reine,† fait qui ne surprendra pas si l'on songe aux mariages contre nature de certains empereurs romains.

Le sexe de Khunaten se révèle aussi bien dans sa conduite que dans son costume, et la prééminence des femmes à sa cour, notamment, est caractéristique : ses flabellifères étaient, chose unique, des femmes,‡ et parfois des femmes ayant la tête rasée,§ à l'imitation des hommes ; même la famille royale n'était jamais représentée dans les cérémonies que par la reine et les princesses, bien qu'il existât très probablement des princes.|| “Ce cortège présente un concours de femmes qui n'est pas ordinaire dans les compositions de ce genre,” dit Nestor L'Hôte.¶ En outre, l'amour de l'éclat, du faste et du luxe, la dilapidation du trésor, les marques exagérées d'affection que prodiguait le souverain,\*\* le rabâchage incessant de ses prédications, \*  comme de ses écrits, , †† le coup d'audace changeant du jour au lendemain la religion comme la capitale du pays, tous ces traits ont quelque chose de visiblement romanesque, irréfléchi et désordonné, qui trahit l'énerverment féminin. Aussi les artistes de l'époque indiquaient-ils, avec une ironie peu déguisée, le côté futile et éphémère de ce règne sans avenir, dans certaines représentations où ils exagéraient à dessein la gracilité, la maigreur et l'épuisement du faux pharaon, paradant ainsi dans ses robes transparentes, au milieu d'une cour de femmes.

M. Sayce, résumant les informations des tablettes de Tell el-Amarna, signale “the high position held in Egypt by Semites, belonging to the Canaanite, if not to the Hebrew, race, at the close of the XVIIIth dynasty. The rise of the XIXth dynasty marks the reaction against the Semitic faith and surroundings of Amenophis IV.”†† Les renseignements fournis par Manéthon s'ac-

\* Sayce, *Proceedings*, Juin, 1889, pp. 389 et 392.

† Cf. *Mille et une Nuits, Histoire du prince Kamar ez-Zeman et de la princesse Boudour*.

‡ *Denkmaeler*, III, 91, 93, 97, 101 et 106.

§ *Denkmaeler*, III, 106.

|| Sayce, *Proceedings*, Juin, 1889, pp. 385 et 389.

¶ *Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, p. 58.

\*\* *Denkmaeler*, III, 98 ; et Brugsch, *Égypte*, I, pp. 500, 503, et 504.

†† *Denkmaeler*, III, 107, a ; cf. Nestor L'Hôte, p. 63.

‡‡ *Proceedings*, Juin, 1889, p. 344 ; cf. *id.*, Wallis Budge, Juin, 1888, p. 556.

cordent avec cette appréciation, et l'on remarquera, d'autre part, que Lepsius comprenait l'arrangement de la 18<sup>e</sup> dynastie en partie aussi comme Manéthon, lorsqu'il faisait d'Akhenkhérès ou Khunaten une reine, et lorsqu'il identifiait, avec Bunsen, Orus à Horemheb. Aujourd'hui, rien ne paraît devoir infirmer, sur ces points essentiels, la haute autorité de l'historien national.

Pour serrer les choses de plus près, voici une à une les concordances que fournissent l'examen de Manéthon et l'étude des monuments:

*Manéthon.**Monuments.*

- |                                                                                                                                                                                                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Sous le règne d'Aménophis III, les Asiatiques affluèrent en Egypte.                                                                                                                                     | 1. Des correspondances et des relations très actives existaient sous Aménophis III et sous Aménophis IV entre les Egyptiens et les Sémites.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| 2. Orus, ami de l'un des conseillers d'Aménophis III, succéda à ce prince.                                                                                                                                 | 2. Horemheb fut élevé à la cour d'un roi dont il devint le successeur.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| 3. Orus dut céder la place aux partisans du culte héliopolitain, et Akhenkhérès ou Akherrès, puis son frère, et deux ou trois rois nommés à peu près comme Akhenkherès ou Akherrès, régnèrent tour à tour. | 3. Un des enfants d'Aménophis III, fondateur d'une religion exclusivement solaire, prit la couronne sous le nom d'Aménophis IV ou Kbunaten, et l'un de ses cartouches, dont la partie essentielle figure aux cartouches correspondants des trois princes de sa famille qui lui succédèrent, se prononçait en babylonien comme le nom de l'Akherrès de Manéthon, c'est-à-dire Khuriya. |
| 4. Akhenkhérès ou Akherrès était une femme.                                                                                                                                                                | 4. Khunaten était représenté avec toutes les formes d'une femme, et avait une cour de femmes.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| 5. Le dernier règne de la dynastie, règne fort court, fut celui d'Armaïs.                                                                                                                                  | 5. Horemheb, dont le nom s'accorde aussi bien avec celui d'Orus qu'avec celui d'Armaïs, remplaça les rois de la famille de Khunaten, chassa les étrangers, et rétablit l'ordre dans le pays.                                                                                                                                                                                          |

De ces rapprochements ressortent sans difficulté les conclusions que Khunaten, Aménophis IV, ou Khuriya, est le personnage féminin nommé Akhenkhérès ou Akherrès; que l'Orus successeur d'Aménophis III, et l'Armaïs successeur d'Aménophis IV, ne sont



qu'un seul roi, Horemheb; et que c'est le mélange des règnes d'Horemheb et de ses rivaux qui a empêché Manéthon de faire commencer la 19<sup>e</sup> dynastie avec ce roi, fondateur réel et reconnu de la 19<sup>e</sup> dynastie.

En tout ceci, l'essentiel était l'identification du nom d'Akhenkhérès, comme on a pu en juger: une fois le nom d'Akhenkhérès identifié, le dédoublement du règne d'Horemheb et les autres déductions accessoires sont devenus plausibles, à ce qu'il semble, montrant ainsi que l'histoire de Thotmès III et d'Hatshepsu a eu sur plus d'un point sa variante, ou, si l'on peut dire, sa réplique, à la fin de la 18<sup>e</sup> dynastie.



## IDEOGRAMS COMMON TO ACCADIAN AND CHINESE.

## PART III.

BY REV. C. J. BALL.

*(Continued from Proceedings, April, 1891, p. 382.)*

1. , TO MAKE, TO DO ; , , HAND.


Not much has been done, since the Rev. W. Houghton's paper in the *Transactions* of this Society (Vol. VI), towards ascertaining the objects originally portrayed by the symbols of the Babylonian Syllabary ; and, so far as I know, the pictorial significance of has not hitherto been determined. The linear forms of it, and , and the like,\* hardly suggest at first sight the ideas of *making* and *doing*. Comparing, however, and , the linear forms of , "hand," "power," and , "great," "mighty," the latter of which plainly involves the former, the hand being a natural symbol of strength and greatness, we may hazard a guess that or , "to make," was originally a rude outline of *two hands grasping a tool*,—an evidently appropriate mode of representing the idea,—or at all events, *two hands meeting*. The sounds belonging to this character are SHA, AG, and ME. They are explained "to make," "to do" (*banû, epêšu*), and "wise," "deft," "skilful," "intelligent" (*hasisu, pît uzni, rapša uzni*); ideas which hang together, wisdom being naturally attributed to the handy craftsman who contrives and makes. "The ancients called all artificers wise" (*Eustath. ad Il.*, xvi, 411).



With ME ("to make"), "intelligent," we may compare the Chinese words *wei*, "to make," and *wei*, dialectically *i*, *vi*, "to think on," "to plan," "to do," as also the Accadian MA-R, MA, "to make." The sound AG is probably a worn form of GAG, "to make" (); *cp.* also GA-R and GA, "to make."

But the sound which chiefly concerns us here is SHA (ša). This term presupposes a dialectic correlate ZA, and thus at once reminds

\* See Amiaud and Méchineau's *Tableau Comparé*, No. 2.








us of ZA-G, "hand" (*idu*). If SHA(G), "to make," strictly meant "to hand" or "handle," we see a further reason for the selection of the symbol of *two hands grasping a tool* (or perhaps simply *the two hands meeting*).

We may also incline to think that  SHU, "hand," was originally SHUG = SHAG; *cp.* the term SHUG-BAR, which involves this character.

All this derives a certain degree of corroboration from the fact that the old Chinese for "to do," "to make," "to invent," "a craftsman," was *tsak*, a word now pronounced in Cantonese *tsok*, and in Pekingese *tso*; and the old character thus read was , which looks like an abridgment of the linear form of  SHA(G), "to do," "to make," as given above, by omission of some of the horizontal lines.\*



But, further, considering that the character for *wei*, "to make," involves the radical *chāu*, *tsò* (= *da*, *za*), "hand," properly the hand seizing, and that the Chinese can give no better account of *wei* than that it represents a female monkey playing with its paws, it may not seem rash to suggest that this important character also is a modification of the Accadian symbol, which, as we saw above, included the sound ME. The *Luh-shu-t'ung*, in fact, gives several old forms of *wei* which are simply *two hands meeting*.
















We have had occasion to mention one or two terms denoting "hand" in the two languages. We may now briefly consider the rest.

















The Accadian  DA, "hand," originally DAD (*cp.* the sign-name *Daddu*) or DAG, appears in the ancient linear writing thus , , an uplifted hand and arm; a figure from which , discussed below, is but slightly modified (*see* Amiaud and Méchineau, Nos. 137, 138). From it have sprung the Chinese 87th radical *chāu*, Amoy *jiāu*, Shanghai *tsò* (= *da*, *za*), "the hand in the act of seizing"; *cp.* the old forms of the character, , , and : *ch'au*, "the hand grasping something"; and even *ch'a*, *tsò*, "the



\* The character *cha*, "now," "quickly," "suddenly," is derived from *tso*, "to make," rather than *vice versa*. *Cp.* our own phrases "off-hand," "at hand," etc., used of time.

The old form of the Chinese character given in the text is also found facing to the right.

fingers crossed."\* Words in both languages meaning "to take," "seize," "hold," like the Accadian TUG, TUKU, and the old Chinese *tuk, tok*, now *chòk, tsòk, cho*; or the Accadian DIB, "to take," and the old Chinese *típ*, now *châp, chíp, chih*, "to take"; are clearly related to these words for "hand." The interchange of final d, g, is common in both languages; and many Accadian characters are read with both sounds, e.g.,  , SUÚ, ŠUD (SUÚ, "to die," *mātu*, = Chinese *sī, su*, "to die"). So also of *g, b*.

The 29th Chinese radical is *yu*, Cantonese *yau*, Amoy *iu*, Shanghai *yù*; sounds descended from *gu, ga*, and so agreeing with the Accadian , U, "hand," , GAD, "hand," , YA, IA, A, "five," strictly, the hand; and with , A, I (from GAD, GID), "hand," also "wing," "fin." The last character was originally the *hand and forearm*, as the linear figure  shews (see Amiaud and Méchineau, No. 138). In the sense of "wing" (*gapfu*), it agrees with the Chinese *yü, ü*, "wing," the 124th radical, which implies an original *ga, a*. It occurs also in the compounds     , A-GIR, "wing," where GIR seems to answer to the Chinese *yik, ik, yih*, "wings," and     , A-TIR, "wing," "fin" (*abru*; 2 R. 19, 65 b.), where TIR answers to the Chinese *tik*, now *chi*, "wing," "fin." The traditional Annamite pronunciation of the 29th radical *yu*, "hand," is *huu* (= ku = gu).

The Accadian terms for right and left hand are    ZID and   GUB respectively; or in fuller style,     A-ZIDA (*hand + right*),     A-GUBU (*hand + left*). That this ZID (= ZAD) meant "right hand," just as GUB meant "left hand," to begin with, there can be little doubt. The alternative form of GUB, , if turned up to the right thus, , is clearly the left analogue of , SHU, GAD, "hand."

The Chinese terms for right and left hand are *yu* and *tso* (older *tsa*). This *yu*, "right hand," may be compared with GAB, GABA, "hand," which we see in the compound   ŠU-GAB, "hand" (*hātu*), but also with GUB, GUBU, "left hand." Similarly, *tsa, tso*, "left hand," answers to ZA-G, "hand," considered above, but also to ZI-D (from ZA-D) "right hand." The Chinese certainly seem to

\* It should be noted that the *hand* is usually cut down to *three* fingers in Chinese writing. See also No. 2, *infra*.

have reversed the original application of these sounds ; a fact which agrees with the known change of associations by which the left hand has become the place of honour in China, although formerly the right enjoyed that distinction.

The following table results :—

| <i>Accadian.</i>                                                                                                                 |   | <i>Chinese.</i>                                                                                                                                                                                       |   |            |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|------------|
| ſhu, <i>from</i> shug<br>zag ; zid, <i>from</i> zad<br>gad, (g)id, a, i, u<br>gab, gub, u<br>(g)a<br>da, <i>from</i> dad (= dag) | } | hand.                                                                                                                                                                                                 |   |            |
| (g)a<br>gir<br>tir                                                                                                               | } | wing, fin.                                                                                                                                                                                            |   |            |
|                                                                                                                                  |   | shau, sù, shu, <i>from</i> shuk<br>tso, <i>from</i> tsa-k or tsa-t<br>yau, iu, yù, <i>from</i> yot, yat<br>yau, iu, yù<br>yü, ü, ū<br>ch'a, chāu, ch'au, <i>from</i> to,<br>do, dok, dot (= dag, dad) | } | hand.      |
|                                                                                                                                  |   | yü, ü, ū<br>yik, ék, yih<br>tik, <i>now</i> ch'í                                                                                                                                                      | } | wing, fin. |

The vowel-transition from *a* to *u* is too common to need remark.

Note that in accordance with our Third Law (*Proceedings*, June, 1890), we have for Accadian the sequence—

$$\left. \begin{matrix} \text{GAD} \\ \text{GAB} \\ \text{GUB} \end{matrix} \right\} = \left. \begin{matrix} \text{DAD} \\ \text{DAG} \end{matrix} \right\} = \left. \begin{matrix} (\text{SHAG}) \\ \text{SHU(G)} \end{matrix} \right\} = \left. \begin{matrix} \text{ZAG} \\ \text{ZAD} \\ \text{ZID} \end{matrix} \right\} = \text{Hand.}$$

and for Chinese :


$$\left. \begin{matrix} \text{yau} \\ \text{yu} \end{matrix} \right\} = \left. \begin{matrix} \text{chāu} \\ \text{ch'au} \end{matrix} \right\} = \left. \begin{matrix} \text{shau} \\ \text{shu} \end{matrix} \right\} = \text{tso} = \text{Hand.}$$

2. , , *Elder, Father* ; , *Mother* ; , *Grain*.

In 2 R 32, 58 *sqq.* c. we read :

|                  |          |        |
|------------------|----------|--------|
|                  | AD-DA    | a-bu   |
|                  | A-A      | a-bu   |
|                  | AB-BA    | a-bu   |
| and, then, 61 d. | AB-BA    | šĉ[bu] |
| 62 c. d.         | šU-GI(N) | šĉ[bu] |













First, we have three Accadian terms for “father” (*abu*), viz., ADA, A'A (perhaps AVA), and ABA. Then, the third of these terms is also rendered “old man,” “grandfather” (*šĉbu*) ; and next, the same

rendering is given for šU-GI(N), which is written , *hand* + *rod*. Now this group may, of course, be read SHUGIN or SHUGI, in the sense of "elder," in which case we might compare the Chinese *shuk*, *shuh*, "uncle," a term of respectful address to elders. It seems to me, however, to be quite possible that it is an ideogram of which at least one phonetic reading was ABA; a word which in the preceding line has the same definition. If so, it will agree exactly with the Chinese 父 *ba*, now read *fu*, "father," "ancestor," "elder."

We have above three Accadian terms for "father," ADA, A(Y)A, ABA. The middle term seems to be a softening of AGA, which is preserved in the compound AGA-RIN, "parent" (both *abu* and *ummu*, father and mother): *cp.* also GA, "to beget," "bear," and its cognates.\*

Corresponding to these three terms we have the old Chinese *da*, *ya*, *ba*, † now pronounced in Mandarin *to* and *tié*, *yé*, *fu*. In Amoy they say *hu* (from *ku* = *gu* = *ga*) for *fu*; and *tia* for *tié*; and *ya* for *yé*. In Annamite *cha* (= *ta*) is "father." It is needless to remark on the common transitions from an original *a* to *e* or *u*.


The agreement between the Accadian and Chinese sounds is evident.

Now all three of the Chinese terms are written with the radical 父 *fu*; and this character was originally a rude outline of a *hand with a rod*, thus perfectly corresponding with the Accadian ideogram . The archaic linear form of this group would be  and the Chinese *fu* appears in the old writing as , and , and  and . There is, however, another old form of *fu*, "father," given in the *Luh-shu t'ung*, viz., , which corresponds to the Accadian , that is, , PAB, "father" (see *Tabl. Comp.*, No. 151). The same symbol appears to be contained in the various ancient forms of  ADA, "father," from Gudea's  downwards. And comparing the linear form of  GA, "house" (*Tabl. Comp.*, No. 87), with that of ADA just given, we see that the latter

\* A-A may, of course, be A, from GA (= GAB, AB? *cp.* the Chinese *yé*, *ya*, once *yaf*, as the phonetic indicates, and the Accadian PAB, *infr.*).


† Like so many other languages, Chinese can also boast of a *fa* and *ma*; but they are not classical.

sign for "father" consists of  $\overline{\text{𐎶𐎶}}$  +  $\text{𐎶}$  GA + PAP; just as  $\overline{\text{𐎶𐎶𐎶}}$  AMA, "mother," consists of  $\overline{\text{𐎶𐎶}}$  +  $\text{𐎶𐎶}$  GA + EŠŠU, *house* + *corn*, a symbol of fertility appropriately used for "mother" (see 3, *infr.*). In like manner,  $\overline{\text{𐎶𐎶}}$  AB is both "father" and "house."

What was the original significance of this symbol  $\text{𐎶}$ , which we see also in the ideogram , the linear form of  $\text{𐎶𐎶𐎶}$ , TUD, TU,

"to beget," "to bear"? Its oldest linear form is simply two lines crossing, like a capital X. Now when we remember that  $\text{𐎶}$  is "to help, or protect" (*našáru*), and "to repeat" (*šunnú*), and "another," "other" (*šanimma*, *šanamma*), strictly, "a second," as well as "side," "brother," and "adversary" (*aḫu*, *nakru*); and, further, that the link between all these diverse meanings is found in the idea of being *at the side, beside* a man, whether as friend or rival; we may be inclined to hold that  $\text{𐎶}$  was originally a mere variation of  $\overline{\text{𐎶}}$ , TAB, "to add to," "to help" (*ešêpu*, *ruddú*), "to repeat" (*šunnú*), "comrade," "brother" (*tappú*), and is closely akin to  $\overline{\text{𐎶𐎶}}$ , GAŠ, KAS, "two" (*šiná*), which doubles  $\text{𐎶}$  upon itself, and even to  $\overline{\text{𐎶𐎶𐎶}}$ , "to increase," "to help," which was originally identical with  $\overline{\text{𐎶𐎶}}$ , as its ancient forms prove (see *Tabl. Comp.*, No. 160).


























$\text{𐎶}$  was, according to these indications, merely a sign of repetition; a stroke added to a stroke; and as  $\text{𐎶}$  or  $\text{𐎶}$ , a single stroke, meant "one," "a man," so  $\text{𐎶𐎶}$ , two strokes, meant "two," "second," "double," "great," in the various senses of those words ( $\text{𐎶𐎶}$ , or  $\text{𐎶𐎶}$ ). It was, therefore, never a picture, but always a conventional symbol. Used as a symbol for "father," it might signify the *man* or the *protector* in the house; or, in relation to the mother, the *other*, the *second*, or the *partner*.\*





The term  $\text{𐎶𐎶}$ , linear  EŠŠU, "ear of corn," springs from GAŠŠU = GAŠ + ŠUG? ŠUD?). In both Accadian and Chinese the star, which is the symbol for "god," is also the symbol for "grain." Cp. for Chinese the radical *hwo* (old *ka*, *ga* = *gaš*), "growing grain," which


\*  $\overline{\text{𐎶𐎶}}$ , in the group UTU-KIB-NUN-KI, Sippara, seems to mean "helper": "The sungod, the great Helper": cp. the inscription of Šargani of Agade: "Unto Shamash, king of Sippara, I have looked (for help)," which reminds us of the Hebrew proper name Elyehoelai, "mine eyes are toward Jahvah" (cp. Ps. cxxi, 1). This KIB (or GIB), "to add to," "to help," is identical with the Chinese *hiŋ*, *yeh* (= *kíp*, *gib*), "to help."

appears in *Luh-shu-t'ung* as a six-rayed star,—a symbol contained also in the character for *shu*, “panicked millet,”—and *mi*, “rice,” originally an eight-rayed star. Can it be due to chance that the signs for *god* and *grain* are thus ultimately identical in two languages so widely remote from each other in space and time?

3.             , NURSING MOTHER.



In my last paper I shewed that the Chinese  *mu*, “mother,” corresponds to the Accadian  *umu*, “mother.” The ancient forms of the Chinese character, as given in the *Luh-shu-t'ung* and Morrison, mostly modify the original symbol so as to suggest a *woman with breasts*. But  in Morrison seems to agree rather with                     , *ama*, “mother” (*ummu*, 2 R. 9, 28 c.). This archaic character may, indeed, be the real original of , of which the old sound may very well have been *ma* (so Edkins).

The Accadian for “milk,” “breast” is  *GA*, dial.  *DA*; the latter occurring in the word *UME-DA* (*mother + milk*) “nurse.” The linear  *GA*, “milk,” “breast” (*šišpu, tulú*) may be thought to represent a teat; but perhaps is simply a drinking-cup, like  *GAŠ*, “drink” (*Tabl. Comp.*, No. 75). The old Chinese *no* (= *na, da*), “milk” and “breast,” “to nurse,” now pronounced *ju* in Mandarin, is the Cantonese *yü* (= *ga*), and the Shanghai *sö, sü* (= *za*). The Chinese compound *ju-mu*, in Cantonese *yü-mò*, (*milk + mother*), “nurse,” corresponds, therefore, to the Accadian *ume-da*, “mother” (as nursing): and *ume-ga*, in the expression *ume-ga-lal* (*mother + milk + full*) which is rendered “nurse” (*mušeništu*), and “nursing mother” (*taritu*; str. pregnant woman), for which we also find *EME-GA*. *Cp.* also *nai*, “milk,” “the breasts,” “to suckle,” and *nai-ma*, “nurse” (*milk + mother*).

4. , *Child*.

This character denotes “young one,” “child,” whether male or female. The sounds were *TUR* and *DU* (from *DUR*), *DUMU* and *DAMU*. A corresponding *z*-sound was *ZUR*, “young one,” especially of birds and quadrupeds.






The linear form of 𠄎, viz., 𠄎, has been variously supposed to represent the "flowing breasts" of the mother, and "the legs, arms, and head of a child." But *flowing breasts* would naturally indicate "milk" or "mother" rather than "child;" and, upon the latter view, which is that of M. de Lacouperie, the arms and head cannot be said to be visible in the figure. Hence it is futile to compare such fanciful Chinese forms as  or  or other similar figures which may be seen in Morrison. They are only instances, such as we meet with elsewhere, of later arbitrary pictorial substitutes for symbols which seemed inappropriate because their primary significance was lost.

I think the character is rather derived from 𠄎 DU, "to beget" (*banú*), the linear form of which, viz., 𠄎, it repeats.\*

The Chinese 子, "child," is pronounced *tsi* (= *zi*) in the Cantonese and Pekingese as well as in the Mandarin. I recognize *ZI*, "child," in the Accadian DUMU-ZI, "The (divine) Youth," Tammuz; where DUMU (DUM), answers to the old Chinese *dom. dong*, now spoken *t'ung*, but in Japanese *domo*; while the whole expression is parallel to the common *t'ung-tsi*, "boy," "youth."



The Amoy sound is *tsu* (= *zu*), which supplies the exact *z*-form of DU. We find the root *ZU* in Accadian, with the meaning "to increase"; and children are increase (*cp.* the use of this root in writing the name *Sin-ah-irba*). Further, the dialectic change of vowel exemplified in *ZI*, *ZU*, is recognized in Accadian.


Lastly, the Annamite pronunciation has preserved the sound *tu*, corresponding to the Accadian DU.




The old Chinese forms with which we should compare the Accadian symbol are  and  and  and 𠄎 (the last occurring in compounds).



The Chinese adapters of the Accadian syllabary have halved the original character. The reason for this change may have been not merely a desire to abbreviate, but also to reserve the full double symbol for the expression of another word, viz., 孖 *ma*, "twins," the Accadian MA-š.






\* Perhaps to suggest that the child is the father's double, or perhaps to hint at the duality of parentage. The added lines may be illustrated by our own term "issue" as applied to offspring.




The cross-line of the Chinese character may have been added to suggest the arms of a baby, when the idea first occurred of putting that interpretation upon the mutilated Accadian symbol. But a precedent might be found, if necessary, in , i.e., , the same symbol with an added line, and that, in the same sense of "child," "son" (*ablu, m̄aru*).

5.  ZIG, TSIG, *Evening*.


The linear form of this character has not been found; but its likeness in its present shape to , moon, month, is remarkable, in view of the fact that the Chinese  *tsik, s̄ek, zi, si*, evening, is considered by the native authorities to be an abridged form of , moon, month. The words are obviously identical. It is beyond cavil that the Accadian *utu, itu*, moon = Chinese *üt*, moon, and that the Accadian *zig*, evening = Chinese *tsik*, evening.

6.   *Morning*.




We have here a compound ideogram, consisting of the two characters  *UD*, "sun," and *ZA-L*, "to shine." The linear writing  at once recalls the old Chinese , , *tsa(k)*, now written , and read *tsò, tsao*, "sunrise," "morning." Perhaps it should be repeated that the rounded forms of Chinese often preserve the more ancient configuration of the characters, which in cuneiform has had to yield to the unfavourable conditions of the writing materials. It may be added that this relatively greater antiquity of Chinese writing is in many cases reflected by the sounds of the language, which presuppose Accadian terms of a more primitive cast than those that have descended to our time in the works of the Semitic Babylonian scribes.



7.  *GA, House*; I.  *Man*; I.  *Woman*; *thou*; *like*.








Both Accadian and Chinese are rich in pronouns. I have shown in earlier papers that there is a considerable degree of correspondence in the sounds expressing this class of words. I have to point out now that there is also a correspondence of symbols.

The character  GA is explained to mean "house" (*bītu*, S<sup>r</sup> 146). It also denotes the personal pronoun "I" and its suffix "my," as in SHU-GA, "my hand" = SHU-MU. In 5 R. 12, 24 a, we read GA = MA = *yá[ti]*; i.e., GA and MA are both Accadian terms for "I," "me."


In Chinese we have 余 *yü*, "I," a character which the native scholars analyse into *man* + *house*.



This *yü*, of which the old sound was *ngo* (= *nga*), is the same word as the Accadian GA (NGA), with its fuller form  GA-I, that is, GAĪ (*anaku, yáti*), "I," "me." Another point of contact between this pronoun and the idea of *dwelling* is supplied by the Accadian  RA, which might in Chinese have become *yü* (= *ya* = *ga* or *ra*). This RA is defined *anaku*, "I," and *ašábu*, "to dwell." The same two meanings belong also to  RA, which included the sounds GU and MU among others. But this last ideogram is also "great one," "lord" (*rubú*): see the next ideogram.

The symbol  (GALU, GAL, GULU, LU), "man," "lord" (*amélu, bēlum*, 5 R. 13, 47, a b), and the dialectic  MULU, were also used for the first personal pronoun. In Chinese we find a character *nung*, composed of *man* + *tillage*, which once meant simply "a man," and is now used for the pronouns of the first and second persons in certain provinces. Though not found in the most ancient writings, this character at least illustrates the Accadian usage.






The ideogram  *bēlum*, "lord," "master," and in the same list we find  *rubú*, "lord," "great one," and  *bēlum*. Now  is the common ideogram for weapons, arms, the Chinese *kwo, ku*; and in the sense of "lord" (= "man" = "I") may be compared with the Chinese 我 *ngo, wo, ngu*, "I," which comprises the character 戈 *kwo*, "weapons." The old forms of *ngo* prove its original identity with ; see the *Luh-shu-t'ung*, and *Tabl. Comp.*, No, 283,  = .




As regards the pronoun of the second person, it is a curious fact that both in Chinese and Accadian the words for "thou" are related to the words for "like," "as." Another point is, that as the ideogram for *man* is used to signify the first person, so that for *woman* is used to express the second person, in both languages. The person addressed is a man's like or fellow, and the same is true of woman (Gen. ii, 18).

(1)  DIM, "like," "as" (*kīma*), the common particle of comparison in Accadian, is also defined "thou" (*kāšu*, 2 R. 44 71 g);

DAM, "thou," "like," is phonetically an older sound; *cp.* TA-A-AN, TAN, TAM, "like." We also meet with  TUM, "thou" (*at-ta*) and TU-MA, "like" (*kíma*), DA, "thou" (in the compound ZA-DA),\* and  DA (or DU or TA), "like" (*kíma*).



In Chinese we have *ju*, formerly *uo* (=na=da; or perhaps nu, du), pronounced in the three dialects *ü*, *ju*, *sö*=(g)a, da, za. It is the common term for "thou," and "like." The Shanghai *sö* may be compared with the Accadian ZA and ZU, "thou," "you."

(2) In the Shu-king 如 (*woman* + ) is *ju* "like"; and 汝 (*water* + *woman*) is *ju* "thou." Elsewhere, the first character is also used for "thou." It closely resembles the Accadian  linear , that is,  (*woman* + a character which has been simplified in the Chinese derivative), read DAM, and usually meaning "wife" (*aššatu*), but also defined "like" (*kíma*), and "thou" (*atta*, 4 R, 19, 50 a). In Chinese 女 *nü*, "woman," is also read *ju*, "thou;" and in Accadian , *water*,† was also used for "thou" (*atta*, 5 R. 22, 70 a).

The ideogram  DIM, "like," "as," "thus" (*kíma*, *kí*, *kíam*), agrees with the Chinese 仍 *jing*, old *ning*, Cantonese *ying*, "as," "according to," "thus"; sounds implying primary *dim*, *gim* (= Accadian DIM, GIN, GIM, "like"). The old form of the character 仍 is like , the linear form of  DIM, turned the other way. As DIM means an image (*bunnauú*), we may think the symbol roughly represents a bust, or the profile of a face. With the word *cp.* *chin*, old *tim*, "a likeness," and *chin*, "to mould," "fashion" (= DIM *banú*, *epešu*.)

Pronouns used to be considered an important test in determining the relationship of languages. Below I have brought together all those independent and dependent (suffix and prefix) Accadian sounds which present an immediately recognisable likeness to common Chinese pronouns. Some of the Chinese forms are dialectic; so also are some of the Accadian. Unprejudiced minds cannot fail, one would think, to be struck by the dialectic equivalence of the

\* This pronominal DA, occurring also in MA-DA, "I," may be related to 𐎠𐎢𐎣 *tsa*, *cha* (=za, da) "I," "we."

† The symbol  may have been read SHU, as well as A and ME, *cp.*  SHU, water (=BA, *mü*, 5 R. 28, 29 and 30 a). This would agree with Chinese *shu*, *sui*, *sü*, water; Turkish, *su*; Japanese *sui*, *mi-zu*. *Cp.* also Accadian ZU-AB, water-house, or perhaps, rather, water-deep (AB, ocean).

Accadian NGA and MA, "I," to the Chinese *ngo* and *wo*; and by the exact correspondence of the Accadian NI, "thou," NÍ-MÍN, "you" (plur.), to the Chinese *ni*, "thou," *ni-men*, "you" (plur.); not to dwell upon the surprising resemblance of the Accadian demonstratives NA, NÍ, BA, BI, ĠI, SHI, to the Chinese *na, ni, pa, pi, k'i, shi*.

A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF ACCADIAN AND CHINESE PRONOUNS.


| <i>Accadian.</i>                                                                                 |   | <i>Chinese.</i>         |                                                                                                   |   |                         |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|-------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|-------------------------|
| ngan, ngin<br>nga<br>ngu<br>mu<br>ma                                                             | } | I, my, etc.             | ngan<br>nga, <i>now</i> ngo<br>ngu, yü<br>mu, wu<br>ma, <i>now</i> wo                             | } | I, my, etc.             |
| íní, ní<br>ní-mín<br>nam (i-namma)<br>na<br>du, da<br>si<br>zu, tsi (tsi-mí)<br>ra (obj. prefix) | } | thou, you, etc.         | ni<br>ni-men<br>nom, <i>now</i> nung<br>no; nu<br>ju; da, <i>now</i> t'ai<br>sö<br>tsu, tsí<br>'r | } | thou, you, etc.         |
| na<br>ni, ní<br>bi<br>ba<br>tab<br>ġi, ġí<br>shí, shí, sig                                       | } | this, that, he,<br>etc. | na<br>ni<br>pi<br>pa, <i>now</i> fu<br>tap, <i>now</i> t'a<br>k'i<br>shí, sí                      | } | this, that, he,<br>etc. |
| tín (ni-tinna)*<br>tsín or şín<br>í-shí, who.                                                    | } | self.                   | tin, <i>now</i> ch'in<br>ts'in<br>shüi, shüi, who.                                                | } | self.                   |

\* NI-TÍNNA, *rámánišu*, "himself," is strictly "his belly." NI is "belly," body" (*zumru*), and the Assyrian *rámánu* probably has the same meaning (*cp.* Heb. *rahám, rehem*, Arab. *rahim*, uterus; Heb. *rahámim*, viscera, etc.). If TEN, TE (TÍN, TÍ) in this compound had a like meaning, we may compare the 158th Chinese radical *shin*, Annamite *t'ên*, Amoy *şín*, "the body," "self." In Chinese the belly is the seat of the mind.

## NOTES AU JOUR LE JOUR.—III.

PAR G. MASPERO.

*Suite.\**

§ 12.—Depuis quelque temps déjà j'avais identifié pour mon usage particulier le  *noubou* des textes égyptiens avec l'arbre que les Arabes appellent *nabq* نَبَق, quand, en étudiant l'opuscule de M. Moldenke,\* je constatai que M. Dümichen était arrivé de son côté à la même identification. Voici les raisons qui m'avaient amené à penser de la sorte; comme elles portent sur des points auxquels M. Dümichen n'a point touché, je crois qu'il n'est pas inutile de les énoncer.

Le *nabq* نَبَق, ou *nabéca*, qui est aussi appelé *sidr* سِدْر par les Arabes, est un arbre de l'espèce des jujubiers, *Zizyphus Spina Christi*, DESF., *Rhamnus Spina Christi*, LINN., *Rhamnus nabeca*, FORSK. La description s'en trouve un peu partout dans les ouvrages relatifs à l'Égypte. Je n'ai besoin d'en retenir ici que quatre points: 1° les épines dont ses branches sont hérissées, peuvent disparaître quand il vieillit; † 2° son tronc peut atteindre des dimensions énormes, et l'on en cite qui ont un mètre de diamètre ‡ ou cinq mètres de circonférence; § 3° il produit un fruit, que l'on compare volontiers à une cerise ou à une petite pomme, et qui est ordinairement du volume d'un gros grain de raisin ou d'une belle olive. Ce fruit, très acerbe quand il est vert, devient sucré et agréable au goût en

\* Continued from *Proceedings*, Vol. XIII, p. 437.

† Ch. E. Moldenke, *Ueber die in altaegyptischen Texten erwähnten Bäume*, Leipzig, 1887, pp. 108, 109, notes; cfr. Lüring, *die über die medizinischen Kenntnisse der alten Ägypter berichtenden Papyri*, 1888, p. 156, 157.

‡ “Le *nabéca* en Égypte varie beaucoup.....; les grands *nabécas* sont sans épines, comme les grands *acacias nilotica*, tandis que ces arbres jeunes forment des buissons hérissés de piquants.” (Raffeneau-Delisle, dans la *Description de l'Égypte*, XIX, p. 272.)

§ Ainsi l'arbre de l'Obéissance des couvents nitriotes. (Jullien, *l'Égypte*, p. 50.)

|| Ainsi l'arbre de la Sainte Famille, à Belléïs, qui fut détruit pendant les travaux du Canal d'eau douce. (Figari, *Studj scientifici sull' Egitto*, T. II, p. 183.)



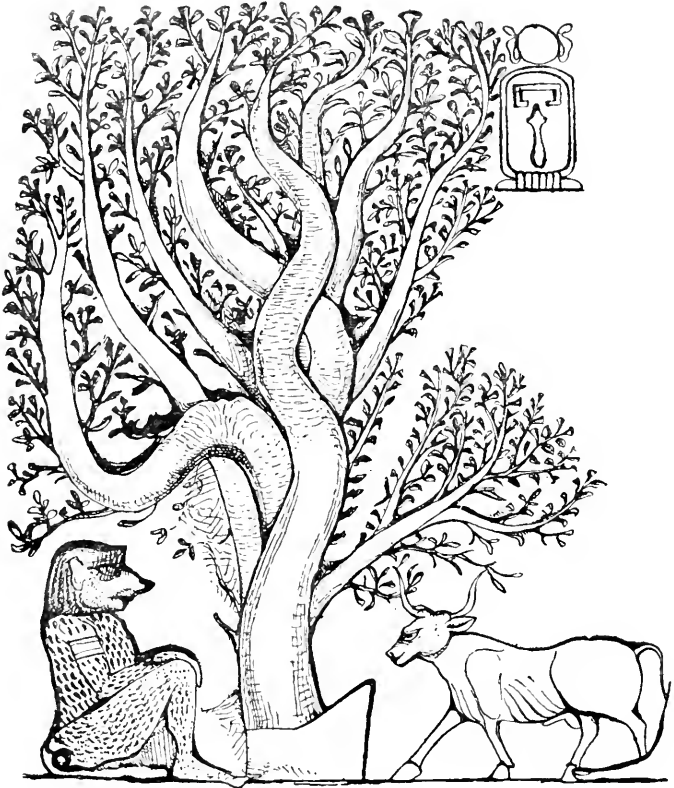





Fig. 1.—LE NOUSOU DE THOT, D'APRÈS UN BAS-RELIEF  
DU TEMPLE DE DAKKÉH, EN NUBIÉ.



mûrissant : il est alors d'une teinte qui passe, selon l'état plus ou moins avancé de maturité, du jaune clair au jaune brun sombre ; 4° il se rencontre partout en Egypte, dans les jardins, dans les champs, au bord de l'eau, sur la lisière du désert. Il est fréquent en Nubie, et Cailliaud l'a signalé dans ses *Voyages* au delà de la seconde cataracte.\* Ses branches, souvent tortueuses au voisinage du tronc, se raidissent bientôt et deviennent assez droites pour fournir des bois de pique ou de flèche estimés.

J'ai naturellement cherché à trouver la représentation du *noubsou* sur les monuments Egyptiens, et naturellement aussi je l'ai trouvée. La plus expressive est celle que voici (fig. 1), et que j'emprunte au petit temple de Dakkéh.† C'est le *noubsou*, qui avait donné son nom à la ville nubienne de Pnoubsou, et qui, en sa qualité d'arbre sacré,





avait atteint une assez forte taille : Thot de Pnoubsou  est assis sous l'arbre en sa forme de singe  Ostanés.‡


L'arbre reproduit sur le bas-relief est le portrait fidèle de plusieurs *napécas*, sous lesquels je me suis reposé plusieurs fois, à Akhmîm, à Saqqarah, sur le chemin de Kom el-Ahmar (Hieracônpolis), et c'était cette ressemblance qui, me frappant en Egypte, sur les lieux mêmes, m'avait porté à les identifier avec le *noubsou* ancien. La grosseur du tronc et la rareté des épines sur le *noubsou* sacré de Dakkéh s'expliquent par la vieillesse de l'arbre ; les branches du *noubsou* se tordent puis se redressent comme celles du *napéca*. Il y avait là une ressemblance de physionomie et de port assez remarquable pour mériter l'examen ; aussi m'efforçai-je de trouver dans les tableaux funéraires une représentation peinte des fruits du *noubsou*, afin de voir si la taille et la couleur en répondaient à la taille et la couleur des fruits du *napéca*. Les fruits du *noubsou* figuraient sur la table des morts en deux formes différentes : comme fruits, et comme pain. Comme pain, c'est le  *tiou noubsou*,

\* Cailliaud, *Voyage à Méroé*, T. IV, p. 378.

† J'ai fait le dessin joint à cet article d'après une photographie que M. Golénischeff a bien voulu me donner. J'ai retranché seulement un vase à libation, et le jet d'eau qui en sortait pour venir arroser le pied de l'arbre et traversait le rameau bas, à la droite du spectateur, en face le taureau.

‡ Sur cette identification, que je crois parfaitement exacte, voir Goodwin dans la *Zeitschrift*, 1872, pp. 108, 109.

que Dümichen compare aux pains de lotos Africain cités par Athénée,\* comme fruits, on le mangeait frais ou sec, et on voit, dans certains mastabas de Saqqarah, soit les greniers qui les renferment à l'état sec, soit les tas qu'on en formait. Ces tas sont presque toujours à ma connaissance peints de couleur jaune,† une fois seulement rouge brun ; en d'autres termes, ils ont cette teinte jaune claire ou jaune brun tirant sur le brun rouge qu'on connaît aux fruits du *naféca*. Terminons cette série d'observations en faisant remarquer que le *noubsou* est un arbre aussi répandu dans l'Égypte ancienne que le *nabq* l'est dans l'Égypte moderne. M. Moldenke a montré, d'après Dümichen, que le *noubsou* était considéré comme arbre sacré dans seize nomes de l'Égypte.‡ L'ordre dans lesquels les arbres sacrés se suivent est, 1<sup>o</sup>.  le *sonti*, l'acacia *south*, vénéré dans vingt-quatre nomes; 2<sup>o</sup>  le *pashdou*, vénéré dans dix-sept; 3<sup>o</sup> le *noubsou*, après lequel l'arbre le plus vénéré est le  *qabsou*, qui n'est que dans trois nomes. Toutes ces raisons m'engagent à maintenir, comme fait Dümichen, l'identification de  *noubsou* avec le *نبق nabq*: c'est aussi l'opinion de M. Loret,§ et de plusieurs autres Egyptologues.

M. Moldenke avait préféré reconnaître un *sebestenia*, le *cordia myxa*, dans le *noubsou*, et mettait le *nabq* à côté de l'*pashdou*  antique : Dümichen renversa la proposition, et donna le *cordia myxa* pour correspondant de l'*pashdou*.|| Mais ici l'étude des représentations monumentales m'a inspiré une opinion différente. Les figures de l'*pashdou* sont assez nombreuses sur les monuments. Elles nous montrent toutes un arbre élevé, à tige droite, lisse, se ramifiant en longues branches, garnies de feuilles d'un bout à l'autre, et dont quelques-unes sont assez flexibles pour se courber sous leur propre poids. Le fruit, toujours représenté plus gros

\* Moldenke, *op. l.*, p. 110. C'était probablement un gâteau analogue à la pâte que les habitants du Darfour fabriquaient avec les fruits secs du nabq, et qui leur servait de provisions dans leurs voyages. (Browne, *Nouveau Voyage*, etc., trad. française, T. II, p. 37.)

† En voir un exemple dans les *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française*, T. I, p. 207.

‡ Moldenke, *op. l.*, p. 16 ; Lüring, *op. l.*, p. 756.

§ Voir Loret, *La Flore Pharaonique*, pp. 44, 45.

|| Moldenke, *op. l.*, pp. 102-107 ; Lüring, *op. l.*, p. 147.

que nature, afin de permettre l'inscription d'un cartouche, a une forme de cœur, d'œuf, ou, si l'on veut, d'amande régularisée. Nulle part on ne voit d'épines dans les tableaux que j'ai eu l'occasion d'examiner.\*

Depuis longtemps j'avais été frappé de la ressemblance qu'offrait cette représentation avec le *Balanites Ægyptiaca*; mais, persuadé que Sylvestre de Sacy † et Raffeneau-Delisle ‡ avaient eu raison d'identifier cet arbre avec le Perséa, je m'étais rejeté vers d'autres explications, le pin d'abord, puis l'abricotier. Quand Schweinfurth eut démontré que le Perséa était un *Mimusops*, § ma première pensée me revint plus forte que jamais. Comme l'*ashdou* antique, "le *balanites* est un arbre haut de six à huit mètres, très rameux. . . . Plusieurs branches sont effilées et s'élèvent d'abord perpendiculairement pour se recourber d'elles mêmes. . . . Les nouvelles pousses sont sans épines à la partie supérieure de l'arbre, tandis qu'il produit à sa base des branches sur lesquelles les épines sont aussi nombreuses et plus longues que les feuilles. . . . L'ovaire fécondé se change en une drupe ovoïde qui acquiert la grosseur du doigt et une longueur de trente millimètres." ¶ Ici encore on pourrait être gêné par la présence des épines, et, de fait, une des objections que Dümichen a faites au rapprochement de l'*ashdou* avec le *nabq* est l'absence sur les représentations de l'*ashdou* des épines qui hérissent le *nabq* dans la nature. Raffeneau-Delisle semble indiquer dans le passage ci-dessus que le *balanites* perd ses épines en vieillissant comme le *nabq*; de toute façon, la plupart des auteurs qui l'ont vu insistent sur ce fait que les feuilles cachent presque entièrement les épines. "Spinis armantur longis," dit Wesling, "peracutis firmis, perennantibus, quorum horridum agnen adsita propriis folia plurimum obumbrant." ¶ Je crois donc que l'absence des épines sur les tableaux égyptiens n'est pas un obstacle à l'identité du *balanites* avec l'*ashdou*. Or, le *balanites* est l'ancien *lébakh* لبخ des Arabes, comme Sylvestre de Sacy l'a

\* Voir entre autres le tableau reproduit par Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, T. III<sup>2</sup>, pl. XLIII, p. 203, et qu'il a emprunté à Burton, *Excerpta*, pl. XLVI.



† S. de Sacy, *Relation de l'Égypte par Abdallatif*, p. 47 sqq.


‡ *Description de l'Égypte*, T. XIX, p. 263 sqq.

§ Dans *Nature*, T. 29, pp. 110, 111.

¶ Raffeneau-Delisle, dans la *Description*, T. XIX, pp. 265-267.

¶ J. Veslingii, *de Plantis Ægyptiis Observationes et notæ ad Prosperum Alpinum*, Padoue, 1638, pp. 61, 62. Delisle a montré que Vesling décrit, par erreur, sous le nom de *Myrobalan Chébule*, le *balanites* qu'il avait vu dans un jardin du Caire. (*Description*, T. XIX, pp. 267, 268.)

montré, et tout ce que les écrivains arabes nous disent du *lébakh* s'applique aux représentations de l'*ashdou*. Abdallatif compare le *lébakh* au *sidr* ou *napéca* : la silhouette générale de l'*ashdou* ressemble beaucoup, en effet, à celle du *noubsou* de Dakké, que j'ai reproduit plus haut. Le fruit du *lébakh* se servait avec les dattes et le dessert, on voit par les tables d'offrandes que les fruits de l'*ahsdou* sont classés avec ceux du *noubsou* et d'autres arbres à la suite des gros mets de viandes, de volailles et de pâtisseries, dans ce qui répond au dessert. Le fruit du *lébakh* ressemble à la date : cette ressemblance avait frappé aussi les anciens Egyptiens, car ils avaient fait du mot  *ashdou* un terme générique comprenant la date et les autres fruits analogues à la date, et ils souhaitaient au mort d'avoir , "toute espèce de confiseries de la maison des fruits confits."\* Makrizi dit que ce fruit a plutôt la forme d'une amande verte, et Raffeneau-Delisle le décrit comme une drupe ovoïde : les bas-reliefs accusent pour le fruit de l'*ashdou* la forme de grosse amande ou d'œuf.† Les peintures des tombeaux de l'Ancien Empire nous montrent des tas d'*ashdou*, comme ils nous avaient montré des tas de *nabq*, mais la couleur en est variable, noire,‡ rouge brun, jaune brun, ce qui peut répondre aux différents états du fruit. Mûr, il a la grosseur d'une date "d'une couleur brune et orangée ;"§ moins avancé, il est vert-sombre tirant sur le noir. Tous s'accordent à lui reconnaître une saveur sucrée quand il est mûr, amère et styptique avant maturité, et des propriétés médicales analogues à celles que les fruits de l'*ashdou* ont au Papyrus Ebers. Ajoutons que Schweinfurth a signalé, parmi les débris rapportés d'une tombe de la XI<sup>e</sup> dynastie à Drah abou'l Neggah, deux noyaux de fruits du *balanites*.||

J'identifie donc jusqu'à nouvelle ordre l'*ashdou*  des anciens Egyptiens avec le *Balanites* *Egyptiaca* DEL., l'héglig ou le

\* Moldenke, *op. l.*, p. 103 ; le passage est dans Dümichen, *Resultate*, T. 1, pl. VII. Cfr. Maspero, *Études Égyptiennes*, T. II, p. 249.

† Tous les passages arabes relatifs au *Balanites* *Egyptiaca* et au *lébakh* ont été réunis et discutés par S. de Sacy, *Relation de l'Égypte*, pp. 47-599.

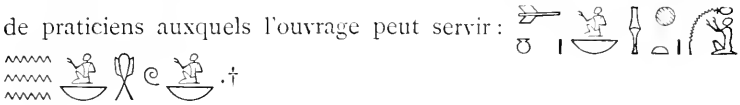
‡ *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, T. 1, p. 207.

§ Browne, *Nouveau Voyage*, T. II, p. 38.

|| Schweinfurth, *Ueber Pflanzenreste aus altägyptischen Gräbern*, dans le *Bericht der deutschen botanischen Gesellschaft*, 1884, p. 326.

*lébakh*. Quand je dis *lébakh*, je n'entends pas désigner l'espèce d'acacia qu'on désigne sous ce nom de nos jours en Egypte, mais le *lébakh* des anciens écrivains arabes, dont Makrizi signale la disparition à peu-près complète de son temps. Aujourd'hui ce *lébakh*, fort rare en Egypte, se trouve fréquemment en Nubie et dans les pays voisins.\*

§ 13.—Le début du traité intitulé *l'Art et Mystère du médecin qui connaît la marche du cœur, qui connaît le cœur*, et qui occupe plusieurs des pages du Papyrus Ebers, donne une énumération de trois sortes de praticiens auxquels l'ouvrage peut servir :



Le premier est le médecin ordinaire, le troisième est le sorcier, le charmeur, le diseur de charmes  $\text{X} \text{III}$  *saou* ; j'ai traduit dubitativement le second, qui signifie littéralement *prêtre de Sokhit*, par *exorciseur*, il y a bien longtemps déjà. ‡ MM. Chabas et Piehl ont depuis lors rendu la même expression, le premier par *maître purificateur*, § le second par la simple transcription *prêtre de Sechet* sans essai d'interprétation. || La déesse Sokhit étant une des déesses dont la colère produit le plus de maladies et le plus de morts, ses prêtres étaient naturellement désignés pour l'apaiser et pour exorciser le malade qu'on supposait être en proie à ses fureurs.

En parcourant la collection des écrits alchimiques publiée par M. Berthelot, j'y ai remarqué le passage suivant : "Par exemple, après une fracture, si le patient rencontre un prêtre (habile), celui-ci agissant de sa propre inspiration (*ἰερεὺς, ὁς τόδε ἐὰν τῆς ἰατρικῆς ἐισιδαίμωνιὰς ποιῶν*), réunit les fragments, de telle sorte que l'on entend le craquement des os qui se rejoignent. Si l'on ne trouve pas un tel prêtre, que le blessé cependant ne craigne pas de mourir, mais que l'on amène des médecins avec leurs livres, pourvus de dessins et de figures ombrées (*ἰατροὶ ἔχοντες βίβλους κατὰ*

\* Schweinfurth et Ascherson, *Illustration de la Flore d'Egypte*, dans les *Mémoires de l'Institut Egyptien*, T. II, p. 58.

† *Papyrus Ebers*, pl. XCIX, l. 2, 3.





‡ *Revue Critique*, 1876, T. I, p. 237.

§ Chabas, *Détermination d'une date certaine dans le règne d'un roi de l'Ancien Empire*, 1877, pp. 12-14.

|| Piehl, *Un passage du papyrus Ebers*, dans la *Zeitschrift*, 1880, p. 134.




ζωγράφους γραμμικὰς σκιαστὰς ἐχούσας γραμμὰς). Etant pansé conformément aux lignes des figures du livre, le blessé est entouré de liens mécaniquement (*ἀπὸ βιβλίου περιδεσμεῖται ὁ ἄνθρωπος μηχανικῶς*), et il continue à vivre, après avoir repris la santé. Nulle part l'homme ne se résigne à mourir, faute de trouver un prêtre qui sache réunir les fractures (*ἰέρει ὄστροδότην*).” Et M. Berthelot ajoute en note pour commentaire du passage: “C'est la pratique du prêtre rebouteur, envisagée comme supérieure à la science écrite du médecin.”\*






Il me semble que ce texte peut nous servir à exprimer la marche de l'énumération que j'ai citée du *Papyrus Ebers*. L'alchimiste oppose l'un à l'autre le médecin et le prêtre rebouteur. Le médecin (*ἰατρός*), pris en dehors des sacerdoces spéciaux, qui a étudié la constitution du corps humain dans les livres, sur les figures anatomiques, et traite les fractures selon les préceptes de l'art, au moyen des ligatures dont ses livres lui enseignent la forme et l'usage, *mécaniquement*, comme dit le texte: le malade est traité de façon inférieure, mais il guérit tout de même. Le prêtre (*ἰερεὺς*) n'a point cette instruction vulgaire et terre-à-terre: il agit d'après l'inspiration directe et toute personnelle qu'il reçoit du dieu (*ἐὰν τῆς ἰεὺς ἐσεισίαιμονιός*), et l'alchimiste décrit d'une façon assez pittoresque la façon violente dont il opère, sans doute avec accompagnement de formules. Pour un adepte, son œuvre est supérieure à celle de l'autre, et l'on comprend que Zozime classe le prêtre avant le médecin. Au contraire, l'auteur du traité inséré au *Papyrus Ebers*, qui est un médecin, met ses confrères avant les prêtres de Sokhit.

Il énumère 1<sup>o</sup> le  *saounou* (*ἰατρός*), le médecin qui travaille d'après les livres (*ἔχων βιβλους κατὰ ζωγράφους γραμμικὰς*); 2<sup>o</sup> le   *ouibou* Sokhit, prêtre de la déesse Sokhit—l'alchimiste dit de façon plus générale un prêtre quelconque (*ἰερεὺς*)—qui emploie sous l'inspiration de sa divinité maîtresse des recettes surnaturelles (*τότε ἐὰν τῆς ἰεὺς ἐσεισίαιμονιός ποιῶν*): 3<sup>o</sup> il met en dernier lieu le charmeur  *saou*, qui n'a ni la science acquise du premier, ni l'inspiration divine du second, mais récite des formules que souvent il ne comprend guères, avec des cérémonies et des

\* Berthelot, *Collection des Anciens Alchimistes Grecs*, Texte, p. 233, traduction, p. 226.

gestes que souvent il ne comprend pas, et guérit, d'après une routine que lui ont transmise d'autres sorciers aussi peu savants ou aussi peu inspirés que lui.

On a donc pour les trois mots le sens suivant: 1°  médecin (*ιατρός*); 2°  prêtre de Sokhit (*ἱερεὺς*), exorciseur-rebouteur; 3°  saou, charmeur, sorcier. Ces trois termes marquent les trois échelons différents de la classe médicale en Egypte.

§ 14.—La ville où régnaient les princes de Béni-Hassan,   *Monâit-Khoufouï*, a été presque jusqu'à ces derniers temps identifiée avec Miniéh. Comme beaucoup de notions vraies ou fausses, qui passent pour être plus récentes, celle-ci remonte haut dans la science. Etienne Quatremère,\* trouvant dans les lexiques Coptes de la Bibliothèque Nationale l'équivalence de , , avec une ville arabe nommée المنية Al-Monyéh, identifia celle-ci avec la grand ville de منية ابن خصيم Miniêt ibn-Khasîm. Champollion adopta l'idée de Quatremère,† puis identifia *Monâit-Khoufouï* avec , c'est-à-dire avec Miniéh, dès qu'il connut les inscriptions de Béni-Hassan.‡ Cette identification, accueillie sans contrôle, se retrouve dans tous les ouvrages des Egyptologues jusqu'à Brugsch§ et Dümichen.|| Eisenlohr en modifia un peu l'expression en affirmant que la ville ancienne se trouvait sur la rive droite du Nil, juste en face de la moderne.¶ Le doute me vint pour la première fois en 1884, lorsqu'au lieu d'étudier isolément les inscriptions de Béni-Hassan, j'étudiai parallèlement celles de Bershéh, de Zaouïét-el-Maiétin, de Kom el-Ahmar, de toutes les nécropoles situées dans cette partie de la montagne arabe. Je remarquai en effet que des divinités différentes, par suite, des noms différents de sanctuaires et de villes, se rencontrent dans chaque

\* Et. Quatremère, *Memoires sur l'Egypte*, T. I, pp. 243-246.


† Champollion, *l'Egypte sous les Pharaons*, T. I, pp. 298, 299.

‡ Champollion, *Notices Manuscrites*, T. II, pp. 432, 433.

§ Brugsch, *Geogr. Ins.*, T. I, p. 224, *Dict. Géogr.*, pp. 255, 256, 1173.

|| Dümichen, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, pp. 191, 192.

¶ Eisenlohr, *Ober-Aegypten*, p. 3.

groupe de tombeaux. J'en arrivai promptement à reconnaître dans Miniéh la ville antique de Hibonou, , et Monâit-Khoufouï dans les ruines connues sous le nom de Médinét-Daoud.\* Des recherches analogues ont conduit d'autres égyptologues à des résultats analogues, et M. Edouard Meyer, dans sa remarquable *Histoire d'Égypte*, s'était déjà élevé contre l'identification de Monâit-Khoufouï et de Miniéh.† Il n'est pas inutile d'exposer les raisons qui m'ont décidé, et d'examiner les conséquences que ce changement de position peut avoir pour la géographie de l'Égypte.

Jomard avait fait observer que les tombes de Béni-Hassan avaient dû être creusées par les gens d'une ville située à peu de distance. "D'après la remarque générale que j'ai eu occasion de faire plusieurs fois, à côté d'une ville ancienne on est sûr de trouver, dans la montagne voisine, des carrières et des catacombes; et réciproquement, dès qu'on trouve quelque part des hypogées, c'est le signe d'une ancienne ville placée dans le voisinage. Ceux de Beny-Hasan doivent donc avoir appartenu à quelque grande ville des environs; et comme les ruines de *Beny-Hasan le vieux* sont trop petites pour répondre à l'étendue et à l'importance de ces catacombes, que l'espace compris entre la montagne et le Nil est lui-même trop étroit pour qu'il ait pu jamais renfermer une ville un peu étendue, j'en conclus qu'il faut chercher celle-ci en face de la montagne, là même où sont les ruines de Médinét Daoud."‡

J'avais été frappé de ce passage de Jomard, et j'en vérifiai l'exactitude, en Février 1884. Je vis comme lui, du haut de la colline de Beni-Hassan, les ruines auxquelles il fait allusion, mais je les trouvai fort amoindries depuis son temps: les fellahs avaient travaillé de leur mieux à les démolir, pas assez cependant pour qu'il fût impossible d'y retrouver tous les éléments de sa description. "Le nom d'*el-Anbagé* العنابجا (ou *el-Anbagyé* العنابجيا) est donné à des ruines inconnues et d'une étendue fort considérable, situées dans la plaine de la rive gauche du Nil, en face des grottes sépulcrales de Beny-Hasan, entre le village de Koum el-Zohayr et celui de Menchât-Da'bes. La longueur totale de cet espace depuis Koum-Beny-Daoud, au nord, jusqu'à l'extrémité sud, n'a pas moins de cinq

\* *Proceedings*, 1890, p. 157, note 2.


† Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 157, note 2.

‡ Jomard, *Description des antiquités de l'Heptanomide*, dans la *Description*, T. IV, pp. 349, 350.



nulle mètres. Trois buttes élevées se remarquent dans cet intervalle ; le terrain qui les sépare, quoique moins exhaussé, domine encore sur la plaine, et il est recouvert lui-même de décombres et de débris.....Aujourd'hui la grande route passe par le milieu de ces ruines, qu'on traverse pendant plus d'une heure, sans rencontrer un seul village . . . . La plus étendue des buttes de ruines est celle du Sud : on y trouve beaucoup de pierres taillées, et des briques cuites, d'une grande dimension. J'ai vu un mur, enfoui bien avant sous les décombres, large d'un mètre et demi ; il est bâti très-solidement, et formé avec ces grandes briques. A mesure qu'une colline s'abaisse et que l'inondation atteint jusqu'au sol (ce qui arrive par l'exhaussement croissant du fond du Nil), on y introduit la charrue, on enseme, et les ruines disparaissent."\*

Jomard conjecturait que ces ruines appartenaient à Theodosiopolis : l'idée me vint aussitôt qu'elles marquaient le site de

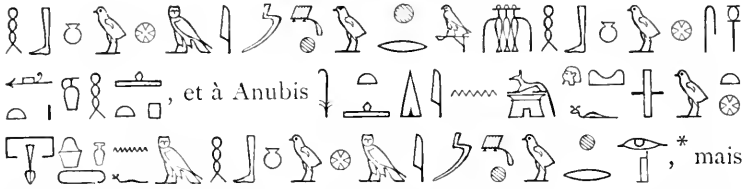
 MONÂÏT-KHOÛFOÛÏ. Toutefois, comme

MONÂÏT était déjà attribué à Miniéh, il fallait avant tout montrer que Miniéh portait dans l'antiquité un nom différent de celui de MONÂÏT. Ici encore Jomard me mit sur la voie : "On ne saurait affirmer," dit-il, en parlant de Miniéh, "qu'il y ait eu en cet endroit une ancienne ville égyptienne ; cependant les hypogées de Zâouyet el-Mayeteyn et les carrières de Sâouâdeh, qui sont presque en face, pourraient le faire présumer, d'après les motifs que j'ai développés plus haut. . . . Si ma conjecture sur la ville qui était opposée à Beny Hasan est fondée, celle que je présente ici est également vraisemblable, d'autant plus qu'il y a assez loin d'el-A'nbgagé à Minyeh, pour qu'il y ait eu en cet endroit une ancienne position sans un trop grand rapprochement de l'une à l'autre."† L'idée était d'autant plus séduisante qu'aujourd'hui encore les habitants de Miniéh enterrent leurs morts à Zaouïêt el-Maïétîn, au pied même des hauteurs dans lesquelles sont creusés les tombeaux antiques. Or les occupants de ces tombeaux antiques, dans la formule de leurs stèles, s'adressent à Osiris, comme d'habitude maître de Mendés :



\* Jomard, dans la *Description*, T. IV, pp. 347, 348.

† *Ibid.*, p. 368.



pour qu'ils leur donnent une sépulture excellente et des revenus funéraires dans Hibonou, ainsi qu'il convient à un féal du dieu maître d'Hibonou. Brugsch et Dümichen, qui avaient premier relevé ces passages, en ont conclu que la ville de Hibonou devait être cherchée dans les environs de Zaouiét el-Maïétin : † ils ont rapproché le nom égyptien du nom grec Ibiu, Ibion, Nibis, d'une des villes mentionnées dans les géographes romains. ‡ Le géographe peut hésiter entre deux positions : 1° Hibonou est Kom el-Ahmar, 2° Hibonou est Mimiéh.






Examinons en premier lieu l'hypothèse d'après laquelle Hibonou serait Kom el-Ahmar. "Sur la rive droite du Nil, un peu au sud [de Zaouiét], est une grande hauteur couverte de ruines, appelée du nom banal de *Koum el Ahmar*, ou *la Butte rouge* ; dénomination qui provient de la couleur des éclats des vases dont les décombres sont couverts. Ces ruines sont situées au pied de la chaîne arabique, et baignées par le fleuve ; la longueur est d'environ sept cents mètres, et la largeur de trois à quatre cents. Au milieu des poteries brisées, il y a beaucoup de morceaux d'albâtre poli, provenant d'anciens vases. . . . Du côté du fleuve il reste beaucoup de murs de briques bien conservés. Ces briques sont crues et de grande dimension, comme toutes celles qui sont l'ouvrage des anciens Egyptiens. On reconnaît dans tous ces débris les restes d'une ancienne bourgade égyptienne, et, en considérant la montagne percée de grottes et d'hypogées, on en est pleinement convaincu." § Les ruines sont aujourd'hui encore à peu-près en l'état où Jomard les vit : on y retrouve la brique, les débris d'albâtres, les restes de maisons et de murailles, et l'on peut dire que la ville ancienne qu'elles représentent nous est arrivée suffisamment intacte pour qu'on puisse juger de sa condition. Or, ce qui frappe en elle à première vue, c'est l'absence non-seulement d'un temple, mais d'un emplacement où il soit permis



\* Lepsius, *Denkmaeler*, II, pl. 111, c, g, Tombeau 14 de Zaouiét el-Maïétin.

† Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 1252.

‡ Dümichen, *Geschichte Aegypten*, pp. 192, 193, et p. 195, note 1.

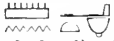
§ Jomard, dans la *Description*, T. IV, pp. 354, 355.

de supposer qu'il y ait eu jadis un temple. La bourg antique qui s'élevait en cet endroit n'était donc pas un centre religieux, et cette simple observation suffit pour écarter l'hypothèse d'après laquelle il représenterait Hibonou. Cette ville était en effet la métropole du nome, et en cette qualité elle possédait un temple, petit ou grand je n'en sais rien, mais en tout cas un édifice en pierre où l'Horus local était adoré: l'inscription d'Edfou donne le nom du grand-prêtre, l'image du dieu et certains autres détails qui sont malheureusement perdus aujourd'hui.\* La même raison me paraît suffisante pour exclure les autres sites du voisinage qui portent des ruines antiques, et il ne reste plus qu'à en revenir à l'hypothèse de Jomard, que les personnages enterrés à Zaouïet el-Maïétin avaient vécu dans une ville située sur l'emplacement de Miniéh. Comme les textes nomment leur ville  Hibonou, Hibonou est l'ancien nom de Miniéh. C'est ce que j'admets volontiers: la Miniéh moderne a recouvert et absorbé les monuments de l'Hibonou antique, comme Girgéh a dévoré ceux de Thinis. Ajoutons que ces monuments n'ayant jamais été fort considérables, la destruction n'en a dû être ni longue ni difficile. J'ai cherché si les mosquées de Miniéh n'en contenaient pas des fragments, et j'ai en effet remarqué des débris d'hiéroglyphes sur plusieurs pierres de la mosquée en ruines construite ou reconstruite,—car je n'ai pas déchiffré de façon bien certaine l'inscription arabe qui s'y trouve—par le sultan Negmed-dîn . Jomard en avait vu davantage.† Quant au nom  MOONÉ, il ne me paraît pas nécessaire qu'il ait une origine ancienne: c'est peut-être la transcription en copte de l'arabe  el-Moniéh, y compris l'article arabe. Si pourtant il est ancien, n'est-il pas permis de penser que le voisinage d'une ville florissante que les Arabes appelaient el-Moniéh, el-Miniéh, a suffi à détacher le nom  MOONÉ de la localité ruinée qui le portait?

Du moment que Miniéh est  HIBONOU, rien ne s'oppose plus à ce qu'on revienne à l'hypothèse si naturelle de Jomard, que les ruines d'el-Anbagé représentent la ville des personnages ensevelis à Béni-Hassan. Comme la ville de ces personnages s'appelait  MONAÏT-KHOUFOUÏ, le nom









\* Naville, *Mythe d' Horus*, pl. XIV.

† Jomard, dans la *Description*, T. IV, p. 368.

ancien d'el-Anbagé était Monâit-Khoufoui. L'histoire approximative de cette localité peut se déduire de son nom même. J'ai montré ailleurs que le nom de  MONÂÏT, *la nourrice*, était donné à des domaines ou à des fiefs, dès l'ancien Empire, accompagné d'un nom d'homme qui est tantôt le nom du propriétaire, tantôt celui du Pharaon sous lequel vivait le premier possesseur.\* Le domaine de Monâit-Khoufoui dut être constitué sous le Pharaon Khéops, pour ou par le prince de Mâhit alors régnant : la ville qui s'y développa devint, sous la XI<sup>e</sup> et sous la XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie, la capitale d'une branche de la famille princière d'Hermopolis. Le domaine qui dépendait d'elle était à l'Orient du Nil, et il me paraît nécessaire d'examiner ici quelques uns des passages qui le concernent et qui me semblent avoir été mal compris jusqu'à présent.


La grande inscription de Béni-Hassan décrit en ces termes un des épisodes de l'histoire de la famille de Khnoumhotpou : "Quand le roi Amenemhâit m'établit






prince, administrateur des montagnes orientales, prêtre d'Horou et de Pakhit, sur l'héritage du père de ma mère dans MONÂÏT-KHOUFOÏ, il m'établit une stèle au midi, il me bâtit celle du Nord [solide] comme le ciel, il me divisa le grand bras du Nil (litt.) sur son dos." La même investiture avait été donnée au père de sa mère par un décret d'Amenemhâit I<sup>er</sup>, et la description du territoire, qui est faite dans les même termes, ajoute un dernier membre de phrase, grâce auquel nous apprenons un détail de plus, que la rive ainsi cédée, était        , "la rive orientale du bras principal du Nil, celle du KHOUÏT-HOROU, qui va

\* *Proceedings*, 1890, p. 246.



† Lepsius, *Denkmaeler*, II, pl. 124.

jusqu'à la montagne Orientale."\* Le Nil forme bien la frontière occidentale de la principauté nouvelle, car, lorsque le grand-père de Khnoumhotpou reçut ensuite d'Amenemhâit I<sup>er</sup> l'investiture du reste du nome de Mâhit, l'inscription dit expressément que la partie ainsi donnée est celle qui est limitée par le grand bras du fleuve, avec ses eaux, ses champs, ses bois, ses sables,  "jusqu'aux montagnes occidentales."† La principauté de MONĀÏT-KHOUFOUÏ étant tout entière à l'Est du grand bras du fleuve, la capitale MONĀÏT-KHOUFOUÏ doit elle aussi être située entre le fleuve et la chaîne Arabique, sur la rive droite du Nil. Or, el-Anbagé est sur la rive gauche, comme Miniéh du reste. Comment concilier avec le texte de Béni-Hassan l'identification nouvelle que je viens de proposer?

L'examen du pays, et, à défaut, un coup d'œil jeté sur la carte, suffisent à résoudre la question. La partie du territoire située sur la rive droite du Nil, dans l'ancien nome de la Gazelle, entre Sheikh Tmaïé شَيْخ تَمَائِي, qui marque la frontière du Sud et el-Aouartah العوارتي, qui marque à peu-près la frontière du Nord, n'est qu'une bande de terrain étroite. Le Nil court presque partout fort près de la montagne : quand il s'en écarte, c'est pour laisser le champ libre aux sables. La population assez rare des villages qu'on rencontre le long de la rive est misérable et cultive quelques carrés de céréales, qui, avec le produit des palmiers et des maigres troupeaux de moutons, la nourrissent à peine. L'idée qui vient naturelle à l'esprit, quand on compare la pauvreté du pays actuel avec la richesse décrite et représentée dans les tombes, est que le Nil a dû se déplacer depuis l'antiquité et se porter vers l'Est plus qu'il ne faisait. L'état de la plaine comprise entre le fleuve actuel et le Bahr-Yousouf confirme cette impression. Jomard, décrivant el-Anbagé, constata que "un assez grand canal, qui a des levées très hautes, arrosait autrefois

\* Lepsius, *Denkmaeler*, II, pl. 124. J'admets la correction  KHOUIT-HOROU, proposée, je crois, par Dümichen, et adoptée par Krebs (*de Chnemothis inscriptione*, p. 21). Le nom de , *horizon d'Horus*, donné au nome de Mâhit, domaine du dieu Horus, aura pu servir de modèle au nom de  KHOUIT-ATON, *Horizon d'Aton*, qu'Amenhotpou IV donna plus tard, dans les mêmes parages, au nome nouveau d'el-Amarna.

† Lepsius, *Denkmaeler*, II, pl. 124, l. 53.


le pied des décombres ; il est aujourd'hui comblé. Les habitants regardent ces levées comme une partie des ruines ; mais il est visible qu'elles appartiennent à un ancien canal : elles ont servi depuis à former la digue de Menhary."\* En examinant de plus près la plaine, on y reconnaît, à l'Ouest d'el-Anbagé, une dépression assez sensible, qui forme un large lit de fleuve, s'embranchant sur le Nil actuel, entre Sinbellaouïن سنبالوین ou Minchat Dabes منشات دعبس et Safaïéh سفائح, se dirige sur Tahnasa طهنسا et Beni Ahmed el-Mansourah بنى احمد المنصورة, et se rejoint à l'un des nombreux canaux du nom de Bathen بطن qui traversent la plaine en cet endroit. Sur bien des points, ce n'est plus qu'une ondulation de terrain à peine sensible ; ailleurs, le tracé du lit est nettement marqué et se dessine parfaitement. Il faudrait une étude de quelques jours pour en relever le parcours complet, mais ce qu'on en voit de primesaut prouve qu'aux temps anciens, un bras important du fleuve passait à l'Ouest d'el-Anbagé, c'est-à-dire à l'Ouest de Monâit-Khoufouï. Or, le texte de Béni-Hassan dit formellement que la principauté dont Monâit-Khoufouï était la capitale couvrait la rive orientale du fleuve, et avait pour limite le grand bras du Nil . Donc, le cours d'eau dont on voit encore le lit à l'Ouest d'el-Anbagé (Monâit-Khoufouï) était le  grand bras du Nil sous la XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie.

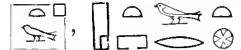
Voilà pour le site de Monâit-Khoufouï : que dire maintenant de celui de Hibonou ? Hibonou était la capitale du nome de la Gazelle ; si elle avait été enfermée dans la partie orientale de ce nome, elle aurait appartenu aux princes de Monâit-Khoufouï, et ceux-ci auraient certainement mentionné une ville de cette importance. J'en conclus que Hibonou n'était pas sur la rive droite du fleuve, mais se trouvait, comme aujourd'hui Miniéh, sur la rive gauche. Le grand bras qui coulait à l'Ouest de Monâit-Khoufouï rejoignait donc le lit actuel du fleuve au sud de Miniéh, et l'examen que j'ai fait de la rive me porte à croire que la jonction se faisait dans la dépression qu'en remarque aujourd'hui entre el-Haouasliah الحواصلية et Minshât et-Targoumân منشات الترجمان, presque en face de Zaouiet el-Maictin : la grande boucle que fait le fleuve entre Sefaïéh et Nazlét-Mataharah n'aurait pas existé dans l'antiquité. La principauté de








\* Jomard, dans la *Description*, T. IV, pp. 348, 349.



Monâit-Khoufouï avait de la sorte un territoire suffisant pour que ses princes ne fussent pas exposés à vivre aussi misérablement que leurs sujets.


Puisque j'en suis à parler du nome de la Gazelle, autant vaut indiquer de suite un certain nombre d'identifications que m'a suggérées une longue étude de son histoire. Le dieu Khnoumou et la déesse Hiqit y étaient adorés, ainsi qu'Osiris dans la ville de

 M. Jacques de Rougé a démontré l'identité de ce nom avec celui de

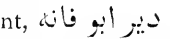
, † ce qui

a été admis par Brugsch. ‡ La lecture était HAROUÏRIT, puis, par chute de  médiale et de  féminin, HAOUÏRI, HAOURI, HÂOUR. Brugsch avait d'abord pensé qu'elle pouvait être identique à Hibonou, ce qui nous forcerait à la mettre sur l'emplacement de Miniéh. Il a cité depuis un texte qui tend à la placer dans la partie sud du nome, du côté d'Hermopolis et au nord de cette dernière ville. J'ai depuis longtemps identifié Haouri, Haouïri, avec le bourg moderne de Hour , situé sur le Bahr-Yousouf, et qui possède des ruines antiques. Le changement du  en  est perpétuel dans les nom qui renferment cette lettre, comme le prouvent les formes , , Senhour, Damanhour, etc. ; il n'y a donc de ce chef aucune objection

au rapprochement de  Hour avec  Haouïrit, Haouri,

Haour. Hour répond d'ailleurs, comme Quatremère l'a indiqué, § au copte , qui avait donné son nom à la montagne voisine

. || Près de Hour s'élèvent les ruines d'un ancien

convent,  Deir abou-Fanéh, le monastère de la croix, adossé à une grande butte, couverte de débris de vases et de briques : les morceaux de granit gris travaillés abondent en cet endroit, et indiquent la présence dans le voisinage d'un ancien temple égyptien. "C'est à l'est de Déir abou-Fanéh que se trouvent deux villages contigus appelés *el-Qasr* et *Hour* : le premier, sur la rive droite du

\* Brugsch, *Géogr. Ins.*, p. 224.

† J. de Rougé, *Textes Géographiques du Temple d'Edfou*, dans la *Revue Archéologique*, deuxième série, T. XXIII, pp. 73, 74.

‡ Brugsch, *Dict. Géogr.*, pp. 153, 524, 525, 1131, 1132.





§ Et Quatremère, *Observations sur quelques points de la Géographie de l'Égypte*, pp. 29, 30.

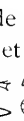

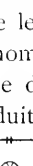
|| Zoega, *Catalogus codicum*, p. 546.

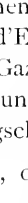






Nefrus, das ist nämlich der Gott Suteb (Beinamen des Qeb), etc.” Il me semble que le passage doit être interprété autrement que ne le fait Brugsch.

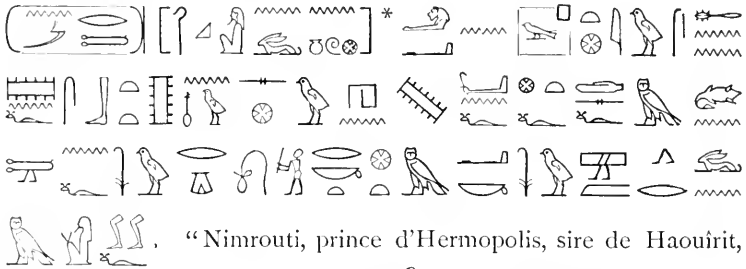
 *Khonti Tasou-hor* est un nom divin formé comme  *Khont-Amentit*,  *Khonti-Hosrit*, etc., s'appliquant comme ceux-ci, à un dieu déterminé dont il définit la nature et ne s'appliquant qu'à lui seul. Lorsque ce nom se rencontre dans une série de noms divins, c'est à lui que les titres suivants se rattachent jusqu'à ce qu'on rencontre un nom nouveau, et non pas aux noms qui le précèdent. Or  *Khonti*.





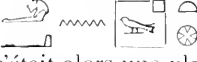
Tasou-hor est un des noms de l'Horus d'Edfou, et c'est par conséquent à l'Horus d'Edfou que se rapporte l'épithète de  *Nofrousi*, non pas à Khnoumou. La légende ne doit pas se traduire comme le fait Brugsch, “Khnoumou [qui est] maître de Hirouer, [qui est le dieu d'Apollinopolis Magna, qui est] le maître de Nefrous,” en faisant des mots qui suivent *Khnoumou* autant de titres, indépendants l'un de l'autre du dieu Khnoumou; on doit la traduire: “Khnoumou, maître de Hirouer, [qui est] Khonti Tasou-Hor dieu grand maître de Nofrousi.” L'inscription établit une identité dont je n'ai pas à apprécier ici la valeur entre deux divinités qui, l'une, Khnoumou, règne dans la ville de Haouïrit du nome de la Gazelle, l'autre, *Khonti Tasou-Hor*, c'est-à-dire l'Horus d'Edfou, règne sur une autre ville, Nofrousi, qui appartient également au nome de la Gazelle. Nous savons en effet que les prêtres d'Edfou considéraient le dieu épervier, l'Horus, du nome de la Gazelle, comme une forme de leur Horus à eux.\* Cette discussion, un peu subtile, nous permet d'écarter le texte introduit par Brugsch, et l'identité de  Haouïrit et de  Nofrousi, qu'on pourrait être tenté d'admettre sur ce témoignage. Au lieu des cultes de Khnoumou et d'Hathor, que Brugsch donne comme ayant prévalu à Nofrousi, il faut substituer ceux d'Horus et d'Hathor, tant que de nouveaux documents ne seront pas venu modifier l'état de la question.

Il faut pourtant retenir un point de l'examen de ce texte: le parallélisme entre les deux villes de  Haouïrit et de  Nofrousi.

\* J. de Rougé, *Textes géographiques*, dans la *Revue Archéologique*, 2<sup>e</sup> série, T. XXIII, p. 72 *sqq.*

 Nofrousit, où chacune des deux divinités recevait un culte. Le même parallélisme se rencontre dans un passage malheureusement mutilé de l'inscription de Piánkhi (ll. 6, 7). La meilleure restitution est probablement :





“Nimrouiti, prince d’Hermopolis, sire de Haouïrit, après avoir démantelé (litt.: Etant  il a démantelé) Nofrousit, et avoir ruiné sa propre ville lui-même, par peur que Tafnakhti ne la lui prit en allant assiéger une autre ville, le voici qui va pour être l’esclave de Tafnakhti.” C’est comme seigneur de Haouïrit que le roi Nimroti d’Hermopolis démantèle Nofrousit, et le mot  *nouit-if*, “sa ville,” qui suit, ne peut s’appliquer qu’à Nofrousit, car nous voyons par la suite du contexte qu’Hermopolis, qui, elle aussi, était  la ville d’Osorkon, loin d’être  ruinée, a ses murs intacts, et oppose une résistance vigoureuse aux armées de Piánkhi. Le passage nous apprend, en résumé: 1<sup>o</sup> que Hâouïrit était détachée à cette époque de la partie nord du nome de la Gazelle, et était rattachée au petit royaume d’Hermopolis, ce que sa proximité de cette ville explique suffisamment; 2<sup>o</sup> que Nofrousit dépendait également d’Hermopolis, et, d’après le mouvement général des idées, que c’était comme  *sire d’Hâouïrit*, que Nimroti la possédait; 3<sup>o</sup> que c’était alors une place forte entourée de murailles; 4<sup>o</sup> et aussi, par induction, qu’elle était située sur le Nil. Les termes mêmes employés par le scribe éthiopien sont en effet des plus curieux. Nimroti détruit les murailles de Nofrousit, mais ne détruit pas celles d’Hermopolis; Hermopolis, ayant une importance plus grande que Nofrousit, il faut qu’il y ait un motif spécial qui rende le démantèlement de Nofrousit nécessaire, et ne s’applique pas au site d’Hermopolis. Le scribe

\* Cfr. l. 70,  “le prince de Hnès Pefzââbastit.”


indique en effet ce motif. Si Nimroti détruit sa place forte, c'est de peur que le conquérant saïte Tafnakhti ne la prenne, lorsqu'il ira enlever d'assaut une autre des villes qui sont situées plus au sud ; mais, pourquoi la même raison ne vaudrait-elle point pour Hermopolis, et pourquoi Tafnakhti ne serait-il pas tenté de prendre Hermopolis dans sa marche vers le midi, comme il aurait été tenté de prendre Nofrousit ?



Si l'on étudie la marche générale des opérations pendant cette guerre, on saisira immédiatement les motifs qui ont guidé le roi Nimroti dans sa conduite. Les deux adversaires, Tafnakhti comme Piânkhi, opèrent de préférence sur le bras principal du Nil et sur ses berges. Tafnakhti occupe, par ses fantassins et par sa flotte, les deux rives du fleuve jusqu'aux environs de Miniéh, et pendant ce temps peut assiéger impunément Hnès : la libre possession du Nil assure ses communications, et, comme la possession du Nil dépend de la possession des forteresses riveraines, c'est sur les cités riveraines qu'il met la main de préférence. Piânkhi de même bloque Hermopolis, mais remonte plus haut pendant la durée du blocus et s'empare, lui aussi, des places situées au-delà. Ses soldats prennent successivement

 *ta-Tehni*, aujourd'hui Tehnéh,\* qu'ils trouvèrent


 Habonou, qui l'une et l'autre commandaient le cours du Nil : du moment qu'ils tiennent la voie d'eau, ils peuvent laisser derrière eux sans inconvénient les villes les plus importantes. Or, nous savons qu'Hermopolis est à une certaine distance du Nil, et n'est pas en mesure d'en fermer directement la navigation : il importe donc peu à Tafnakhti que cette ville soit fortifiée ou non, du moment que le prince reconnaît sa suzeraineté. Quand bien même Nimroti se serait révolté sur ses derrières, il n'aurait pu d'Hermopolis même empêcher les escadres saïtes de circuler librement sur le Nil : il ne démantèle donc pas Hermopolis, parce qu'Hermopolis, n'étant pas sur le Nil, n'en commande point la navigation. Revenons maintenant le raisonnement pour l'appliquer à Nofrousit.

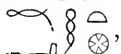






\* *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, T. II, p. 292. L'identification que j'ai proposée alors ayant été admise par J. de Rougé, par Brugsch, par Dümichen, peut être considérée aujourd'hui comme définitive.

Nimroti démantèle lui-même, en se soumettant, cette ville qui lui appartient, de peur que Tafnakhti ne la prit , pour donner l'assaut à une autre ville : c'est donc que cette ville était sur le chemin qu'aurait dû suivre l'armée de Tafnakhti pour aller vers toute autre ville au sud d'Hermopolis, et, comme ce chemin est nécessairement le Nil, c'est que Nofrousit était sur le Nil et en commandait le cours.

Cela posé, et donné l'importance religieuse de Nofrousit, deux hypothèses se présentent : 1<sup>o</sup> Nofrousit est identique à Hibonou, en d'autres termes Nofrousit est Miniéh. Tout ce que nous savons jusqu'à présent va contre cette identification. Hibonou est consacrée à un dieu Horus, Nofrousit au contraire appartient à la déesse Hathor, et d'une façon presque exclusive : la différence des cultes principaux entraîne nécessairement la différence des villes. De plus, les textes mettent, comme je l'ai dit, Haouïrit en parallélisme perpétuelle avec Nofrousit, et ne la mettent jamais en parallélisme avec Hibonou : c'est évidemment que Hibonou et Nofrousit sont dans deux parties distinctes du nome de la Gazelle, et, comme Haouïrit est au sud, sur la frontière hermopolitaine, Nofrousit est également au sud sur la frontière hermopolitaine, seulement tandis que Haouïrit est sur le Bahr-Yousouf, Nofrousit est sur le Nil même. 2<sup>o</sup> A la hauteur à peu-près de Hour, on remarque deux sites où les restes antiques abondent : "*Koum el-Rahâleh* , à l'est de Hour, auprès du Nil ; butte de ruines, couverte de jones, de briques et de débris de poteries : on y trouve aussi des pierres ruinés parmi lesquelles les habitants de Sâkyet Mousy viennent chercher des matériaux. Ces ruines ont environ quatre cents mètres de longueur. Au sud, est une autre butte semblable, reste d'une habitation très ancienne, au rapport des habitants. *Etlidem* , un peu au nord, gros village où l'on trouve des ruines. Vers le nord du village j'ai vu sept colonnes de granit rouge, et une qui est de granit noir. Une de ces colonnes est encore debout : celle-ci est d'ouvrage grec ou égyptien ; les autres ont été altérées par un travail grossier. Parmi les colonnes couchées, on en remarque une très mal travaillée, qui présente une partie plane, couverte d'étoiles égyptiennes :\* c'est évidemment un fragment de plafond d'un temple d'Égypte, qui devait être fort somptueux, si l'on juge par les

\* Voyez *Description*, T. IV, pl. 67, 5.

apparences : on a taillé et arrondi, tant bien que mal, ce fragment. Toutes ces colonnes de granit forment une mosquée aujourd'hui ruinée, qui avait succédé à une église dans le temps de l'introduction de l'islamisme. Du côté de l'est, on voit beaucoup de débris de briques cuites : on les trouve abondamment en fouillant un petit canal, et les habitants d'Etlidem s'en servent pour bâtir."\* Un coup d'œil jeté sur la carte montrera que le site Etlidem-Kom-er-rahahéh convient à tout ce que nous savons de Nofrousit. Il est au sud du nome, près d'Eshmounéin, comme Nofrousit près d'Hermopolis ; il est voisin et comme parallèle de Hour de la même manière que Nofrousit était voisin et comme parallèle d'Haouïrit ; il commande directement le Nil, comme Nofrousit, et le courant principal passe sous ses berges ; on trouve à Etlidem les restes d'un grand temple, qui est probablement celui de l'Hathor de Nofrousit ; enfin la ville s'est prolongée jusqu'à l'islamisme, et nous savons que Nofrousit et son culte d'Hathor existaient encore sous les Romains. Je ne crois pas m'avancer beaucoup en affirmant que Nofrousit  occupait l'emplacement d'Etlidem ou de Kom-er-rahahéh.

La plupart des autres localités mentionnées comme appartenant au nome de la Gazelle ont été déjà identifiées par divers Egyptologues. M. J. de Rougé a émis l'idée que le nom de ,  MÂHIT, qui est à proprement parler celui du nome , s'applique parfois à la capitale, par suite, que le temple de  HA-MÂHIT est le temple du dieu dans la capitale à Hibonou.† Brugsch ne se prononce point : c'est, dit-il, le "nom de la localité où se trouve le temple du dieu local du XVI<sup>e</sup> nome de la Haute-Egypte (avec la métropole  Hebenu)."‡ La première partie de l'opinion de M. de Rougé est prouvée par le grand texte d'Edfou qui, décrivant le dieu local, dit de lui que c'est  "Horus sous forme d'épervier sur le dos de la gazelle, reposant en son château (en son temple) de MÂHIT :” MÂHIT est évidemment ici l'équivalent de  HIBONOU,














\* Jomard, dans la *Description*, T. IV, pp. 329, 330.



† J. de Rougé, *Textes géographiques*, dans le *Revue Archéologique*, 2<sup>e</sup> série, T. XXIII, pp. 73 et 75.

‡ Brugsch, *Dict. géog.*, p. 288.

et, puisque Hibonou est Miniéh, Mâhit est également Miniéh. Les deux noms sont mis du reste en parallélisme complet au *Papyrus de Boulaq*, n° 3 ; \*



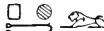







“Il vient à toi Horus maître de Hibonou, dieu grand chef de Mâhit, et il t’apporte une bandelette fabriquée dans Mâhit, un phylactère de toile fabriqué dans Hibonou.” Toutefois, je crois qu’il y a lieu de distinguer entre Mâhit et   Hâmâhit. Ce dernier nom est celui de cet endroit du nome qui était en rapport avec le culte de la nécropole : † il se trouve englobé dans la même série que le    Azamout de Thèbes, le   d’Hermopolis, le   Ta-ouit d’Ha-bonou, l’  Anroudouf d’Héracléopolis, le   Ankhtaoui de Memphis.

Or, il semble bien résulter des textes et de l’examen du terrain, que ces localités étaient, ou bien à l’entrée même de la nécropole comme Azamout et Anroudouf, ou bien à l’endroit de la ville d’où l’on partait pour se rendre à la nécropole. A Miniéh les deux sites possibles sont assez éloignés l’un de l’autre et séparés par le Nil. Si Hâmâhit marquait un temple funéraire situé près de la ville même, l’emplacement devait en être au Sud, non loin de l’embouchure du canal, à l’endroit où j’ai vu les convois funèbres s’embarquer pour l’autre rive. Si Hamâhit est auprès de la nécropole même, il faut le chercher au voisinage de Zaouïét-el-Maiétin, à proximité des cimetières anciens et modernes de Miniéh. Les plus importants sont celui des chrétiens à Nazlét Saouâdéh نزلة السوادة, et celui des Musulmans à Zaouïét el-Maiétin même. C’est à Nazlét es-Saouâdéh que je placerai de préférence   HÂ-MÂHIT. Les Egyptiens, devenus chrétiens, continuèrent en effet d’enterrer leurs morts aux endroits où leurs pères païens étaient ensevelis, même après la conquête arabe ; c’est ainsi qu’à Akhmîm, par exemple, les tombes chrétiennes du VIII<sup>e</sup>, IX<sup>e</sup>, X<sup>e</sup> siècles touchent aux tombes

\* Mariette, *Papyrus de Boulaq*, T. I, pap. III, pl. X, ll. 13, 14 ; *cf.*, Maspero, *Mémoire sur quelques papyrus du Louvre*, p. 49.

† C’est pour cela que Brugsch a désigné les localités de ce type comme *nécropoles* dans son *Dictionnaire Géographique*, p. 1362.

païennes du II<sup>e</sup>, III<sup>e</sup>, IV<sup>e</sup> siècles, mais ne sont mêlées à aucune tombe musulmane. Si les musulmans de Miniéh choisirent le site de Zaouiét el-Maiêtîn, c'est donc que la nécropole indigène ne s'étendait pas jusque là, et n'occupait comme aujourd'hui que les alentours de Saouâdéh. Jomard signale en effet à Nazlét-Saouâdéh un grand hypogée d'époque romaine qui fut converti en église, une église ancienne, un couvent.\* On voit çà et là dans les murailles des fragments des blocs antiques qui doivent avoir appartenu au temple, mais le temple, qui devait être assez petit, a été démoli au profit des édifices chrétiens.

Le village de Béni-Hassan est, depuis d'Anville, considéré comme étant le Speos Artemidos romain.† La vallée, ou plutôt le ravin qui s'ouvre près de Béni-Hassan, renferme le spéos de la déesse  Pakhit, lionne ou femme à tête de lionne, identifiée par les Grecs à leur Artémis. Le site du bourg ancien n'est pas à Béni-Hassan même, qui est d'origine moderne, je le placerai un peu au Sud de Béni-Hassan, à l'entrée même du ravin, où l'on rencontre la butte de décombres signalée par Jomard ‡ et portée d'après ses indications sur la carte française. Champollion reconnut que la grotte était le Spéos qui avait donné son nom à la localité grecque, § puis Brugsch || remarqua que la localité répond à la ville pharaonique de  PACHIT, ou  PI-PAKHIT. Le ravin s'appelait tantôt simplement  ANIT, la vallée ¶ ou , la bouche de la vallée, tantôt ,  SAIT, la coupure.\*\* c'est là qu'était la nécropole des chats †† dévalisée l'an dernier par un industriel qui transporta près de deux cent mille chats momifiés en Angleterre: le spéos était  le château divin de la Vallée, le temple de la Vallée. ††

\* Jomard, dans la *Description*, T. IV, p. 365 *sqq.*; Champollion, *Notices Manuscrites*, T. II, pp. 437, 438.

† D'Anville, *Mémoires géographiques sur l'Égypte*, pp. 176-178.

‡ Jomard, dans la *Description*, T. IV, p. 334.

§ Champollion, *Notices Manuscrites*, T. II, p. 464.

|| Brugsch, *Dict. Géogr.*, pp. 225, 226, 1024.

¶ *Ibid.*, pp. 46, 1104.

\*\* *Ibid.*, pp. 659, 660.

†† Champollion, *Notices Manuscrites*, T. II, pp. 462-464.

‡‡ Brugsch, *Dict. Géogr.*, p. 46







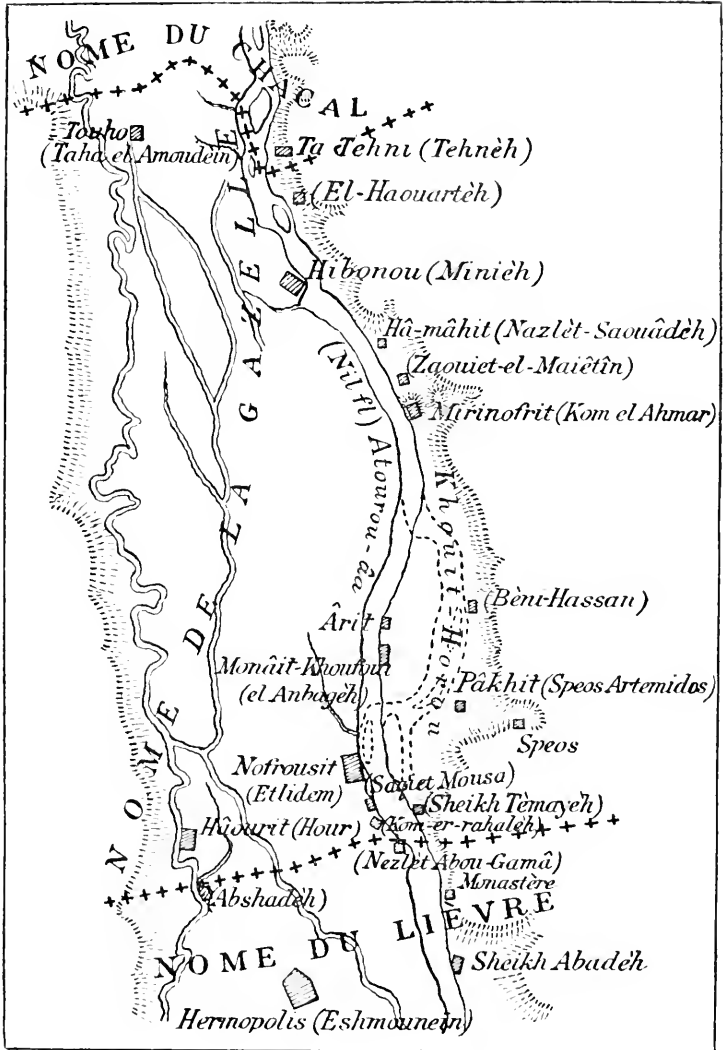




Fig. 2.—ESSAI DE RESTITUTION DE LA CARTE DU NOME ANTIQUE DE LA GAZELLE.


sont prêtres ou prêtresses de Khnoumou de Hâouïrit, de Pakhit, d'Hathor de Nofrousit ou d'autres dieux, jamais d'un dieu qui soit propre à leur capitale. Le fait s'explique aisément par ce que j'ai dit de son origine : un domaine n'avait pas de dieu qui lui fût propre, mais le dieu de la ville ou de la bourgade voisine. 



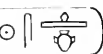



ARIT, serait-il le nom de la bourgade de laquelle avait dépendu le domaine de Monâit-Khoufouï? On comprendrait alors pourquoi son Hathor, toute insignifiante quelle fût, était intercalée parfois entre l'Hathor de Nofrousit et la Pakhit de Saït : elle était la déesse du bourg dont Monâit-Khoufouï dépendait religieusement. Son site devrait alors être cherché sur l'une des buttes que Jomard signale dans le champ de ruines d'el-Anbagéh. Si, comme je le crois, Monâit-Khoufouï est la butte du sud qu'on appelle à proprement parler el-Anbagéh ou Médinét Daoud **مدینه داود**, Arit pourrait être le tertre de ruines situé vers le nord, et qu'on nomme Kom-Béné-Daoud **كوم بنى داود**.\*

Je ne me souviens pas qu'on ait essayé de déterminer de façon précise les limites des nomes égyptiens ; la chose est possible pour certaines d'entre eux et même pour le nome de la Gazelle (fig. 2). La frontière méridionale est déterminée très nettement, quand on a vu les lieux. Sur la rive droite, tout le terrain au Sud de Beni-Hassan forme jusqu'à Sheikh Timaiéh **شيخ تماي** une dépendance nécessaire du bourg du Speos-Artemidos. A Sheikh Timaiéh la montagne se rapproche du Nil au point de ne laisser aucun espace cultivable sur une longueur de plusieurs kilomètres ; elle ne s'éloigne de nouveau qu'un peu au Nord de Sheikh-Abadéh, près d'un monastère ruiné situé presque en face de Galandoul **قلندول**.† La frontière du nome de la Gazelle et celle du nome Hermopolite devait passer entre Sheikh Timaiéh et ce couvent, et j'ai eu l'impression qu'elle était au-delà des tombeaux de Sheikh Timaiéh, à cheval sur les carrières. Sur la rive gauche, Nofrousit était ville frontière, et, si nous la mettons à Etlidem ou à Kom er-rahah, la limite des deux nomes oscillera nécessairement entre Saqiét-Mousa **ساقية موسى** et Nazlét Abou Gama **نزلة ابو جامع**. De même l'identification d'Haouirit 

\* Jomard, dans la *Description*, T. IV, pp. 348, 349.

† *Ibid.*, p. 330 *sqq.*

avec Hour, nous oblige à placer la séparation vers Abshadah الشادّة et Bené-Khaled بنى خالد. En traçant une ligne à peu-près droite de Sheikh Timayéh à Bené-Khaled, on aura à peu-près exactement la frontière méridionale du nome de la Gazelle, septentrionale du nome du Lièvre. Au nord, la limite entre le nome de la Gazelle et celui du Chacal  est déterminée sur la rive droite par la position relative de Tehnéh et de Miniéh. Nous savons en effet que Tehnéh est l'Acoris des auteurs grecs,\* et que l'Acoris des auteurs grecs était située dans le nome Cynopolite, qui est celui du Chacal; la limite des deux provinces devait donc être un peu au sud de Tehnéh, à l'endroit où la montagne se rapproche du fleuve, et sépare le petit bassin de Tehnéh du petit bassin d'El-Aouartah. Sur la rive gauche, la direction de la ligne dépend de la solution qu'on donne à une question que je ne puis débattre ici, la position de la ville copte de Touho, Théodosiopolis. J'admets avec Quatremère, Champollion, J. de Rougé, Dümichen, Brugsch,† que Touho est la Tahâ el-Amoudéïn طحا العمودين de nos jours, et cette assimilation, qui me paraît être certaine, permet de fixer la frontière des deux nomes sur la ligne qui, au temps de l'expédition d'Egypte, séparait de ce côté la province d'Atfiéh de celle de Miniéh, vers la digue de Tahâ.

Encore un mot avant de terminer, sur la localité que le texte de la grande Inscription de Beni-Hassan appelle    HÂIT-SHOTPAËRÏ, le Château d'Amenemhâit I<sup>er</sup>. M. Dümichen y voit la forme complète du nom de Touho (Theodosiopolis)‡ M. Ed. Meyer émet l'opinion, qu'elle pourrait bien être identique au    Château de Pepi, mentionné dans les titres des princes de Gazelle.§ J'ai pensé que c'était un fief de la dame Boqit, qu'elle avait apporté en dot à son mari,|| et M. Krebs en fait la résidence de



\* D'Anville, *Mémoires Géographiques sur l'Égypte*, p. 176.

† E. Quatremère, *Mémoires sur l'Égypte*, T. I, pp. 367, 368; Champollion, *l'Égypte sous les Pharaons*, T. I, pp. 299, 300; J. de Rougé, *Textes Géographiques*, T. XXIII, p. 72; Dümichen, *Geschichte Ägyptens*, pp. 193, 194; Brugsch, *Geogr. Inschriften*, T. I, p. 226; *Dict. Géogr.*, p. 1252.

‡ Dümichen, *Geschichte Ägypten*, pp. 192-194.

§ Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte Ägyptens*, p. 157, note 4.

|| *Recueil de Travaux*, T. I, p. 170.


Noubri, père de Khnoumhotpou.\* C'est lui qui a raison, comme le prouve le texte même de la phrase où il est dit que Bokit "alla, pour être princesse héréditaire en qualité de fille du prince de Mâhit, au CHATEAU D'AMENEMHÂÏT I<sup>er</sup>, afin d'y épouser le prince NOUHRI," qui était prince d'Hermopolis, comme je l'ai dit ailleurs.† Il en résulte que le *Château d'Amenemhâit* I<sup>er</sup> devait être dans le nome Hermopolitain, et je ne rechercherai pas ici quel site il occupait. De même, le  CHATEAU DE PEPI était dans le nome Hermopolitain, et c'est là que siégeaient, sous la VI<sup>e</sup> et la VII<sup>e</sup> dynasties, ces princes dont quelques uns sont enterrés à Sheikh Saïd.‡ J'ai exposé dans un mémoire précédent, § ce qu'était le  *Château* dans une principauté de l'Egypte. Cette résidence seigneuriale qui, tantôt pouvait être dans une ville, tantôt demeurait isolée ou devenait elle-même le point de ralliement d'un village ou d'une ville nouvelle, pouvait changer fréquemment de nom, au caprice du roi régnant ou du prince qui la possédait. Je crois donc l'hypothèse de M. Ed. Meyer parfaitement justifiée : le CHATEAU DE PEPI de la VI<sup>e</sup> et VII<sup>e</sup> dynasties, et celui de Shotpibrî de la XII<sup>e</sup>, ne font qu'un pour moi. L'inscription de Beni-Hassan nous montre Amenemhâit I<sup>er</sup> parcourant l'Egypte, réglant les questions de frontières entre les nomes et distribuant les fiefs, après avoir "écrasé le péché." Au début d'une dynastie, les princes féodaux, qui avaient été plus ou moins mêlés aux évènements des années précédentes, devaient recevoir du Pharaon nouveau une investiture nouvelle qui les confirmât dans les territoires, titres et charges qu'ils avaient reçus des Pharaons de la dynastie précédente. C'est évidemment à la suite de cette tournée d'investiture, que le prince d'Hermopolis, établi ou confirmé dans sa baronnie par Amenemhâit I<sup>er</sup>, donna au château qui servait de résidence aux seigneurs du nome Hermopolitain entier, ou de la partie du nome Hermopolitain dont il était maître, le nom de HÂÏT-SHOTPIBRÎ, Château d'Amenemhâit I<sup>er</sup>. Le nom de CHATEAU DE PEPI I<sup>er</sup> avait dû tomber en désuétude à la chute des dynasties Memphites. Il rappelait évidemment une investiture analogue donnée par Pepi I<sup>er</sup> aux princes hermopolitains de son



\* Krebs, de *Chemothis Inscriptione*, p. 26.

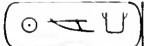

† *Recueil de Travaux*, T. I, pp. 177, 178.

‡ Lepsius, *Denkmaeler*, II, pl. 112.

§ *Proceedings*, T. XII, p. 247 sqq.

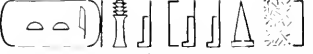
temps, à la suite des événements inconnus qui avaient amené l'élévation de la VI<sup>e</sup> dynastie. C'est ainsi, qu'à défaut d'autres documents, des noms de ville ou de châteaux nous permettent de jalonner certaines parties de l'histoire féodale de l'Égypte. J'ajouterai qu'un titre des princes d'Hermopolis  *Mir nouitou maït, directeur des domaines nouveaux*, semble faire allusion à la création en cette région par Pepi I<sup>er</sup> ou l'un de ses prédécesseurs immédiats de fiefs ou nouveaux ou nouvellement réorganisés; on dirait qu'il s'agit là d'une reconstitution, vers la XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie, des circonscriptions féodales de la Moyenne Égypte.

L'inscription de Beni-Hassan nous apprend que le père de Khnoumhotpou, Nouhri, s'était fait construire dans le bourg de  MIRINOFRIT, une chapelle funéraire  en pierre bonne et blanche. Si, comme je le pense, le Nouhri dont Nestor Lhôte a signalé le tombeau près de Kom-el-Ahmar \* est le même que Nouhri, père de Khnoumhotpou, il y a grand chance pour que MIRINOFRIT ou MINOFRIT soit le nom ancien des ruines que Jomard a signalées à Kom-el-Ahmar, au sud de Zaouiêt-el-Maïétin.† Cette identification, si elle était admise, complèterait la nomenclature du nome de la Gazelle. Les princes de Mâhit étant une branche de la famille des princes d'Hermopolis, il n'y a rien d'étonnant à ce que le tombeau d'un prince d'Hermopolis se trouve sur le territoire de Mâhit.

§ 15.—M. Stern avait signalé sur un cercueil du musée de Berlin, dans la *Zeitschrift*, 1885, p. 89, note 1, un cartouche  *Mirikari*, qu'il attribuait à Teti de la VI<sup>e</sup> dynastie. J'ai cru au contraire y reconnaître le cartouche du roi héracléopolitain des tombeaux de Siout, et j'ai prié M. Erman de m'envoyer copie des inscriptions de ce cercueil. Il l'a fait avec son obligeance habituelle, mais, comme il se propose de les publier lui-même, je me borne à extraire des textes qu'il m'a communiqués, les renseignements indispensables pour compléter ce que j'ai dit au § 10 de ces *Notes*. Le propriétaire du cercueil, *Api-ônkhou*, avait, entre autres titres, celui de , qu'il joignait à celui de

\* Nestor Lhôte, *Manuscripts*, T. III, folio 247 verso.

† Jomard, dans la *Description*, T. IV, pp. 354, 355.

. Il ressort de ce passage que le roi héracléopolitain était enterré dans une pyramide, comme ses prédécesseurs memphites ; malheureusement le nom de la pyramide est détruit.

M. Erman m'écrit qu'il pense comme moi qu'il s'agit ici du roi héracléopolitain. Mon impression est que le cercueil d'Apiónkhou est de la XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie, ainsi que celui du personnage de même nom que Lepsius avait publié dans les *Denkmäler* comme étant de la V<sup>e</sup> ; ils viennent, je crois, l'un et l'autre, de la même partie de Saqqarah, où j'ai découvert une nécropole des premiers temps de la XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie.



THE METROLOGY OF THE MEDICAL PAPYRUS  
EBERS.\*

BY F. L. GRIFFITH.

APPENDICES.

I.—THE FIGURES AND SYMBOLS OF THE BERLIN  
MEDICAL PAPYRUS.

As a sequel to the metrology of the Ebers Papyrus, I have collected from Brugsch's publication (*Recueil*, II, Pl. lxxxv-cvii) the figures and symbols of the Berlin document. The handwriting of the latter, which appears to date from the reign of Rameses II, is in the new style, and much more cursive than that of the Ebers,† so that the symbols and fractions are not very easy to recognize.

The leading forms are contained in the plate annexed to this paper. In some instances the corresponding symbols of the Mathematical Papyrus are added, and those who do not possess Eisenlohr's plates will be glad of this opportunity for realizing the identity of the symbols in the Ebers with those in the Mathematical Papyrus. The values of the latter are determined beyond question,‡ and the statistics of my former paper§ show that the Ebers symbols have the same value: this fact is important since the same series is used at Medinet Habu, in hieroglyphic form, to express the subdivision of a unit four times greater than the  $\frac{\overset{\circ}{\circ}{\circ}{\circ}{\circ}}{\Delta \quad |}$  of 10 *hnu*.

\* Continued from *Proceedings*, Vol. XIII, p. 406.

† The earliest known medical treatise is from Kahún (end of XIIth to beginning of XIIIth dynasty), the only symbol occurring in its three pages is  $\dagger$ , and there are no numerals except with expressed units. Erman ("die Marchen des Papyrus Westar," II, p. 32, ff.) has shown that the Ebers Papyrus (*temp.* Amenhotep I, second king of the XVIIIth dynasty) was written just before a great change took place in hieratic handwriting. The Berlin Papyrus, of which 23 pages exist, is the third and latest treatise that can lay claim to any considerable importance.

‡ By the comparative tables, *Math. Handb.*, Plate XXII, Nos. 80, 81.

§ Page 396 of the present volume. The proof is not absolute, but is derived from the coincident results of two *reasonable* postulates or suppositions.



In the Berlin Papyrus the  $\tau$  prescriptions\* are still common; other integral numerals are used only with the expressed units  $\overline{\square}$   $\overline{\sigma}$   $\overline{\text{e}}$   $\overline{\text{v}}$  and  $\overline{+}$ . The fractions of the *hnu* are the same as in the Ebers, but some of the forms have altered, and  $\times$  ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ) is now marked with a dot above.

Of the symbols a group occurs which has the value of 150  $\ominus$ .† the (hieroglyphic)  $\circ$  being  $\frac{1}{4}$   $\overset{\circ}{\underset{\Delta}{|}}$  and the  $\int$   $\frac{1}{8}$   $\overset{\circ}{\underset{\Delta}{|}}$ . Two of the more usual fractions of the  $\overset{\circ}{\underset{\Delta}{|}}$ , viz.,  $\overline{\int}$  and  $\overline{}$ , are marked, like the numerical fractions, with a dot,  $\bullet$ , placed above them. This is an innovation of which there is only a slight premonition in the Ebers (lxxxvi, 5). On the other hand, in the second section of the Berlin MS., from p. 15 to 21 (Pl. c-cv),  $\overline{+}$  is treated as an absolute unit, having not only the subdivision  $\frac{1}{2} \overline{+}$ , which we have discovered in the Ebers,‡ but also the multiples 2, 3, 4, 6 and 8  $\overline{+}$ . It may be thought that this unit  $\overline{+}$  (=5  $\ominus$ ) should be applied to the integers which occur alone in the Ebers Papyrus, viz., 1,  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , 2,  $2\frac{1}{2}$ , 3, 4, 6.§ In both series 5 is conspicuous by its absence, and I see no positive reason against such a view,|| but there would then be a double notation of the same measure in the same prescription, Ebers xlix, 7, etc.

$\overline{}$  is not always easily distinguished from  $\overline{\int}$  in this cursive writing, and the ligature, Pl. cii, 10,¶ might be explained either as  $\overline{+} \overline{\int}$  or as  $\overline{+} \overline{}$ , but xcvi, 6 is evidently  $\overline{+} \overline{}$ . In xcvi, 4, ci, 8, ciii, 2, and civ, 7, there are still more puzzling groups. The

\* Page 402, ff.

† This very large quantity of liquid in two prescriptions disposes of my last doubt about  $\int$  in the Ebers xxv, 2 (above p. 400). There is evidently no mistake, and the form of the sign is quite satisfactory.

‡ Page 401 e, a unit  $\overline{\int}$ , of which I thought I found a trace in Stern's  $\overline{\int}$  (p. 401 k), must be given up. I have searched unsuccessfully a second time through the Ebers, and conclude that the  $\frac{1}{2} \overline{\int}$  does not exist.

§ Page 404.

|| It is the true solution; see the second appendix.

¶ See the copies in the plate herewith.

last is perhaps  $\dagger \dagger$  squeezed into too small a space: if the equivalents proposed in my plate for the others are correct, we must at least find an explanation for the abnormal order: the scribes may have considered that  $\int$  in cursive writing was likely to be misunderstood, and therefore, when one of the striking signs  $\int$  or  $\dagger$  occurred in a group, they put the latter first as a sign-post. According to this the groups would be :

$$\begin{aligned}
 \text{(Pl. xcvi, 4)} \quad \int \circ &= \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{16} \int \circ = 100 \text{ } \circ \\
 \text{(Pl. ci, 8)} \quad \int \int &= \frac{1}{8} + \frac{1}{16} \int \circ = 60 \text{ } \circ \\
 \text{(Pl. ciii, 2)} \quad \dagger \int &= \frac{1}{8} + \frac{1}{64} \int \circ = 45 \text{ } \circ *
 \end{aligned}$$

## II.—THE UNIT OF THE INTEGRAL SERIES: $\dagger$ , THE CUBIC QUARTER: CONCLUSIONS.

On reading through the proofs simultaneously of the original paper and of the first appendix, a number of new facts came to light which will settle the whole question of the pharmaceutical metrology in almost all its details.

The amount indicated by  $1 \dagger$  being so very frequent, should be an average quantity, and according to the statistical table on p. 5 the *ideal* "central point of frequency," *i.e.*, *ideal* amount for prescribing, would lie between 4 *re* and 5 *re* (somewhat nearer to 4 than 5):  $\dagger = 5 \text{ } \circ$  is therefore very near to the *ideal* point. In the Ebers and Berlin papyri the 1, 1, 1, 1 order of prescriptions is perhaps the commonest of all, and in the Kahûn papyrus we find the  $\dagger$ , p. i, ll. 10, 11 ( $\dagger, \dagger$ , to be cooked in 1 *hnu* of milk), p. ii, ll. 19 and 21 ( $\dagger$  visible once in each of two much broken prescriptions); these are the *only indications* of measurement in

\* These peculiar and doubtful groups are not included in the table of figures and symbols given below. Another omission from both plate and table is a sign or symbol that might be the fraction  $\frac{1}{6}$  (*hnu*) =  $5\frac{1}{3} \text{ } \circ$  in the Berlin papyrus, Pl. c, l. 10.

† Page 402, ff.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p> <math>\overset{\text{OR}}{\text{NEARLY}} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{PL. CIII. 7, 12. (= } 3 \overline{7} \overline{5} \text{ Math. Pap. Rhind) = } \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{8} + \frac{1}{16} + \frac{1}{32} + \frac{1}{64} = 80 + 40 + 20 + 10 \\ \text{5 Hnu} \end{array} \right.</math><br/> <math>\overline{3} \overline{7} \overline{5}</math><br/>                 ? PL. CIII. 10 <math>\overline{4}</math> ? PL. XCVIII. 4. = <math>\overline{7} \overline{6}</math> ??<br/> <math>\overline{7} = \overline{7}</math> ? PL. CI. 8. = <math>\overline{7} \overline{5}</math> ??<br/>                 ? PL. XCVII. 10. <math>\overline{3}</math> ? PL. XCVIII. 6 <math>\overline{3}</math> ? PL. CII. 10<br/>                 ? PL. LXXXVII. 8. (once in Ebers Pap. with dot <math>\overline{3}</math> LXXXVI. 5.)<br/> <math>\overline{+}</math>, <math>\overline{H}</math> ? PL. CIII. 2. (= <math>\overline{+}</math> Math. Pap. Rhind), five second = <math>\overline{+} \overline{5}</math> ??<br/> <math>\overline{+}</math>, <math>\overline{H}</math>, <math>\overline{H}</math> PL. CII. 5. <math>\overline{H}</math> ? CIV. 7. = <math>2 \overline{+}</math><br/>                 PL. CIII. 1. <math>\overline{H} \overline{+}</math> PL. C. 10 <math>\overline{H} \overline{+}</math> PL. C. 8. = <math>3 \overline{+}</math> and <math>4 \overline{+}</math><br/>                 PL. CIV. 4. <math>\overline{H} \overline{+}</math> PL. XCV. 7. <math>\overline{+}</math> ? PL. C. 6. = <math>6 \overline{+}</math> and <math>8 \overline{+}</math><br/> <math>\overline{H} \overline{+}</math> ? PL. CII. 3. = <math>\frac{1}{2} \overline{+}</math> and <math>\frac{1}{2} \overline{+}</math> (or <math>2 \frac{1}{2} \overline{+}</math>)             </p> | <p>                 NUMERALS<br/> <math>\overline{1} = \overline{1}, \overline{7} = 5, \overline{11} = 11, \overline{24} = 16</math><br/>                 PL. XCV.<br/> <math>\overline{X}</math> <math>\frac{1}{4}</math> Hnu<br/> <math>\overline{=}</math> <math>\frac{1}{8}</math> "<br/> <math>\overline{16}</math> <math>\frac{1}{16}</math> "<br/> <math>\overline{11X}</math>, <math>\overline{2}</math> PL. XCVI. 5. <math>\frac{1}{32}</math> "<br/> <math>\overline{H} \overline{H}</math>, <math>\overline{H} \overline{H}</math> } <math>\frac{1}{64}</math> "<br/> <math>\overline{H} \overline{H}</math>, <math>\overline{H} \overline{H}</math> </p> |
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NUMERALS AND SYMBOLS OF MEASUREMENT IN CURSIVE HIERATIC OF THE SIXTH DYNASTY, FROM THE MEDICAL PAPYRUS OF BERLIN.



the whole papyrus,\* and from this fact the importance of  $\text{⊕}$  as a medical quantum is at once apparent. I have no hesitation in pronouncing it to be the equivalent of 1 in the Ebers and Berlin papyri, and not that only, but also the unit of all the integral series in the Ebers. I have shown in my previous discussion † that 5  $\text{◊}$  was within the limits of probability for these, and have drawn attention to ‡ the parallelism of the 6  $\text{⊕}$ , 4  $\text{⊕}$ , 3  $\text{⊕}$ , 2  $\text{⊕}$  in the Berlin document, and the numerals 6, 4, 3, 2 occurring in the prescriptions of the Ebers.§ If the integers refer to the  $\text{⊕}$  in the ophthalmic section of the Ebers, it is not surprising that the symbols which they in fact replaced are absent from it. By applying the unit of 5 *re* to the examples quoted in my discussion of the numeral 1 and of the other integers, very fair results are obtained in all cases and excellent results in many. As to the other claimants, the  $\text{◊}$  is too small, and my 3  $\text{◊}$  unit || is entirely imaginary. The objection that  $\text{⊕}$  sometimes occurs in the same prescription with 1 is not very serious; considering the enormous number of 1-prescriptions it is no wonder that occasionally the equivalent  $\text{⊕}$  should creep in, and as to xlix, 7 ( $\frac{1}{64}$ ,  $\text{⊕}$ , 1, 1), the fraction at the beginning was the cause of the symbol being introduced. For the sake of brevity I will not discuss the matter further, but conclude with a few general considerations as to the metrology of the medical papyri.

The symbol of lowest value in the  $\text{◊}$  series is  $\text{⊕}$ ,  $\text{⊕} \frac{1}{64}$ . Of these two forms  $\text{⊕}$  is the earliest, occurring in the Kahun papyrus, and is the typical form in the Ebers. It is evidently, like X, a picture of division into 4, and since  $\frac{1}{64} = (\frac{1}{4})^3$ , the Egyptians must have considered the  $\text{◊}$  to be the cube of a certain measure of length, and  $\frac{1}{4}$  of that length cubed was  $\text{⊕}$ . Quartering is a common phenomenon in Egyptian metrology, and the cubic quarter is a very natural division for a measure of capacity. In arithmetical calculation, however, it could only be reached by successive halvings.

Thus the symbols of the  $\text{◊}$  series proceed by dimidiation to the *cubic quarter*  $\text{⊕}$ .

\* Except that the *hnu* is once or twice again mentioned.


† Page 403-406.

‡ See last page but one.

§ 5 being absent from each of these series.


|| Page 406.





Also, the cubic quarter itself being very frequent in medicine, forms an independent unit,  $\text{⊕}$  ( $= 5 \text{ re}$ ), with multiples and subdivisions, although both the multiples and the subdivisions are very rarely used.

The *hnu* was  $\frac{1}{10}$  of the , and is similarly subdivided to  $\frac{1}{64}$ . The cubic quarter of the *hnu* does not appear as a *unit* in any document.

For the *hnu* we find, besides, a division by  $\frac{1}{1\frac{1}{2}}$  (*i.e.*  $\frac{2}{3}$ ), but it is very rare and, with its dimidiated congeners  $\frac{1}{3}$ ,  $\frac{1}{6}$  \* included, occurs only five times.

Combinations of the symbols are not at all uncommon, but those of the numerical fractions are entirely absent from the medical works excepting  $\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{4}$  ( $= \frac{3}{4}$ ), which occurs twice.

To sum up, the apothecaries adopted a scheme of measures based on the ordinary Egyptian divisions by 10, 2 and  $\frac{1}{14}$ , † and on the cubic quarter. No weights were admitted: the  (which I thought to be an implied and underlying unit) finds no place whatever in these papyri: nor is there any need to attribute more than one value to the same sign when there is no unit expressed.

The  , , and perhaps  (if it denoted a definite quantity), are not yet absolutely identified; the meaning of two groups  $\times \}$  and  $\text{⊕} \supset \text{⊕}$  in the Ebers, and of two or three groups in the Berlin papyrus, are uncertain; but the rest of the subject is now, I think, completely settled.


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### III.—THE SYMBOLS IN HIEROGLYPHICS: THE SUB-DIVISIONS OF THE *ápt* AT MEDINET HABU: THE OR "PART," A GREATEST COMMON MEASURE.



At the risk of offending the literary notions of those indulgent readers who are willing to struggle through a mass of arguments about figures and symbols, these appendices are added, not to give the reasons for opinions laid down in the text, but to carry the

\* For  $\frac{1}{6}$  see last page but one, note \*.

† A future paper on the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus will furnish the evidence as to  $\frac{1}{1\frac{1}{2}}$  in arithmetic.

discussion further and to elucidate points that at first were left obscure, owing to insufficient evidence. In my original paper, suggested by Professor's Eber's brochure (for the loan of a copy of which I am indebted to Mr. Renouf), I endeavoured to identify from internal evidence the units of weight or measurement and the systems of division used in the great medical papyrus. Having accomplished this within certain limits, I examined in the first appendix the system used in another important medical work, and found it to be practically the same as that of the Ebers. A further comparison of these results led me to recognize more clearly the basis of the system of division, and a second appendix then became necessary; but the material is still far from being exhausted, and I now have the pleasure of communicating some further details bearing on the subdivisions of the .

While discussing the hieratic symbols of measurement used in the medical papyri, I have had occasion to refer to the corresponding hieroglyphics, and have here and there introduced one of these latter in place of its hieratic equivalent.

The principal authority for the hieroglyphic symbols—which occur only at Medinet Habu—is a great list of offerings that covers the south exterior wall of Rameses III's well known temple.\* The text, noted by Champollion, was published *in extenso* by Dümichen.† The symbols of measurement contained in it were first discussed by Pleyte,‡ who identified the values of several, and next by Dümichen,§ who assigned to them and their varieties with the , the values respectively of  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $\frac{1}{8}$ ,  $\frac{1}{16}$ ,  $\frac{1}{32}$ ,  $\frac{1}{64}$ ,  $\frac{1}{128}$ , and  $\frac{1}{256}$  of the , an erroneous view which he upheld again in 1881;|| but Eisenlohr had already, in 1877,¶ pointed out their connection with the symbols of the Rhind Papyrus.

The text, owing to its mutilated condition, was very difficult to copy, and in the year 1881 Dümichen produced a careful revision of Plates II—IX,\*\* adding thereto three plates †† of fragments of a

\* f in Baedeker's plan.

† *Kalendarischen Inschriften* (1866), Plates I—XXXIV.

‡ Papyrus Rollin (1868) pp. 37—40.

§ *Altaeg. Getreiderechnung*, Berlin, 1870.


|| *Die kalendarischen Opferfest-listen, Vorwort*, page iv.

¶ *Mathem. Handb. d. alt. Aegypter, Commentar*, pp. 11, 12.






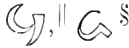



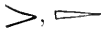
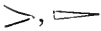






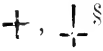
\*\* *Die Kalendarischen Opferfest-listen*, Plates IV—IX.



†† *l.c.* Plates I—III.

much earlier original, drawn up in the reign of Rameses II, which the well-known explorer discovered on blocks of the front Ptolemaic pylon at the same place.\*

This revision, although it covers only a small portion of the text, is solid ground, and it is now easy to complete and correct the list of hieroglyphic symbols suggested by Eisenlohr and adopted too readily by Brugsch in the very valuable digest of results that he published recently,† as well as by Révillout,‡ and eventually to ascertain some interesting facts regarding the systems of measurement by the *âpt*, written .

The correct and full list of the symbols, so far as it can be constructed from the copies, together with the typical forms in hieratic is:—

|                | Rameses II.                                                                         | Rameses III.                                                                        | Hieratic.                                                                             |
|----------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| $\frac{1}{2}$  |    |    |  §   |
| $\frac{1}{4}$  |    |    |  §   |
| $\frac{1}{8}$  |    |    |  §   |
| $\frac{1}{16}$ |    |    |      |
| $\frac{1}{32}$ |   |   |     |
| $\frac{1}{64}$ |  |  |  § |

There are a few points needing explanation in this list; hitherto it has been held that  $\text{>} = \frac{1}{16}$ , and  $\text{<} = \frac{1}{32}$ , while  and  have been omitted altogether by Eisenlohr, Révillout, and Brugsch; but  $\text{>}$  and  $\text{<}$  have really the same value,  $\text{>}$  being used to form the

\* K in Bœdeker's plan.

† *Aegyptologie*, p. 380 [and again *Theo.*, V, p. 1118: the papyrus mentioned in *Aegyptologie*, *l.c.*, is transcribed in the same volume (just published), p. 1079 ff.].

‡ *Revue Égyptologique*, II, p. 166.

§ Rhind papyrus.

• Mariette, *Papyrus de Boulaq* II, plate XV, etc., XIIIth dynasty: see my article, *A.Z.*, XXIX, p. 102 ff., containing the decipherment of this ancient papyrus of accounts.



group with short symbols, such as  $\frac{\triangle}{\succ}$ , while  $\frac{\triangle}{\triangleright}$  occurs with  $\frac{\triangle}{\curvearrowright}$  in the group  $\frac{\triangle}{\triangleright}$ , etc.\* For the equation of forms used by Rameses II with those of Rameses III we have:—

R. II. *Oppf.*, Plate I, fr. 1,  $\frac{\square}{\text{I}} \frac{\triangle}{\triangleright} \frac{\square}{\text{O}} \frac{\square}{\text{I}} \frac{\square}{\text{I}}$  corresponding to—

R. III. *Oppf.*, Plate IV, line 7, etc.,  $\frac{\square}{\text{I}} \frac{\triangle}{\triangleright} \frac{\square}{\text{O}} \frac{\square}{\text{I}} \frac{\square}{\text{I}}$ ,

and for the value  $\frac{1}{32}$   $\frac{\square}{\text{I}}$  we have, *inter alia*, *Oppf.*, Plate IV, line 18,

$$\frac{\square}{\text{I}} \frac{\triangle}{\triangleright} \frac{\square}{\text{O}} \frac{\square}{\text{I}} \frac{\square}{\text{I}} + \frac{\square}{\text{II}} \frac{\triangle}{\triangleright} \frac{\square}{\text{O}} \frac{\square}{\text{I}} \frac{\square}{\text{I}} = \frac{\square}{\text{I}} \frac{\triangle}{\triangleright} \frac{\square}{\text{O}} \frac{\square}{\text{I}} \frac{\square}{\text{I}}$$

where the  $\frac{\square}{\text{I}} \frac{\triangle}{\triangleright} \frac{\square}{\text{O}} \frac{\square}{\text{I}} \frac{\square}{\text{I}}$  = 4  $\frac{\square}{\text{I}}$ : this gives

$$\frac{\square}{\text{I}} (1 + \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{8} + \frac{1}{16}) + \frac{\square}{\text{I}} 2\frac{1}{5} = \frac{\square}{\text{I}} 4$$

$$\frac{\square}{\text{I}} (3 + \frac{160+80+10+5+64}{320}) = \frac{\square}{\text{I}} 4$$

$$\frac{\square}{\text{I}} (3 + \frac{319}{320}) = \frac{\square}{\text{I}} 4, \text{ which is practically correct.}$$



































The symbols at Medinet Habu thus correspond exactly with the hieratic symbols of the medical papyri, and form a series of halvings down to the cubic quarter  $\frac{\square}{\text{I}}$ .


In order to express quantities with accuracy, it was necessary to supplement the symbolic series by other means. At Medinet Habu there are two methods shown. In certain sections of the great record of offerings we find it reinforced by the fractions  $\frac{1}{5}$ ,  $\frac{1}{10}$ ,  $\frac{1}{20}$ ,  $\frac{1}{40}$ , in other words by a series formed from the division by 10, consisting of  $\frac{1}{10}$ , together with its *double*, its *half*, and its *quarter*.†

In other sections we find a still more accurate system, namely, the  $\frac{\triangle}{\text{I}}$ , which may be subdivided to any extent. The notation for the multiples of the  $\frac{\triangle}{\text{I}}$  is  $\frac{\triangle}{\text{I}}$ ,  $\frac{\triangle}{\text{II}}$ ,  $\frac{\triangle}{\text{III}}$ ,  $\frac{\triangle}{\text{IV}}$  for 1, 2, 3, and 4  $\frac{\triangle}{\text{I}}$ , and it was necessary in order to avoid confusion with the ordinary fractions, for  $\frac{\triangle}{\text{III}}$  would mean  $\frac{1}{3}$ ,  $\frac{\triangle}{\text{IIII}}$   $\frac{1}{4}$  (but  $\frac{\triangle}{\text{II}}$  could not be mistaken for  $\frac{1}{2}$ , which was  $\frac{\triangle}{\text{I}}$ ). In the Rhind mathematical papyrus the series is written in ligatures, which can be transcribed thus:— $\frac{\triangle}{\text{I}}$ ? or  $\frac{\triangle}{\text{I}}$ ?,  $\frac{\triangle}{\text{II}}$ ,  $\frac{\triangle}{\text{III}}$ ,  $\frac{\triangle}{\text{IV}}$ , but such groups, though unmistakable in the hieratic, would also lead to confusion in hieroglyphics.




\* As to *Kal. inschr.*, Pl. II, l. 26,  $\frac{\triangle}{\succ}$   $\frac{\triangle}{\triangleright}$  should obviously be corrected to  $\frac{\triangle}{\text{O}}$   $\frac{\triangle}{\triangleright}$ . The mistake is due to  $\frac{\triangle}{\succ}$  copied in the previous lines.

† The fractions of this series are never mixed with the symbols in a group, but are made to follow after them.





The  is subdivided as required, so that the utmost accuracy of expression can be obtained by its means.  $1\frac{1}{5}$   is written             , but  $\frac{1}{5}$   alone, even when following the symbols of division, has to be expressed,   “ $\frac{1}{5}$  of the . In the Rhind, under these circumstances,  is sufficient, see No. 70, where there is  $\overset{\cdot}{\downarrow} \downarrow \uparrow \uparrow = \frac{1}{16} + \frac{1}{64} + \frac{1}{64} + \frac{1}{5}$  . In hieroglyphics this would have to be transcribed         instead of    , which latter would mean  $\frac{1}{16} + \frac{1}{64} + \frac{1}{5}$  .




The following fractions of the  seem to occur at Medinet Habu, but the imperfect copies make most of them doubtful:—







 Ram. II,  , Ram. III, frequent =  $\frac{1}{1\frac{1}{2}}$  (=  $\frac{2}{3}$ ).



















 ?? Ram. II, frag. 29 on Plate III =  $\frac{1}{2}$ ? (in the Rhind papyrus  $\frac{1}{2}$   is simply .

  Kal. XXXI, 18 =  $\frac{1}{3}$ .

  or  , Kal. XXVI, 32 =  $\frac{1}{4}$  or  $\frac{1}{5}$ .

 ? or  ? Kal. XXVI, 32 = ???.

The expression    shows that  is the true form of the word as a unit; so also in the Rhind Papyrus, Plate XX, line 6, the plural is  .

In my first paper\* I tried to prove that  (better ) as a measure, meant a “mouthful;” this interpretation applied very well to the  of the Rhind papyrus ( $\frac{1}{3\frac{1}{2}0}$  of the  of 10 *hnu*), but in the Medinet Habu calendar the unit is the  of 40 *hnu*; and yet the symbols of measurement bear the same proportion to the unit as in the former case, and so also does the . The value of the  as  $\frac{1}{3\frac{1}{2}0}$  of the *âpt* is shown not only by the series from 1 to 4 only being used (to follow the  $\frac{1}{64}$  or , corresponding to the Rhind  of 5 ) but also by calculating such an example as Kal. II. 30 which should be restored        .

\* Page 398.

This  $\frac{\circ}{1}$  is altogether too large for a "mouthful," and another explanation must be found. A little consideration enables us to arrive at a solution that will apply to both cases equally.

I have shown that the series of symbols of measurement for the units of 10 *hnu* and 40 *hnu* are alike founded on the cubic quarter of each of those units, and that in one part of the Medinet Habu calendar a supplementary series founded on the divisions by 10 is resorted to for the *âpt*, just as the *hnu* might be for the  $\frac{\circ}{1}$ . Now the Egyptian accountants must constantly have been engaged in adding together and subtracting from each other amounts belonging to each of these fractional series, namely, the decimal and the cubic quarter series, and for this purpose they would require to find a common denominator, or rather, as the Rhind Papyrus shows, they would consider all the fractional amounts as multiples of their *greatest common measure*, which comes to the same thing. The greatest common measure of the cubic quarter ( $= \frac{1}{64}$ ), and  $\frac{1}{10}$  is  $\frac{1}{320}$  the same fraction that is represented by the  $\frac{\circ}{1}$ .

The  $\frac{\circ}{1}$  thus does not mean a "mouthful," and is not, strictly speaking, a unit at all, but an arithmetical fiction, a "greatest common measure," resorted to by the accountants in order to simplify their dealings with mixed decimals and cubic quarters, or a link to connect their two main systems\* of division in measures of capacity. They considered that the *âpt* and the  $\frac{\circ}{1}$  consisted each of 320 parts, and in writing  $\uparrow$  must have thought of the 20  $\frac{\circ}{1}$  value as much as of the  $(\frac{1}{2})^4$ , fourth halving, or  $\frac{1}{16}$  of the unit: and  $\frac{1}{5}$  must equally have implied the idea of 64  $\frac{\circ}{1}$ . No wonder that so useful a subdivision as  $\frac{1}{320}$  should have been called  $\frac{\circ}{1}$ , or the "fraction" *par excellence*. It is hardly necessary to point out that it is the same word  $\circ$ , Coptic **pe**, *re*, that forms the fractions in Egyptian when compounded with numerals: as an independent word it would be in Coptic **pw**, *rô*.

ERRATA.

Page 399, l. 11. For "water for a night," read "rain-water" (i.e.,  $\frac{\text{|||||}}{\text{|||||}}$  for  $\frac{\text{|||||}}{\text{X}}$ ).  
 ,, 404, l. 22. "To stand for the night," very doubtful.

\* The  $\frac{2}{3}$  division is of very slight importance.

TABLE OF FIGURES AND SYMBOLS IN THE MEDICAL PAPYRI,  
ARRANGED IN ORDER OF BULK, SHOWING THEIR VALUES IN  OF THE .

Kahun, K. Ebers, E. Berlin, B. Common! very common!! abundant!!! very rare §, once 1, twice §, etc.  
The , or "part," is nearly  $\frac{1}{8}$  cubic inch, the *hnu* about  $\frac{1}{3}$  pint, the  about 1 gallon.


| Symbol, unit  . | Unit $\frac{1}{4}$ , expressed. | Integer, unit $\frac{1}{4}$ . | Unit <i>hnu</i> , expressed.  | $\frac{1}{10}$ . |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------|
| —                                                                                                  | ...                             | ...                           | 16 <i>hnu</i> B. <sup>1</sup> | 512              |
| —                                                                                                  | ...                             | ...                           | 11 <i>hnu</i> B. <sup>1</sup> | 352              |
| $(\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8}) \diagdown$ E. <sup>1</sup>                                              | ...                             | ...                           | ...                           | 200              |
| —                                                                                                  | ...                             | ...                           | 6 <i>hnu</i> E. <sup>1</sup>  | 192              |
| —                                                                                                  | ...                             | ...                           | 5 <i>hnu</i> B. <sup>1</sup>  | 160              |
| $(\frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{16} \frac{1}{32}) \} \nearrow \searrow$ B. <sup>2</sup>         | ...                             | ...                           | ...                           | 150              |
| —                                                                                                  | $\frac{1}{8}$ B. §              | ...                           | 2 <i>hnu</i> E. <sup>1</sup>  | 64               |
| $(\frac{1}{8}) \diagdown$ E. <sup>2</sup>                                                          | ...                             | ...                           | ...                           | 40               |
| —                                                                                                  | ...                             | 7? E. <sup>2</sup>            | ...                           | 35               |
| —                                                                                                  | ...                             | ...                           | 1 <i>hnu</i> K. E. B.         | 32               |

TABLE OF FIGURES AND SYMBOLS IN THE MEDICAL PAPYRI—continued.

| Symbol, unit $\overset{\circ}{\circ}$ .                                         | Unit $\dagger$ , expressed.                                                        | Integer, unit $\dagger$ .                             | Fraction, unit <i>hnt</i> .   | $\equiv$ $\overset{\circ}{\circ}$ . |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| —                                                                               | $\dagger$ B. §                                                                     | 6? E. <sup>1</sup>                                    | ...                           | 30                                  |
| $(\frac{1}{16} \frac{1}{64}) + \overline{\uparrow}^1, \overline{\uparrow}^2$ B. | ...                                                                                | ...                                                   | ...                           | 25                                  |
| —                                                                               | ...                                                                                | $\frac{1}{2} \dagger (= \frac{2}{4})$ E. <sup>2</sup> | ...                           | 24                                  |
| —                                                                               | ...                                                                                | $\frac{2}{3}$ E. <sup>3</sup>                         | ...                           | 21 $\frac{1}{3}$                    |
| $(\frac{1}{16}) \overline{\uparrow}$                                            | $\dagger$ B. §                                                                     | 4 E. <sup>1</sup>                                     | ...                           | 20                                  |
| $(\frac{1}{32} + \frac{1}{4} hnt?) \times \}$ ? E. <sup>2</sup>                 | ...                                                                                | ...                                                   | ...                           | 18?                                 |
| —                                                                               | ...                                                                                | ...                                                   | $\frac{1}{2}$ E.              | 16                                  |
| $(\frac{1}{32} \frac{1}{64}) + \}$ ! $\frac{1}{4}$ B.                           | $\dagger$ B. §                                                                     | 3 E. <sup>1</sup>                                     | ...                           | 15                                  |
| $(\frac{1}{32} \frac{1}{128} \frac{1}{256}) \times \}$ ? E. <sup>2</sup>        | $(1\frac{1}{2} + 1?)$<br>$\left\{ + \Rightarrow + E.1, \frac{1}{4} + B.1 \right\}$ | $2\frac{1}{2}$ E. <sup>1</sup>                        | ...                           | 12 $\frac{1}{2}$                    |
| —                                                                               | ...                                                                                | ...                                                   | $\frac{1}{3}$ E. <sup>1</sup> | 10 $\frac{2}{3}$                    |

TABLE OF FIGURES AND SYMBOLS IN THE MEDICAL PAPYRI—continued.

| Symbol, unit $\frac{C}{D}$ . | Unit $\dagger$ , expressed.                                | Integer, unit $\dagger$ . | Fraction, unit <i>hmu</i> . | $\frac{\circ}{\text{—}}$ . |
|------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| $(\frac{1}{32}) \}$          | $\dagger\dagger$ E. B.!                                    | 2 E. §                    | ...                         | 10                         |
| —                            | $(\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{4}) \times \dagger \frac{1}{3}$ E.! | ...                       | ...                         | $8\frac{3}{4}$             |
| —                            | ...                                                        | ...                       | $\frac{1}{4}!$              | 8                          |
| —                            | $(\frac{1}{2}) \supset + E. \frac{1}{2}$                   | $1\frac{1}{2}$ E.!        | ...                         | $7\frac{1}{2}$             |
| $(\frac{1}{6}) + K. E. B. !$ | $1 + ? B. \frac{1}{2}$                                     | 1 E. B. !!!               | ...                         | 5                          |
| —                            | ...                                                        | ...                       | $\frac{1}{8} !!!$           | 4                          |
| —                            | $(\frac{1}{2}) \frac{1}{3}$ E. B.                          | ...                       | ...                         | $2\frac{1}{2}$             |
| —                            | ...                                                        | ...                       | $\frac{1}{16} !!$           | 2                          |
| —                            | $(\frac{1}{4}) + \times E. \frac{1}{2}$                    | ...                       | ...                         | $1\frac{1}{4}$             |
| —                            | ...                                                        | ...                       | $\frac{1}{32} !!$           | 1                          |
| —                            | ...                                                        | ...                       | $\frac{1}{64} !$            | $\frac{1}{2}$              |

## LETTRES DE TELL EL-AMARNA.

PAR A. J. DELATTRE, S.J.

(4<sup>e</sup> Série.)

Je crois utile de rappeler que dans la transcription et la version des textes, les parties restituées se lisent entre parenthèses ( ), et les éclaircissements ajoutés dans la version, entre crochets [ ]. Les endroits les plus incertains de l'interprétation sont imprimés en italiques.

## I.

BRITISH MUSEUM, 81.

BURRABURIYAS, ROI DE BABYLONE, A AMÉNOPHIS IV, ROI D'ÉGYPTE.

On sait que cette pièce a été publiée par M. Budge, en 1888, dans les *Proceedings*, t. X, avec une transcription et des indications destinées à mettre sur la voie du sens. Nous en avons donné ensuite une interprétation générale avec la version d'une partie du texte dans *La trouvaille de Tell el-Amarna* (Paris, Leroux, 1889), pp. 41-43. Elle a été traduite, généralement dans le même sens et avec progrès dans le détail, par M. H. Zimmern dans la *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, en 1890; elle a été traduite aussi, mais d'une manière assez différente, par M. Halévy, dans le *Journal Asiatique*, Septembre-October, 1890. Malgré le progrès accompli, je crois que la présente version fournit le sens de plusieurs passages mal rendus dans les essais précédents.

## TRANSCRIPTION DU TEXTE.

## RECTO.

1. *A-na Ni-ip-ḥu-ur-ri-ri-ia šar mat (Mišri)*
  2. *ki ti-ma*
  3. *um-ma : Bur-ra-bu-ri-ia-aš šar mat Ka-ra-du-ni-ia-aš*
  4. *aḥu-ka-ma. A-na ia-a-ši šu-ul-mu ;*
  5. *a-na ka-a-ša biti-ka assâti-ka marani-ka mati-ka*
  6. *rabuti-ka sisi-ka narkabâti-ka da-an-ni-iš lu šu-ul-mu.*
- 
7. *Ultu ab-bu-u-a-a u ab-bu-ka it-ti a-ḥa-mi-iš*
  8. *da-bu-ta id-bu-bu,*
  9. *šu-ul-ma-na ba-na-a u-na a-ḥa-mi-iš ul-ti-bi-i-lu-(ma),*
  10. *u mi-ri-il-ta ba-ni-ta a-na a-ḥa-mi-iš ul ik-bu-u.*

11. *I-na-an-na a-ḥu-a-a II ma-na ḥuraṣi a-na šu-ul-ma-ni-ia ul-ti-bi-i-la ;*  
 12. *i-na-an-na-ma ḥuraṣa ma-a-ad ma-la ša ab-bi-ka šu-bi-la,*  
 13. *u šum-ma mi-i-iš mi-lim il ša ab-bi-ka šu-bi-i-la.*  
 14. *Am-mi-ni II ma-na hurāṣi tu-ši-bi-i-la.*  
 15. *I-na-an-na du-ul-li i-na bit ilu ma-a-ad u ikalli*  
 16. *ša-ab-ta-ku-u-ma ib-bu-uš. Hurāṣa m-a-da šu-bi-la,*  
 17. *u at-ta mi-im-ma ša ḥa-aš-ḥa-a-ta i-na mat-ia*  
 18. *šu-up-ra-am-ma li-il-ḥu-ni-ik-ku.*

- 
19. *I-na Ku-ri-gal-zu a-bi-ia Ku-na (?)ḥa-a-a-u ga-ab-bi-šu-nu*  
 20. *a-na mu-uḥ-ḥi-šu il-ta-ap-ru-ni um-ma-a : A-na ḥa-an-ni mati*  
 21. *. . . . . ša-am i-ni-ba-al-ki-ta-am-ma,*
- 
22. *(it-ti)ka i-ni-ša-ki-in. A-bu-u-a-a*  
 23. *(an)-ni-ta il-ta-ap-ra-šu-nu-ti*  
 24. *um-ma-a :*

VERSO.

1. *Mu-uš-ši-ir it-ti-ia a-na na-aš-ku-u-ni-(ma).*  
 2. *Sum-ma it-ti šarri ša Mi-iš-ri-i a-ḥi-ia ta-at-ta-ka-ra-ma,*  
 3. *it-ti ša-ni-im-ma ta-at-ta-aš-ka-na.*  
 4. *A-na-ku ul al-la-ka-am-ma ? Ul a-ḥa-ba-at-ku-nu-ši-i ?*  
 5. *Ki-i it-ti-ia na-aš-ku-nu. A-bu-u-a-a*  
 6. *aš-šum a-bi-ka ul iš-mi-šu-nu-ti.*  
 7. *I-na-an-na, ina Aš-šur-ra-a-a-u, da-gi-il pa-ni-ia*  
 8. *a-na-ku ul aš-pu-ra-ak-ku ki-i ti-mi-šu-nu,*  
 9. *a-na mati-ka am-mi-ni il-li-ku-u-ni ?*  
 10. *Šum-ma ta-ra-aḥ-ma-an-ni, ši-ma-a-ti mi-im-ma*  
 11. *la ib-bu-u-šu. Ri-ḥu-ti-šu-nu ku-uš-ši-da-šu-nu-ti.*  
 12. *A-na šu-ul-ma-ni-ka III ma-na abni ukni šadi*  
 13. *X šimitti ša sisi ša V narkabati iši*  
 14. *ul-ti-bi-la-ak-ku.*

TRADUCTION.

RECTO.

(1) A Nipkhurririya, roi du pays de Misri, (2) pour information, (3) en ces termes :

Burraburiyas, roi du pays de Karadunias, (4) ton frère. Je vais bien. (5) A toi, à ta maison, à tes femmes, à tes fils, (6) à tes grands officiers, à tes chevaux, à tes chars, conservation soit grandement.

(7, 8) A partir du moment où mon père et ton père eurent noué de bonnes relations entre eux, (9) ils s'envoyèrent mutuellement de



bons présents, (10) et ils ne cessèrent jamais leurs demandes mutuelles de service. (11) Maintenant mon frère m'a envoyé [seulement] deux mines d'or comme présent ! (12) Envoie-moi [au contraire] beaucoup d'or, autant que ton père, (13) et *s'il y a nécessité*, envoie-en plus que ton père. (14) Pourquoi m'envoies-tu [seulement] deux mines d'or ? (15, 16) J'ai entrepris maintenant des ouvrages dans maint temple et palais, et j'ai à les exécuter. Envoie [par conséquent] beaucoup d'or, (17) et toi quoi que ce soit dont tu aies besoin [en fait d'objets existant] dans mon pays, (18) mande-le afin qu'on le prélève pour toi.

(19) Du temps de mon père Kurigalzou, les Kunakhéens réunis (20) lui envoyèrent un message en ces termes : A l'effet de recouvrer le pays [asservi au roi d'Égypte] (21) *d'un commun accord*, nous voulons nous soulever (22) et agir de concert avec toi. Mon père (23) leur manda ceci en ces termes :

VERSO.

(1) "Cessez [d'agir] avec moi en vue de votre révolte. (2) Si vous engagez des hostilités avec mon frère, le roi de Misri, (3) vous agirez de concert avec un autre. (4) N'irai-je pas [au contraire] vous piller ? (5) C'est comme si vous vous révoltiez contre moi." Mon père, (6) par égard pour toi ne les écouta point. (7, 8) Maintenant, en ce qui concerne les Assyriens, ne t'ai-je pas envoyé un de mes sujets pour renseigner sur eux, (9) [afin de te dire] pourquoi ils se sont rendus dans ton pays ? (10, 11) Si tu m'aimes, ils n'exécuteront aucun de leurs projets. Inflige-leur leur *châtiment*.

(12, 14) Je t'envoie comme présent trois mines de *crystal de roche* ; dix attelages de chevaux avec leur cinq chars en bois.

REMARQUES.

Recto, l. 10.—Je ne pense pas qu'on puisse traduire : *Ils ne s'exprimèrent aucune demande de service*. Cela n'est pas vraisemblable. Le verbe susceptible des lectures *ig-bu-u*, *ik-bu-u*, *iḱ-bu-u*, peut ne pas se rattacher à *ḫabû*, dire. Le sens d'*interrompre*, de *mettre en terme*, auquel nous nous arrêtons, se retrouve peut-être, intransitif, dans **בכה**, *s'éteindre*. *Mirilta banita*, littéralement *bonne demande*, dans le sens de *demande de chose avantageuse*.

L. 19.—Les *Ku-na-ḫa-a-u* sont probablement les habitants du pays de *Kīnaḫḫi*, ou les Chananéens. La différence de voyelle *ku-ki*, a beaucoup d'analogues dans les noms propres des inscriptions assyriennes.

Ll. 21 et 22.—Les restitutions du texte ont été proposées par le Dr. H. Zimmern.

Verso, l. 1.—*Muššir*, proprement *sine, dimitte*. On s'attendrait au pluriel. Le singulier est analogue au latin *age* dans des phrases comme celle-ci, *age nunc comparate*. On retrouve le même mot dans notre No. V. l. 21.

L. 4.—Littéralement: *ne marcherai-je pas? Ne vous pillerai-je pas?*

## II.

### LE ROI D'ALASIYA AU ROI D'ÉGYPTE.

Le texte a été publié, avec transcription et essai d'interprétation générale, par M. Budge, en 1888, dans le tome X des *Proceedings*; nous l'avons étudié et traduit en partie, en 1889, dans *La trouvaille de Tell el-Amarna*, pp. 36-40. Nous pouvons en offrir aujourd'hui une traduction à peu près complète.

Dans cette lettre, le roi d'Alasiya, propose au roi d'Égypte un échange de dons, ce qui n'est qu'une forme de commerce; il lui offre surtout du bronze dont l'Alasiya est très fourni. Il semble reprocher au roi d'Égypte un manque d'égard en deux circonstances; il réclame de lui certains objets, apportés en Égypte par un homme d'Alasiya, probablement un trafiquant, mort en Égypte.

#### TRANSCRIPTION DU TEXTE.

##### RECTO.

1. (Ana) šar-ri mat Mi-iš-ri aḫi-ia . . . . .
2. . . . . šar mat Al-la-ši-ia aḫu-ka-ma . . . . .
3. (Ana) ili-ia šul-mu; biti-ia, aššat-ia, mar-ia, . . . . .
4. rabuti-ia, sisi-ia, narkabâti-ia, u i-na
5. lib-bi matâti-ia dan-is lu-u šul-mu, u a-na ili aḫi-ia

---

6. lu-u šul-mu, a-na biti-ka, aššâti-ka, marani-ka, rabuti-ka,
7. sisi-ka, markabâti-ka u i-na lib-bi matâti-ka,
8. dan-is lu-u šul-mu. A-ḫi, a-nu-ma mar šipri-ia it-ti
9. mar šipri-ka a-na ili-ka al-ta-par i-na mat Mi-iš-ri.

---

10. I-nu-ma a-na ili-ka V (bi-la)-at iri ul-ti-bi-la-ak-ku,
11. a-na šu-ul-ma-ni ša aḫi-ia ul-ti-bi-la-ak-ku.
12. A-ḫi ki-i at-hi-ir iru i-na lib-bi-ka la-a i-ša-ki-in.
13. Šum-ma i-na mat-ia šu-ti ilu Nirgal bil-li-ia, gab-ba
14. amiluti ša mat-ia i-du-uk u i-bi-iš ira-ia,
15. u ahu-ia i-na lib-bi-ka la-a ša-ki-in.

16. *Mar šipri-ka it-ti mar šipri-ia ar-ḥi-iš*  
 17. *uš-ši-ir, u mi-nu-um-mi iru ša ti-ri-iš-šu,*  
 18. *aḥu-ia, u a-na-ku ul-ti-bi-la-ak-ku.*
- 
19. *A-ḥi, at-ta a-na ia-ši u ḥuraša ma-a-ad dan-is*  
 20. *ul-ti-bi-la-an-ni, aḥu-ia ḥuraša ilani i-din-an-ni ;*  
 21. *a-na-ku u a-na ili ša ahi-ia mi-nu-um-mi-í*  
 22. *šu ti-ri-iš-šu, aḥu-ia, u a-na-ku ul-ti-bi-la-ak-ku.*
- 
23. *Ša-ni-tum, aḥi, alpu ša ti-ri-iš-šu mar šipri-ia*  
 24. *u i-din-an-ni u šamnani ša dabuti, aḥu-ia,*  
 25. *II karpât ku-ku-bu uš-ši-ir-an-ni, aḥu-ia,*  
 26. *u šušša amiluti ša-i-li našrani uš-ši-ra-an-ni.*
- 
27. *Ša-ni-tum, ahi-ia, amiluti ša mat-ia it-ti-(ia)*  
 28. *i-dab-bu-bu ; iši-ia ša šar mat Mi-iš-(ri itirissu ki)*  
 29. *il-ku-ni u aḥu-ia šimi-ši-(na inadin).*

## VERSO.

1. *Ša-ni-tum ki-ia-am : ištín amilu ša mat (Alašia)*  
 2. *i-na mati Mi-iš-ri mi-it, u u-nu-tum . . . . .*  
 3. *i-na mati-ka, u maru-šu u aššatu-šu it-ti-ia . . . . .*  
 4. *u aḥu-ia u-nu-tum niši A-la-ši-ia pa-du- . . . . .*  
 5. *u i-na kat-ti mar šipri-ia i-din-šu aḥu-ia . . . . .*
- 
6. *A-ḥi, i-na lib-bi-ka la ša-ki-in ki-i*  
 7. *mar šipri-ka III šanâti aš-bu (i-na lib) mati-ia*  
 8. *aš-šum šu-ti ilu Nirgal i-ba-aš-ši ina mati-ia*  
 9. *u i-na bit-ia aššat-ia mara i-ba-aš-ši*  
 10. *ša-a mi-it i-na-an-na, aḥi-ia.*
- 
11. *Mar šipri-ka it-ti mar šipri-ia na-aš-ri-iš*  
 12. *ar-ḥi-iš uš-ši-ir, u šu-ul-ma-na*  
 13. *ša ahi-ia ul-ti-bi-la-ak-ku.*
- 
14. *Ša-ni-tum, aḥi-ia, ḥuraša ri-ša-ak-ku,*  
 15. *u-ši-bi-la ma-ad dan-is, aḥu-ia,*  
 16. *u u-nu-tum ša i-ri-ša-ak aḥu-ia uš-ti-bil,*  
 17. *u mi-nu-um-mi-í a-ma-ti kab-ba aḥu-ia*  
 18. *ib-bu-uš, u at-ta mi-nu-um-mi-í a-ma-ti*  
 19. *ša ta-kab-bi a-na ia-ši u a-na-ku ib-bu-uš.*
- 
20. *It-ti šar Ha-at-ti u it-ti šar Ša-an-ḥa-ar,*  
 21. *it-ti-šu-nu la ta-ša-ki-in. A-na-ku*  
 22. *mi-nu-um-mi-í su-ul-ma-ni ša u-ši-bi-lu*

23. *a-na ia-ši, u a-na-ku II-su a-na ili-ka*

24. *u-ti-ir-ru.*

25. *Mar šipri-ka il-lik it-ti-ia šu-mi-iš*

26. *(u) mar šipri-ia il-lik it-ti-ka šu-mi-iš.*

TRADUCTION.

RECTO.

(1) Au roi du pays de Misri . . . . . (2) le roi du pays d'Alasiya, ton frère. . . . . (3) Je vais bien. Mes demeures, ma femme, mon fils, (4) mes principaux sujets, mes chevaux, mes chars, (5) mes pays, sont dans un état très prospère. Et à toi, mon frère, (6) soit prospérité ; à tes demeures, à tes femmes, à tes fils, à tes principaux sujets, (7) à tes chevaux, à tes chars et dans tes pays, soit prospérité grandement. Mon frère, (8, 9) j'envoie mon messenger avec ton messenger au pays de Misri. (10) En t'envoyant cinq *talents* de bronze, (11) c'est comme présent pour mon frère que je les envoie. (12) Mon frère, tu n'as pas dans la pensée que je *fabrique* le bronze. (13) Bien que le *don* de Nugal se trouve dans mon pays, que la totalité (14) des hommes de mon pays *fabrique* et travaille le bronze, (15) mon frère cela n'est pas dans ta pensée. (16, 17) Envoie promptement ton messenger avec mon messenger, et tout le bronze que tu demanderas, (18) mon frère, je te l'enverrai.

(19, 20) Mon frère, fais-moi parvenir de l'or en grande quantité ; (20) mon frère donne moi de l'or des dieux, (21) et moi à mon frère, tout ce (22) que tu me demanderas, mon frère, moi aussi je te l'enverrai.

(23) Ensuite, mon frère, le bœuf que demandera mon messenger, (24) donne-le moi, et de ces excellentes huiles (25) envoie-moi deux cruches *kukubu*, mon frère ; (26) et envoie-moi soixante hommes qui *prennent* des aigles.

(27, 28) En outre, mon frère, les gens de mon pays s'entendront avec moi ; (28, 29) (*quand*) ils auront fourni ceux de mes arbres que le roi de Misri (*désire*), mon frère *en* (*donnera*) le *prix*.

VERSO.

(1) Ensuite [je parle] ainsi : un homme du pays d' (Alasiya) (2) est mort au pays de Misri, et il (a laissé) des objets (3) dans ton pays, et son fils et sa femme (se trouvent) chez moi. (4) Les objets des gens d'Alasiya . . . . . mon frère (5) remettra cela aux mains de mon messenger.

(6) Mon frère, il n'est pas dans ta pensée, bien que (7) ton messager *soit resté* trois ans dans mon pays, (8) que dans mon pays se trouve le *don* de Nirgal [le bronze], (9) et que dans ma maison, ma femme a eu un fils, (10) qui est mort présentement, mon frère.

(11, 12) Envoie très promptement ton messager avec le mien, et j'enverrai promptement les présents à mon frère.

De plus, mon frère, je désire de l'or, (15) envoie-en en très grande quantité, mon frère. (16) Mon frère m'enverra les objets que je demande, (17, 18) et quelles que soient les demandes [les miennes], mon frère les exécutera toutes ; et pour toi, toute demande (19) que tu m'exprimeras, je l'exécuterai.

(20) Avec le roi de Khatti et de Sankhar, (21) avec ceux-là ne fais point d'affaires. Moi (23, 24) tous les présents qu'on m'enverra, (23, 24) je te les rendrai au double.

(25) Si ton messager avait procédé avec moi *en ton nom*, (26) mon messager aurait procédé avec toi *en mon nom*.

## REMARQUES.

Recto, l. 3.—Avant *biti-ia* on s'attendrait à lire *ana*, d'après l'analogie des autres lettres.

L. 8.—*Nirgal*, lecture possible, mais nullement certaine du nom de la divinité en question.

L. 10.—(*Bi-la*)-*at*, restitué d'après Winckler-Abel, No. 14, l. 6, où l'on voit le roi d'Alasiya envoyer trois talents de bronze comme cadeau, ou, pour mieux dire, comme échantillon au roi d'Egypte.

L. 12.—*At-ḥi-ir*. La lecture *ḥi* est très douteuse, de même que le sens précis du mot. Dans tous les cas, *ki* appelle un verbe que je ne trouve que dans le groupe ainsi transcrit.

L. 13.—*Šu-ti*, idéogramme composé exprimant l'idée de *recevoir* (Brünnow, 7110)?

L. 14.—*Iduk* et *ibiš* me semblent être deux permansifs. Je rattache *iduk* à une racine primæ *y*.

L. 17.—*Tiriššu* pour *itiriššu*, comme verso, l. 14, *rišakku* pour *iriššakku*.

L. 19.—Je considère < comme la conjonction *u*, construite ici de la même manière que recto ll. 18, 21, 22, et verso ll. 18, 19, 23, d'une manière analogue au ך hébraïque. Le sens de *dix* ne convient pas ; on ne dira guère : donne-moi dix objets *x* en grande quantité. L'idéogramme qui suit semble être une forme de <𐎠𐎠, à un juger par certains types chez Amiaud et Méchineau, No. 260. Le signe <𐎠𐎠

employé seul désigne parfois l'argent (Brünnow, 9891). Ici je crois qu'il désigne plutôt l'or, ce métal toujours demandé par les monarques asiatiques dans les lettres de Tell el-Amarna, sans qu'ils parlent jamais d'argent. Le même idéogramme se retrouve à la ligne suivante et au verso, l. 14.

L. 20.—*De l'or des dieux*, c'est comme qui dirait : de cet or adorable.

Ll. 23, 24.—Il s'agit sans doute d'une espèce bovine particulièrement remarquable. Au neuvième siècle avant notre ère, Salmanasar III, roi de Ninive, reçoit de même en cadeau un bœuf envoyé par le roi d'Égypte contemporain.

L. 25.—*Rukubu*, déterminatif se rapportant aux dimensions des cruches ?

Verso, l. 7.—*Ašbu*, permansif kal, à la 3<sup>e</sup> personne du masculin singulier. Cf. DELITZSCH, *Grammatik*, p. 255.

Ll. 9-10.—Le roi d'Alasiya se plaint sans doute d'un manque d'égard du roi d'Égypte dans ces circonstances. Burraburiyas, roi de Babylone, traite également pêle-mêle d'étiquette, de mariage et de fournitures.


Ll. 25, 26.—*Šumiš*, adverbe dérivé de *šumu*, nom? *Šumiš* signifierait : *au nom du souverain respectif*, dans un sens spécial, c'est-à-dire, *avec plein pouvoir*. L'interprétation de ces lignes est conjecturale. Sur la construction supposée, voir DELITZSCH, *Grammatik*, p. 359.

### III.

WINCKLER-ABEL, 12.

LE ROI D'ALASIYA AU ROI D'ÉGYPTE.

TRANSCRIPTION DU TEXTE.

1. *A-na šar mat Mi-iš-ri aḥi-ia,*
2. *kī ṭi-ma.*
3. *um-ma : šar mat A-la-si-ia aḥi-ka-ma*
4. *A-na ia-ši šul-mu,*
5. *u a-na ka-ša lu-u šul-mu ;*
6. *a-na bit-ka,  -ka, mari-ka,*
7. *aššāti-ka, narkabāti-ka ma-du, sisi-ka,*
8. *u i-na mat Mi-iš-ri mat-ka,*
9. *rabiš lu-u šul-mu.*


10. *Aḥu-ia, mar šipri-ri* (compl. phon.) *-ia*  
 11. *ḥa-mu-ut-ta na-aš-ri-iš*  
 12. *uš-ši-ra-šu-nu u iš-mi*  
 13. *šu-lu-um-ka.*

- 
14. *Amilu an-nu-u tam-kar-ia, aḥu-ia,*  
 15. *na-aš-ri-iš ḥa-mu-ut-ta*  
 16. *uš-ši-ra-šu-nu.*  
 17. *Amilu tam-kar-ia, ilappu-ia,*  
 18. *mu-ḫa-ga-ri-ka ul*  
 19. *ia-ga-ar-ri-ip*  
 20. *it-ti-šu-nu.*

#### TRADUCTION.

(1) Au roi de Misri, mon frère, (2) pour information, (3) en ces termes: Le roi du pays d'Alasiya, ton frère. (4) Je vais bien, (5) et à toi, mon frère, prospérité; (6) à ta maison, à tes eunuques, à ton fils, (7) à tes femmes, à tes nombreux chars, à tes chevaux, (8) et dans le pays de Misri, ton pays, (9) salut grandement. (10-12) Mon frère, renvoie promptement et sans délai mes messagers (12, 13) pour que j'entende de tes nouvelles. Ces hommes, ces marchands, ô mon frère, (15, 16) renvoie les promptement et sans délai. (18-20) Mes marchands, et mon bateau, que tes gardiens n'en usent pas mal envers eux.

#### REMARQUES.

L. 6.—Le groupe , dont j'ignore la lecture, peut signifier, d'après sa composition, *mâle efféminé*, eunuque. Le salut adressé aux eunuques, parfois si puissants, n'a rien d'in vraisemblable, quand on salue jusqu'aux chevaux.

L. 9.—Sur la lecture *rabiš*, cf. BRÜNNOW, 6834.

L. 11.—On serait tenté de traduire *našriš*, en sûreté, avec sauvegarde, mais il ne semble pas que dans la lettre précédente, verso l. 11, le mot ait ce sens. On ne devait pas recommander au roi d'Égypte d'assurer à son propre ambassadeur la sauvegarde voulue.

L. 12.—*Išmi*, dialectal pour *ašmi*, particularité dont nous avons déjà relevé plusieurs exemples dans les lettres des chefs palestiniens.

L. 14.—*Amilu*, collectif, à en juger par *šu-nu* qui le représente l. 16.

L. 17.—Le vaisseau d'Alasiya indique un pays maritime.

## IV.

WINCKLER-ABEL, 18.

LE ROI DU PAYS DE KHATTI(?) A KHURI. . . , ROI D'ÉGYPTE.

Le nom du pays sur lequel règne ce correspondant du roi d'Égypte est en partie effacé. Il en reste la dernière syllabe *ti*, et des vestiges de l'avant-dernière, qui, tels qu'ils se voient dans l'édition du texte, semblent indiquer un *at*.

On pourra se convaincre par la comparaison que je ne me suis pas inspiré de la version de ce document publiée par M. Halévy dans le *Journal Asiatique* de Paris, septembre-octobre, 1890. L'observation s'applique également aux pièces suivantes.

## TRANSCRIPTION DU TEXTE.

## RECTO.

1. . . . . *ki šu (?) ub bi lu ti lal (?) u ma šarru . . . . .*
2. . . . . *at (?)-ti ki (dét. aph.) a-na Ḥu-u-ri-i . . . . .*
3. . . . . (*šar mat Mi*)-*is-ri ki (dét. aph.) aḥi-ia ki ti-ma :*

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4. . . . . *za-mu-a maḥ-ri-ka lu-u šul-mu ;*
5. . . . . *pa, marani-ka, bit-ka, šabi-ka, narkabâti-ka,*
6. . . . . *bi-ka, dan-is lu-u šul-mu*

---

7. (*Amiluti*) *mar šipri-ri [compl. phon.] ša a-na a-bi-ka aš-ḡu-u-ru,*
8. *u mi-ri-iš-ta ša a-bu-ka i-ri-šu i-na bi-(ri-i)-ni*
9. *at-ta . . . . (ma) lu-u ni-ib-bu-uš mi-la . . . .*
10. *la-a ak-(la-ma) mi-nu-mi-i ša a-bi-ka . . . . bi-is*
11. *i (?)-iḡ-pa-(am-ma) lu-u i-bu-uš, u mi-ri-iš-ta-ma*
12. *ša a-na a-bi-ka i-ri-šu, a-bu-ka mi-im-ma u-ul*
13. *ik-la, iḡ-pa-am-ma lu id-ti-na.*

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14. *Pa-za-at a-bu-ka ittāpalkat-at [compl. phon.], šu-bi-la-a-ti-i*
15. *ša u-sat-bi-la, aḡu-ia, ani-mi-ni tik-la-aš-šu-nu-ti ?*

---

16. *I-na-an-na, aḡu-ia, a-na kussi ša a-bi-ka*
17. *ti-i-la-(ma), u ki-mi-i a-bu-ka u a-na-ku*
18. *šul-ma-na i-na bi-i-ri-ni ḡa-aš-ḡa-nu-ma,*
19. *u i-na-an-na-ma at-ta u a-na-ku i-na bi-ri-ni*
20. *ka-an-na lu-u da-pa-a-nu u mi-ri-iš-ta*
21. *a-na (ša) a-na a-bi-ka aḡ-bu-u a-na aḡi-ia-ma*
22. *(a-ḡab)-bu, ana um za-ta i-na bi-i-ri-ni i-ni-ib-bu-uš.*



23. . . . . *ša a-na a-bi-ka i-ri-iš-ta,*  
 24. *(aḥu)-ia la-a ta-ga-al-la-a-šu.*

VERSO.

7. . . . . *i-tu-ru-ma a-na aḥi-ia,*  
 8. *u-da-a-ar-šu-nu-ti, u mi-nu-um-mi-i*  
 9. *ša aḥu-ia ḥa-aš-ḥa-ta šu-u-up-ra-am-ma*  
 10. *lu-ši-bil-ak-ku*

- 
11. *A-nu-um-ma a-na šul-ma-ni-ka I bi-ib-ru*  
 12. *kaspi lu-lum V ma-na šakiltušu ; I bi-ib-ru*  
 13. *kaspi lu ? ? bi pu u ḥi ku III ma-na šakiltušu ;*  
 14. *II ga-ag-ga-ru kaspi, X ma-na šakiltušu-ma,*  
 15. *II is ni tum ra-a-bu-tum ul-ti-bil-ak-ku.*

TRADUCTION.

RECTO.

(7-9) Les messagers que j'ai envoyés à ton père et les demandes que ton père m'a exprimées dans nos relations, tu (*les sais*). (9) Faisons (*la même chose*). (9-10) Je n'ai pas refusé (*chose demandée*). Tout ce que ton père . . . . . (11) m'a dit, je l'ai fait, et en fait de choses (12) que j'ai demandées à ton père, (12, 13) il ne m'a rien refusé. Il promettait et il donnait.

(14) Alors que ton père est décédé, les envois (15) qu'il [me] faisait parvenir, ô mon frère, pourquoi, les refuserais-tu ?

(16, 17) Maintenant, mon frère, tu es monté sur le trône de ton père, et comme ton père et moi (18) nous avons échangé les présents entre nous, (19) maintenant aussi, toi et moi, entre nous (20) constamment usons-en avec amitié, (20) et les demandes [réciproques], (21, 22) suivant ce qui j'avais proposé à ton père, [et] propose à mon frère, (22) pour toujours, accomplissons-les entre nous.

(23) Le . . . . . que j'ai demandé à ton père, (24) ô mon frère, tu ne le refuseras pas.

VERSO.

(7) (Les choses) seront rendues à mon frère, (8) je te les rendrai, et tout (9) ce dont mon frère a besoin, mande-le, (10) je te le ferai parvenir.

(11, 15) Maintenant comme présents à toi, je te fais parvenir : un *bibru* (12) d'argent *x*, dont le poids est de cinq mines ; un *bibru* (13)

d'argent y, dont le poids est de trois mines; (14) deux *gaggaru* d'argent, dont le poids est de 10 mines, et deux grands . . .


## REMARQUES.

Recto, l. 8.—*Mirišta*, singulier indéterminé. De même ll. 11, 20.

L. 10.—*Ak-(la)*, restitué d'après, l. 13.

L. 11.—Peut-être au lieu de *ik-pa-(am-ma)*, faut-il restituer *ik-pa-(an-ni)*, car le sens veut *il me disait*.

L. 14.—Le verbe *palkutu*, se rencontre avec la signification de *passer*. Nous supposons ce sens ici, au figuré.

L. 15.—Sur la lecture *tik*, dans *tik-la-aš-šu-nu-ti*, cf. Amiaud et Méchineau, No. 81, où l'on voit pour  des formes très rapprochées de la nôtre.

L. 23.—*Irišta*, forme hébraïsante?

L. 24.—*Tagalla*, pour *takalla*. Cf. ll. 10, 13, 15.

## V.

## WINCKLER-ABEL, 22.

DUSRATTA, ROI DE MITANI, À AMÉNOPHIS III, ROI D'ÉGYPTE.

Nous omettons la partie du texte renfermant les salutations d'usage dans les lettres de Dusratta, et nous traduisons seulement les parties les mieux conservées du document.

On voit dans une pièce traduite plus loin (VII) que la fille de Dusratta épousa Aménophis IV. On l'appelle néanmoins ici *la femme de mon frère*, c'est-à-dire d'Aménophis III, sans doute parce qu'elle entrait dans une famille dont Aménophis III était encore le chef.

## TRANSCRIPTION DU TEXTE.

## RECTO.

8. *Ma-ni-í, mar sipri-šn ša ahi-ia, it-ta-la-ka a-na at-ti-ru-ti, a-na aššati-šn*
  9. *ša ahi-ia a-na bi-il-ti mat Mi-is-ri-í a-na li-gi-í, u dup-pa*
  10. *ša il-ka-a al-ta-ta-aš-zi-ma u (?) a-ma-ti-šn il-ti-mi,*
  11. *lib-ia a-had da-an-ni-iš-ma; a-ma-ti-šn ša ahi-ia ki-í ša ahi-ia-ma*
  12. *a-mu-ru u aš-ta-du i-na um-mi ša-(a)-ši ma-ah-ta da-an-ni-iš;*
  13. *um-ma u mu-ša ša-a-ši ?-na-a i-ti-bu-(uš).*
- 
14. *U ša ahi-ia, a-ma-a-ti-šn kab-(ba) ša Ma-ni-í il-ka-a (a-na-ku)*
  15. *i-ib-bu-uš i-na ša-at-ti an-(ni-ti). I-na-an-na ša ahi-ia aššat-su*

16. *ša mat Mi-is-ri bi-la-at-su a-(na-din)-ma u a-na aḫi-ia u-up-pa-lu*
17. . . . . *i-na um-mi-šu-ma mat Ḫa-ni-rab-bat ut mat Mi-is-ri-i.*
- 
18. *U aš-šum an-ni-ti Ma-ni-i . . . u-pa-a-an ; aḫu-ia, Gi-li-ia*  
 19. *u Ma-ni-i ḫa-mu-ut-ta u-(maš-ša)r-šu-nu-ti u la ak-ti-ib-šu-nu.*  
 20. *(U i-na)-an-na, aḫu-ia, a-na tu-(ul-li)-ma a-na mu-uš-šu-ru (ia-nu)*  
 21. *u tu-ul-la ul i-bu-uš a-na . . . šu a-na aššati-šu ša ahi-ia . . . ,*  
 22. *u i-na-an-na du-ul-la i-ib-bu-uš.*
- 
23. *I-na arḫi šišši, Gi-li-ia mar sipri-ia u Ma-ni-i (mar sipri-šu)*  
 24. *ša aḫi-ia u-ma-aš-ša-ar-šu-nu ; ša aḫi-ia aššat-su (il-ku-u)*  
 25. *(U) . . . a-na ahi-ia u-ub-ba-lu. Ilu (Ištar) bi-il-ti bi-li-(it)*  
 26. *(ilu)-ia u ilu A-ma-nu il-šu ša aḫi-ia, ki-i . . . . .*  
 27. *(li)-mi-iš-si-il(ši).*

## VERSO.

19. *U aḫu-ia i-na libbi-šu i-ša-ab-ba-ta-an-ni ; ki-i lib-bi im-ra-šu mi-im-ma,*  
 20. *u la lu-u-ma-aš-ra, im-ma-ti-ma ilu Ramman bi-li lu-u la u-ma-aš-ša-ra-an-ni-ma.*  
 21. *It-ti aḫi-ia lu-u la ut-ta-az-za-am ; ka-a-ma a-na aḫi-ia . . . . .*  
 22. *ki-i-mi-i ahu-ia . . . . . u.*
- 
23. *Ma-ni-i mar sipri ša aḫi-ia . . . . . ša ahi-ia šu it-ti Ma-ni-i*  
 24. *il-li-ka, uk-ti-ib-b(i-is-su-nu) . . . . . šu-nu, u uk-ti-ib-bi-ir-šu-nu*  
 25. *da-an-ni-iš. A-nu-um-ma Ma-ni-i i-il-la-kan-ma, u aḫu-ia*  
 26. *. . . . . u-na-ah-da-šu ki-i-mi-i uk-ti-ib-bi-is-su ma-ah-ta ta-an-ni-iš.*  
 27. *A-na aḫi-ia-ma i-tab-bu-ub-ma u aḫu-ia il-ti-nim-i-šu-nu-ti ki-i-mi-i*  
 28. *i-ti-bu-us-su-nu. Ki-i lu-u-ḫa šul-ma-ni ul i-ma-a-la,*  
 29. *a-di su-u-ma šu-u u la-a i-ma-ar-ra-aš.*
- 
30. *U aḫu-ia ḫaraša ma-ah-ta ša šipru la ip-ša li-ši-bi-la, u ak-ka-at*  
 31. *a-bi-ia aḫu-ia li-i-ti-ir-an-ni. Ki-i-mi-i aḫu-ia ra-ha-mu-ti u-kal-lam*  
 32. *ki-i-mi-i aḫu-ia a-na pa-ni mat-ia ki-im-i a-na pa-ni aḫi u-pa-ru-ti-ia*  
 33. *aḫu-ia ma-ah-ta u-par-ra-ḫa-an-ni, Ramman u A-ma-nu li-it-ka-ma*  
 34. *a-na da-ra-tim-ma, ša ahi-ia ša lib-bi-šu lu-bu-uš u aḫu-ia*  
 35. *ad-du-a ša lib-bi-ia li-bu-uš ; ki-i-mi-i a-mi-lu-u-tum*  
 36. *ilu Šamaš i-ra-ḫa-am-šu ; u ki-i i-na-an-na ni-i-nu ilu*  
 37. *(lu)-u-ši-ru-un-na-ši-ma, a-na da-a-ra-tim-ma*  
 38. *(i-na bi-ri-i)-ni i-ni-ir-ta-ha-am.*

## TRADUCTION.

## RECTO.

(8). Mani, le messenger de mon frère est venu pour la *demande* [de mariage], (8, 9) pour prendre la femme de mon frère, destinée à être la maîtresse du pays de Misri, et la tablette [lettre] (11) qu'il a apportée, je l'ai vue, et j'ai entendu ses propositions [de mon frère]. (11) Je me suis grandement réjoui dans mon cœur; (11, 12) j'ai considéré les messages de mon frère comme ceux d'un frère, (12) et je me suis très fort réjoui ce jour-là; (13) ce jour et cette nuit-là, j'ai fait *réjouissance*.

(14). Tous les messages de mon frère que Mani a apportés, (15) je les exécuterai cette année. (15, 16) Alors je remettrai la femme de mon frère, la maîtresse du pays de Misri, et on l'amènera à mon frère. (17) Ce jour-là le pays de Khanirabbat et le pays de Misri  
 . . . . .

(18). Et à cause de cela, *j'ai bien traité* Mani. . . . . Je ferai partir sans retard Giliya et Mani, et je ne les retiendrai pas. (20) *Pour le moment*, mon frère, *il n'est pas possible* d'expédier les ouvrages [les objets de la dot]; (21) je n'ai pas encore fait les ouvrages . . . . . pour la femme de mon frère; (22) je vais les faire maintenant.

(23, 24). Dans le sixième mois, je ferai partir Giliya, mon messenger, et Mani, le messenger, de mon frère; (24) ils prendront la femme de mon frère (25) et la mèneront à mon frère. Qu'Istar, la déesse des déesses, (26) ma (divinité), et Amanu, le dieu de mon frère, (27) (la) rendent heureuse!

## VERSO

(19) Mon frère m'a pris dans son cœur; si j'éprouve quelque froissement, (20) et que je ne pardonne point, que jamais le Dieu Ramman, mon maître, ne me pardonne. (21) Que je n'aie point de soupçon à l'égard de mon frère; constamment, envers mon frère. . . .

(23, 24) Mani, le messenger de mon frère, et le  $x$  de mon frère que l'accompagnait, sont [donc] venus. (24) Je les ai honorés et je les ai très magnifiquement traités. (25) Bientôt Mani partira et mon frère (26) . . . . . apprendra de lui comme quoi je l'ai traité avec grande magnificence. (27) Il rendra compte à mon frère, et mon frère entendra ces choses, telles que je les ai faites. (28) Si la table des présents [formant la dot] n'est pas suffisante, (29) j'ajouterai cela et cela, et [mon frère] ne sera point froissé.

(30) Que mon frère m'envoie beaucoup d'or qui ne soit point à compte, (30) et qu'il me rende l'*aḳḳat* (31) de mon père. (31) Comme mon frère m'a témoigné de l'amitié, (32, 33) comme mon frère m'a grandement honoré devant mon pays et mes frères de . . . . . (33) fassent les dieux Ramman et Amanu, (34) à jamais, que les désirs de mon frère, je les accomplisse, et que mon frère (35) accomplisse mes propres désirs, [car] de même que les hommes, (36) le dieu Samas aime cela [cette concorde]; et de même que maintenant, nous, les dieux nous favorisent [en ménageant cette amitié, ainsi], pour toujours, donnons-nous réciproquement des marques d'amitié.

## REMARQUES.

## RECTO.

L. 11.—*Aḥad* d'une racine **הור**, équivalent de **הרה**. Comparez l'expression *ina ḥud libbi-ia* = dans la joie de mon cœur, de plein gré, qui se rencontre souvent dans les actes de donation.

## VERSO.

L. 21.—*Uttazzam*, forme II, 2, avec sens passif, signifie: *je serai en proie à l'inquiétude, au soupçon*. Du verbe *za'amu*.

L. 24.—*Uktibizzunu*. La forme correcte serait *uktibissunu*, pour *uktibid-šunu*. Du verbe *kabadu*.

L. 28.—*Luḥa*, hebr. **לוח**, tablette, ici la liste des présents constituant la dot de la princesse de Mitani, sans doute la liste qui a été retrouvée et dont le texte se lit aux Nos. 25 et 26 de la collection Winckler-Abel.

L.—*Ša sipra la ipša*, de l'or pour lequel *il n'y a pas de compte* enregistré, c'est-à-dire, de l'or donné en pur présent, comme semble le prouver le passage suivant d'une lettre de Dusratta au même roi d'Égypte (British Museum, 81, verso, ll. 7-19):

“Maintenant, supposé que mon frère m'envoie de l'or, je parle ainsi: il se trouve beaucoup d'or [en Égypte], ou il ne s'en trouve pas beaucoup et tu le mets à compte. Mais même si tu le mets à compte, je serai fort content, et si peu que m'envoie mon frère, je serai satisfait.”

Dusratta cependant s'attache à la première supposition et demande beaucoup d'or (ll. 12-16). Il finit même par en demander et beaucoup et par pure grâce: “Que mon frère m'envoie en très grande quantité de l'or qui ne soit pas mis à compte, qu'il m'en

envoie plus qu'à mon père. Dans le pays de mon frère, l'or est abondant comme la poussière de la terre."

Dans tous les cas, un passage qui se présente un peu plus loin (ll. 24, 25) dans le même document, ne s'accommode pas de sens hyperbolique de *en quantité infinie* qui a été proposé pour l'expression *ša sipra la ipša* ou *ipšu*. Dusratta a bien pu dire: "Que mon frère m'envoie de l'or non porté en compte, et en très grande quantité." Mais il n'aura guère dit: "Que mon frère m'envoie sans mesure de l'or en très grande quantité."

Voir le texte de cette lettre publié par M. Budge dans les *Proceedings*, t. X.

## VI.

WINCKLER-ABEL, 23.

DUSRATTA, ROI DE MITANI, À AMÉNOPHIS IV, ROI D'ÉGYPTE.

Dette de 57 + 56 grandes lignes, dont les deux tiers très effacés. Je traduis les lignes 7-44 du recto.

Dans cette partie, Dusratta prie Napkhurriya (Aménophis IV) de lui faire parvenir des objets précieux que Mimmuriya (Aménophis III) lui avait promis, et n'avait pas eu le temps de lui faire parvenir.

## TRANSCRIPTION DU TEXTE.

## RECTO.

7. (*Ha*)-ni-*í* mar sipri ša ahi-ia (il-li-ka-ma, ana) a-(ma-ti)-šu (ša ahi-ia) il-ti-mi-ma
8. ah-da-du dan-is; u-nu-ta ša ahu-ia (u-si-bi-li) a-ta-mar-ma (ah)-da-du dan-is.
- 
9. Ahu-ia a-ma-ta an-ni-ta ik-ta-bi: ki-i-mi-í it-ti a-bi-ia-(ma Mi)-im-mu-ri-ia
10. ta-ar-ta-na-ah-a-mu-u-mi u a-ka-an-na i-na-an-na ar-ta-ha-(am it)-ti-ka, ahu-ia.
11. It-ti-ia ra-a-mu-u-ta an-?, u a-na-ku it-ti ahi-ia ra-a-mu-(u-ta) ul-tar-*ha*-ku.
12. Ii a-bi-ka i-na-an-na-ma dan-is a-na . . . . . ar-ta-(na-ah-a)-am.
- 
13. U a-bu-ka Mi-im-mu-ri-ia a-ma-ta an-ni-ta i-na dup-pi-šu ik-(ta-bi-ma); pa-za-tum Ma-ni-í
14. tir-*ha*-tu ub-lu, u a-ka-an-na ahu-ia Mi-im-mu-u-ri-ia ik-ta-pi: an-nu-u u-nu-ta

15. *ša i-na-an-na u-ši-í-bi-lu la mi-im-ma-a-mi, u aḥu-ia la ut-ta-za-am-mi mi-im-ma,*  
 16. *la u-ši-í-bil mi-(im-ma). An-nu-u u-na-ta ša i-na-an-na u-ši-í-bil-ak-ku-mi ka-am-ma-mi*  
 17. *ul-ti-í-bil-la-ak-ku-mi, u pa-za-du aššat-ti ša í-ri-šu aḥu-ia i-na-an-din-ma-a-mi*  
 18. *í-lí-ik-ku-u-num-ma-mi a-am-ma-ru-ši, u X-šu ma-la an-ni-í u-ši-bil-la-ku-mi.*
- 
20. *U gar-gari ša ḥuraši ša ab-gu-tum ub-bu-ku-u-tum, iš-tin gar-gar a-na ia-ši u ša-ni-tum gar-gar*  
 21. *a-na gar-gar ✎ Da-a-du-ḥi-i-pa marat-ia, a-mur, a-bi-ka-ma Mi-im-mu-u-ri-a i-ti-ri-iš,*  
 22. *U ik-ta-bi a-bu-ka-ma: muš-šir a-na ša ḥuraši-ma ša bi-ik-ta ub-bu-uk-ta na-ta-an-zu-nu-mi,*  
 23. *u ša aban ukni šadi a-na-an-din-ak-ku-mi u ḥuraša ab-bu-na ša-na-a ma-ah-ta, u-nu-ta*  
 24. *ša pa-ta-la i-šu-u it-ti gar-gari a-na-an-din-ak-ku-mi. U ḥuraša ša gar-gari-(ma) mari šipri-ia*  
 25. *kab-bi-í-šu-nu-ma ša i-na mat Mi-is-ri aš-bu, i-na inâ-šu-nu i-ta-am-ru, u gar-gari a-bu-ka*  
 26. *(i)-na pa-ni mari šipri-ia a-na ši-ip-ki ut-ti-í-ir-šu-nu i-ti-bu-us-su-nu ik-ta-ma-šu-nu,*  
 27. *u ki i-gam-ru, ša-gu-u, i-na inâ-šu-nu i-tam-ru.*
- 
28. *U ḥuraša ša-nu-u ma-âh-du ša pa-ta-la i-šu-u ša a-na ia-ši u-ši-í-ib-bi-lu uk-ti-li-im-ma,*  
 29. *u ik-ta-bi a-na mari šipri-ia : a-nu-um-ma gar-gari u a-nu-um-ma ḥuraša ma-a-ta, u u-nu-ta*  
 30. *ša-a pa-ta-la i-šu-u ša a-na aḥi-ia u-ši-bi-lu, u i-na ina-gu-nu am-ra-a-mi ;*  
 31. *u mari šipri-ia i-na inâ-šu-nu i-ta-am-ru.*
- 
32. *U i-na-an-na aḥi-ia gar-gari ub-bu-ku-u-du ša a-bu-ka u-ši-í-ib-bi-lu la du-ši-í-bi-la,*  
 33. *U ša 𐎠 𐎡 𐎢 𐎣 iḥ-ḥu-zu-du du-ul-ti-í-bi-la. U-nu-ta ša a-bu-ka a-na ia-ši u-ši-í-ib-bi-lu,*  
 34. *la du-ši-í-bi-lam-ma ? U du-ul-ti-í-mi-la dan-is-ma*
- 
35. *U a-ma-du mi-im-ma ša-i-du-u ša a-na a-ḥi-ia aḥ-du-u ia-nu ; i-na a-i-im-mi-i um-mi ša ahi-a*  
 36. *šul-ma-an-zu il-ti-mi, u um-ma ša-a-šu pa-ni-ta- i-ti-bu-us-zu.*

37. *U Ha-a-maš-si mar sipri ša ahi-ia pa-za-du a-na ili-ia il-li-gu u pa-za-du ša ahi-ia*
38. *a-ma-ta-šu iḫ-bu-u-ma iš-mu-u, u a-ka-an-na ak-ta-bi: ki-i-mi-í it-ti Mi-im-mu-ri-ia*
39. *a-bi-ka-(ma) ar-ta-na-ha-a-mu-mi, u i-na-an-na X-šu it-ti Na-ap-hur-ri-ia ar-ta-na-ha-am-mi*
40. *dan-is. U a-ka-an-na a-na Ha-a-maš-ši mar sipri-ka ak-ta-bi.*
- 
41. *U i-na-an-na, ahu-ia, gar-gari ša hurāši ub-bu-ku-du la u-ši-i-bi-la, u ri-iḫ-ta u-nu-ta*
42. *ša a-bu-ka a-na šu-bu-li iḫ-bu-u mi-it-ḫa-ri-iš, ahu-ia la u-ši-i-bi-lam-ma?*
- 
43. *I-na-am-na ahu-ia gar-gari ša hurāši ub-bu-ku-u-du ša a-na a-bi-ka i-ri-(iš-ma)-a*
44. *li-id-din-am-ma (ahu-ia) . . . .*
- 

## TRADUCTION.

## RECTO.

(7) Khani, le messager de mon frère, (est venu); j'ai prêté l'oreille (aux messages de mon frère), et (8) je m'en réjouis beaucoup; j'ai vu les objets que mon frère (m'a fait parvenir), et je m'en réjouis beaucoup.

(9) Mon frère m'a mandé ceci: (9, 10) "Comme tu as eu des relations amicales avec mon père Mimmuriya, j'en aurai de même avec toi, mon frère. (11) Use d'amitié envers moi et je pousserai plus loin l'amitié envers mon frère. (12) Plus que mon père, à (jamais), je te traiterai avec amitié."

(13) Ton père Mimmuriya m'a dit ces choses sur une de ses tablettes [lettres]. (14) Mani apportant des bijoux, Mimmuriya dit alors: "Ces objets (15) que j'envoie présentement ne sont rein, mais que mon frère n'ait point d'inquiétude (16) de ce que je n'envoie [pour ainsi dire] rien. (16, 17) Ces objets [pareille quantité], je les aurais toujours envoyés; mais lorsque mon frère me donnera la femme que je demande, (18) qu'on l'aura amenée et que je l'aurai vue, je t'en expédierai dix fois autant."

(20, 21) J'avais demandé à ton père Mimmuriya [en conséquence de ses avances], deux *gargar* d'or de nature *x*, un *gargar* pour moi et un second *gargar* pour le *gargar* de Tadhukhipa, ma fille. Et ton père dit: "Sois tranquille en ce qui concerne le don de l'or de nature *x*; (23) je te donnerai aussi du *cristal de roche*, et d'autre or



en quantité, des objets (24) qui sont *patala*, en sus des *gargar*." Et l'or des *gargar* mes messagers, (25) autant qu'il s'en est trouvé en Misri, l'ont vu de leurs yeux; et les *gargar*, ton père (26) les a fait couler en présence de mes messagers, il les a travaillés et achevés. (30) Lorsqu'ils furent achevés et . . . . . ils [mes messages] les virent de leurs yeux.

(28) Il montra aussi [à mes messagers], en grande quantité d'autre or, qui était *patala*, qu'il allait m'envoyer. (29) Et il dit à mes messagers: Voilà des *gargar*, et voilà de l'or en quantité, et des objets (30) qui sont *patala*, que je vais envoyer à mon frère. Voyez-les de vos yeux. Et mes messagers les virent de leurs yeux.

(32) Et maintenant, mon frère, les *gargar de nature x* que ton père allait m'envoyer, tu ne les envoies pas, (33) et tu m'envoies des *y*! Les autres objets que ton père allait m'envoyer tu ne les envoies pas? (34) Oui, tu les enverras.

(35) Il n'est point chose *fâcheuse* pour mon frère dont je me sois réjoui; (35, 36) et tout jour où j'ai entendu de ses bonnes nouvelles, j'en ai fait un jour heureux.

(37) Lorsque Khamassi, le messenger de mon frère, fut arrivé chez moi, (37, 38) et qu'il m'eut communiqué les messages de mon frère, je parlai ainsi: (38, 39) Comme j'ai témoigné de l'amitié à Mimmuriya, ton père, j'en témoignerai dix fois autant à Napkhurriya, (40) bien certainement.

(41) Et maintenant, mon frère, ne m'enverra pas les *gargar d'or de nature x*! et le reste des objets (42) que ton père avait décidé avec [tant d']empressement de m'envoyer, mon frère ne me les envoie pas!

(43, 44) Que mon frère me donne donc maintenant les *gargar d'or* que j'ai demandés à son père . . . . .

#### REMARQUES.

L. 15.—*Uttazam*. Voir la note sur V, verso, l. 21.

L. 21.—*Muššir*. Voir la note sur I, verso, l. 1.

L. 19.—*Gargar*, lecture provisoire. Le *gargar* était quelque joyau ou ornement à l'usage des hommes et des femmes, d'après ce qui est dit ici. Était-ce un collier? Cf. WINCKLER-ABEL, 18, recto, 26, où il est question de *gargar de femme*.

L. 34.—*Du-ul-ti-i-mi-li*, pour *du-ul-ti-bi-i-li*?

## VII.

WINCKLER-ABEL, 24.

DUSRATTA, ROI DE MITANI, à AMÉNOPHIS IV, ROI D'ÉGYPTE.

Cette pièce, 92 + 96 lignes très longues, a été reconstituée au moyen de nombreux fragments. Le texte, là-même où il est le mieux conservé, présente beaucoup de vides. Nous n'avons trouvé de sens bien suivi que dans les 22 premières lignes du recto, aux quelles nous nous bornons.

On voit par la formule d'introduction que Tadukhipa, la fille de Dusratta, avait été mariée à Aménophis IV (Naphurria), et non à Aménophis III (Nimmuria).

## RECTO.

1. (*A-na Nap-ḥu-ur-ri-ia šar mat Mi-is-ri-i, aḥi-ia, ḥa-ta-ni-ia ša a-(ra)-am-mu-uš, u ša i-ra-(ḥa-am-an-ni),*
2. (*ki ti-ma um-ma-a : Du-uš-ra-at-ta, šarru rabu, šar mat Mi-i-it-ta-an)-ni, aḥu-ka-ma i-mi-ka, ša i-ra-ḥa-mu-ka. A-na ia-ši šul-mu ; (a-na ka-a-ša,*
3. *lu-u-šul-mu ; a-na biti-ka, a-na) Ti-i-i (a-ḥa-ti-ia ummi-ka, a-na) Ta-a-du-ḥi-i-ḥa marti-ia aššati-ka, lu-u-šul-(mu) ;*
4. (*a-na . . . . .) lu-u-šul-mu ; a-na marani-ka, a-na amiluti rabuti-ka, a-na narkabāti-ti-ka, a-na sisi-ka,*
5. (*a-na mati-)*ka u a-na mim-mu-ka dan-is dan-is dan-is lu-u-šul-mu

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6. . . . . . ru-ti-i a-na (ša) Ni-im-mu-u-ri-ia-ma a-bu-ka a-na ia-ši il-ta-nap-ḥa-ra, il-zu lu-u (il-ti-mi).
7. . . . . . mi-im-ma ša . . . . . ša il-ta-nap-ḥa-ru, ia-nu mi-nu-um-mi-i a-ma-tum kab-ba-ši-na (la i-bu-uš) ;
8. a-i-u-ti a-ma-ti-i) ša a-bi-ka, ša (a-na) ia-ši il-ta-nap-ru ; u Ti-i-i ašš-at Ni-im-mu-u-ri-ia ra-bi-tum,
9. (a-ḥa-tu-ia-ma) um-mu-ka, kab-ba-šu-nu lu i-ti-šu-nu ; a-na Ti-i-i-ma . . . . . di kab-ba-šu-nu-ma ar- . . -šu-nu-ti.
10. . . . . . abu-u-ka a-ma-a-ti ša it-ti-ia it-ta-nam-bu-bu.

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11. . . . . . (ili a-bi-ia) X-šu dan is-ma ša it-ti Ni-im-mu-u-ri-ia a-bi-i-ka ša ni-ir-ta-na-ah-mu.
12. (i-na kab-ba a-ma-ti ša) Ni-im-mu-u-ri-ia a-bu-ka it-ti-ia it-ta-nab-bu-bu, su-u ia-ši lib-bi i-na mi-ni-im-ma
13. (a-ma-ti a-i-um-ma u-ul ul-ti)-im-ri-iš. U mi-nu-um-mi-i a-ma-tum ša a-kab-bu-u-ma, u am-mi-tum i-na um-mi ša a-šu

14. (*i-ti-bu-uš-šu-um-ma*, *u a-na-ku*) *ad-du-su libba-šu i-na mi-ni-um-ma a-ma-ti u-ul ul-ti-im-ri-iš u mi-nu-um-mi-í*
15. (*a-ma-ti ša i-ka-ba*)-*am-ma*, *u am-mi-tum i-na um-mi ša-a-šu i-ti-bu-us*.
- 
16. . . . . *A-bu-šu ša Ni-im-mu-u-ri-ia*, *a-na Ši-ta-ta-ma a-ba a-bi-ia iš-pu-ru u marta*
- 17 (*a-na* . . . . . *i-ti-ri-iš*, *u a-bu*) *a-bi-ia i-ti-iz-zi* ; *V-šu VI-šu iš-ta-par u u-ul id-di-na-aš-ši im-ma-ti-mi-í*
18. . . . . *VII-šu iš-t)a-par*, *u i-na i-mu-u-ki-im-ma id-din-ši*. *Pa-za-du Ni-im-mu-u-ri-a a-bu-ka a-na Šu (?)* . . .
19. (*a-bi-ia iš-pu-ru*) . . . . . *u marta-šu ša a-bi-ia a-ḥa-a-ti ad-du-ia ki-i i-ri-šu . . . . . šu*, *u IV-šu (iš-ta-par*,
20. *u u-ul id-dī)-na-aš-ši im-ma-ti-mi-í* ; *V-šu*, *VI-šu il-ta-par u i-na i-mu-u-ki-im-ma id-(din-ši)*.
21. (*Pa-za-du*) *Ni-im-mu-u-ri-ia (a-bu-ka) a-na ia-ši ki-i iš-pu-ru u marti ki-i i-ri-šu*, *u il-(ti-mi-ma*,
22. *u) ak-bi-(ma u) i-na ma-a-aḥ-(ri ša) mar-šipri-šu ak-ta-bi um-ma-a : A-na-an-din-aš-ši-i-ma-a-ku*.

## TRADUCTION.

1.—(A Napkhurriya, roi de Misri), mon (frère), mon gendre, que j'aime et qui m'aime, (2) (pour information, en ces termes: Dusratta), grand roi, (roi du pays de Mitanni), ton frère, ton beau-père qui t'aime. Je suis dans un état prospère ; (à toi-même, (3) salut ; à ta maison), à Tiî (ma sœur et ta mère), à Tadukhipa, ma fille et ta femme, salut ; (4) à . . . . . salut ; à tes fils, à tes grands officiers, à tes chars, à tes chevaux, (5) à . . . . . ton (pays), à tout ce qui t'appartient salut, grandement, grandement, grandement.

(6) . . . . . Concernant ce que Nimmuriya, ton père, me mandait, là-dessus (j'ai été bien obséquieux). (7) . . . . . Toute (demande) qu'il m'a envoyée, il n'y a rien dans tous ces messages que (je n'aie fait, (8) . . . . . quelque message) que ton père m'ait fait parvenir ; et Tiî, la grande épouse de Nimmuriya, (9) (ma sœur et) ta mère, sait tout cela. (9, 10) (Informe-toi) de tout cela auprès de Tiî, et *considère-le bien*. (11) . . . . . les affaires que ton père a concertées avec moi.

(11) Certainement dix fois plus que (mes pères avec ses prédécesseurs), j'ai eu avec Nimmuriya des relations d'amitié. (12) (Dans toutes les affaires que) Nimmuriya, ton père, a traitées avec moi, lui

(12, 13) dans aucune affaire, ne m'a froissé le cœur ; et toute proposition que j'exprimai, (13, 14) (il y donna suite) le jour-même. (14) Et lui-même, je ne lui ai froissé le cœur dans aucune affaire ; (14, 15) toute proposition qu'il exprima, j'y donnai suite le jour même.

(16) . . . . . Le père de Nimmuriya, envoya un message à Sitatama, le père de mon père, (16, 17) (lui demandant) une fille (en mariage, et le père) de mon père résista. Cinq fois, six fois, il lui envoya message, et il ne la donna jamais. (18) . . . . . il envoya (un septième message), et il la donna à peine. (18, 19) Ensuite Nimmuriya, ton père, envoya message à Su . . . (mon père) ; il demanda en mariage la fille de mon père, ma sœur à moi ; (il envoya message) quatre fois, (20) et il ne la donna jamais. Il envoya cinq fois, six fois, et il la donna à peine. (21) (Ensuite) Nimmuriya, ton père, m'ayant envoyé un message et demandé ma fille, j'écoutai favorablement, (22) je consentis et je dis devant son message : " Je la donne, moi."

#### REMARQUES.

La restitution des lignes 1-5 repose sur les formules analogues des lettres de Dusratta, notamment British Museum, 81 (*Proceedings* t. X).

LL. 1, 2.—Les mots *ḫatanu* et *imu* qui s'appliquent ici au gendre et au beau-père, ont un sens plus large en assyrien. Ils se disent aussi (British Museum, 81, recto, ll. 2, 3) de Nimmuriya (*ḫatanu*) et de Dusratta (*imu*), reliés entre eux par Tii, sœur de Dusratta et femme de Nimmuriya.

L. 11.—Restitué d'après British Museum, 81, recto, ll. 11, 12, et autres passages analogues. La première personne *nirtanahamu*, n'a rien que de naturel. L'assyrien dit à peu près ceci : Dix fois plus nombreuses qu'entre les rois précédents, ont été mes relations avec Nimmuriya, relations provenant de ce que nous nous aimions. *Nirtanahamu* ou *nirtanahmu* serait bien rendu par le grec : ἐφιλοφρονοῦμεθα, ou, si l'on veut, ἐφιλοφρονοῦμεθον.

LL. 12-15.—Ce passage renferme deux phrases symétriques, qu'il a été facile de restituer l'une par l'autre.

Dans les lignes 28-54, trop mutilées pour qu'on puisse en donner une traduction suivie, Dusratta parle de la joie qu'éprouva Nimmuriya à l'arrivée de la princesse Tadukhipa en Egypte ; le bien qu'il avait promis de faire et fit réellement à Dusratta ; il loue sa fidélité à remplir ses promesses :

53. *Ni-im-mu-ri-ia a-bu-ka, i-na a-ma-ti a-i-imma, a-ma-ti a-na ta a-ma-ti la ut-ti-i-ir* ; 54. *lib-bi-ia i-na a-ma-ti a-i-im-ma u-ul u-ši-im-ri-iš.*

C'est-à-dire : “ Dans aucun cas, ton père n'a forfait à sa parole, (*littéralement* : n'a fait de parole non-parole) ; dans aucun cas, il ne m'a froissé le cœur.”

Il fait allusion aux *gargar*, dont il vient de parler, et aux autres objets promis par Nimmuriya, et que celui-ci aurait certainement donnés s'il n'avait pas été prévenu par la mort, (voir la pièce précédente). Il semble même s'autoriser à ce sujet d'une parole prononcée par Nimmuriya dans ses derniers moments :

55. . . . . *Ni-im-mu-u-ri-ia a-na ši-im-ti-i-šu ki-i il-li-ku iḱ-ta-bu-uš u ša ik-bu-u. . . .*

“ Nimmuriya, quand il se rendit à son destin, le dit et ce qu'il a dit *tu l'accompliras* (?) ”

Dusratta rappelle (56, 57) la grande douleur qu'il éprouva dans la circonstance :

*I-na um-mi ša-a-šu ab-ta-ki. — I-na um-mi ša-a-šu u-ul . . . , u am-ta-ra-aš.*

“ Ce jour-là, je pleurai. ” — “ Ce jour-là je ne fis point . . . et je me livrai à la douleur. ”

Il redit ses cris et ses vœux (58) :

*A-na-ku lu-u-mi-it. — U ša i-ra-ha-ma-an-ni lu-u-pa-li-it it-ti ilu.*










“ Puissé-je mourir, moi. ” — “ Et celui qui m'a aimé puisse-t-il vivre avec la divinité. ”




NOTES DE PHILOLOGIE ÉGYPTIENNE.







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





(Suite.)\*

45. Deux nouvelles formes de “la conjugaison de ,”  
 46. Passage des textes des Pyramides de Sakkâra ; 47. A propos de la note de M. PLEYTE ; 48. Addition à une note précédente, relative aux noms  et  ; 49. Le titre     et la lecture du groupe  ; 50. La clause finale du document en cuir, traitant de la construction du temple d'On ; 51. Connait-on réellement le nom du père terrestre du pharaon Tout-anch-amon ? 52. Quelques observations sur l'histoire du mot  “faire.”

45. M. MASPERO, il y a assez longtemps,† a signalé ce qu'il appelle “la conjugaison de .” Les formes que jusqu'ici on a relevées de cette conjugaison sont les suivantes : ‡

- Singulier : 1 pers.     
 2 pers.  ,  ,  ,    
 Pluriel : 2 pers.  ,  ,

A ces formes, je suis en mesure d'ajouter deux nouvelles qui, empruntées à l'inscription d'Una, semblent avoir échappées à l'attention des collègues. Les voici :   *mā-à*   *mā-f*. Je donnerai maintenant les passages où, dans la dite inscription, se voient les deux nouvelles formes de la conjugaison de  . Ils ont la teneur suivante :




         , “Il est venu, lui, par le grand vaisseau de la cour ;” §

Continued from *Proceedings*, Vol. XIII, p. 365.

† *Zeitschrift*, 1884, page 80.

‡ *Transactions*, VII, page 24.—Cfr. de même ERMAN, *Die Sprache des Papyrus-Westcar*, page 82.



§ *Inscription d'Una*, ligne 6.

 , “Je descendais, moi, le fleuve vers la pyramide, dite *Cha-nefer* ;” \*  
 \* *L. I.* ligne 40. BRUGSCH traduit (*Die Aegyptologie*, page 494) actuellement ce passage ainsi : “ Ich fuhr abwärts *bei Hand* nach der Pyramide ‘ Cha-nefer,’ mais il fallait prouver que l’expression  —  signifie réellement ‘ *bei Hand.*’ ”



“ Je fis, moi, tout-à-fait conformément aux ordres de la Sainteté de mon Seigneur.” †  
 † *Inscription d’Una*, ligne 45. BRUGSCH (*Die Aegyptologie*, page 495): “ indem ich war *bei Hand* solcher Gestalt angesichts des Willens,” etc.


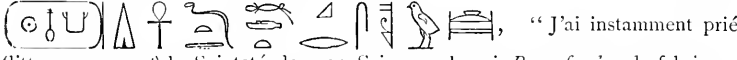
M. ERMAN, l’habile commentateur de l’inscription d’Una, se prononce au sujet des formes dont nous venons de faire la revue, de la sorte : “ Was das *mā* ist, das hier ‡ und L. 6. 41, 45 vorkommt, ist mir nicht klar.”

46. Si les textes des Pyramides très souvent présentent des difficultés sérieuses au traducteur, cela ne tient non seulement au langage à allusions mythologiques, plus ou moins incompréhensibles, dont ils sont remplis. Il est certain que beaucoup de leurs obscurité résulte du mauvais état dans lequel ils nous sont arrivés. A cet égard, ils partagent le sort d’un très grand nombre de morceaux de la littérature égyptienne qui, par des raisons fort naturelles, plus qu’aucune autre littérature du monde, paraît avoir souffert de l’ignorance et de l’inadvertance des gens chargés de son exécution et reproduction matérielles. Comme preuve de mon dire, quant aux textes des

\* *L. I.* ligne 40. BRUGSCH traduit (*Die Aegyptologie*, page 494) actuellement ce passage ainsi : “ Ich fuhr abwärts *bei Hand* nach der Pyramide ‘ Cha-nefer,’ mais il fallait prouver que l’expression  —  signifie réellement ‘ *bei Hand.*’ ”

† *Inscription d’Una*, ligne 45. BRUGSCH (*Die Aegyptologie*, page 495): “ indem ich war *bei Hand* solcher Gestalt angesichts des Willens,” etc.

‡ *Zeitschrift*, 1882, page 6. — Le premier des quatre passages où, selon M. ERMAN, se trouve la dite locution, pourrait bien admettre une autre signification pour le groupe  —  que celle qui résulte de notre développement d’en haut. Cfr. à ce sujet le passage suivant (*Recueil de Vieweg*, XIII, page 66).













  
  
 “ J’ai instamment prié (litt. : *sarannent*) la Sainteté de mon Seigneur, le roi *Ra-nofer-ka*, de fabriquer un cercueil.” [M. MASPERO, (*l.l.* page 69) traduit ce passage de cette manière : “ J’y ai pourvu selon ce qui avait été décidé avec la Majesté de mon maitre, le roi *Nofirkeri*, de fabriquer un cercueil.”]

Pyramides, je choisis le petit paragraphe qui se voit aux lignes 89-90 des textes \* de Pepi Ier, et dont la forme est la suivante :




























ce que je traduirais de la sorte :

“ Il est magnifique de voir, comment Pepi est le bandeau qui occupe le sommet de la tête de Ra, son pagne sur lui étant Hathor, sa plume étant la plume de l'épervier. Il sort, lui (=Pepi) au ciel parmi ses frères, les dieux.” †

Le sens “bandeau, bandeau royal” du mot  est établi d'après le témoignage de nombreux passages de textes— , dans les textes des Pyramides, se confond quelquefois avec . Comparez à ce sujet, Pepi I, la ligne 103, où   , équivaut à  , “ parmi les enfants” de *Merenra*, ligne 70. Cela m'autorise à considérer  de notre passage comme variante de , “qui est au milieu de, parmi, attaché à,” etc.— , ajouté après , me semble corroborer mon acception qu'il y a question dans notre texte de deux personnages différents, celui de Pepi et de


\* Le même paragraphe se voit à *Teta* (l. 43, 44) et *Merenra* (l. 51, 52). Le dernier n'offre guère de différence notable par rapport au texte de *Pepi I*, tandis qu'entre ceux de *Teta* et de *Pepi I*, il y a ici un point de dissemblance essentiel.

C'est que *Teta* a le signe  “ tout,” inséré entre  et           .






Toutefois, je regarde la rédaction de *Teta* comme fautive en cet endroit. Un autre passage où les textes de ce dernier sont probablement fautifs, c'est à la ligne 280, où l'expression            me paraît devoir se traduire : “Thoth et Atmu te font cadeau de ce qui te convient,” c'est-à-dire en faisant abstraction du déterminatif  du mot *atmu*. [Cfr. *Pepi I*, l. 280, et *Merenra* 29.]




† M. MASPERO [*Pyramide du roi Têti, Recueil*, V, 8] : “Heureux ceux qui voient Têti là où il s'habille au matin de chaque jour, son pagne sur lui comme Hathor, sa plume comme la plume de l'épervier et sur laquelle il sort au ciel parmi tes frères [les dieux].”



Ra, qu'on s'est cru dans la nécessité de séparer d'une marque spéciale. De cette manière, je crois devoir m'expliquer la présence de la locution .

Selon moi, le passage de texte que nous venons d'examiner, nous montre le roi défunt dans le rôle d'ornement du dieu Ra, tout comme la déesse Hathor. Cela explique que Pepi soit désigné comme dieu et frère des dieux, ces derniers faisant partie du cortège rayonnant du dieu-soleil.

47. Dans une note qui vient de paraître,\* M. PLEYTE fait remarquer que l'équation  (resp. ) = *ab*, établie par nous, † est fautive, que l'oiseau  de nos exemples est une faute de scribe pour "le veau sautant," et que l'oiseau , comme sa variante , dans le cas étudié par nous, doit se lire *texu*. A la même fois, notre savant confrère constate que E. DE ROUGÉ et lui-même ont fait "l'observation que les textes hiéroglyphiques sont des transcriptions des textes hiératiques soit en écriture, soit monumentales, et que les fausses variantes ne sont que des fautes de transcription."









Tout le monde sachant lire des textes hiératiques, a dû plus d'une fois recourir à transcrire en hiératique les expressions ou passages des textes hiéroglyphiques qui lui ont semblé obscurs. Ce n'est d'ailleurs pas à DE ROUGÉ, mais à CHABAS (ou peut-être à GOODWIN ; car qui saurait actuellement faire droit à tout ce que cet explorateur de premier ordre a découvert dans le domaine de l'égyptologie !) que revient l'honneur—je crois—d'avoir le premier posé ce principe, fécond en surprises instructives. Quant à moi, j'ai aussi largement profité des leçons de ce principe, ce qui devrait au moins me garder contre le blâme de l'avoir ignoré. C'est ainsi qu'il y a bientôt 12 ans,‡ j'ai, le premier, constaté que le signe  $\times$  dans la valeur *ur* n'est qu'une forme défigurée du signe hiératique qui dérive de l'hiéroglyphe . A la même occasion j'ai relevé que la lecture *hā* du signe  provient de ce qu'on a confondu l'original démotique de ce dernier avec celui qui correspond à .


Malgré cela, personne ne niera, je pense, que le signe  $\times$ , ayant la valeur de *ur* ne soit exacte, quand même il aurait été plus con-



\* *Proceedings*, XIII, page 280.

† *Ibid.*, page 107-109.



‡ *Recueil de Vieweg*, I, page 201 (l'an 1879).

forme à l'état *originnaire* de l'écriture hiéroglyphique de lui substituer le signe . De même pour le signe  dans la valeur *ha*, par rapport au signe  qui déjà anciennement possède cette valeur. Mais dans ces circonstances, je ne vois pas pourquoi il faudrait déclarer fautive la variante  du "veau sautant," cette variante, selon les exemples que j'ai fournis, se manifestant à des époques très diverses. Et M. PLEYTE n'a d'ailleurs pas montré, que les textes hiératiques des basses époques n'emploient jamais le signe hiératique, équivalent de , dans la place où l'on s'attend à trouver le signe hiératique correspondant à l'hiéroglyphe . Cela étant, je ne crois pas "qu'on ferait mal, si l'on donnait la valeur d'*ab*" au signe . Je conviens alors, bien entendu, que M. PLEYTE a fort exactement expliqué l'*origine* de la valeur *ab* du signe . Mais quand même on connaît à merveille l'origine d'une source ou d'un fleuve, on n'est pas pour cela autorisé à en présager les destins futurs. Sur le terrain de l'épigraphie comme du langage, le hasard quelquefois joue un rôle qui nous ennuie, mais qui ne peut être éliminé.\* Ce même hasard nous a valu une masse de nouveaux hiéroglyphes ou de leçons nouvelles, conférées à de vieux signes, là où il semble qu'on aurait pu tout aussi bien en rester à l'état original.†

Le point où le jugement de M. PLEYTE s'est prononcé avec le plus de force, c'est concernant la lecture du signe  du protocole de Ptolémée XI. Examinons maintenant le début des deux variantes



\* Si nous devons quelquefois nous plier devant les inexactitudes de transcription, commises par les scribes égyptiens, nous avons par contre toute raison d'écarter les inadvertances que commettent assez souvent des hiéroglyphes modernes. Ainsi, par exemple, lorsque EBERS (*Papyrus Ebers, Die Maasse und das Kapitel über die Augenkrankheiten*, passim) transcrit constamment par  $\{$  *tr* le signe hiératique qui correspond à  *sa*, il faut rectifier son erreur qui provient de ce que l'auteur du papyrus en question a confondu les formes hiératiques des signes  $\{$  et , observation qu'a déjà faite M. STERN (*Glossarium*, page 49).

† Cfr. encore ce que dans mon *Dictionnaire du Papyrus Harris*, No. I (page 81), j'ai dit au sujet de la confusion qui s'est produite entre les prototypes hiératiques de













 *sen* et  *sen*.

que nous en avons mentionnées, et que nous devons à l'ouvrage précieux de M. DÜMICHEN.\* Les voici :



ce qui selon moi signifie : “Vive Horus d'or, le grand de cœur, ami des dieux de l'Egypte, seigneur à l'instar de Rā.” L'expression  (var. ) ne peut guère signifier ici que “grand de cœur.” C'est là un titre très-fréquent pour les pharaons de cette époque. A cet égard, il est instructif de comparer entre elles les deux variantes qu'offre, selon Lepsius,† le début du titre que porte Ptolémée XIII. Les voici :






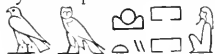

La seconde de ces dernières variantes montre que le signe  désigne une partie du corps humain. Les textes parlent d'ailleurs d'un Horus ‡ , surnommé . A partir de l'époque saïtique le signe , qui déjà anciennement à la lecture *ab*, commence à se lire très-constamment de cette manière, témoin entre autres les variantes de la formule, débutant par . Les rois de cette dynastie s'honorent souvent de bannières composées avec le signe  par exemple  (Psamétik I),  (Neko),  (Psamétik II),  (Apriès). D'ailleurs, le même mot  *ab* se voit dans le nom royal Apriès. Il est donc bien certain qu'il faut admettre la prononciation *ab* pour le signe  du protocole de Ptolémée XIII.

\* *Baugeschichte des Denderatempels*, pl. IV, V.


† *Königsbuch*, Tafel LIX.



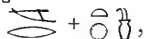
‡ HORRACK, *Le Livre des Respirations* III, 10.

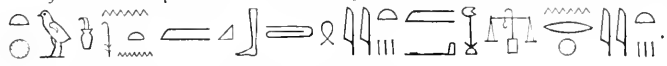
Par conséquent, la lecture *techu* \* soutenue par M. PLEYTE pour ce cas, est impossible, ce qui m'autorise à faire remarquer, que la critique que m'a adressée ce savant aurait bien pu être un peu moins péremptoire de forme.

48. En traitant † de la lecture du signe  qui entre dans les noms de dieux  et , j'aurais dû tenir compte du fait, que nous ont enseigné les transcriptions grecques, à savoir que la voyelle d'un syllabique égyptien change souvent suivant la place qu'occupe ce syllabique au commencement ou à la fin de composés. Ainsi  devient en grec Ἄρμαχος‡ tandis que  donne Ἀδρυπ. Nous rencontrons Ὀσορόμης, mais Πατόσαις. ERMAN § a établi la règle que l'accent en égyptien semble se porter sur le tonique du mot final de la phrase, observation qui doit évidemment s'appliquer aussi aux mots composés.

Il se peut qu'il faille expliquer d'après cette dernière règle, la différence de vocalisation que présente le mot Ὀσαις par rapport à celui de Ἰσαις.||

49. Le titre de fonctionnaire  n'est pas aux dictionnaires. Je l'ai relevé sur plusieurs monuments ¶ de bonne


\* Les cas où le signe  a la valeur *tech*, doivent être excessivement rares. BRUGSCH (*Die Aegyptologie*, page 208) introduit un mot , "Ausschlag, Ausschlagsgewicht," dans quelques expressions où il faut lire , c'est-à-dire deux mots indépendants. La correction que BRUGSCH ici veut apporter à son *Dictionnaire* (V., page 287) manque d'à-propos. En faveur de mon avis je citerai l'expression suivante, empruntée à un texte de *Scheikh-abd-el-Gourna* :




† *Proceedings*, XIII, page 241 et suiv.

‡ M. MASPERO a donné (*Zeitschrift*, 1882, page 127) une série d'exemples de noms égyptiens, transcrits en grec, qui montrent bien qu'un syllabique s'est prononcé différemment, suivant la place qu'il occupe dans les composés. Mais ce savant n'a pas essayé d'expliquer ces diversités par la supposition de différence d'accentuation.

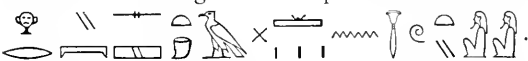
§ *Zeitschrift*, 1883, pages 37-40. C'est là un article, plein de sagacité et d'observations pénétrantes.







|| Cfr. aussi le nom Πατέσαις = .


¶ CHAMPOLLION, *Notices Descriptives*, I, page 524; *Pilier*, conservé au Musée de Bologne (KMINER-SZEDLO, *Saggio filologico per l'apprendimento della lingua e scrittura egiziana*, R. 10. A). Cfr. PIEHL, dans le *Recueil de Nieweg*, VIII, page 83, note 3.

époque. Il a pour variante sous les saïtes le titre  et apparaît sous la XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie et sous les grandes dynasties thébaines dans la forme suivante :



Cette dernière forme se voit aussi dans le document sur cuir que M. STERN,\* a publié et qui est relatif à la construction du temple d'On. C'est à la ligne 8 de la planche II du dit monument, où se lit . Je suis convaincu que quiconque veut bien se donner la peine d'examiner soigneusement ce passage de texte, souscrira à notre acception, quant à la transcription qu'il faut en donner.

Parmi ceux qui, avant nous, ont étudié le texte sus-mentionné, M. STERN † déclare ignorer, comment il faut transcrire le signe que nous avons lu . Dans un article qui vient de paraître, M. ERMAN ‡ fournit pour notre passage de texte la transcription suivante , ce qui lui a permis de proposer pour le titre royal  la lecture *sm3wt*, ou, comme nous transcrivons, *smut*. Mais le signe hiératique qui correspond à l'hiéroglyphe  dans le manuscrit sur cuir, a une forme bien différente de celle qu'offre, dans le même document, le signe que nous avons transcrit . Cfr. la manière dont s'écrit—plance II, ligne 2,— l'expression .

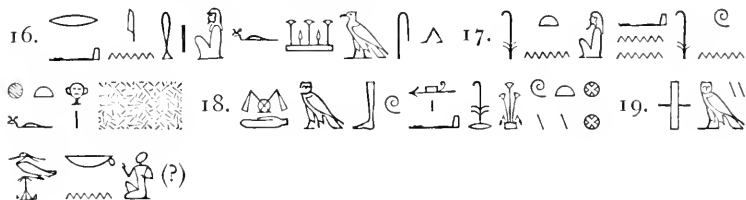
Cela fait d'ailleurs que je ne saurais partager l'avis de mon savant ami ERMAN, par rapport à la lecture du titre royal . Jusqu'à nouvel ordre, je maintiendrai volontiers la transcription *neb šeta neb ārā*, qu'a adoptée BRUGSCH § pour ce titre.

50. La clause finale du manuscrit hiératique, dont nous avons fait mention dans la note qui précède, n'a pas été expliquée jusqu'ici d'une manière satisfaisante, cela résulte en partie de ce que le texte

\* *Zeitschrift*, 1874, pages 85-96.  
 † *Ibid.*, XXIX page 58.

‡ *Ibid.*, page 89.  
 § *Ibid.*, 1880, page 82.

hiératique en cet endroit est fautif. Voici comment actuellement \* je voudrais transcrire le dit passage de texte :

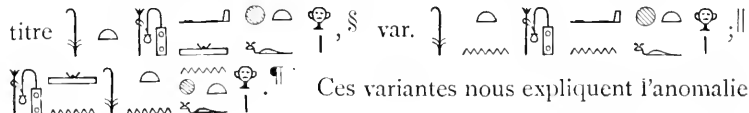


Ce que je traduis † de la sorte : “Sa Sainteté envoya le scribe royal intime . . . . . celui qui réunit en un seul endroit le Midi et le Nord, *Ami-bâh-ken* (?)”

Voici quelques explications de nature à jeter de la lumière sur mon interprétation.—Pour le début de notre expression, on doit comparer le passage suivant, ‡ emprunté à un monument du Louvre :



signifie selon moi, “le scribe royal intime,” ou quelque chose de pareil. Elle présente une anomalie en tant que le mot ¶ a été écrit deux fois au lieu d’une seule, car ¶ is évidemment une faute pour ¶ . Encore a-t-on oublié d’ajouter le déterminatif ¶ après ¶ . Nous connaissons de longue date le



Ces variantes nous expliquent l’anomalie de la répétition du mot ¶ dans le document de Berlin. Je ne crois guère me tromper, en émettant l’opinion que la forme

\* Je ferai remarquer que pendant les années dernières, je n’ai eu que fort peu de temps à consacrer à l’étude de l’hiératique.

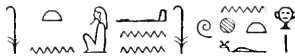
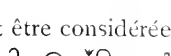

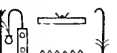









† La traduction de M. STERN (*Zeitschrift*, 1874, page 90) est celle-ci : “Deinde majestas abiit, rex autem scripsit hoc coram populo : . . . . Concinnavit omnia unus ex functis in panegyria nomine Amibahkeni.”



‡ PIFRET, *Inscription du Louvre*, I, page 68.

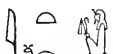



§ *Mission Française au Caire*, I, page 192.

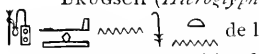


¶ LEPSIUS, *Denkmaeler*, III, 282.

¶ MARIETTE, *Abydos*, II, 23.

 qu'offre ce dernier, doit être considérée  
 comme une "contamination" entre les deux formes   
 et . La forme   
 est d'ailleurs intéressante, parce qu'elle montre comment le  
 titre  doit se lire au moins dans certains cas.\* Je n'hésite pas à  
 regarder le  qui suit souvent , comme un indicateur phoné-  
 tique, et je proposerai donc qu'il faut lire le signe  seul *sešä, secha*,  
 tandis que  et var. sont à lire *än*. Mais cela présuppose une  
 différence de sens entre le titre  et celui de  que je laisse à  
 d'autres le soin d'établir.

51. Dans une note qui vient de paraître,† la thèse a été énoncée  
 que le pharaon Tout-anch-àmon serait fils d'Aménophis III. Ce  
 sont les inscriptions d'un lion couché, conservé au Musée Britannique  
 et publié il y a déjà longtemps par Lepsius,‡ qui ont fourni l'appui à  
 cette nouvelle thèse. On y lit que Tout-anch-àmon   
 "a restauré le monument du père" Aménophis III.

Mais le mot , "père," s'emploie très souvent comme  
 qualification d'un dieu par rapport à un roi. Par exemple, Thotmès III  
 à Médinet-Habou est dit  "avoir fait un  
 monument pour son père Amon-Rä."§ De même, Ramsès III à  
 Médinet-Habou, est dit :  (sic) ,  
 "avoir construit un monument à son père Chonsou."|| De pareils  
 exemples pourraient s'énumérer en centaines et milliers.

\* BRUGSCH (*Hieroglyphisch-Ägypt. Wörterbuch*, V, page 230), traduit le titre  
 de la sorte : "der Schreiber des ä () des königs,"  
 avec la remarque additionnelle : "was  bedeutet, wissen wir leider nicht."  
 Mais cette acception me paraît inadmissible.

† *Recueil de Vieweg*, XI, page 212 ; note dont l'auteur est M. VICTOR LORET.

‡ LEPSIUS, *Auswahl*, pl. XIII.

§ DE ROUGÉ, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques*, pl. CXXX.

|| *Ibid.*, pl. CXXXVIII.





qui revient deux fois dans notre texte? Si l'on tient compte des enseignements de la grammaire, il faut le considérer comme pluriel du mot  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ , "père." Mais l'expression "Tout-anch-àmon a restauré un monument pour ses pères et le pharaon Thotmès IV"—c'est ainsi qu'il fallait alors traduire le premier des deux passages cités—n'a pas d'analogies dans les textes égyptiens. Je suppose donc, que le groupe  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$  contient une faute et qu'il doit se lire  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$  ou  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ . Dans l'un cas, le signe  $\text{𓂏}$  aurait été sauté, dans l'autre il aurait été remplacé à tort par le signe  $\text{𓂏}$ . Pourtant, c'est là une correction hardie, la prétendue faute se voyant reproduite en deux endroits différents.






Comme on voit, le texte nouveau à citer en faveur de la théorie, suivant laquelle Aménophis III serait père de Tout-anch-àmon—ou ce qui revient au même, Thotmès IV, grand-père de ce dernier roi—ne prouve aucunement d'une façon incontestable la réalité de cette consanguinité. Peut-être, le groupe ambigu  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ , doit-il se lire  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ , "le père de ses pères," ce qui pourrait amener la supposition, que le père terrestre de Tout-anch-àmon aurait été Thotmès IV. La question relative à l'origine du pharaon Tout-anch-àmon reste donc toujours ouverte.






52. Le signe syllabique  $\text{𓂏}$  suivant les grammaires entre autre doit se lire *iar* =  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ . \* Les formes  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ ,  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$  que nous offre, par exemple, le *grand Papyrus Harris*† pour les mots qui communément s'écrivent  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ ,  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ , montrent pourtant qu'on ne serait guère trop audacieux, en attribuant à notre syllabique la valeur *iar* =  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ . Dans l'état actuel de notre science, il est impossible de décider s'il faudrait regarder  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$  comme forme pleine de  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ , si les deux formes représentent des

\* BRUGSCH, *Hieroglyphische Grammatik*, page 120; DE ROUGÉ, *Chrestomathie égyptienne*, I, page 73.




† PIEHL, *Dictionnaire du Papyrus Harris*, No. I, page 2; *cfr.* aussi la forme  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$  du mot qui habituellement s'écrit  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ , "lait." [MASPERO, *Les momies royales de Deir-el-Bahari*, page 611.]







de ces exemples une forme du verbe . Il est vrai que M Maspero \* nous enseigne que “le  de cette locution est certainement une forme de l'auxiliaire ,” mais notre savant confrère n'a pas fourni d'analogies à l'appui de cette thèse, ce qui nous autorise à l'écartier. D'ailleurs, où chercher des expressions employant l'auxiliaire  de la même façon que le groupe  de nos exemples.

Après les remarques, énoncées au début de cette note, on est sans doute d'accord avec nous que la forme    dérive de la forme ordinaire  par suite de la chute d'un , quelle que soit du reste l'explication de cette chute. S'il y avait le moindre semblant d'incertitude pour ce rapprochement il s'éclipserait devant les deux expressions suivantes, l'une variante de l'autre :





De ces deux exemples, il résulte avec certitude que   équivaut à . §

En consultant le vocabulaire copte, nous trouvons que l'ancien  est reflété tant par *ipi : eipe : iλi*, que par *oi : o*, cette dernière forme étant visiblement en liaison intime avec la forme à  tombé () du mot .

\* MASPERO, *loc. cit.*, page 610, note 3.

† LEPSIUS, *Denkmaeler*, IV, 27.

‡ PIEHL, dans la *Zeitschrift*, 1883, page 131.

§ Le mot  *ai*, que BRUGSCH a enregistré dans son *Dictionnaire* (vol. V, pages 6, 7), dérive évidemment aussi de l'ancien .



THE VERSO OF THE PAPYRUS ABBOTT.

BY WILHELM SPIEGELBERG.

An entirely new light is thrown upon the Papyrus Abbott by the still unpublished legal documents of the British and Liverpool\* Museums, to the greater part of which it forms, so to say, the index. The study of these papyri, which are written in the same cursive characters as the *verso* of the former, has now supplied me with the means to produce, definitely deciphered in clear transcription, the names of that difficult text, of which M. Maspero† transcribed and translated only the headings of the lists of names; whilst Chabas‡ ventured to translate the whole text. To the following transcription I have scarcely anything to add, as it makes translation superfluous for every Egyptologist; moreover, I intend to give the essential commentary in another place.

A.—RIGHT COLUMN.



\* A translation of the latter papyrus is given by me in the last number of the publications of the Liverpool Museum.

† "Une enquête judiciaire," pp. 4, 5.

‡ Chabas, "Mélanges," III<sup>e</sup> Série, Tome I, p. 143 ff., from whom I differ in many essential points.

3.   


4.   


5.   


6.   

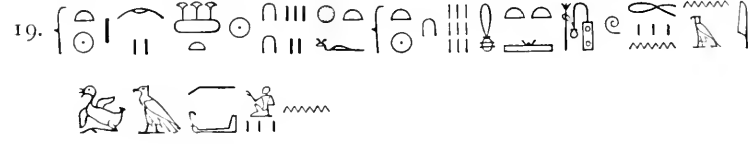
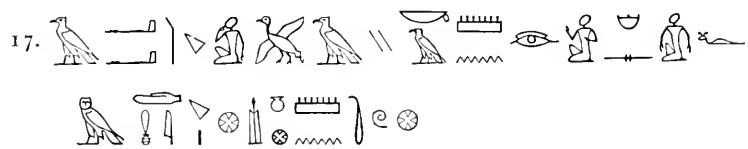

7.   

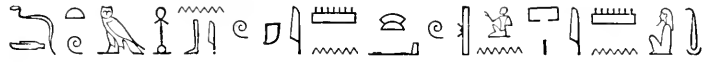

8.  \_\_\_\_\_

9.   


10.   


11.   


21. 

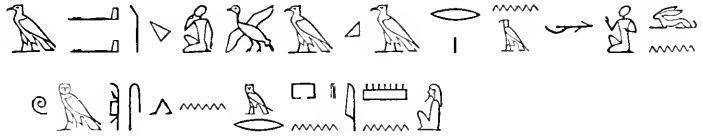


22. 

23. 




24. 

25. 

26. 

27. 

\* Cf. for this my note in an essay entitled "A Turin Papyrus of the time of Rameses V," which will appear in the next number of the "Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache." I now would prefer the reading . The thief of course called in this line—a young man or a boy—would only have been named with the name of his mother (cf. Erman, "Aegypten," p. 224). I therefore translate, "a boy, the child of N."









## COUPES A INSCRIPTIONS MAGIQUES.

PAR M<sup>SE</sup>. SCHWAB.

(Lecture faite à l'Académie des Inscriptions, les 20 Mars et 19 Juin 1891).

(2<sup>e</sup> Série.)

L'an passé, une dizaine d'inscriptions magiques, placées sur des terres cuites aux Musées de Londres et de Paris, ont été publiées dans les *Proceedings* du mois d'Avril, et désignées sous les rubriques A. à K.\* Depuis lors, un certain nombre de pièces du même genre sont venues enrichir des collections publiques et m'ont été signalées. Ces nouvelles trouvailles proviennent, comme les premières, des environs de Hilla, au fond de la Mésopotamie, ou de la Susiane, non loin non plus de l'Euphrate.

Bien des opinions fausses au sujet de ces terres cuites avaient jadis cours. D'abord, on les supposait excessivement rares. Or, il y en a plus de 12 au British Museum, et au moins autant dans le reste de l'Europe. Ensuite, on les croyait antérieures de beaucoup à l'ère chrétienne, tandis qu'en réalité elles sont postérieures à J.-C. de plusieurs siècles. L'erreur provient de ce que ces petits textes reflètent les théories du dualisme, le bien et le mal se combattant, telles qu'elles émanent des Mages et des Perses. Ces effets curieux de la superstition ne sont que des souvenirs lointains rapportés par les Juifs de la captivité de Babylone. Un grand nombre de Juifs, il est vrai, étaient restés fixés à Babylone après le retour de leurs frères, et ils avaient embrassé toutes les pratiques superstitieuses de leur pays d'adoption. Les Chaldéens avaient toujours passé pour être adonnés à l'astrologie, à la magie, aux horoscopes. Les témoignages de l'antiquité sont d'accord sur ce point. En fait,—on a lieu de le supposer avec beaucoup de vraisemblance,—l'écriture de ces vases singuliers se dissolvait dans l'eau qu'on y buvait, soit pour se guérir

\* Il faut noter de suite, ici, une rectification à cet article ; j'ai donné le texte et la version des inscriptions désignées sous les lettres F et G, non à la *Revue des Etudes Juives* en 1890, mais à la *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie orientale* en 1891.

de maladies, soit pour se préserver des sortilèges et des enchantements magiques : de là viennent, à notre grand regret, des lacunes dans les textes. Probablement, on enterrait ces vases à inscriptions magiques avec les morts, et à cette circonstance nous devons la conservation des vases, plus ou moins complets matériellement.

Cette étrange thérapeutique n'est pas tout à fait tombée en désuétude dans l'Orient, et il y a encore des *Mollahs* qui n'ont d'autre profession que de préparer et débiter ces sortes de remèdes. Seulement, les inscriptions modernes sont des sentences tirées du Coran, accompagnées de signes et de lettres cabalistiques. Sans nous arrêter à ces textes arabes dépourvus d'intérêt archéologique,\* bornons-nous à examiner les inscriptions chaldéennes. Par le fond et par le but, toutes les inscriptions de cette nature se ressemblent à peu près : toutes se proposent de combattre les esprits malfaisants que l'on accuse de faire souffrir le malade. Mais leur similitude ne va pas au-delà. On n'a pas encore trouvé deux de ces inscriptions qui soient tout à fait identiques dans les termes, qui soient rédigées d'après une seule et même formule. Voyons donc les sept inscriptions suivantes inédites, réparties entre Cannes, Paris et Winterthur.

#### L.

Deux petits monuments d'archéologie chaldéenne sont placés au Musée d'antiquités et curiosités orientales du Chevalier T. M. Lycklama à Nijeholt, donné par ce voyageur à l'Hôtel de ville de Cannes. Ce sont, à notre avis, les deux pièces les plus intéressantes de la collection, à côté d'un groupe d'une centaine de cylindres babyloniens et surtout de tablettes en terre cuite portant des inscriptions cunéiformes. La classification a été faite et publiée, dans une notice descriptive provisoire (Bruxelles, 1871, 8°), par M. E. Massenot, secrétaire particulier du donateur. Des deux pièces qui nous intéressent, la plus grande contient une très longue inscription, n'ayant par un bonheur rare aucune lacune : elle a été transcrite en caractères hébreux carrés, traduite en français, et publiée par l'abbé Hyvernat dans un journal d'assyriologie, à Leipzig, en 1885. La plus petite des deux, malheureusement fruste en plusieurs endroits, est restée inédite jusqu'à présent : le fond est orné d'un dessin grossièrement exécuté, représentant un sujet assez difficile à déterminer. On voit bien une femme dans le costume

\* Voir ce qui a été dit sur ce sujet au § J.

d'Eve, *visis genitalibus* : c'est sans doute un symbole de l'impudicité, un démon femelle de lascivité (peut-être Lilith), aux griffes démesurées, aux cheveux épars. Certes, la présence de cette figure, dont c'est ici l'exemple unique, offre des difficultés graves : elle est en opposition avec le sentiment juif, et c'est une question qu'il n'est pas aisé de résoudre au premier abord.

Pendant, selon l'avis d'un savant fort compétent, selon M. Joseph Halevi, cette représentation qui choque nos idées sur la pudeur, est bien admissible et applicable au présent cas. Pour annihiler l'esprit malfaisant, pour s'opposer aux maléfices du démon femelle, peut-être à la stérilité ou à l'avortement, le meilleur moyen est de le démasquer, de le mettre à nu dans toute son horreur.\* Le texte est assez écourté dans l'état actuel ; car, ou bien le malade, pour lequel l'inscription a été tracée, a vraiment voulu tenter les bons effets de l'hydromancie, de sorte que l'eau contenue dans ce vase a effacé un certain nombre de mots ; ou bien la terre humide, où la coupe a été enfouie, a produit les mêmes ravages. Voici ce qui reste à peu près lisible :

אסותא מן שמיא לנאנא בת כתימא דתיתרוכים † מן שמיא  
אמן אמן סלה מן באטו ‡ ומן פאטו מן מכפשה (sic) כלבתים  
... נים ... בישתיתא קשי נניש כלביתא אה חנווך §  
מימרדא מן מאי מימר || מומרת דאתואב מראוד לא ...  
[לנאנא בת כתימא] דתיתרוכים מן שמיא א'א'ס' הלולויה .

Vu les lacunes, au lieu de traduire, résumons : Le souhait de guérison, adressé au commencement et renouvelé à la fin de ce texte, est formulé (avec des fautes nombreuses d'orthographe et des répétitions inutiles de syllabes) en faveur de "Nana, fille de Khatima," selon l'usage cabbalistique d'invoquer en ce cas le nom

\* Voir précédemment au § K.

† Le כ de ce mot est pour ה, de la racine רהם, "Qu'elle soit prise en pitié."

‡ באטא = βᾶτος, plur. באטי, au Talmud B., tr. *Aboda sara*, f. 39a : "poissons impurs."

§ Le nom de Hénoch est parfois l'équivalent de l'ange Metatron, par exemple au Midrash *Pesikta Hadetha* (Beth ha-midrash de Jellinek, t. VI, p. 58), et au *Sidra de Schmousha rabba* (*ibid.*, p. 111).

|| Littéralement : "de la renégate, la révoltée, qui s'est souillée," par corruption de אסתאב.

de la mère. D'autre part, le nom de la fille se retrouve sur place, à de longs siècles d'intervalle en arrière, comme nom d'homme ; puisque déjà dans l'inscription cunéiforme de Tiglatpilésér IV à Calach, lue par M. Oppert, on voit le nom de "Nana, souverain de Babylone."\* Le reste est le vœu de préservation de tout mal.

## M.

La coupe à inscription magique, récemment acquise par M. Heuzey, pour la section des antiquités orientales au Musée du Louvre, contient aussi une incantation écrite en spirale. Seulement, elle offre de plus,—comme élément intéressant,—le premier exemple d'une amulette écrite pour les deux époux conjointement, constituant pour ainsi dire un meuble de famille, au lieu d'avoir été écrite pour une seule personne malade, homme ou femme. Elle est conçue en ces termes, et part du centre, occupé par un gros omphalon, pour aboutir à la périphérie :

מימין אודין<sup>1</sup> ין מואיל<sup>2</sup> אכרתא [טאהא] טתה<sup>3</sup> וליטתה לב  
 שר מחייא ברונקא<sup>4</sup> בדיד לדיסתאיבחר ודאווי לבינדיל האלוין  
 ולפציהון ולבבאהא ינותסין<sup>5</sup> בעגלא ברחמי שמיא רגלמיא  
 יבישיא מבליהאת כל חימותות וכל חורמי בין זכר ובין נקובא  
 ששינא את<sup>6</sup> מקומו ויבא למקום שאנו מקומו דימי בראשו  
 ועינו ייהו בין רשאים<sup>7</sup> וגעיאום וחטעאים וזיקבא<sup>8</sup> באיסקופתיה  
 דברוך אריא<sup>9</sup> בר רישינדוך וחדיסתאו<sup>10</sup> אסור ייהי מנודא  
 ייהי צווף<sup>11</sup> אותו ויידיה חופצי בורחי ברבראיליה במאמר  
 קודיש אמן אמן סלה. משבענא לכון מלאכין קדושין כלכין  
 ומהומנין צלל דלל מלל אמלל אללל אמללל אמלואיל  
 אמלתיל דמינטרון ית ברוך אריה בר ליטתא<sup>12</sup> רישינדוך  
 ווהדיסתא בת מיריא איתותיה וית בנוהין וית ביתהא וית  
 בעירהין וית קוניינהין וית כל אוממותה בעימין<sup>13</sup> בשם  
 לאלומציאל מלאכיה כלתא ומיד כל חרשין בישין ומעבדין

\* *Expédition en Mésopotamie*, t. I, p. 336.

תמלפין ומיד כל זיקן ומזיקן בישין ומיד כל רוחין ושידיי  
 ודיוין ולושין ומיד כל פתכרין וסטנן ומיד לוטתא וחרימא  
 ונודרא ואשלאמתא ומיד עובדא בישתא והסאתא ומיד כל  
 אשעם ביש בשים אדמדמו אופוח אצאו<sup>14</sup> אדווית לימותא  
 אמן אמן סלה. אסותא מישמיא ויאמר ויאמר יהוה אל הסטן  
 יגער וחסר<sup>15</sup> יהוה בך הסטן ייגער יהוה בך הבוחר בירושילום  
 הלוח זה הוא אוד מעל מאש והלוא ברוך אריא בר רישנודך  
 והדיסתאו בת מירא איתתיה ומן בנוהין ומן בנתאן ומן כל  
 קונוהין דקרבין או רהקין ומן כל מרעין בישין... ומלילית  
 ברוך אתה יהוה רפא חולים לבשר<sup>16</sup> ומיפלא לעשית  
 אמן אמן סלה.

Après les sept ou huit premiers mots, le commencement (en y comprenant un assez long groupe de lettres) n'offre guère de sens suivi. Cependant, abstraction faite de ces lacunes, on peut traduire presque tout :

“ Que ces eaux soient utiles à la santé terrestre (d'ici-bas), pour détourner la malédiction des êtres vivants . . . et les effets des démons. . . . Qu'ils sortent bientôt, par la grâce du Ciel, ces êtres pernicieux, mis en anathème, mâles ou femelles ; car il a quitté sa place, et il est allé à une place qui n'est pas la sienne. Qu'un tel supporte sa peine, que son œil soit parmi les impies, les orgueilleux, les pécheurs. Que l'esprit malfaisant au seuil de Barukh Arie (Léon) fils de Rischindouk et de Hadista soit enchaîné ; qu'il soit repoussé, qu'il soit hué, lui et les mains de ses compagnons de désir, par l'esprit (bon) du fils d'Elie, par la parole sacrée. Amen, amen, Selah.”

“ Je vous conjure, ô vous tous anges saints et véridiques, Tsalal, Dalal, Malal, Omlal, Allelal, Amloel, Amaltiel, de préserver Barukh Arie, bar Rischindouk et Hadista, fille de Maria (ou Myrrha) sa femme, et leurs fils, et leur maison, et leurs bestiaux, et leurs biens, et toute leur tribu avec eux, au nom de Laaloumtsafiel l'ange supérieur ; de les garder des mauvaises sorcelleries et des opérations magiques, du pouvoir des démons et des êtres nuisibles, du pouvoir des esprits diaboliques, des deus, des lutins, du pouvoir des spectres et

satans ; de l'influence des malédictions, des anathèmes, des vœux, des consécérations ; de l'effet des opérations du mal et du poison ; enfin de la puissance pernicieuse de ceux qui agissent malicieusement, au nom de Adamemo, Ofieh, Atseou, Adouvith, pour jamais. Amen, amen, Selah."

" Salut du Ciel. ' Et l'Eternel dit à Satan : Que l'Eternel te réprimande, ô Satan ; que même il te réprimande celui qui élit Jérusalem, car il est comme un tison préservé du feu.' (Zacharie, iii, 2), savoir Barukh Arieh, fils de Rischindouk, et Hadista, fille de Myrrha, sa femme, pour leurs fils, leurs filles, et tous leurs biens, de près ou de loin, ainsi que de tout accident fâcheux, et de Lilith. Sois loué, Eternel, qui guéris les malades de toute chair et qui accomplis des merveilles. Amen, amen, Selah."

A l'aide des notes suivantes, les tentatives parfois conjecturales faites en vue de certaines expressions, tant de la lecture que de la traduction, seront justifiées au moins partiellement.

#### NOTES.

1. Plus correctement, il faudrait יהון יהון, *illæ sint*. Mais les écrivains de presque toutes ces inscriptions ont pour apanage commun d'être brouillés avec l'orthographe.

2. La lettre ס du mot סוואיל devrait être un ע ; il y a erreur, par la raison trop fréquente d'incorrection.

3. Même observation orthographique. Quant au sens, ce n'est qu'un opposé au "salut *du Ciel*."

4. Nous ignorons le sens de ce mot et du groupe suivant de 12 ou 13 lettres douteuses, ainsi que des quatre mots placés après ודאורי, "des deus" (nom persan des démons). Toutefois, en tenant compte des variantes par défaut d'orthographe, on peut les traduire. Ainsi, ברונקא (pour פרוונקא) est connu en rabbinique sous le sens d'ange, envoyé, avant-coureur, par exemple "l'avant-coureur de la mort" (B., tr. *Aboda zara*, f. 28<sup>a</sup>). Selon la remarque du 'Arukh, il existe un petit animal, nommé *Parzwanka*, qui précède le lion, de même que ce nom désigne la maladie annonçant l'arrivée de la mort. Le mot suivant בדיד signifie "bèche, soc" (Mischna, *Kelim*, XXIX, 7 ; B. *Mo'ed Katan*, f. 4<sup>b</sup>). Le terme לבנדיל pourrait être une corruption de להבדיל, "pour séparer, distinguer." De même האלוין serait pour הלוין, "ceux-ci" (B. *Nedarim*, f. 2<sup>b</sup> ;



Levitic rabbah, § 25, f. 168<sup>d</sup>). Dans לפניהן on peut retrouver le mot פניהאי, “habitants de places ouvertes.” Le mot בנאהא pour בנאה rappelle le sens de *pupa*, “image,” avec la signification de *reflet*, adoptée par extension (Talmud Jerus., tr. *Nedarim*, I, f. 36<sup>d</sup>; B. *ibid.*, f. 9<sup>b</sup>; tr. *Avoda zara*, f. 47<sup>a</sup>).

5. Malgré la corruption de ce mot, on ne peut pas avoir de doute sur le radical יצא, “sortir.” En conséquence, à titre simplement conjectural, on peut donner une signification aux trois ou quatre mots qui suivent l'expression “bientôt, par la grace du ciel.” Il faut commencer par rectifier la lecture et l'orthographe de רגלמיה ינישיא en רגליהם בישי, et traduire : “que leurs pieds mauvais soient errants.” Ce dernier mot est justifié par un terme analogue du Talmud Jerus. (tr. *Pesahim*, I, f. 27<sup>a</sup>). Enfin à l'expression suivante חימות, il faut supposer les deux lettres mediales interverties, et lire חיתומות, “scellé. défendu,” par suite du parallélisme avec le terme immédiatement subséquent : “les interdits.”

6. Ici, ce n'est plus une faute d'orthographe, mais de grammaire : le verbe *sortir* régit un complément indirect ב, de, et non l'accusatif את.

7. Dans ce mot et dans les deux suivants, il y a nouvelle confusion de נ avec ע, et réciproquement.

8. Les deux dernières lettres sont ajoutées indûment, au lieu de former le commencement de la suite.

9. Plus exactement : אריה avec ה, comme plus bas ; Lion (= Léon) est le surnom de Judah.

10. Ce nom est peut-être le diminutif de *Hadassah* (myrte), l'équivalent d'Esther.

11. Littéralement : “sifflé,” de la racine צפנף, qui exprime par une onomatopée les cris des oiseaux.

12. Ce mot est souligné, pour indiquer qu'il est placé à tort au milieu d'un nom propre, et que, dans la pensée de l'écrivain, il faut l'effacer mentalement, sans le biffer.

13. On dirait plus exactement : עימיה “avec lui.” La première et la dernière lettre sont nulles, à moins le lire בעיטין, “enclin à frapper” (mauvais).

14. Ce sont des mots franchement dépourvus de sens, comme le mot איפוי pour אלהי (Dieu) figure déjà au Talmud de Jérusalem (tr. *Nedarim*, XI, f. 42<sup>c</sup>), sans signification propre.

15. Mot *surligné*, par la même raison (exposée note 12) qui fait qu'un mot est *souligné*.

16. Singulière réminiscence (du reste estropiée) du final de la seconde bénédiction récitée à l'office de chaque matin selon le rituel juif, ou formule dite **אשר יצר**. Soit par ignorance, soit par un jeu de mots intentionnel, l'écrivain a converti l'expression **כל בשר** du rituel en ceux de **חולים לבשר** "... guérit les malades de la chair," sans compter qu'au mot suivant (pris de la même source) l'intervention de la voyelle défigure le sens. L'expression **רופא חולים**, "qui guérit les malades," figure encore au rituel, dans le final de la huitième prière du formulaire appelé *amida* ou *schmoné-essré* (18).

En dehors de la particularité du fond, d'une composition faite pour deux époux, il y a un détail nouveau de la forme. Voilà donc un premier exemple où se trouve marquée nettement l'annulation d'un mot écrit à tort : il n'a pas été effacé, puisque ce serait un sacrilège de rayer ou de biffer les caractères d'un texte sacré, mais il a été surligné ou souligné aux cas précités, dans ce but.

En outre, cette pièce a un intérêt paléographique : elle confirme l'observation déjà faite par M. Clermont-Ganneau\* à propos du **ה**, relative à la barre horizontale ou toit de cette lettre. La même observation est applicable ici—dans une autre mesure—au **ח**, en ce que la même ligne horizontale coupe un peu les deux hastes verticales et rappelle assez son origine phénicienne, ou sa parenté avec l'**H** grecque. Peut-être par ce motif, peut-on conclure à l'antériorité de ce dernier texte sur d'autres similaires.

## N.

En ces derniers temps, les fouilles de la mission française remplie par M. et Mme. Dieulafoy en Susiane, ont valu à la France l'apport de trois de ces coupes, également défectueuses par les causes déjà indiquées, mais non moins intéressantes par le fond et par la forme. A les classer par ordre de grandeur, la première a 10 centimètres de diamètre ; la seconde a 112 millim., la troisième 176 millim. : ce qui correspond à la moyenne habituelle.

\* Dans les *Proceedings* en 1884 (t. VI, pp. 123-5), pour le tombeau de Juda b. Tryphon. Voir ci-après §§ N, O, P.

La première, ou la plus petite en surface, contient ces mots, d'une lecture peu certaine :

תִּפְקֵה הַתִּימָת אוֹכְמָמוּיַת מִדִּיהֶן וְתִפְרָחוּ מִן כָּל מֵאֲרַעִין \*  
 בִּישֵׁי וְעֵינֵינָא בִישֵׁי וְחִיבְלֵי בִישְׁמוֹת מַלְאָכִים שְׁדֵרִיָּאֵל יְהִשׁ  
 מִיכָאֵל בְּרַחֵאל צְדִיקוֹל גְּבִרִיִּל חֲסִדִּיִּל רְאוּיִל דְּנִיִּל רְבוּיִל  
 ח . . . . . אַתּוֹן כָּלְכֶם צְדִיק אַדְמַד מַה (2) מַר . . . א'א'ס'

Si on lit un peu différemment le premier mot ainsi que les troisième et quatrième mots douteux, en adoptant d'autres coupures, savoir : תִּהְיוֹן . . . לְבַמְכוּוֵי הַמְדִּיָּהֶן, on traduira ainsi le tout, adressé au démon : "Sois scellé pour Kamkewi Hamadan, qu'il soit à l'abri de tout accident fâcheux, du mauvais œil, des douleurs, par les noms des anges Schadriel, Micael, Barachel, Sadikiel, Gabriel, Hasdiel, Reüel, Daniel, Rebouel, vous tous justes, Adamdema, † maître de . . . Amen, Amen, Selah."

### O.

La seconde pièce du musée Dieulafoy est probablement la plus moderne de toutes en ce genre ; car, par son contenu, elle se rapproche le plus du type contemporain, ou de la formule conservée au livre cabbalistique intitulé : *Sefer Raziel*. ‡ C'est un amalgame fort curieux de deux versets bibliques, Deutéronome vi, 4, et Psaume xci, 1. Après le premier mot du premier verset, "Ecoute," on trouve le premier mot de l'autre verset, "Habitant"; puis, le second mot du premier verset, "Israël," est suivi du second mot du second verset, "au secret"; le troisième mot du premier verset, "l'Eternel," est accompagné du troisième mot du second verset, "du Très-Haut," et ainsi de suite, § comme on va voir par le texte complet :

\* Expression qui figure au rituel du samedi matin, vers la fin de la prière יְקוּם פְּרָקָן.

† Voir ci-dessus § M, vers la fin du 2<sup>e</sup> alinéa, et note 14.

‡ Edition de Wilna, 1886, 4<sup>o</sup>, fol. 34<sup>b</sup>.

§ Cette bizarrerie est poussée bien plus loin dans une formule moderne (*ibid.*), où le même enchevêtrement de mots est poursuivi pour chacun des six versets de l'un et l'autre chapitre.

שמע יושב ישראל בכתר יהוה עליון אלהינו בגל וייו\*  
 שדי אחד יתלונן התמין ומחתם גמליל שגרה משלי... אשזה  
 כחתימו דהתמין ביה בעירוה וגיתועבים (4) דאברס יצחק ויעקב  
 ויאמר יהוה אל הסמן יגער וייו בך הסמן יגער יהוה בך  
 הבוחר בירושלם הלוא הוא זה אוד מעל מאש אמן ואמן  
 ואמן סלה.

Le commencement donc est un amalgame de mots à peu près intraduisible. Ensuite viennent les formules ordinaires de conjuration en faveur de Gamaliel Schagreh (?), et des mots dont les uns sont frustes, les autres douteux, avec invocation des trois patriarches, Abraham, Isaac, et Jacob, au lieu des noms symboliques d'anges. Puis se trouve l'exorcisme à Satan, tel que nous l'avons déjà vu (§ M), formulé selon les termes du prophète Zacharie (iii, 2).

#### P.

La troisième pièce du même musée, la plus grande des trois, est aussi la plus défectueuse. Les premiers mots de la spirale qui commence au centre, au fond de la coupe, sont effacés. C'est à peine s'il reste des vestiges, des traces de ces mots en traits blancs. Ils ont donc été proposés avec grande hésitation, mais sans être de pure imagination :

[קביעא דו מן שמיא אבדין בטילין וחתמין] מן הואשט (?)  
 מן.... הוא ליליתא... אל רפאל גבריא אל מיחיא מעבדיהן  
 ביש מחירשין למינהון.. משרקא וסליתכון מוצין בוטילין  
 באדילסיר אמן ומשבה למיא מל.. א.. מס אבודת בעאתן  
 מניה שלטין אבדין ועיני סלנית הפחין כלכין יסק מנהון  
 ועובדין דיגללא יא... דבחורא זבד שילמדאועם אבדין מינה  
 שודי שוב... [אש]מדי מלכא ומשבענא אנה בשים אגלת  
 בת מחלת דתיוול ותיפוק.... ממחיצי דמלכונא בר מקסת  
 בשום לבתתיה שישו בתמאמא אמן [אמן סלה הללויה].

Les trois derniers mots sont les plus faciles à restituer, d'après le final habituel; ils tiennent juste la place de la brèche que la coupe

\* Mode cabballistique d'écrire le tétragramme divin.

a subie. Mais dans tout le reste il n'y a pas une phrase complète qui soit intelligible avec certitude. Il y a plusieurs termes déjà connus, savoir la résistance à l'incantation de Lilith, l'intervention sollicitée des anges Rafael, Gabriel, et peut-être d'autres noms analogues effacés, l'objurcation faite aux démons ainsi qu'à leur prince Asmodée, enfin la " conjuration faite au nom d'Aglah, fille de Mohalath, d'avoir à quitter le domaine de Malcona, fils de Moksat." C'est à peu près tout ce que l'on peut tirer de cette inscription.

Cependant, nous ne pouvons résister à l'envie de signaler une analogie entre la présente pièce et une autre précédente, désignée F. Dans celle-ci (note 10), il est question de la danse des *gnômes*, sous forme de "tourbillon de poussière;" de même ici, il est peut-être question de *feux-follets*, autres compagnons de Satan, si l'on consent à traduire les trois derniers mots de la troisième ligne en ces termes: "partez, lumières tournoyantes."\*

## Q.

La coupe semblable du Musée de Winterthur, ayant un diamètre de 15 centimètres, diffère de ses congénères par la disposition des lignes: elle n'est pas écrite en spirale comme les autres, mais en sept circonférences concentriques, un peu irrégulières, en ce que la fin de chaque ligne aboutit en serpentant au dessus du niveau du reste. Elle est ainsi conçue:

אסותא מן שמימא ל... ים † הוו מהאתמא מן רוחין בישי  
 ומן ידהא ‡ לותמא עושי כשיפיות מה... ילל § מן מרעין  
 בישין דיממא אלפת ודללת קדהמך מרים בטלן ועובדין  
 ועוקרין בשם יהו יוה כל נכס חרסין כלהם אמן סלה — לטתה  
 מן כל אנשם ועובדין ביה פתקרי בי הססא האתמן כלהון

\* Littéralement: "en forme de colimaçon," *κοχλίας*, que l'on retrouve au Talmud Jérus., tr. *Schebiith*, VII, f. 50°. Il ne faut pas oublier non plus le similaire *אכוכלין*, du midr. *Schochar tob*, Ps. 92, que le Dictionnaire de Jacob Levy traduit: "knote, gewinde."

† Probablement *מרים*, Miriam, nom que l'on retrouve deux lignes plus loin.

‡ Littéralement "quant aux mains," expression usitée dans l'inscription I, ligne 5.

§ Voir au § B, ligne 5, et note 10. Littéralement: "qu'ils aillent" (partent).

סגין הן באסר סלמה דבה דברמשאה דמיוק מנאף (?) ... בר  
 מן .... [דקרבים] דאבא ודאימא פוק מן ית גוף ומן מימיה  
 דביתיה ומן ..... אמן אמן סלה

Voici la traduction : "Salut du Ciel à [Miriam]; qu'elle soit à l'abri des mauvais esprits et des mains maudites, des opérations de sorcelleries; qu'elle soit préservée des fâcheux accidents du jour comme de ceux qui dans la nuit se présentent à toi, Miriam; que toutes les œuvres de magie soient annulées, perdues, détruites, au nom du Seigneur Dieu. Amen, Selah.—Que les malédictions sur tout ce qui est à elle, comme les démons ou les poisons qui voudront lui nuire, soient tous enchaînés par le sceau de Salomon et le pouvoir du Jujubier,\* . . . . de près ou de loin, de son père ou de sa mère. Donc, sors de son corps, des eaux de sa maison, de ce qui la touche. Amen, amen, Selah."

Ce texte, ainsi que les similaires, offre un intérêt de paléographie hébraïque, par ses exemples fort rares de tachigraphie. On peut noter des ligatures (au moins probables, sinon certaines), dont quelques mots très courts sont affectés. Tels sont les monosyllabes **בל**, *tout*, **הן**, *elles*, et **מן**, *de*. Cette remarque permet de croire que le texte est déjà d'une époque postérieure aux pièces du même genre, soit du V<sup>e</sup> siècle.

## R.

Finalement, voici un texte placé sur une coupe acquise en ces dernières années par le Cabinet des médailles et antiques à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris. Comme le précédent texte, il n'est pas écrit en spirale, mais il se compose de circonférences à peu près concentriques :

פום . . במוסוי ומאוסרי וגיות שורות אונמומיתא ומשוהרר  
 מן רוחין ומדותין ועיצויהון התאיאושו ודופסי וביסר אסריאל  
 ... עליכון איסרו על מאדתין ותיפקון מן הדין ביתיה דיטבן  
 ועדדיה ומחיציה דהבו שבועה רבה אשבועית עליכון איסרו  
 על מאדתין מן חרשי בישי עובדי תקופי ואשפוך חומרון

\* Voir dans l'inscription E la note 18.

עזיבתא ולוטתא ונידרא ושימותא ואשלמתא ומללתא ...  
 עיני בישן וסמנן וללותא ושמתאן חמטותאן סוג ודוּתא ודווי  
 בישי ורוחי בישתא וחומריה דנוחא וחומרי עזיבתא ואפיה  
 עופין אפיכין ... {תמופיו פירון\*} בישי ואיסורין מפרין עיקו  
 ומוקו ומעיקו וריחי דמושחרר בהרשין ושידי דשדרתא

Dans cette accumulation de formules que l'on retrouve plus ou moins ailleurs, il n'y a pas de nom propre : ce qui nous fait mettre en doute l'authenticité de l'inscription. Il nous paraît inutile de nous arrêter à une traduction avec commentaire complet. Ce qui domine, c'est l'objurgation à toutes les espèces imaginables de démons, qui sont exorcisés au nom des anges.

De même, mentionnons—pour simple mémoire—qu'au Musée Impérial de Constantinople il y a deux coupes du genre qui nous occupe ici, portant également des inscriptions tracées en circonférences concentriques très régulières. Hélas! elles sont fausses. C'est à peine si l'on y trouve deux ou trois caractères en syriaque estranghelo ; mais pas un mot n'a de sens, selon l'avis des syriaciens consultés. Puisse cette dénonciation prémunir contre l'intrusion ultérieure de faux dans les Musées.

\* Nous superposons à la première lecture, déjà conjecturale, une seconde hypothèse.



*The following is an extract from a letter received from PROFESSOR DR. AUGUST EISENLOHR, of the University of Heidelberg.*

The last numbers of the *Proceedings* (April and May, 1891) contain two articles by F. L. Griffith: the first on the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus, and the second on the metrology of the medical Papyrus Ebers, which oblige me to make some remarks.

In the first of these articles Mr. Griffith discusses the Mathematical Papyrus of the British Museum, which I myself published, translated and commented upon fourteen years ago from a copy given to me by the excellent Dr. Samuel Birch, who always exhibited an unselfish interest in the labours of others.

Though I have seen the original of the papyrus both before and after my publication was issued, I was unable, being far off, to refer to the original, but depended only on the copy, confining my alterations to correcting the evident displacement of some of the fragments and joining the text on one plate, which was in the copy divided into two.


Mr. Griffith gives a detailed description of the original, for which we owe him our thanks. Still, I await with interest how he will prove the assertion that: "Eisenlohr's transcription and commentary naturally require correction in many places." He states that the papyrus exists in two sheets, numbered 10,058 and 10,057, and seems to doubt if both these sheets belong to the same papyrus. He gives a different arrangement from the one I adopted, as he makes the reverse of No. 10,058 (Pl. XIX to XXIII) of my edition follow directly after the obverse of the same number (Pl. I to VIII), and places the obverse of No. 13,057 (Pl. IX to XVIII) at the end of the papyrus.

The argument of Mr. Griffith for this new arrangement is based on a considerable gap in the text, which is found on sheet 10,057 after Pl. XIV of my edition. Still this gap is easily to be explained. With Plate XV a new topic commences: the geometrical and



trigonometrical part of the papyrus, consisting of the calculation of granaries, of fields and of pyramids. Before this new subject was entered upon the author of the text left some space, perhaps, in order to insert afterwards at the end of Pl. XIV other *arithmetical* problems so that they might follow in their proper places. The Plates IX to XIV, containing arithmetical subjects, show a gradual progress from the easier to the more difficult, and are arranged in four different chapters: the partition of loaves, the complementary or *sekem* calculation, the *Hau* or simple equations, and the *Tunnu* or division into unequal parts. These arithmetical problems follow naturally the first eight plates, which contain the division of the number 2. It appears quite out of place, as Mr. Griffith is willing to do, to insert the complicated examples of Pl. XIX after Pl. VIII and before the continuation of the rules of practical arithmetic.

In his second article in the May number of the *Proceedings*, Mr. Griffith seems to lay claim to the first explanation of the symbols of measurement in the Papyrus Ebers, but a reference to my *Mathematisches Handbuch der alten Aegypter* will show the list of these signs as the divisions of the measures of capacity, the *Bescha* in the above named work, pp. 11, 12, as also in my earlier paper read before the Congress of Orientalists held in London, 1874, p. 282 ff. This list, with the comparison of the measure *Hin* or *Hinnu*, I had drawn from the Mathematical Papyrus itself, and found it to be also used throughout the Papyrus Ebers, with the same symbols for the measures of capacity. On p. 78, l. 1 of my *Math. Handbuch* I state: "Den Lesern des Papyrus Ebers werden die gleichen Maassbezeichnungen fast auf jeder Seite begegnet sein;" equally pp. 205, 208, etc.

The substances which have been weighed are in the Papyrus Ebers given in fractions  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $\frac{1}{8}$ ,  $\frac{1}{16}$ , etc., which fractions refer undoubtedly to parts of the *ten* (90 gramm), but the substances which have been measured, especially liquids, for example, water, beer, wine, milk, honey, etc., are arranged by divisions of the *bescha* , or in *hin*.

It is true that Prof. Ebers, even in his new treatise on the measures of Papyrus Ebers (*Abhandl. der Sächs. Gesellsch. der*

*Wissenschaften*, Bd. XI), did not accept the use of the divisions of the *bescha* in the Papyrus Ebers. This is not surprising, as again, together with Prof. Ermann (Papyrus Westcar, II, 56), he continues what I consider an erroneous reading of the royal name, in the Calendar of Papyrus Ebers (*Beilage zur Allgem. Zeitung*, 1891, No. 89), and reads the third sign of the cartouche  $\text{𓆎} \text{I}$ , *Ka*, in order to find the name of Amenophis I, while  $\text{𓆎}$ , which occurs more than fifty times in the papyrus, has never that form. Also Dr. Joachim, a medical man of Berlin, who has furnished an excellent translation of the Papyrus Ebers, did not recognize the signs used in the papyrus for measures.



## WHO WERE THE LIBYANS?

BY P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

This question is not asked with a view to an answer, but for the purpose of calling the attention both of writers and readers of recent books on ancient history to the very unscientific way in which a term quite unobjectionable in its right context is forced to do duty in quite a wrong sense.

Under the term 'Libya,' the Greeks understood either the whole continent of Africa, as far as they knew it, or Africa with the exception of Egypt. The Greeks and Ionians say, according to Herodotus (II, 16), that the whole earth consists of three parts, Europe, Asia, and Libya. "They ought," he thinks, "to add a fourth, namely, the Delta of Egypt, if it be not a part either of Asia or of Libya." 'Libyan' was not an ethnographical but a geographical expression, like our 'European' or 'Asiatic,' and did not imply any specific race, tongue, or religion. No one who bears this in mind can fail to understand upon what a precarious basis a great deal of the recent reconstruction of ancient history reposes.

It will perhaps be said that the Greeks are not our only authorities. The Hebrews knew of the *Lehabim* (Gen. x, 13), and of the *Lubim*, and the ancient people called the *Rebu* or *Lebu* have been identified by the best Egyptologists as Libyan.

Gesenius has no doubt that *Lehabim* is the older form from which *Lubim* is derived. What then becomes of *Lebu*, which is far more ancient than *Lehabim*?

The Greek translators of the Bible did not recognise the Libyans under the *Λαβείμ*, and the earliest mention of the *Lubim* is not such as to exclude the possibility of the name having come to the Hebrews (through the Phœnicians) from the Greeks.

But what about the *Rebu* or *Lebu*? They were Libyans in the classical sense of the word; a tribe of Africans living west of Egypt. But all Libyans were not *Rebu*. What right have we to confound the *Rebu*, the *Tehennu*, and the *Mashawasha* under one ethnic name, any more than we have to apply the same treatment to the Greeks of *Barka* and *Cyrene*, the *Carthaginians* and the *Numidians*?

Who can possibly prove that the Adrymachidæ, the Giligammæ, the Asbystæ, the Auschisæ, the Kabales, the Nasamones, the Psylli, the Garamantes, the Makæ, the Gindanes, the Lotophagi, the Machlyes, the Auses, the Maxyes, and all the other Libyans, nomadic and agricultural, mentioned by Herodotus, belonged to one and the same race?

And what shall we say of the fierce Gætuli, who appear in the histories of Hannibal and Jugurtha, but are unknown to Herodotus and Diodorus?

There is undoubtedly a strong tendency in modern writers to assume that all these tribes are representatives of a primitive race, from which the present Berber tribes derive their origin and language. But who can prove, either that the tribes now speaking Berber dialects have always done so, or that any one of the ancient tribes known in history spoke a language connected with the modern Berber dialects, or yet that they all spoke one and the same language.

Unity of language at a given moment is no proof of unity of race. Latin and Arabic have been imposed upon numerous races which once spoke in other tongues, and the energy of one Berber tribe under men like Masinissa and Jugurtha, might, in course of time, impose its language upon its subjects or allies. The real cause of the preponderance of one of the Libyan languages over the others is buried in oblivion. It is almost superfluous to say that authentic Berber history begins at a very modern date.

But it is quite certain anthropologically that there is no unity of race among those who now speak Berber. Those authorities who are most inclined towards the assertion of one primitive race in northern Africa, are obliged to admit at least *three* essentially different types, two more or less dark, and one light coloured. The most accurate view on the subject may be found in the words of M. Reclus,\* who says that in the first days of the French occupation, all the natives of Algeria were confounded under the name of Arabs. Even now people coming from Europe are apt to imagine that all the natives belong to one and the same race. "But after

\* *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle*, XI, p. 379. A few pages farther he says: "Appliqué à un ensemble de populations dont on recherche les origines multiples . . . ce mot [Berbère] n'a aucune valeur précise . . . Le nom de Berbère n'a de sens général qu'au point de vue glossologique," p. 385.

recognising the great contrast between the descendants of the aborigines and those of the conquering Arabs, one is still more liable to fall into the error of believing that all non-Arabs, generally known by the appellation of Berbers, constitute one and the same ethnic group : these also present distinct types, and when one studies them, it is soon recognised that numerous elements from various sources, have contributed to form the tribes called Berber in opposition to the groups having an Arabian origin."

The kind of philological evidence which has hitherto been appealed to in this matter is such as would hardly have been considered satisfactory by those who lived before the science of language came into existence. Almost every late French writer upon North Africa talks as if it were absolutely certain that *Libyan* and *Luâta*\* were identical. Egyptologists sometimes talk as if it were possible by the Berber of the nineteenth century to explain words found in ancient hieroglyphic texts. It is like trying to interpret the Rig-Veda by Rumanian or Bas-Breton. With philology of this kind we may, to our own satisfaction, prove anything we like.

Herodotus tells us (IV, 159) that the Libyan king near Cyrene was called Adikran. Here (if I pleased), I could say, is a clear proof that the Libyans were Indo-European, and Aryan in the strictest sense of the word. Adikran is a word, as every Sanskrit scholar will recognise, consisting of three distinct elements. The verb *kṛi* signifies 'do, perform,' and when compounded with the preposition *adhi*, 'put at the head,' 'be at the head.' The noun *krānā*, derived from *kṛi*, repeatedly occurs in the Rig-Veda, even as an epithet of Agni. Adikran is not only genuine Aryan, but a most appropriate name for a sovereign.

It seems now to be almost an article of faith among Egyptologists that the kings of the Twenty-Second Egyptian dynasty were of Libyan origin. Dr. Stern, who first turned the current in this direction, drew one of his inferences from the name of one of its

\* The Luâta are said to be descended from Lua, the son of Zahhik, son of Madghîs-el-Abter. M. de Slane observes: "l'emploi systématique d'un terme arabe, d'abord au singulier, comme surnom de Madghîs, et ensuite au pluriel, pour désigner sa postérité, prouve que la langue arabe était très répandue dans la Mauretanie à l'époque où les savants berbères entreprirent la tâche de confectionner, ou fabriquer, l'arbre généalogique de leur nation."



*Susan*. The whole of the Delta was no doubt inhabited by men of foreign origin, from ages probably anterior to the so-called Hyksos period.

It is no evidence of a Libyan origin that these Bubastites are called 'general' or 'generalissimo' of the Mashuasha. The Prince of Wales is not a Welshman, nor was the Egyptian Prince of Kush a Kushite. The foreign regiments under the Egyptian monarchy retained their names but lost their nationality. The *Māt'iu* have recently been cited in proof of the extreme antiquity of certain Himyaritic texts which seem to mention them. But a Demotic text on the Kosseyr road speaks of a 'Mati of the Greeks,' and **ⲙⲁⲧⲓⲟⲩ** is the common Coptic word for 'soldier.'

The advocates of the Libyan origin of the Bubastite dynasty have no doubt other arguments in its behalf, but they certainly have none of a higher value than those I have dealt with.



NOTE.—I am pleased to announce that Mr. RENOUF will in the coming Session commence a translation of the Egyptian Book of the Dead, with a running commentary.

W.H.R.

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

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- ALKER, E., Die Chronologie der Bücher der Könige und Paralipomenon im Einklang mit der Chronologie der Aegypter, Assyrer, Babylonier und Meder.
- AMELINEAU, Histoire du Patriarche Copte Isaac.
- Contes de l'Égypte Chrétienne.
- AMIAUD, La Légende Syriaque de Saint Alexis, l'homme de Dieu.
- A., AND L. MECHINEAU, Tableau Comparé des Écritures Babyloniennes et Assyriennes.
- Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer. 2 parts.
- BLASS, A. F., Eudoxi ars Astronomica qualis in Charta Aegyptiaca superest.
- BOTTA, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847–1850.
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- 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.)
- BURCKHARDT, Eastern Travels.
- CASSEL, PAULUS, Zophnet Paneach Aegyptische Deutungen.
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- ERMAN, Die Sprache der Papyrus Westcar.
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- GAYET, E., Stèles de la XII dynastie au Musée du Louvre.
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- JASTROW, M., A Fragment of the Babylonian "Dibbara" Epic.
- JENSEN, Die Kosmologie der Babylonier.
- JOACHIM, H., Papyrus Ebers, das Älteste Buch über Heilkunde.
- KREBS, F., De Chnemothis nomarchi inscriptione Aegyptiaca commentatio.
- LEDRAIN, Les Monuments Égyptiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale.
- LEFÈBURE, Le Mythe Osirien. 2nd partie. "Osiris."
- LEGRAIN, G., Le Livre des Transformations. Papyrus démotique du Louvre.
- LEPSIUS, Nubian Grammar, &c., 1880.
- LIEBLEIN, J., Dictionnaire des Noms Hiéroglyphiques. 1871. 2 vols., 8vo.
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- MÜLLER, D. H., Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien.



- PLACE, Ninive et l'Assyrie, 1866-1869. 3 vols., folio.  
POGNON, Les Inscriptions Babyloniennes du Wadi Brissa.  
RAWLINSON, CANON, 6th Ancient Monarchy.  
ROBIOU, Croyances de l'Égypte à l'époque des Pyramides.  
——— Recherches sur le Calendrier en Égypte et sur le chronologie des Lagides.  
SAINTE MARIE, Mission à Carthage.  
SARZEC, Découvertes en Chaldée.  
SCHROEDER, Die Phönizische Sprache.  
STRAUSS AND TORNEY, Der Altägyptische Götterglaube.  
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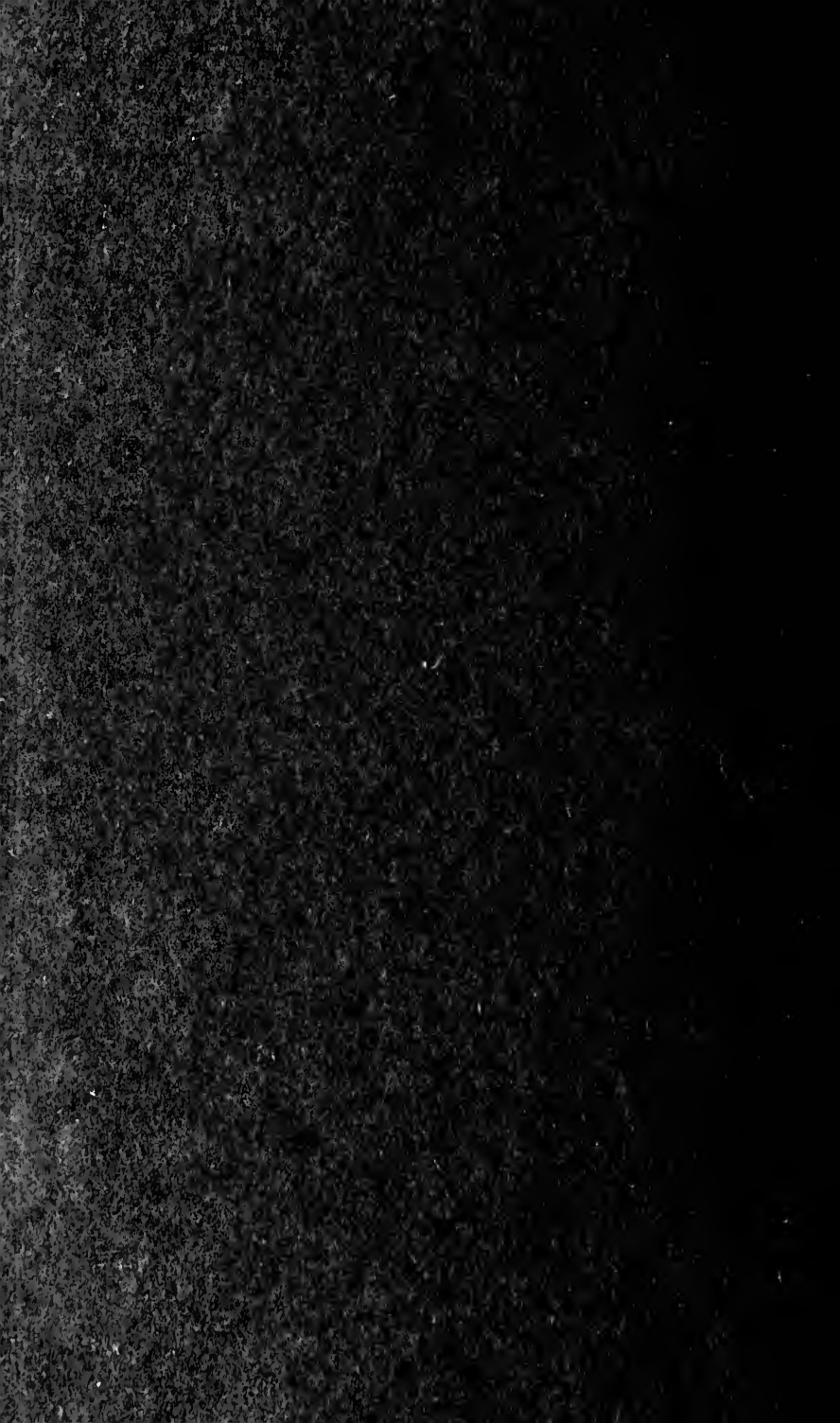
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