







*PROCEEDINGS*

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.



*NOVEMBER*, 1892,

TO

*JUNE*, 1893.

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VOL. XV. TWENTY-THIRD SESSION.

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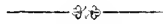
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*First Meeting, November 1st, 1892.*



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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.

PROCEEDINGS  
OF  
THE SOCIETY  
OF  
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

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TWENTY-THIRD SESSION, 1892-93.

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*First Meeting, 1st November, 1892.*

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 Trustees of the British Museum:—The Tell el-Amarna Tablets, in the British Museum, with autotype facsimiles. London. 4to. 1892.

From la Société Finno-Ougrienne:—Inscriptions de l'Orkhov, recueillies par l'Expedition Finnoise, 1890. Helsingfors. Folio. 1892.

From the Publisher:—David Nutt. Medùm. By W. M. Flinders Petrie, with chapters by F. Ll. Griffith, Dr. A. Wiedemann, Dr. W. J. Russell, F.R.S., and W. E. Crum. London. 4to. 1892.

From the Author:—Sir Henry Layard, G.C.B. Early Adventures in Persia, Susiana, and Babylonia. In two volumes with Maps and Illustrations. London. 8vo. 1887.

From the Editor:—J. A. Coles, A.M., D.D. Abraham Coles: Biographical Sketch. Memorial Tribute. Selections from his Works. Edited by his son. New York. 8vo. 1892.

- From the University:—The Benefactors of the University of Toronto, after the Great Fire of 14th February, 1890. 8vo. 1892.
- From Alfred E. Hudd, F.S.A.:—Notes on Ancient Egyptian Methods of Hewing, Dressing, Sculpturing and Polishing Stone. By Francis Fox Tuckett, F.R.G.S. 8vo. 1891.
- From the Author:—E. Schiaparelli. Una Tomba Egiziana inedita della VI<sup>a</sup> Dinastia con Iscrizioni Storiche e Geografiche. Roma. 4to. 1892.  
Reprint. Reale Accad. dei Lincei. Anno CCLXXXIX, 1892.
- From the Author:—F. E. Peiser. Die Hetitischen Inschriften. Ein Versuch ihrer Entzifferung nebst einer das weitere Studium Vorbereitenden, methodisch geordneten ausgabe. Berlin. 8vo. 1892.
- From the Author:—Dr. O. v. Lemm. Koptische Apokryphen Apostelacten. II. St. Pétersburg. Folio. 1892.  
Reprint. Mélanges Asiatiques. Tome X.
- From the Author:—Dr. A. Wiedemann. Die Milchverwandtschaft im Alten Ägypten. Lunden. 8vo. 1892.  
Am-ur-Quell. III Band. IX Heft.
- From the Author:—M. G. Marmier. Recherches Géographiques sur la Syrie Antique. Paris. 8vo. 1892.  
Reprint. Bull. Soc. de Géogr. 4<sup>e</sup> Trimestre. 1891.
- From the Author:—Dr. Paul Haupt. Report on [the] International Congress of Orientalists. Washington. 8vo. 1891.  
Reprint. Smithsonian Report for 1890.
- From the Author:—Prof. A. Müller, Ph.D. Memoir of Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer. 8vo. Washington. 1892.  
Reprint. Smithsonian Report, 1889.
- From the Author:—Bishop John P. Newman, D.D., LL.D. The Mission of Science, [a paper read] before The North-western University [New York, U.S.A.]  
“Commencement, June 16, 1892.”
- From the Author:—Rev. C. A. de Cara, S.J. Degli Hittiti o Hethiti. e delle loro migrazioni. Cap. XX. 8vo. 1892.  
Civiltà Cattolica, Serie XV. Chap. XX. 1892.
- From the Rev. Robert Gwynne (*Secretary for Foreign Correspondence*):—Catalogue of Antiquities from Tell el-Amarna, Upper Egypt, excavated by W. M. Flinders Petrie. 8vo. 1892.



From the Rev. Robert Gwynne (*Secretary for Foreign Correspondence*):—Die Vorstellung vom *Μουόκερας* und ihr Ursprung, von Eb. Schrader.

Reprint. Acad. der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. 1892. xxxi. 8vo.

Purchased by the Council:—A Catalogue of Books, Manuscripts, Letters, etc., belonging to the Dutch Church, Austin Friars, London, Deposited in the Library of the Corporation of the City of London. 8vo. 1879. Privately Printed.

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next Meeting, 6th December, 1892:—

Mrs. Aitken, 27, Great King Street, Edinburgh.

Miss Brocklehurst, Bagstones, Macclesfield.

Miss Cropper, Eller Green, near Kendal.

Thomas Goffey, "Amalfi," Blundell Sands, near Liverpool.

William Sutherland Hunter, Kildonan, Pollokshields, Glasgow.

Rev. Harry Hamilton Jackson, M.A., Cheriton, Bromley Common, Kent.

The President in opening the twenty-third Session of the Society, offered some remarks on certain subjects discussed in the year just elapsed, which were of special interest to the Society.

A summary of these remarks on, (1) the Pharaoh of the Exodus; (2) the relations between the Old Egyptian and the Semitic languages; and (3) the relations between the Chinese language and the Accadian or Sumerian, will appear in the ensuing number of the *Proceedings*.

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A Paper was read by P. le Page Renouf (*President*) in continuation of his former Papers on the Egyptian Book of the Dead. A Translation with commentary of the XVIIth Chapter.

Remarks were added by the Rev. A. Löwy, the Rev. C. J. Ball, the Rev. Canon Beechey, and the President.

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A Paper by W. Francis Ainsworth, F.S.A., "The Two Captivities: The Habor and the Chebar," was postponed owing to the lateness of the hour.

## THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

By P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

*(Continued from Vol. XIV, Part 8.)*

## CHAPTER XVIII.

[*Introductory.*]*The An-māut (1) saith:—*

I come to you, ye Great Circles of gods (2) in Heaven, upon Earth and in the World below! I bring to you *N* void of offence towards any of the gods, grant that he may be with you daily.

Glory to Osiris, Lord of Restau, and to the great gods who are in the World below. Here is *N* who saith:—Hail to thee, Prince of Amenta, Unneferu who presidest in Abydos, I come to thee with Righteousness; without sin upon me. I am not knowingly a speaker of wrong; I am not given to duplicity; grant me Bread, the right of appearance at the tables of the Lords of Maāt, entering in and going out of the Netherworld, and that my soul may not suffer repulse in its devotion to the orb of the Sun and the vision of the Moon-god for ever.

*The Se-meri-f saith:—*

I come to you, O Circle of gods in Restau, and I bring to you *N*. Grant to him Bread, Water, Air and an allotment in the Sechit-hotepu like Horus.

Glory to Osiris, the Lord of Eternity and to the Circle of gods in Restau. Here is *N* and he saith:—I come to thee, I know thy will, and I am furnished with thine attributes of the Tuat. Grant me an abiding place in the Netherworld by the Lords of Maāt, my permanent allotment in the Sechit-hotepu, and the receiving of cakes before thee.

[LITANY.]

1. Oh Thoth, who makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, let *N* be made triumphant over his adversaries, even as thou makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, before the Circle of gods about Rā and about Osiris and the Great Circle of gods in Heliopolis, on that Night of the *Eve's Provender* (3) and the Night of Battle when there befel the Defeat of the Sebau, and the Day of the extinction of the adversaries of the Inviolate god.

The Great Circle of gods in Heliopolis is of Tmu, Shu and Tefnut, and the Sebau who were defeated and extinguished were the associates of Sut on the renewal of his assault.

2. Oh Thoth who makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, let *N* be made triumphant over his adversaries, even as thou makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries before the Great Circle of gods in Tattu, on the Night wherein the Tat is set up in Tattu (4).

The Great Circle of gods in Tattu is of Osiris, Isis, Nephthys and Horus the Avenger of his Father; and they who set up the Tat are the two arms of Horus, Prince of Sechem. They are behind Osiris as bindings of his raiment.

3. Oh Thoth who makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, let *N* be made triumphant over his adversaries, even as thou makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, before the Great Circle of gods in Sechem on that Night of the *Eve's Provender* in Sechem.

The Great Circle of gods in Sechem is of Horus in the Dark (5), and Thoth, who is of the Great Circle of An-arer-ef.

The *Eve's Provender* is the dawn upon the Coffin of Osiris.




4. Oh Thoth, who makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, let *N* be made triumphant over his adversaries, even as thou makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, before the Great Circle of gods in Pu and Tepe (6), on that Night of erecting the pillars of Horus, and of establishing him as heir of his Father's property.

The Great Circle of gods in Pu and Tepe is of Horus, Isis, Emsta, Hapi; and the pillars of Horus are erected when Horus saith to those who follow him "let the pillars be erected there."

5. Oh Thoth, who makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, let *N* be made triumphant over his adversaries, even as thou makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, before the Great Circle of gods of the Two Shores\* of Rechit, on that Night when Isis lay watching in tears over her brother Osiris.

The Great Circle of gods on the Two Shores of Rechit is of Isis, Nephthys, Emsta and Hapi.

6. Oh Thoth, who makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, let *N* be made triumphant over his adversaries, even as thou makest

\* . The later recensions read . The first Coffin of Mentuhotep (*Aelteste Texte*, 4, 61) has the phonetic .

Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, before the Great Circle of gods in Abydos on the night of Hakra (7), when the evil dead are parted off, when the glorious ones are rightly judged, and joy goeth its round in Thinis.

The Great Circle of gods in Abydos is of Osiris, Isis and Aput.

7. Oh Thoth, who makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, let *N* be made triumphant over his adversaries, even as thou makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, before the Great Circle of gods on the Highway of the Damned (8), upon the Night when judgment is passed upon those who are no more.

The Great Circle of gods on the Highway of the Damned are Thoth, Osiris, Anubis and Astes. And judgment is passed on the Highway of the Damned when the suit is closed\* against the souls of the Children of Failure.


8. Oh Thoth, who makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, let *N* be made triumphant over his adversaries, even as thou makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, before the Great Circle of gods at the Great Hoeing in Tattu, on the Night of Hoeing in their blood and effecting the triumph of Osiris over his adversaries.

The Great Circle of gods at the Great Hoeing in Tattu (9), when the associates of Sut arrive, and take the forms of goats, slay them before the gods there, while their blood runneth down; and this is done according to the judgment of those gods who are in Tattu.

9. Oh Thoth, who makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, let *N* be made triumphant over his adversaries, even as thou makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, before the Great Circle of gods in An-arer-ef on the Night of Hiding him who is Supreme in Attributes.†

The Great Circle of gods in An-arer-ef is of Shu, Babai, Rā and Osiris, and the Night of Hiding him who is Supreme of Attributes is when there are at the Coffin, the Thigh, the Head, the Heel and the Leg of Unneferu.

10. Oh Thoth, who makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, let *N* be made triumphant over his adversaries, even as thou makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries before the Great

\* Literally, "when the things  are shut up."

†  .

Circle of gods in Restau on the Night when Anubis lieth (10) with his hands upon the objects behind Osiris, when Osiris is made to triumph over his adversaries.

The Great Circle of gods in Restau is of Osiris, Horus, and Isis. The heart of Horus rejoiceth, the heart of Osiris is glad and the two Parts \* of Heaven are satisfied when Thoth effecteth the triumph of *N* before these ten Great Circles about Rā and about Osiris and the Circles of gods attached to every god and every goddess before the Inviolate god. All his adversaries are destroyed and all that was wrong in him is also destroyed.

*Let the person say this chapter, he will be purified and come forth by day, after his death, and take all forms for the satisfaction of his will, and if this chapter be recited over him, he will be prosperous upon earth, he will come forth safe from every fire, and no evil thing will approach him: with undeviating regularity for times infinite (11).*

#### NOTES.

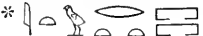
The eighteenth chapter is one of those found in the earliest copies of the Book of the Dead, on the wooden coffins of the 'Old' and 'Middle' Empires; the most complete ancient copy being on the coffin of Queen Mentuhotep of the eleventh dynasty.



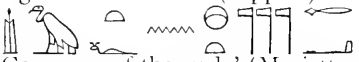
It consists of a Litany addressed to Thoth, who is invoked for securing the triumph of the departed against his adversaries in presence of the gods of certain localities. Each petition has reference to some mythological event, and is supplemented by the enumeration of the gods constituting the divine company presiding at the locality named, and sometimes by a short comment on the myth referred to.

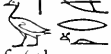
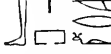

The order of petitions is somewhat different in the later recensions, and the text has suffered other alterations.


Copies of this chapter are extremely numerous, particularly in the later periods.












The chapter really begins with the petitions to Thoth. The preceding portion is, as far as I know, found only in the Papyrus of Ani. But as the vignette which belongs to this portion has a place in the great Leyden Papyrus of Kenna, the text cannot have been confined to a single manuscript. It is particularly valuable as illustrative of the ritual use of portions of the Book of the Dead.

\*  , North and South.

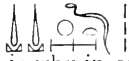
1. The deceased person is supposed to be presented to the gods by two priests in succession, one called *An-maut-ef* , and the other  *Se-meri-f*. Both names are titles of Horus, and it is the usual thing for Egyptian priests to bear divine titles; their ritual observances being dramatic and symbolical representations of the actions of the gods. *An-maut-ef* literally signifies 'column (support) of his mother.' Horus is called  'the *An-maut-ef* of the Great Company of the gods' (Mariette, *Abydos*, I, p. 34), and in *Denkmäler*, III, 206 e, he is called the *An-maut-ef* of Osiris (cf. *Abyd.* II, 54).



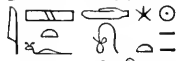





*Se-meri-f* signifies 'the Beloved Son,' and the priest of this name in the funereal rites personified Horus in his dutiful offices to his father Osiris. I do not know why  is *always* translated 'the son who loves him,' instead of 'the son he loves,' which is the right meaning.  is 'the place which he loves' not 'the place which loves him.' And similarly  is 'the wife whom he loves,' not 'who loves him.'


2. There is a short note (6) on Chapter I, upon the word , but the present seems to be the suitable place for a more extended notice of this feminine word, which is a collective noun, and never found in any other sense.


The ancient form  renders it more than probable that  is not phonetic in the later form, but that as in  *kat*, originally  (whence the Coptic *KOT*, *KWTE*, a circle, a round vessel, to go round), it is ideographic of *roundness*. This concept is certainly to be found in the word , the Coptic *χωχ*, a head (or rather top of the head), as in the Latin *vertex*, akin to *vortex*, from the same root as *vertere*. The sign , which in later texts is often put instead of , offers some difficulty, but the weight of probability is against its being phonetic in this place. Instead of  we also find , which is certainly not phonetic but ideographic of *enclosure*, as in the word  a wall, *paries*, *ἔρκος*. This word occurs already in the Pyramid Texts under the form . See Pepi I, 571, which M. Maspero renders 'la Grande

*Enceinte d'On.* The evident etymological relationship to the Coptic  $\chi\omega\chi$  has led some scholars to translate the Egyptian word as signifying *chiefs, princes*. But though the lexicons give *dux* and *princeps* as meanings of the Coptic word, these are but secondary applications of *head*. We have to enquire why  $\chi\omega\chi$  means *head, or top of the head*. And the reason is its roundness, as indicated by the ideographic signs  $\overline{\circ}$  or  $\circ$ .

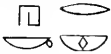



The old Egyptian word  invariably implies an association of persons, and this is why in consequence of its etymology I translate it as 'Circle of gods.'


3. *The Eve's Provender.* Later authorities read , the 'Provender of the altars,' but this is a corruption of the ancient , which had probably ceased to be intelligible. According to the pantheistic system the deceased through his identification with the Sun absorbed and consumed all that came in his way. And this is expressed in somewhat brutal style. Men and gods disappear before Unas, he makes his breakfast at dawn , upon great gods, his dinner upon gods of middling quality , and 'his supper at even'  upon the minor deities, .  is the ancient dialectic variant of , which however is really the older form. This word which means 'things' has, like the Latin *res*, a wide application. It frequently means *property, estate*, and sometimes *suit*.



4. On the last day of the month of Choiak the great solemnity of setting up the Tat  as the symbol of Osiris was observed down to the latest periods. The tablets of Pasherentpah, high priest of Ptah at Memphis, speak of this great dignitary as the king's second or deputy in 'Raising the Tat.' But Brugsch has published a picture (*Thesaurus*, V, 1190), copied by Dr. Erman from a tomb of the XVIIIth dynasty, in which Amenophis III himself helps to raise the Tat, and the queen Ti and the royal princesses take part in the ceremony. The procession is described as marching four times round the sanctuary of Ptah-Seker-Osiris.

5. On Horus in the Dark, or Blindness, or Invisibility , see my note, *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, June, 1886.



6. Pu and Tepu are named together in the earliest texts as one locality, which is recognised by Brugsch as the metropolis of the northern nome called by the Greeks *Φοενότης*.

7. The feast of  derives its name, as Goodwin supposes with great probability, from the words  *ha-k-er-â*, 'Come thou to me,' said of a legendary incident like that mentioned at the end of note 15 on Chapter XVII. The early papyri read  but this is no objection, the sign  being here the determinative of the entire group which gives its name to the feast.

8.  | literally the *dead*, that is those who have died 'the second death.'

9. The vignette is given by M. Naville from the tracing taken by Lepsius of the now lost Papyrus Busca. It represents 'the Great Hoeing in Tattu.' The long text at Dendera (Mariette, tom. IV, pl. 39) contains directions to be observed on the festival commemorative of the ancient myth. Two black cows are put under a yoke of  *âm* wood, the plough is of tamarisk wood and the share of black bronze. The plougher goes behind, with a cow led by a halter. A little child with the lock  attached to its head is to scatter the seed in the field of Osiris, a piece of land of which the dimensions were given in the text (now imperfect). Barley is sown at one end, spelt at the other, and flax between the two. And the Cher-heb in chief recites the Office for the Sowing of the Field.

10. The older texts have  *lie*, the later ones  *lay*.

11. In the formula ,  *šes* is "the measuring line used by builders, and *em šes* signifies 'ad amussim,' 'nach der Schnur,' 'au cordeau,' 'according to the line,' hence 'with the strictest accuracy.' *Hibbert Lectures*, 1879, p. 121. 'According to the line of Maât' means 'with undeviating regularity.'

## CHAPTER XIX.

### *Chapter of the Crown of Triumph.*

Thy Father Tmu has prepared for thee this beautiful Crown of Triumph, the living diadem which the gods love, that thou mayest



live for ever. Osiris, Prince of Amenta, maketh thee to triumph over thine adversaries. Thy Father Seb hath decreed that thou should be his heir, and be heralded as Triumphant, Horus son of Isis and son of Osiris, upon the throne of thy Father Rā, through the defeat of thine adversaries. He hath decreed for thee the Two Earths, absolutely and without condition (1). And so hath Atmu decreed, and the Cycle of the gods hath repeated the glorious act of the triumph of Horus the son of Isis and the son of Osiris for ever and ever.

Osiris, the Prince of Amenta, the Two Parts of Heaven united, all gods and all goddesses who are in heaven and upon earth join in effecting the Triumph of Horus the son of Isis and son of Osiris over his adversaries before the Great Circle of gods in Heliopolis, on the *Night*, etc.

Horus repeateth the proclamation four times. All the adversaries fall and are overthrown and slaughtered.

*N* repeateth the proclamation four times, and all his adversaries fall and are overthrown and slaughtered.


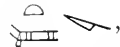
Horus son of Isis and son of Horus repeateth an infinite number of festivals, and all his adversaries fall down, are overthrown and slaughtered. Their abode is transferred to the slaughtering block of the East, their heads are cut away, their necks are crushed, their thighs are lopped off, they are given to the great Annihilator who resideth in the Valley (2) that they may not ever escape from under the custody of Seb (3).


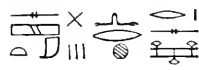
*This chapter is said over a consecrated crown placed upon the face of the person, and thou shalt put incense upon the flame, for N (the deceased), effecting his triumph over all his adversaries, whether Dead or Living, that he may become one of the followers of Osiris. And there shall be given to him drink and food in presence of this god. Thou shall say it at dawn twice; A great protection is it: with undeviating regularity for times infinite.*

#### NOTES.

The nineteenth chapter is a very recent recension of the eighteenth. The MSS. containing it, as far as we know, are not older than the Greek period. It derives its origin from the practice of placing garlands or floral crowns upon the mummies. The mummy of Aahmes I, the first king of the eighteenth dynasty, when

found "portait au cou," M. Maspero writes, "une guirlande de jolies fleurs roses de *Delphinium orientale*." Remains of such crowns are to be found in our Museums. For farther details I must refer to an excellent paper entitled *La Couronne de la Justification*, by Dr. Pleyte of Leyden, in the second volume of the Transactions of the Oriental Congress held at Leyden in 1884.

1. . This adverbial expression is apparently connected with , and I therefore understand it in the sense of ἀποσώτως, *præcisè*, absolutely, without condition.

2.  the Valley of Darkness (*Todt.*, 130, 6) and Death, "whose secrets are absolutely unknown"  (148, 2).

3. That is they shall remain interred for ever.

## CHAPTER XX.

The twentieth chapter is entitled *Another Chapter of Crown of Triumph*, but it is simply a tabulated form of Chapter XVIII, with the Rubric. *Let the person say this Chapter, and purify himself with water of natron, he will come forth by day after death, and take all forms according to his wish, and escape from the fire. With un-deviating regularity for times infinite.* The earliest example of this tabulated form of the chapter is found on the Berlin Sarcophagus of Mentuhotep.

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N.B.—The Plates illustrating these Chapters will be issued with the next Part of the *Proceedings*.—W.H.R.



YÂ AND YÂWA (JAH AND JAHWEH) IN ASSYRO-BABYLONIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

BY THEO. G. PINCHES.

In the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* for Nov., 1885, I pointed out (pp. 27, 28) that the group  $\text{𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵}$ , when not standing for the Moongoddess as consort of the Sungod, was not to be read Malik, as had been done with common consent, but *Â* or *Aa*, and that, in certain names, it interchanged with  $\text{𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵}$ , *Ya*, (= *Jah*), as, for example,  $\text{𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵}$ , *Ya-ha-lu*, which is also given under the form of  $\text{𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵}$ , *A-a-ha-a-lu* (*Yahâlu* or *Aahâlu*).

Since that time, I have accumulated a large amount of material tending to confirm this identification, and among the many names containing the divine element *Ya* may be quoted the following:—

$\text{𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵}$ , *Bêl-ya-u*, “Bel is Ya” (S+. 390; S+. 379\*), ancestor of a man named Nergal-epuš, father of Êa-ibni, who, in his turn, was father of a woman named Gula-ka’išat. (Apparently a genuine Babylonian family.) Bel-Yau corresponds with the Heb.  $\text{יְהוֹאָחָז}$ , the name of one of David’s sons (1 Chron. xii, 5).

$\text{𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵}$ , *Nā-ad-bi-ya-a-u*,† an Assyrian officer bearing the title of  $\text{𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵}$  in the eponymy of Mannu-kî-Aššur-îdû, 709 B.C. This is the Hebrew  $\text{יְהוֹאָחָז}$ .

$\text{𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵}$ , (D.PP.) *Ya-da’-t*‡, a not uncommon name, of which  $\text{𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵}$ , *Aa’-da’* (*Aa’u-da’u*) is evidently a variant. The Rev. C. J. Ball is of opinion that this name is, in all likelihood, the same as  $\text{יְהוֹאָחָז}$ , and related to Beeliada or Eliada as Nathan to Elnathan.

\* 10th and 11th years of Nabonidus (Strassmaier, nos. 461 and 508).

† *H.A.I.* III, pl. 49, no. 1, l. 30

‡ Tablet S. 30.

𐎠 𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄𐴅𐴆𐴇𐴈𐴉𐴊𐴋𐴌𐴍𐴎𐴏𐴐𐴑𐴒𐴓𐴔𐴕𐴖𐴗𐴘𐴙𐴚𐴛𐴜𐴝𐴞𐴟𐴠𐴡𐴢𐴣𐴤𐴥𐴦𐴧𐴨𐴩𐴪𐴫𐴬𐴭𐴮𐴯𐴰𐴱𐴲𐴳𐴴𐴵𐴶𐴷𐴸𐴹𐴺𐴻𐴼𐴽𐴾𐴿𐵀𐵁𐵂𐵃𐵄𐵅𐵆𐵇𐵈𐵉𐵊𐵋𐵌𐵍𐵎𐵏𐵐𐵑𐵒𐵓𐵔𐵕𐵖𐵗𐵘𐵙𐵚𐵛𐵜𐵝𐵞𐵟𐵠𐵡𐵢𐵣𐵤𐵥𐵦𐵧𐵨𐵩𐵪𐵫𐵬𐵭𐵮𐵯𐵰𐵱𐵲𐵳𐵴𐵵𐵶𐵷𐵸𐵹𐵺𐵻𐵼𐵽𐵾𐵿𐶀𐶁𐶂𐶃𐶄𐶅𐶆𐶇𐶈𐶉𐶊𐶋𐶌𐶍𐶎𐶏𐶐𐶑𐶒𐶓𐶔𐶕𐶖𐶗𐶘𐶙𐶚𐶛𐶜𐶝𐶞𐶟𐶠𐶡𐶢𐶣𐶤𐶥𐶦𐶧𐶨𐶩𐶪𐶫𐶬𐶭𐶮𐶯𐶰𐶱𐶲𐶳𐶴𐶵𐶶𐶷𐶸𐶹𐶺𐶻𐶼𐶽𐶾𐶿𐷀𐷁𐷂𐷃𐷄𐷅𐷆𐷇𐷈𐷉𐷊𐷋𐷌𐷍𐷎𐷏𐷐𐷑𐷒𐷓𐷔𐷕𐷖𐷗𐷘𐷙𐷚𐷛𐷜𐷝𐷞𐷟𐷠𐷡𐷢𐷣𐷤𐷥𐷦𐷧𐷨𐷩𐷪𐷫𐷬𐷭𐷮𐷯𐷰𐷱𐷲𐷳𐷴𐷵𐷶𐷷𐷸𐷹𐷺𐷻𐷼𐷽𐷾𐷿𐸀𐸁𐸂𐸃𐸄𐸅𐸆𐸇𐸈𐸉𐸊𐸋𐸌𐸍𐸎𐸏𐸐𐸑𐸒𐸓𐸔𐸕𐸖𐸗𐸘𐸙𐸚𐸛𐸜𐸝𐸞𐸟𐸠𐸡𐸢𐸣𐸤𐸥𐸦𐸧𐸨𐸩𐸪𐸫𐸬𐸭𐸮𐸯𐸰𐸱𐸲𐸳𐸴𐸵𐸶𐸷𐸸𐸹𐸺𐸻𐸼𐸽𐸾𐸿𐹀𐹁𐹂𐹃𐹄𐹅𐹆𐹇𐹈𐹉𐹊𐹋𐹌𐹍𐹎𐹏𐹐𐹑𐹒𐹓𐹔𐹕𐹖𐹗𐹘𐹙𐹚𐹛𐹜𐹝𐹞𐹟𐹠𐹡𐹢𐹣𐹤𐹥𐹦𐹧𐹨𐹩𐹪𐹫𐹬𐹭𐹮𐹯𐹰𐹱𐹲𐹳𐹴𐹵𐹶𐹷𐹸𐹹𐹺𐹻𐹼𐹽𐹾𐹿𐺀𐺁𐺂𐺃𐺄𐺅𐺆𐺇𐺈𐺉𐺊𐺋𐺌𐺍𐺎𐺏𐺐𐺑𐺒𐺓𐺔𐺕𐺖𐺗𐺘𐺙𐺚𐺛𐺜𐺝𐺞𐺟𐺠𐺡𐺢𐺣𐺤𐺥𐺦𐺧𐺨𐺩𐺪𐺫𐺬𐺭𐺮𐺯𐺰𐺱𐺲𐺳𐺴𐺵𐺶𐺷𐺸𐺹𐺺𐺻𐺼𐺽𐺾𐺿𐻀𐻁𐻂𐻃𐻄𐻅𐻆𐻇𐻈𐻉𐻊𐻋𐻌𐻍𐻎𐻏𐻐𐻑𐻒𐻓𐻔𐻕𐻖𐻗𐻘𐻙𐻚𐻛𐻜𐻝𐻞𐻟𐻠𐻡𐻢𐻣𐻤𐻥𐻦𐻧𐻨𐻩𐻪𐻫𐻬𐻭𐻮𐻯𐻰𐻱𐻲𐻳𐻴𐻵𐻶𐻷𐻸𐻹𐻺𐻻𐻼𐻽𐻾𐻿𐼀𐼁𐼂𐼃𐼄𐼅𐼆𐼇𐼈𐼉𐼊𐼋𐼌𐼍𐼎𐼏𐼐𐼑𐼒𐼓𐼔𐼕𐼖𐼗𐼘𐼙𐼚𐼛𐼜𐼝𐼞𐼟𐼠𐼡𐼢𐼣𐼤𐼥𐼦𐼧𐼨𐼩𐼪𐼫𐼬𐼭𐼮𐼯𐼰𐼱𐼲𐼳𐼴𐼵𐼶𐼷𐼸𐼹𐼺𐼻𐼼𐼽𐼾𐼿𐽀𐽁𐽂𐽃𐽄𐽅𐽆𐽇𐽋𐽍𐽎𐽏𐽐𐽈𐽉𐽊𐽌𐽑𐽒𐽓𐽔𐽕𐽖𐽗𐽘𐽙𐽚𐽛𐽜𐽝𐽞𐽟𐽠𐽡𐽢𐽣𐽤𐽥𐽦𐽧𐽨𐽩𐽪𐽫𐽬𐽭𐽮𐽯𐽰𐽱𐽲𐽳𐽴𐽵𐽶𐽷𐽸𐽹𐽺𐽻𐽼𐽽𐽾𐽿𐾀𐾁𐾃𐾅𐾂𐾄𐾆𐾇𐾈𐾉𐾊𐾋𐾌𐾍𐾎

The tablet 82-7-14, 4175, rev., l. 4, gives also the very interesting form  $\text{י יוֹי אֶ-בְּיָוָו יוֹ יוֹ}$ , *Šu-bu-nu-ya-a-ma* (or *wa*), the Hebrew  $\text{שְׁבִיבָה}$ .

My opinion concerning these names I have already expressed in a paper read before the Philological Society on Feb. 1st, 1889.\* They seemed to me to be Hebrew names compounded with  $\text{יהרה}$  instead of  $\text{יה}$  or  $\text{יהו}$ , parallel to  $\text{גְּבִירָה}$ ,  $\text{גְּתִנָּה}$ , and  $\text{בְּנָה}$  (or the corresponding forms ending in  $\text{יהו}$ ). I did not like to put this forward too emphatically, however, because, though convinced in my own mind that my assumption was correct, there was still the possibility that *-yāma* might be a termination of an entirely different nature.

Two more examples of this ending having come to light, however, I am now in a position to state that the termination is really to be read *-yāwa*, and that it is a synonym of *ilu* and *yā* (= *Jah*). The new name proving this, which occurs on 82-5-22, 1394 (reign of one of the Artaxerxes) is as follows:—

$\text{י יוֹ אֶ-בְּיָוָו יוֹ}$ , *A-ka-bi-ya-wa* (*Akabi-Yāwa*).

This is a parallel to the names  $\text{י יוֹ אֶ-בְּיָוָו}$ , *Akabu-ya* (83-1-18, 173 †), and  $\text{י יוֹ אֶ-בְּיָוָו יוֹ}$ , *Akabi-ilu* (*Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Vol. VIII, pp. 284, 285, and 295), the last being probably the name of a Syrian.‡ The defective writing of  $\text{י יוֹ אֶ-בְּיָוָו יוֹ}$ , *ya-wa*, for  $\text{י יוֹ אֶ-בְּיָוָו יוֹ יוֹ}$ , *ya-a-wa* (see above), makes no difficulty. The Rev. C. J. Ball tells me that the Heb. form of this name occurs in Aboth iii, 1, as  $\text{עַקְבִּיָה}$ , thus clinching the matter.

The occurrence of the above-mentioned names adds one more testimony to the true pronunciation of  $\text{יהרה}$ , and shows that, during the time of the Persian rulers of Babylon, the Jews had no objection to pronouncing the name which is now generally read as Jehovah.

To the speculations as to the origin of  $\text{יהרה}$  may be added the question whether it is not a derivative from  $\text{יָה}$ , formed, by analogy, upon a real or supposed etymological connection between  $\text{יָה}$  and  $\text{יָהוָה}$ .

\* See the *Academy*, Feb. 19th, 1889. Cf. *Records of the Past*, N. S. Vol. IV, p. 107.

† Strassmaier, *Nabonidus*, No. 542.

‡ The text in which the name *Akabi-ilu* occurs relates to a family the father of which was a Syrian, who in his native country, must have borne the name of Ben-Hadad-nathan, but who was called by the Babylonians Abil-Addu-natanu.

## LETTRES DE TELL EL-AMARNA.

(5<sup>e</sup> Série.)

PAR A. J. DELATTRE, S.J.

## I.

## LES HABITANTS DE TUNIP AU ROI D'EGYPTE.

*(British Museum, 41.)*

Si nous les comprenons bien, les habitants de Tunip, menacés par Azirou, protestent, preuves en main, de leur fidélité à l'Égypte, fidélité qui ne s'est pas démentie depuis les jours, déjà éloignés, de Totmès III. Le roi d'Égypte, de son côté, ne leur tient pas sa promesse de protection ; il ne répond pas même à leurs multiples messages. L'auteur de tout le mal, c'est Azirou, qui les fait passer pour traîtres. De la sorte, il s'emparera de leur ville, la maltraitera, et la détachera du service de l'Égypte, comme il l'a déjà fait pour les villes de Nî et de Zoumour, tombées en son pouvoir ; et cette fois encore, le roi éprouvera du dommage. Tunip est dans la dernière détresse, et celui qui devrait le plus s'intéresser à elle, s'obstine dans son indifférence.

## TRANSCRIPTION.

1. *A-na šar mat Mi-iš-ri bi-ili-ni,*
  2. *um-ma : mari maḥazi Du-ni-iḫ amil ardu-ka-ma.*
  3. *A-na muḥḫi-ka lu-u šul-mu,*
  4. *u a-na ši-ḫa bili-ni ni-am-kuṭ.*
- 
5. *Bili-ni um-ma : maḥazu Du-ni-iḫ, amil ardu-ka, ik-ta-bi :*
  6. *maḥazu Du-ni-iḫ ma-an-nu i-na ḫa-na-nu-um*
  7. *u-uš-sa-bu-šu ? La u-uš-sa-bu-šu*
  8. *Ma-na-aḫ-bi-ir-ia ? Kaniša-tu am-ma-ti i-ni-tam.*
- 
9. *Ilani-šu u i-mu-ga-aš-šu kanšiš na-ab-ri. Il-la-an*
  10. *ša šar mat Mi-iš-ri bi-ili-ni ina maḥazu Du-ni-iḫ aš-bu-nim ;*
  11. *u li-iš-al-šu-nu bi-ili-ni la-bi-ru-ti kanišati am-ma-ti.*
  12. *U i-nu-ma-mi ni-i-nu ša-la bi-ili-ni šar mat Mi-iš-ri*


13. *U i-na-an-na XX šanīti a-na šarri bi-ili-ni ni-iš-tap-ru,*  
 14. *u amiluti mar šipri-ni a-na šarri bi-ili-ni aš-bu-nim ;*  
 15. *u i-na-an-na, bi-ili-ni ia-ki ilu Adda,*  
 16. *a-na šarri bi-ili-ni ni-ir-ri-iš šu-nim,*  
 17. *u li-id-din-šu bi-ili-ni.*

18. *U bilu-ni, ia-ki ilu Adda, šar mat Mi-iš-ri*  
 19. *iđ-din ; u a-na mi-nim šar-ru bi-ili-ni*  
 20. *i-na harran-ni i-ta-ar-ra-aš-šu ?*


21. *U i-na-an-na A-zi-ra amila arda-ka*  
 22. *amil nakar is-šir-ka i-ši-im-mi-šu-nu ;*  
 23. *u i-na mat Ha-at-at,*  
 24. *na-mur-ra-tum ik-šu-ud-šu-nu.*

25. *U i-nu-ma šabi-šu u narḫabāti-šu*  
 26. *iḫ-ru-num-mi ;*

27. *u ni-i-nu, A-zi-ra*  
 28. *ki-i-ma maḫaza Ni-i i-it-bu-uš-šu-ni.*

29. *Šum-ma ni-i-nu-ma ga-a-la-nu,*  
 30. *u šar mat Mi-iš-ri i-ga-al-mi.*  
 31. *Aš-šum a-ma-ti an-ni-tum ša i-ib-bu-šu-nu*  
 32. *A-zi-ra, i-nu-ma-mi  šu-ta*  
 33. *a-na muḫ-ḫi bi-ili-ni li-ma-aš-šir-ru.*

34. *U i-nu-ma-mi A-zi-ra maḫaza Šu-mu-ri i-ru-bu*  
 35. *u i-ti-bu-uš-šu-nu A-zi-ra*  
 36. *ša lib-bi-šu, i-na bit-ti*  
 37. *ša šar-ri bi-ili-ni, u aš-šum a-ma-ti*  
 38. *an-(ni)-tum bi-ili-ni i-ga-al-mi.*

39. *U i-na-an-na maḫazu Du-ni-iḫ,*  
 40. *maḫazu-ka, i-ba bu-ki,*  
 41. *u ti-ma-ti-šu i-la-bu,*  
 42. *u ša-ba-ti-šu ša  šu-nu-ni ia-nu-um.*

43. *Ni-i-nu-ma a-na šarri bi-ili-ni šar Mi-iš-ri.*  
 44. *a-na XX šanīti ni-iš-tap-ru,*  
 45. *u a-ma-at ša bi-ili-ni*  
 46. *išt-in a-na mu-uḫ-ḫi-ni la i-kaš-sa-ad-nu.*

## TRADUCTION.

(1) Au roi du pays de Misri, notre maître, (2) en ces termes : Les habitants de Tunip tes serviteurs. (3) A toi salut, (4) et nous nous prosternons aux pieds de notre maître.

(5) Notre maître, en ces termes [nous parlons]. La ville de Tunip, [dont les habitants sont] tes serviteurs, dit : (6) La ville de Tunip, qui, jadis, (7) en a reçu les serments? (7, 8) N'est-ce pas Manakhbiria qui les a reçus? Cette soumission est ancienne (9) Nous avons reconnu avec soumission ses dieux et sa puissance. Les statues (10) du roi de Misri, notre maître, se trouvent dans la ville de Tunip; (11) que notre maître les interroge sur la durée de cette soumission. (12) Et cependant il nous abandonne notre maître, le roi de Misri.

(13) Nous avons maintenant envoyé vingt fois nos messages au roi notre maître, (14) et nos messagers se trouvent chez le roi notre maître, [attendant en vain]. (15) Et maintenant, ô notre maître, [toi] lié par serment au dieu Adda [notre dieu], (16) nous demandons une réponse au roi notre maître. (17) Que notre maître veuille bien la donner. (18) Notre maître, lié au dieu Adda, le roi de Misri, (19) [en] avait donné [une précédemment]. Mais pourquoi le roi notre maître (20) l'a-t-il arrêtée en chemin?

(21, 22) Et maintenant Azirou a représenté tes serviteurs comme des ennemis de ta prospérité, (23) et au pays de Khatti, (24) on est saisi de frayeur; (25) car voilà que ses soldats et ses chars, (26) se sont mis en marche.

(27, 28) Et nous, Azirou nous traitera comme la ville de Ni.

(29) Si nous, nous sommes lésés, (30) le roi de Misri le sera. (30) A cause de ce que leur a fait (31) Azirou, voilà (32, 33) qu'ils ont cessé [les habitants de Ni] de rendre obéissance au roi notre maître. (34) Lorsque Azirou fut entré dans la ville de Zoumour, (35) Azirou leur fit [aux habitants] (36) ce qu'il lui plut, [et cela] dans la maison [le royaume] (37) du roi notre maître, (37, 38) et notre maître en éprouve du dommage.

(39) Et maintenant la ville de Tunip, (40) ta ville, pousse des sanglots, (41) et ses larmes sont enflammées, (42) et nous n'avons pas de réponse à attendre.

(43) Nous, au roi notre maître, au roi de Misri, (44) nous avons envoyé message jusqu'à vingt fois, (45) et nouvelles de notre maître (46) à nous adressées ne nous sont pas parvenues une seule fois.



## REMARKS.


Ligne 2.—*Amil ardu-ka*, singulier collectif.

Ligne 7.—*Uššabu*, pour *uššabu*, forme particulière de schafel, de la racine **שבע**. Cf. Delitzsch, *Gram.*, § 85.

Lignes 8, 9, 11.—*Kanišatu* ou *kaššatu*, *kanšiš*, voir Brünnow, 7322, 7325.

Ligne 9.—*Illan* est un pluriel, comme l'indique *aš-bu-nim*, 3<sup>e</sup> p. pl. permansif d'*ašabu*. Ce verbe rend fort naturel le sens de *statues* que nous attribuons à *illan*. Peut-être aussi est-ce un pluriel de *ilu*, dieu; *illan* étant une expression incorrecte pour *ilan*. Il s'agirait dans ce cas de statues de divinités égyptiennes. Quoi qu'il en soit, ce sont des monuments qui attestent la prise de possession de Tunip par Manakhbiria autrement dit Totmès III, et qui ont été respectés, en signe de soumission à l'Égypte, jusqu'à Amenophis III, ou Amenophis IV, auquel s'adresse la lettre.


Ligne 11.—*Lišalšunu* = qu'il les interroge, au figuré. Ces monuments témoignent par le fait qu'ils sont toujours là.

Ligne 13.—Je crois que l'idéogramme , qui exprime l'idée de *šattu*, pl. *šanāti*, année, représente ici le mot très voisin *šani-tu*, fois. L'idéogramme est suivi d'un double signe du pluriel.—Je ne pense pas que la construction, surtout à la ligne 44, où le mot revient, permette de lire *šanāti*, années, et d'interpréter: *Depuis vingt ans nous nous adressons au roi*.

Ligne 15.—*Iaki Adda* ne semble pas être un nom propre d'homme. Il est employé deux fois dans la lettre sans le déterminatif **Y** des noms d'hommes, tandis que *Manakhbiria*, qui s'y rencontre une fois, et Azira qui s'y rencontre six fois, sont toujours précédés de ce déterminatif. De plus, il est difficile de s'en rendre compte à la ligne 18, si c'est un nom propre d'homme, ou même, si ce n'est pas un qualificatif du roi d'Égypte.

Ligne 22.—*Issir*, pour *iššir*. Cf. hebr. **יִשְׁשִׁיר**.

Lignes 23, 24.—Tunip, d'après la manière dont nous comprenons le texte, ferait partie du pays de Khatti.

Ligne 32.—Je ne sais comment il faut lire l'idéogramme , qui en cet endroit, comme à la ligne 42, doit exprimer un nom renfermant l'idée de rendre, renvoyer. Toutefois, je me demande si l'idéogramme n'est pas à lire *šunu* ou *šuni*, et si à la ligne 42, le

mot *šunu* n'est pas écrit deux fois, d'abord idéographiquement et ensuite en toutes syllabes, comme *šabi ša-bi* (Berlin, 31, ligne 4), pour ne citer qu'un exemple de cet usage propre à nos lettres.

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## II.

ADDU-NIRAR, PRINCE DE NOUKHASSI, AU ROI D'EGYPTE.

(Berlin, 30.)

Le commencement de cette pièce, très mutilée, a excité un certain intérêt, à cause du signataire de la lettre, un prétendu fils de Manakhbiya ou Manakhbiria, c'est-à-dire de Totmès III, que son père aurait doté d'un apanage en Syrie.

### TRANSCRIPTION.

1. (A)-na ilu Šamši, šarri bi-ili-ia, šar mat Mi-iš-ri
2. um-ma : Adda-ni-ra-ri, ardu-ka-ma.
3. A-na šipa bi-ili-ia am-kut.
4. . . . I-nu-ma Ma-na-aḥ-bi-ia šar mat Mi-iš-ri a-bi-ia
5. . . . . i-na mat Nu-ḥa-aš-ši
6. a-na šar-ru-ut i-ib-bu-ša-aš-šu, u  $\overline{\text{𐎃𐎍}}$   $\overline{\text{𐎃𐎍}}$  a-na kaḳḳadu-šu
7. iš-ku-un-šu . . . . .

### TRADUCTION.

(1) Au dieu Soleil, le roi mon maître, roi de Misri, (2) en ces termes : Adda-nirar, ton serviteur. (3) Je me prosterne aux pieds de mon maître.

(4) Lorsque Manakhbiya, roi de Misri, (4-6) eut élevé mon père à la royauté dans le pays de Noukhassi, (6, 7) et qu'il lui eut mis l'huile (?) sur la tête . . . . .

### REMARQUES.

Lignes 4-9.—Ces lignes ne signifient point : "Lorsque Manakhbiya, roi de Misri, mon père, m'eut établi roi en Noukhassi . . ." Pour traduire ainsi, il faut donner à *šu*, qui signifie *lui*, le sens de *moi*. D'ailleurs Addu-nirar (plutôt que *Raman-nirar*, pour un prince syrien), s'il a été établi roi par Totmès III, et qu'il écrive à Aménophis III, ou à Aménophis IV, a régné par trop longtemps. Il se peut même que celui qu'il appelle son père, soit son grand-père.

Lignes 6, 7.—L'idéogramme peut exprimer *šannu*, huile. La phrase signifierait bien : Lorsque tu lui eus assuré l'abondance, et la joie qu'elle procure. Ce serait la même image qu'au psaume xxiii, v. 6.

## III.

## AZIROU AU ROI D'EGYPTE.

(*Berlin*, 34.)

Cette lettre en rappelle une autre, traduite par nous dans les *Proceedings* (mars, 1891), dans laquelle un officier du roi d'Égypte, intime au chef du pays d'Amourou, probablement à Azirou lui-même, l'ordre de livrer divers personnages gravement compromis.

## TRANSCRIPTION.

1. *A-na sarri bili-ia ili-ia Šamši-ia*
2. *um-ma : A-zi-ru ardu-ka-ma.*
3. *VII šanîtu u VII šanita a-na šîpa bili-ia am-kut.*
4. *A-nu-um-ma mi-ru-iš-tû*
5. *ša i-ti-ir-ru-iš*
6. *ilu Šamšu bilu-ia, a-na-ku ardu-ka*
7. *a-di ta-ru-i-ti (ibbuš),*
8. *u marani-ia ardani-ka.*
9. *A-nu-um-ma II amiluti . . . .*
10. *at-ta-din marani . . .*
11. *u li-ib-bu-šu-(ma)*
12. *ša i-ḳab-bi (šarru bilu-ia),*
13. *u li-ma-aš-šîr-(šû-nu)*
14. *i-na mat A-mur-(ri).*

## TRADUCTION.

(1) Au roi, mon maître, mon dieu, mon soleil, (2) en ces termes : Azirou ton serviteur. (3) Sept fois et sept fois, aux pieds de mon maître, je me me prosterne.

(4) Voici que [tout] désir (5) que formera (6) le dieu Soleil, mon maître, moi, ton serviteur, (7) toujours je l'exécuterai, (8) et mes fils sont tes serviteurs.

(9, 10) Voilà que j'ai remis [à tes agents] deux hommes de . . . fils [ou gens] de . . . (11) Qu'ils fassent (12) ce que le roi dira, (13) et qu'ils les renvoie [qu'il veuille bien les renvoyer] (14) au pays d'Amourou.

## REMARKS.

Lignes 4, 5, 6.—*Mi-ru-iš-tu, i-ti-ir-ru-iš, ta-ru-i-ti*, sont à lire *mirištī, itirriš, tariti*. On a de même dans la lettre des habitants de Tunip, ligne 4, *ni-am-kut* pour *namkut*. Dans ces mots, les caractères que nous avons rendus *ru, ni*, représentaient, pour les scribes auxquels les correspondances furent dictées, les consonnes *r, n*. Si ceux qui écrivaient ainsi n'ont pas simplifié leur écriture syllabique en écriture alphabétique, c'est qu'ils n'ont pas voulu ; car l'avant-dernier pas dans cette voie, c'est l'abstraction de la consonne. Voir nos considérations sur ce sujet dans la brochure intitulée : *Les inscriptions historiques de Ninive et de Babylone* (Paris, Leroux), p. 7. A ce propos, nous nous rappelons avoir lu chez un assyriologue les lignes que voici : “ Une langue qui ignore l'union de deux consonnes avant et après la voyelle, et l'assyrien est précisément une langue de cette nature, ne pouvant jamais inspirer l'idée de la consonne séparée de la voyelle, conserve naturellement le système syllabique adopté tout d'abord pour son expression. On comprend maintenant combien on est peu fondé à demander aux Assyro-babyloniens la création d'une écriture alphabétique.” Mais qui nous prouvera que la langue assyrienne ne présentait pas de formes comme *kātalt* et *kā-tlā*, et que dans ces cas, on ne supprimait pas dans la prononciation la voyelle adhérente aux caractères syllabiques ?

## IV.

AMÉNOPHIS III À KALLIMMA-SIN, ROI DE BABYLONIE.

(*British Museum*, I.)

Aménophis III, désigné dans la lettre sous le nom de Nip-muariya, avait demandé, soit pour lui, soit pour un prince de sa famille, une fille de Kallimma-Sin, et celui-ci avait refusé en disant qu'on ne savait pas même ce qu'était devenue une princesse babylonienne, sa sœur à lui, envoyée précédemment par son père pour le harem du roi d'Égypte. Celui-ci, à l'en croire, avait montré la princesse, comblée d'honneurs, à des envoyés babyloniens, hommes d'extraction obscure malheureusement, qui n'avaient jamais eu occasion de la voir dans leur pays, et ainsi n'avaient pu constater son identité. En conséquence, il avait prié Kallimma-Sin de lui envoyer des gens plus propres à s'acquitter d'une pareille mission. Kallimma-

Sin avait répondu qu'une seconde ambassade envoyée à cet effet ne réussirait pas mieux que la première. Il avait tenu à cette occasion, dans sa lettre, d'autres propos blessants. Aménophis s'efforce de réfuter un à un tous ces reproches dans la lettre que nous traduisons ici, et dont une copie a été retrouvée dans les archives de Khoutnaton (Tell el-Amarna).

Aménophis semble n'avoir pas écrit jusque-là à Kallimma-Sin, mais avoir répondu verbalement à ses envoyés, lesquels, d'après lui, s'étaient fort mal acquittés des commissions dont il les avait chargés pour leur maître.

Si le texte de la dernière ligne de la lettre, marqué comme douteux par M. Bezold, est néanmoins exact, nous avons là la signature du scribe responsable, auteur de la copie destinée aux archives de Khoutnaton. Je crois qu'il en est réellement ainsi, car le nom, tel qu'il se lit, est assyrien et non égyptien.

#### TRANSCRIPTION.

1. *A-na Ka-al-lim-ma-Sin šar mat Ka-ra-ilu-Du-ni-ia-aš,*
2. *aḫi-ia ki ḫim-ma um-ma : Ni-īp-mu-a-ri-a, šarru rabu,*
3. *šar mat Mi-is-ri-i aḫu-ka-ma. A-na maḫ-ri-ia šul-mu.*
4. *A-na maḫ-ri-ka lu-u šul-mu ; a-na biti-ka, a-na aššāti-ka,*
5. *a-na mari-ka, a-na amiluti rabuti-ka, sisi-ka,*
6. *narkabāti-ka, a-na kab-bi matāti-ka, da-an-ni-iš lu-u šul-mu.*
7. *A-na ia-ši šul-mu ; a-na biti-ia, a-na aššāti-ia, a-na mari-ia,*
8. *a-na amiluti rabuti-ia, sisi-ia, narkabāti-ia,*
9. *šabi ma-ad šul-mu, u kab-bi matāti-ia rabiš šul-mu.*
10. *A-nu-um-ma aš-ti-mi a-ma-tam ša ta-aš-pu-ra ili-ši a-na ia-ši*
11. *um-ma-a-mi : a-nu-um-ma tu-ba-a marat-ia a-na aššu-ut-ti-ka,*
12. *u a-ḫa-ti-ia ša id-di-na-ku a-bi-ia aš-ra-nu it-ti-ka,*
13. *u ma-am-ma u-ul i-mu-ur-ši i-na-an-na, šum-ma ba-al-ta-at,*
14. *šum-ma mi-ta-at. Ša ta-aš-pu-ra-an-ni i-na kab-bi duḫ-pi-ka*
15. *an-nu-tum a-ma-ti-ka, u im-ma-ti ta-aš-pu-ra amilu ka-mi-rum*
16. *ša i-ti a-ḫa-at-ka, ša i-tab-bu-ub it-ti-ši*
17. *u u-ma-an-di-ši u li-it-bu-ub it-ti-ši ?*
18. *Šabi ša ta-ša-ap-ḫa-ra ri-i-ka mar šipri (išti-in),*
19. *ša Za-ka-ra, išt-in amil rihu . . . . .*
20. *i-ia-nu išt-in lib-bi-šu-(nu ša im-ma-ti-ma it)-ta-ka-ri-ib*
21. *a-na a-bi-ka (i-mu-ur a-ḫa-ti-ka). Ap-pu-na*



58. *i-ra-aš-šu-u, mi-im-ma it-ti-šu-nu u u-ši-bi-lu-ni-ku.*  
 59. *U mi-ni it-ti-ši a-ḥa-at-ka ša it-ti-ia u*  
 60. *ta-ka-ša-ad mi-im-ma u u-ši-bi-la-ak-ku ?*  
 61. *Damḫu ki-i ta-na-an-din marāti-ka a-na ra-ši kalbu-ta*  
 62. *ša li-mi-ti-ka, u i-nu-ma ta-aš-pu-ra a-ma-ti*  
 63. *ša a-bi-ia i-zi-ib, la ta-kab-bi a-ma-ti-šu.*  
 64. *Aḫ-pu-na-ma šu-ku-un a-ḥu-ut-ta ṭabati i-na bi-ri-nu*  
 65. *ša ta-aš-pu-ra an-nu-tum a-ma-ti-ka : a-nu-um-ma a-ḥa-nu*  
 66. *a-na-ku u at-ta ki-la-li-nu ; u a-zi-il ili*  
 67. *amiluti mari sipri-ka ki-i i-ka-ab-bu-u pa-ni-ka um-ma-a : mi-im-ma*  
 68. *u-ul i-na-an-di-nu-na-ši ša i-la-ku i-na mat Mi-is-ri-i*  
 69. *(lu) il-la-ku-num mu-ḥi-ia, u i-la-ak išt-in lib-bi-ši-na*  
 70. . . . . *il-ti-ki kaspi, ḥaraši, šamni mahduti, ṣubati takalti mahduti*  
*ka-li-mi-ma*  
 71. . . . . *mat ša-ni-ti u i-ḫab-bi šu-di-ti kam damḫi.*  
 72. *A-na ša a(i)-ip-par-šu, išt-in-nu-ti it-ta-a-la-ku*  
 73. *amiluti mari sipri ana . . . . -di u pi-šu-nu za-ru-ti i-tab-bu-bu ;*  
 74. *ša-nu-ti it-tal-ku-(ma) za-ru-ti i-tab-bu-bu-ni-ik-ku.*  
 75. *U ak-bi a-na-ku : šum-ma (a-na-an)-di-na-aš-šu-nu-ti mi-im-ma,*  
 76. *šum-ma u-ul a-na-an-din-šu-nu-(ti), i-tab-bu-bu ka-na-ma,*  
 77. *u as-ku-un-šu-nu-ti u-ul aḫ-(lu-uḥ)-ḥi-šu-nu-ti aḫ-pu-na-ma.*  
 78. *U i-nu-ma ta-aš-pu-ra um-ma-a : ta-ak-ta-bi*  
 79. *a-na amiluti mari sipri-ia um-ma-a : i-ia-nu šabi a-na bi-li-(ku-nu)*  
 80. *u u-ul ba-na-at zu-ḥa-ar-ti id-di-nu-ni.*  
 81. *An-nu-tum a-ma-tu-ka i-ia-nu ; la ki-ti i-tab-bu-bu-ka*  
 82. *amiluti mari sipri-ka. Ka-an-na-ma šum-ma i-ba-aš-ši šabi bak-*  
*ra-ṭam ;*  
 83. *šum-ma la i-ba-aš-ši, ut-tu-ni mi-nu ni-aš-ša-a-li-šu.*  
 84. *Šum-ma šabi i-ba-aš-ši, at-tu-ka ; šum-ma i-ba-aš-ši*  
 85. *sisi at-tu-ka-ma-i la ti-ši-mi-ši-na*  
 86. *amiluti mari sipri-ka ša pi-šu-nu za-a-ru ša ta-šap-par,*  
 87. *an-ni-ka-a ; sum-ma pal-ḥu-ni-ik-ku u i-bu-bu za-ra-ti,*  
 88. *aš-šum a-zi-ia i-na kat-ti-ka. I-nu-ma tak-ba-a*  
 89. *um-ma-a : it-ta-din narkabāti-ia i-na lib-bi narkabāti*  
 90. *amiluti ḥa-za-nu-ti, u-ul ta-mu-ur-šu-nu a-šir-tam,*  
 91. *tu-ti-bi-il-šu-nu a-na pa-ni ma-a-ti ša itti-ka,*  
 92. *u-ul ta-mu-šu-nu a-šir-tam ; lu an-ni-ka, u*  
 93. *narkabāti, lu an-ni-ka-a, sisi*

94. (*it*)-*ti-ia* ; *i-ri-šu kap-pa sisi*,

95. *narkabâti i-nu-ma ta-aš-pu-ra a-na mat (?) -ia*

96. *Ka-ti-ri-ka a-na ša-ka-an-ni mahdu a-na-ku.*

97. *Zu-ša-ar-ti at-ta ta-aš-bu-ra.*

98. † *Kištu-ni-za-aš-an-ni. ?*

#### TRADUCTION.

(1) A Kallimma-Sin, roi du pays de Kardunias, (2) mon frère, pour information, en ces termes : Nipmuaria, grand roi, (3) roi du pays de Misri, ton frère. Il y a salut [bon état, prospérité] chez moi ; (4) qu'il y ait [de même] salut, chez toi. A ta maison, à tes femmes (5) à tes enfants, à tes nobles, à tes chevaux, (6) à tes chars, à toutes tes terres, salut soit à un haut degré. (7) Il y a salut pour moi ; pour mes femmes, pour mes enfants, (8) pour mes nobles, mes chevaux, mes chars, (9) mes nombreux soldats, il y a salut ; dans toutes mes terres, il y a salut, à un haut degré.

(10) J'ai entendu ce sur quoi tu me mandes (11) ce qui suit : "Voilà que tu veux ma fille pour alliance matrimoniale avec toi, (12) et ma sœur que mon père t'a donnée par bienveillance pour toi, (13, 14) personne [parmi mes messagers], qu'elle vive ou qu'elle soit morte, ne l'a vue actuellement." (14) Puisque tu m'envoies dans toutes tes tablettes (15) de pareilles observations, quand [enfin] enverras-tu un homme *de qualité* (?) (16) qui ait connu ta sœur, parlé avec elle, (17) et qui puisse la reconnaître et s'entretenir avec elle. (18) Quant aux hommes que tu as envoyés, à part un des messagers, (19) qui est Zakara, un [simple] pasteur . . . . ., (20) il n'y en a pas un parmi eux qui (ait jamais ap)proché (21) de ton père et (qui ait vu ta sœur). En outre, (21) tes messagers . . . . . ta sœur, et lui ont dit (23) . . . . . lui ont dit . . . . . (24) . . . . . en outre . . . . . et elle donnera, (25) . . . . . une question à sa mère.

(26) Et alors tu m'envoies message en ces termes : "Tu as parlé (27) à mes messagers,—et tes femmes se trouvaient là rassemblées (28) en ta présence,—de cette façon : Voilà votre maîtresse qui se trouve (29) devant vous, et mes envoyés ne la reconnurent point, (30) elle ma sœur, qui [à ce que tu dis] est chez toi !" A présent (31) tu me mandes ce qui suit : "Mes messagers ne l'ont pas reconnue (32) et qui la reconnaîtra ? Et tu dis : Pourquoi (33) n'envoies-tu pas un homme *de qualité* (?) qui te dira le vrai,



[c'est-à-dire] (34) les bonnes nouvelles de ta sœur, dont je t'assure ?" (35) Et tu [te] dis que "une de ses *servantes* (?) s'exhibera [à sa place], (36) qu'elle se sera entendue avec le roi [pour jouer son rôle], et là-dessus tu me mandes (37) ce qui suit : " Si on présente une fille, (38) soit une du pays de Gagaya, soit une fille du pays de Khani-galbî, (39) soit une fille du pays d'Ugarit, (39, 40) lorsque mes messagers la verront, qui leur dira [de manière à les convaincre] (41) que ce n'est pas (une autre qui) la (représente) [elle ma sœur] auprès de toi ? (42) et rien ne leur dira [révélera] ces (43) expédients dont tu tes sers, et si ta (femme) est morte, (44) . . . . ."

(45) (Si) nous en présentons une autre . . . . ., (46) . . . . . (que) le dieu Amanou [Ammon] . . . . . (47) . . . . . femme *grande* (?) . . . . . (48) . . . . . maîtresse . . . . . (49) . . . . . grande qui . . . . . (50) sur toutes les femmes . . . . . (51) des rois de Misri . . . . . (52) au pays de Misri.

Et cela étant, tu me mandes ce qui suit : (53) " (Je donnerai mes filles en mariage chez les rois du pays de *Karduniyas* (?). (54) Aussi bien, si tu avais reçu mes messagers avec bienveillance, et qu'ils eussent [réellement) parlé avec elle [avec ma fille], ils eussent rapporté des présents."

(56) Puisque tels sont tes desseins en ce qui te concerne, si les rois (57) de ton voisinage, ces grands rois, (57, 58) demandent tes filles, (58) qu'ils te fassent apporter ce qui se trouve chez eux. (59) Et que m'a donc apporté ta sœur qui est chez moi, pour que (60) tu reçoives quoi que ce soit [en retour], et que je te le fasse apporter ? (61) Chose excellente [pour toi] que de donner tes filles aux *chefs de la valetaille* (?) (62) de ton voisinage, et en [me] communiquant les promesses (63) que mon père a laissées [à accomplir], de ne pas dire ses conditions, [c'est-à-dire, l'obligation de donner des femmes]. (64) Pratique donc une bonne fraternité entre nous, (65) pour pouvoir m'envoyer de ces paroles : "Voilà que nous sommes frères, (66) moi et toi réciproquement."

Je suis froid envers (67) tes messagers, parce qu'ils ont parlé devant toi en ces termes : (67, 68) " On ne nous a rien donné qu'on puisse recevoir, au pays de Misri." (69) Ils viennent chez moi, et une fois entre autres, (70) . . . . ils reçurent beaucoup d'argent, d'or, d'huiles [parfums], d'habits de pourpre, toute sorte (70) (de produits) des pays étrangers, et ils tinrent des propos pernicieux, au lieu de

propos bienveillants. (72) Quand ils se furent échappés, les uns s'en allèrent, (73) parmi les messagers, à . . . et leur bouche parla hostilité ; (74) les autres s'en allèrent parler de même chez toi. (75) Et je me dis, moi : que je leur donne quelque chose, (76) que je ne leur donne rien, ils parleront de la même façon ; (77) Je les traiterai de manière à ne plus les (craindre) à l'avenir.

(78) Et lorsque tu me mandes ceci : “Tu as parlé (79) à mes messagers en ces termes : Votre maître n'a pas de soldats [qu'il puisse me fournir], (80) et il ne me donne pas [même] une jeune fille,” (81) ta communication est sans rondement, (81, 82) et tes messagers ne t'ont pas dit la vérité. (82) De vrai, si tu as des soldats *de valeur* (?) [*j'en désire* (?)]; (83) si tu n'en n'as pas, dis-moi ce qu'il y a que nous puissions demander. (84) [Cependant] si tu as des soldats, ils t'appartiennent ; si tu as (85) des chevaux, ils t'appartiennent ; [et je n'exige rien]. Mais n'écoute point là-dessus (86) tes messagers, qui tiennent le langage hostile que tu me communique ; (87) je t'atteste [qu'ils mentent]. S'ils te respectent, ils mettront un terme à leur hostilité (88) par égard pour ce qui passe de chez moi dans ta main. Bien que tu parles (89) ainsi : “Mes chars [que j'ai envoyés pour être vendus en Egypte] ont été confondus avec les chars (90) des gouverneurs [avec les chars envoyés par ceux-ci, chars moins riches], tu ne les a pas regardés avec équité ; (91) tu les a fait passer [tu les a exposés comme une marchandise vulgaire] aux yeux de la *multitude* (?) qui est chez toi, (92) sans en parler avec équité ;” je te l'atteste, (93) les chars, je te l'atteste, les chevaux sont chez moi ; tous veulent les chevaux, (95) et les chars, lorsque tu en envoies dans mon pays.

(96) Je suis ton allié pour faire beaucoup [en ta faveur]. (97) Toi tu m'enverras la jeune fille. (98) Kistu-nizaz-anni. [Nom d'homme?]

#### REMARQUES.

Ligne 3.—*Ana mahri-ia*, devant moi, dans ce qui m'entoure.

Ligne 11.—*Aššutti*. Je rends ce mot par *alliance matrimoniale*. Il pourrait désigner aussi l'ensemble des femmes unies aux princes royaux. On ne voit pas bien si le roi demande la femme pour lui-même ou pour quelque membre de sa famille.

Ligne 15.—*Amilu kamirum*. Si cette expression ne signifie pas formellement *homme de qualité*, elle en implique tout au moins l'idée, comme on le voit par la suite.

Ligne 17.—*Umandi*, ou, plus correctement peut-être, *uwandi*, me semble être un présent ou futur kal de la racine ירע ou ררע. Sur l'insertion du *n*, voir Delitzsch, *Gramm.*, § 52.

Ligne 18.—*Rika* = excepté, comme l'hébreu רק.

Lignes 22-25.—D'après Aménophis, autant qu'on peut le voir dans ces lignes mutilées, la princesse babylonienne qui se trouve dans son harem, a suffisamment prouvé son identité aux messagers de son frère.

Ligne 27.—*Is-sa-sa-su*, faute de transcription pour *is-sa-su* ou *is-sa-a-su* ?

Ligne 30.—*Anumma*, à présent, c'est-à-dire, lorsque je t'ai demandé de m'envoyer un messager plus capable de constater l'identité de la princesse.

Ligne 30.—*Lumidi*, *luwidi*, voir la note à la ligne 17.

Ibid.—*Anni-ka*, je t'atteste. Ce sens convient aussi aux lignes 87, 92, 93, où la même expression revient.

Ligne 36.—*Tim*, a le même sens que notre mot *intelligence* dans cette expression : être d'intelligence avec quelqu'un.

Lignes 37-39.—Le rôle qu'on regarde comme possible pour des femmes de Khanigalbi, de Gagaya et d'Ugarit, suppose l'usage de l'assyrien dans ces pays.

Lignes 45-52.—La réponse d'Aménophis III au propos qu'il vient de citer, se trouve dans ces lignes. Il semble promettre au nom du dieu Ammon, qu'il ne montrera pas une autre femme à la place de la sœur de Kallimma-Sin. Il s'étend ensuite sur la haute position que cette dernière occupe dans son palais.

Ligne 53.—Le mot *Kardunias* est très douteux. Il supposerait d'autres princes portant le titre de roi de Kardunias comme Kallimma-Sin.

Ligne 57.—*Šaruti rabuti*, grands rois, par ironie.

Ligne 61.—Je lis <|> <|> en deux caractères, et la fin de la ligne devient ainsi *rašī kalbuta*, au lieu de *rašūta* qui ne me présente aucun sens. *Kalbuti* dérivé *kalbu*, chien, répond, s'il existe, à notre mot *canaille*, mais avec un sens différent. Je remarque, en effet, dans une lettre du recueil de Berlin (60, lignes 18-21) qu'Arad-asirtou, le père d'Azirou, est nommé le serviteur et le *chien*, c'est-à-dire le plat valet des rois de Mitani et de Kassi, et c'est ce qui me suggère pour *kalbuti* le sens de *valetaille*.

Lignes 62, 63.—D'après cela, le père d'Aménophis III aurait laissé non accomplies des promesses faites à Kallimma-Sin. Les lettres 18, 23, du recueil de Berlin, que nous avons traduites dans les *Proceedings*, en juin 1891, supposent qu'Aménophis III lui-même laissa en mourant des arriérés de cette sorte à son fils.—Le mot *amati* qui est aussi vague que l'hébreu אָמַת, comme je l'ai dit précédemment, et qui est employé deux fois dans ces lignes, a dû se préciser dans la traduction.

Ligne 68.—*Qu'on puisse recevoir*, c'est-à-dire, qu'il vaille la peine d'emporter.

Ligne 69.—*Ilak ištīn*, lors d'une *venue* en Egypte, ou *une fois*.

Ligne 71.—*Šuditi*, propos, chose pernicieuse, d'après le contexte. Je suppose que *kam* est un équivalent de *kum* = à la place de. Voir Delitzsch, *Gramm.*, § 81, a.

Ligne 72.—*Ana ša ipparšu*, littéralement, lorsqu'ils se furent envolés, c'est-à-dire, lorsqu'ils se furent échappés, après avoir attendu longtemps et impatiemment, comme cela arrivait aux ambassadeurs d'après d'autres lettres, leur congé du roi d'Egypte. *Ana ša* = אֲנִי־שָׁאֵר.

Ligne 80.—*Banat zuharti*, la jeune fille. *Zuharti* = *šuharti*, n'est pas un nom propre, c'est une épithète signifiant petite, jeune. A la ligne 97, le mot *zuharti* est employé substantivement, dans le sens de jeune fille. Le nom propre de la personne dont il s'agit, était *Irtubi*, comme on le voit par la première lettre du recueil de Berlin (lignes 7, 8), que nous avons traduite dans les *Proceedings*, t. XIII, pp. 127, 130.

Ligne 82.—Je lis *bak-ra-tam*, d'après *British Museum*, 9, l. 8. Dans le premier énoncé conditionnel, à la fin de cette ligne, la proposition exprimant la conséquence, facile à suppléer pour Kallimma-Sin, est sous-entendue, comme il arrive aussi en hébreu dans le cas de deux énoncés conditionnels qui se suivent. Voir Ewald *Ausführ. Lehrbuch der heb. Sprache*, 6<sup>e</sup> éd., § 355, c.

Ligne 87.—*Ibubu* semble signifier proprement *étouffer*. Comparer l'hébreu עֹבֵב.














Ligne 88.—*Azi* = *aši*, de la racine אָזַע, = latin *proventus*.









Ligne 98.—Nous nous sommes expliqué plus haut sur ce nom propre.





## NOTES DE PHILOGIE ÉGYPTIENNE.

PAR KARL PIEHL.

(Suite.)\*


67. L'étymologie du groupe  ; 68.  mot nouveau ;  
 69. Passage du Dictionnaire Hiéroglyphique ; 70. Le mot  :  
 71. Y a-t-il un pronom absolu    et varr. ? 72. Passage d'un texte copte ; 73. Série de mots, écrits à l'aide de  = *kse* ;  
 74. Le prétendu groupe   *bun*, comment doit-il se lire ?  
 75. Le mot  ; 76. Le groupe   .

67. BRUGSCH, il y a très longtemps, † a identifié les deux groupes   et , toutefois sans faire l'analyse du signe qui représente un "homme qui tire un porc par la queue." C'est GOODWIN ‡ qui, le premier à ma connaissance, a expliqué ce dernier hiéroglyphe qu'il considère comme devant se transcrire      "celui qui empêche ou arrête le porc."

Je serais disposé à introduire une légère modification dans cette lecture du savant anglais, en proposant de la remplacer par celle-ci     "celui qui accompagne le porc," ou peut-être plutôt "celui qui conduit le porc."

\* Voir *Proceedings*, Vol. XIV, p. 142.

† *Geographische Inschriften altägyptischer Denkmäler*, III, XVII, No. 159.

Dans cet exemple l'hiéroglyphe en question a la forme suivante .

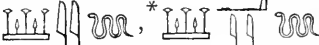

‡ *Zeitschrift*, 1868, page 7.


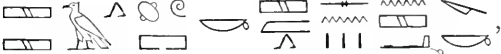





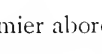
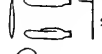


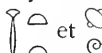




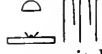











D'ailleurs les textes des basses époques renferment des formes comme , <sup>\*</sup>, <sup>†</sup> ce qui montre que l'ancienne forme n'est pas entièrement tombée en désuétude.

La meilleure preuve que je connaisse en faveur de l'équation  = *schou*, c'est le passage suivant, emprunté aux *Tempel-Inschriften* de M. DÜMICHEN : <sup>‡</sup> , où l'allitération nécessite la lecture à *š* initial pour le groupe .

Il faut se rappeler que, parmi les différentes valeurs du signe polyphone , il y en a qui, dans ce cas particulier, méritent un examen, par suite de la lumière qu'elles peuvent répandre sur la matière en discussion. Premièrement, la lecture  *ut*. Elle paraîtrait, au premier abord, appuyée par le nom de dieu , <sup>§</sup> , <sup>||</sup> qu'offrent les textes récents, surtout puisque  et  s'échangent, l'un contre l'autre, dans ces textes. Toutefois, il y a encore assez de différence entre les combinaisons de signes  et —cette dernière ne donnant jamais de  final dans le nom de dieu —pour que ce rapprochement doive être écarté. Un autre lecture *hsb*, pour le même signe, est digne de plus d'attention ; c'est que nous savons par les textes ¶ que   , “Schai compte les jours” de l'homme, d'où l'on pourrait bien tirer la conclusion que  serait un surnom du dieu Schai, opinion qui paraîtrait peut-être bien fondée. Mais l'accouplement de  et  que nous avons constaté en haut, me semble une forte raison contre l'emploi de la lecture *hsb* pour ce cas.

Néanmoins la lecture nouvelle, proposée pour le groupe , reste un peu incertaine, comme la vocalisation en diffère notablement

\* LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, IV, 62 a.


† BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus*, IV, page 627.


‡ *l. l.* I, III, 8.

§ PIEHL, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques*. Seconde Série, CXXVI, 1.

|| DE ROUGÉ, *Edfon*, 98, 3.




¶ STERN, dans la *Zeitschrift*, 1873, page 62.

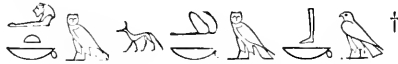
du celle qui caractérise le nom de divinité . D'autres savants seront sans doute à même de corroborer ou de réfuter mon acception sur ce point.

70. Les textes des pyramides de Saqqârah contiennent un groupe , que l'éditeur de ces textes a expliqué par "train de derrière," par exemple dans le passage suivant :






qui a été traduit de la sorte : "Semblable à un chacal pour la tête, à un lion sauvage pour le train de derrière."

On peut déjà *a priori* hésiter quant à l'exactitude de cette interprétation, car le mot —qui ne signifie jamais "la tête," mais "le visage, la figure"—n'est pas le corrélatif de mots, désignant la *queue* ou le *derrrière*, mais plutôt de groupes ayant le sens de "partie de la tête" ou "la tête" elle-même. Pour admettre la signification "train de derrière" pour le mot *chebset*, le groupe  du début aurait dû être remplacé par , ou quelque chose d'analogue. Cf. p. ex.



"ton avant-train en forme de chacal, ton arrière-train en forme d'épervier."






















Je ne crois pas me tromper, en traduisant le passage, soumis à la discussion, de la manière que voici : "Ta figure est celle du chacal, ta barbe (crinière) celle d'un lion sauvage." Je rapproche alors le groupe  de celui, déjà connu, de  [BRUGSCH, *Wörterbuch*, VI, 891]. La différence d'écriture qu'il y a entre les deux groupes n'est pas de nature à embarrasser ceux auxquels le développement de l'écriture hiéroglyphique est familier.





Pour écarter tout semblant même d'un doute qu'on pût concevoir à cet égard, j'attire l'attention du lecteur sur cet exemple-ci :  "brillant de visage, parfait de barbe (ou cheveux)." ‡

\* *Pyramide de Teta*, 165 ; cf. *Merenra*, 176 ; *Pepi II*, 688.



† *Pyramide de Merenra*, 183.

‡ LEEMANS, *Moumens de Leide*, III, K. XVII.





71. La théorie nouvelle, énoncée par ERMAN, concernant les pronoms personnels en égyptien,\* mérite un examen sérieux et approfondi qu'il n'est pas le moment de fournir ici, quand même j'aurais terminé les préparatifs d'un travail pareil. Toutefois, je crois déjà pouvoir affirmer que plusieurs des faits, constatés dans le dit article, se sont montrés absolument inattaquables. Je pense alors tout particulièrement aux deux formes †  $\Rightarrow$  ,  $\Rightarrow$   de la seconde personne du féminin singulier, dont originairement j'avais cru pouvoir revoquer en doute l'existence, mais qui maintenant, grâce aux textes de Pepi II, sont hors d'atteinte. Voici une bonne preuve en faveur de la forme  $\Rightarrow$  , empruntée à ce dernier document :  $\downarrow$    
  $\Rightarrow$       $\Rightarrow$  , ‡ exemple qui se compare très à propos avec celui-ci :  $\downarrow$          
  $\downarrow$   § De la comparaison de ces deux expressions il résulte avec évidence que, si  est un mot,  $\Rightarrow$   l'est nécessairement aussi.

L'analogie que nous offre  $\downarrow$    $\Delta$  (*sujet prothétique*) par rapport à  $\downarrow$   (*sujet paragogique*), donne un fort appui à l'existence d'une forme  $\Rightarrow$   (*sujet prothétique*) par rapport à celle de  $\Rightarrow$   (*régime paragogique*).

Sur un point capital de l'ouvrage susmentionné je crois devoir faire de l'opposition, c'est concernant le pronom absolu de la première personne.




Je suis alors bien entendu disposé à reconnaître la *possibilité*—mais *possibilité n'est pas certitude*—de l'existence d'un pronom absolu   “moi,” quant aux textes des pyramides, mais les autres
























































\* *Zeitschrift*, XXX, pages 15-24.

† L'existence de ces deux formes avait déjà été établie dans la *Zeitschrift*, XXIX, pages 40 et 42. Au moment, où j'ai reçu ce numéro du journal de Berlin, j'étais en train de faire un mémoire sur le pronom masculin  $\Rightarrow$    $\Delta$  et son histoire. Plusieurs des nouvelles de l'article d'ERMAN avaient été découvertes par moi-même, notamment le sens des  $\Rightarrow$     de la “litanie du soleil.” J'ai donc trouvé inutile à imprimer le susdit article. Toutefois, il devait aussi renfermer certaines autres choses inconnues, celles-là relatives à l'époque ptolémaïque. Je reviendrai ailleurs à ces questions.

‡ *Pyramide de Pepi II*, 777. § *Pyramide de Pepi II*, 782.

exemples, cités d'après d'autres monuments, ne me semblent aucunement de nature à faire admettre la prétendue forme pronominale.

Pour prouver mon dire il est indispensable de procéder à l'examen de la série complète des exemples, qu'a cités M. ERMAN en faveur d'un pronom absolu  ,  *uâ* de la première personne du singulier.

































(a).        "Je fus juge."\* Cf.                "Tu es dans l'horizon, et lui, le sceptre à la main, fait naviguer ta barque, ô Ra."† Si le second  du groupe   qui introduit le dernier passage, est à expliquer comme un pronom suffixe, il faut aussi expliquer comme tel le signe  du groupe   , emprunté à l'inscription d'Una. Contrairement à l'avis de notre collègue de Berlin, on doit donc admettre que  de cet exemple réellement a de la "direction verbale." D'ailleurs, en consultant les textes, on trouve, à toutes les époques, que le pronom , , , , , etc., étant accompagné d'un pronom personnel absolu (à l'exception de  ) , c'est le dernier qui précède, p. ex.      "Je suis juste de voix sur terre,"‡         "Je suis un *smer* qui exalte ses pères ;"§      "Tu es Ra, sorti de Nout;" || etc.



\* *Inscription d'Una*, l. 8.



† *Pyramide d'Unas*, l. 478 = *Pepi II*, l. 748.




‡ PIEHL, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques*, CXXIX, l. 7.


§ SHARPE, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, I, 99.


|| *Pyramide de Mercure*, l. 452 M. ERMAN semble regarder le  de   comme une conjonction. Ainsi p. ex.       a été traduit par lui, "weil du ja der Geist bist, der den Nut gebar," avec la transcription : *n tait*, etc. Je pense que        ici est un mot dont l'emploi, au lieu de   simple, est dû à la présence de . Cf. *Unas*, 365 :      "Tu es l'étoile du soir," par rapport à *Pepi I*, l. 162 :      "Tu es la grande étoile." BRUGSCH (*Die Aegyptologie*, page 322) semble embrasser les mêmes vues que nous, quant à  de  .

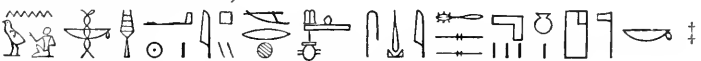
(b).  " Il n'y a pas d'eau là, je ne m'y trouve pas" (*Pap. Ebers*, 69, 6); 

 " Je suis ton compagnon, ô Osiris!" (*Todtenbuch*, éd. NAVILLE, I, 5);  " Je suis Ra" (*Pap. Ebers*, I, 7).\*

Dans le premier de ces trois exemples, M. ERMAN transcrit la fin, comme s'il fallait lire *ân uâ am*, au lieu de : *ân nuâ am*, comme nous lirions. Quant aux deux autres, le  en est considéré par lui comme conjonction "car, parce que." Mais il y a assurément un pronom , qui au temps des basses époques s'écrit aussi . Voici quelques exemples, où le mot *nuâ* commence une phrase indépendante :

 " Je suis ton compagnon, ô seigneur de joie."

 " Je suis ton serviteur, ô Chensou-Thoth, je suis le principal parmi les serviteurs d'Horus" ;


 " Je suis le mesureur du temps, qui dirige le fil à plomb,§ je donne de la solidité aux angles de ton sanctuaire."


 " Je suis le démon qui approvisionne le temple de la déesse Herhotepit."


\* La transcription correcte de ce passage a été fournie pour la première fois par CHABAS (*Notice sur le Papyrus Ebers*, page 2). Après lui, M. MASPERO (*Zeitschrift*, XVI, page 86) a proposé la même transcription, toutefois sans citer son célèbre devancier.


† PIEHL, dans la *Zeitschrift*, 1885, page 85.





‡ BRUGSCH, dans la *Zeitschrift*, 1870, page 154 ; M. DÜMICHEN (*ibid.*, 1872, page 38) a partiellement corrigé la traduction qu'avait fournie BRUGSCH pour ce passage.

§ Que le signe  représente un fil à plomb, c'est ce que m'a fait voir mon honorable confrère et ami, M. CH. WILBOUR, lors de notre séjour commun à Edfou en 1888.





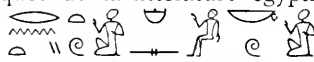
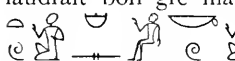

|| MARIETTE, *Dendérah*, III, 14a. Le pendant de ce texte offre ceci :  etc.

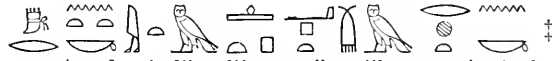


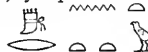
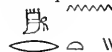
 \* “Je suis la fille du dieu resplendissant,”  
expression qui a pour pendant celle-ci :

 “Je suis la fille du Soleil.”

Ces exemples pourraient se multiplier facilement, mais je crois qu'ils suffisent à démontrer l'existence du pronom absolu ,  et varr. et par conséquent la non-existence du pronom absolu , pour les passages que malgré la présence d'un  on a voulu interpréter dans ce sens.

(c).  “Comme je connais” (*Todtenb.*, éd. NAVILLE 72, 5) ;  “ils savent que je suis loin” (*Destruction des hommes*, l. 58).





Si nous admettons que ces deux exemples contiennent un pronom  absolu, il faudrait du même coup effacer le thème , ,  etc., si commun à toutes les époques de la littérature égyptienne. Une expression comme celle-ci:  “Je suis assis,” se transcrirait alors *er entit uà hems-kuà*, etc., tandis qu'il faudrait bon gré mal gré transcrire par *tuà hems-kuà* l'expression  — sans  initial ; à moins de supposer pour le *t* de *tuà* une valeur d'explétif, de guillemet, ou je ne sais quoi.

Cela étant, on serait autorisé à prétendre, sur la foi de l'exemple que voici :  † “car tu es venu en paix, doué d'intelligence,” qu'il y aurait également un pronom absolu , celui-là relatif à la seconde personne du masculin singulier. Toutefois, je préfère une autre acception. Pour moi  équivaut à  ou  //

\* MARIETTE, *Dendérah*, IV, 25a.

† *Papyrus Anastasi*, IV, 12, 5.

‡ PIEIL, dans la *Zeitschrift*, 1881, page 18. Ce texte, qui date de la XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie, a été republié en 1883 par M. MASPERO (*Recueil de Vieux-Égyptiens*, III, page 116) d'une manière qui est très inférieure à celle de la *Zeitschrift* de 1881. La traduction de M. MASPERO, bien que postérieure de date, est aussi notablement inférieure à la mienne, comme les collègues pourront certainement constater, s'ils veulent bien prendre à tâche de comparer les deux éditions.








 et de même  à  ou  . Si nous prenons la peine d'examiner le chapitre 89 du Livre des Morts, nous verrons que les différentes rédactions en présentent des lectures qui sont fort instructives pour la question qui nous occupe. Là où selon l'édition de LEPsius il se lit :









une caisse de momie, conservée au Musée du Caire et dont nous avons, il y a 8 ans,\* publié les textes, offre ceci :



Les deux expressions parallèles se rencontrant plusieurs fois, on ne peut en douter de l'exactitude.

Maintenant  est à , ce que  est à  ; et à peu près ce que  serait à  . Sous ces conditions, la phrase  (Ll. page 17, n. 4) s'explique fort bien, sans qu'on ait à recourir à la supposition : "vor *su* war also das *t* von *ntt* verschliffen."







(d.)  "Je suis debout par devant toi." (*Pap. de Berlin*, 1, 263.) M. ERMAN paraît hésiter sur l'existence dans cet exemple d'un pronom absolu , et en réalité cette hésitation est fort justifiée. Autrement, il faudrait établir un pronom absolu  de la seconde personne du masculin, d'après le passage que voici :  "Tu es roi sur le trône du Soleil."†

Ayant passé en revue toutes les citations, alléguées par M. ERMAN en faveur d'un pronom absolu ,  et *varr.* de la première personne du singulier, j'ai été amené à en nier l'existence, quant aux exemples cités. Il est donc évident que je dois refuser de donner droit de cité à la dite forme pronominale dans la grammaire égyptienne, telle au moins que je la connais par mes propres études.

72. Les textes bibliques, rédigés en langue copte, nous sont souvent conservés en un grand nombre de copies, ce qui permet de

\* PIEHL, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques*, LXVII, l. 3 et suiv.

† BRUGSCH, *Hiérogl. Grammatik*, page 49.

constater—ce qui d'ailleurs n'a rien d'extraordinaire—combien changent quelquefois les dialectes des scribes entre eux. Bien entendu, les diversités qui séparent ces derniers, ne sont pas nécessairement dues à des différences de prononciation : tout le monde, s'occupant du copte, a pu mainte fois relever des fautes d'orthographe et d'autres espèces chez les scribes copiant des textes, conçus dans la dite langue. Ce sont surtout les Évangiles qui ont été conservés en des copies nombreuses et qui nous ont livré matière à ces réflexions. J'ai sous les yeux un petit fragment, renfermant en dialecte thébain les versets 14-31 du chap. xxv de l'Évangile selon St. Matthieu.\* L'écrivain a une prédilection pour la lettre  $\beta$ , aux dépens de celle de  $\varphi$ , et il emploie la première non seulement dans l'équivalent copte † de l'ancien   ( $\beta$ ιωπ “faire le compte,”  $\sigma\epsilon\pi\alpha\beta\iota\tau\varphi$  “ils vont l'enlever”), mais à la place de l'ancien suffixe possessif , ‡ comme dans  $\alpha\beta\beta\omega\kappa$  “il s'en alla”;  $\alpha\varphi\tau\ \pi\alpha\beta$  “il lui donna”;  $\pi\beta\beta\beta\beta\lambda\ \epsilon\tau\pi\alpha\pi\omega\tau\beta$  “ô brave domestique.” L'ancien    $\times$   s'écrit ici  $\sigma\tau\omega\varphi\varphi$ .§ Le verbe  $\chi\omega$  “ensemencer,” muni de suffixe, s'écrit deux fois  $\chi\omega$ —, ce qui paraît incorrect. De même, le mot  $\epsilon\kappa\omega\ \pi\beta\omega\tau$  “fidèle,” qui revient deux fois, me semble une faute pour  $\epsilon\kappa\omega\ \pi\ \pi\beta\omega\tau$ . Au lieu de  $\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\varphi$  “il dit,” notre texte porte  $\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\alpha\varphi$ .

Le passage, le plus difficile, de notre fragment a la teneur suivante :—

$\pi\beta\beta\beta\beta\lambda\ \beta\epsilon\pi\omega\pi\eta\rho\sigma\ \alpha\tau\omega\ \pi\pi\epsilon\varphi\chi\pi\alpha\tau\sigma\omega\chi\epsilon$   
 $\kappa\sigma\omega\tau\pi$ , “Ô domestique misérable et . . . . Tu sais.” Que signifie le mot  $\pi\pi\epsilon\varphi\chi\pi\alpha\tau\sigma\omega\chi\epsilon$ ? A mon avis, ce n'est pas une faute de scribe, mais une erreur, commise par le copiste moderne. Si nous réfléchissons que le  $\sigma$  copte ressemble beaucoup au  $\epsilon$  copte, et que la lettre  $\varphi$  peut devenir  $\omega$  par suite d'usure, on pourrait introduire un petit changement :  $\pi\pi\epsilon\varphi\chi\pi\alpha\tau\ \epsilon\varphi\omega\chi\epsilon$ , ce qui nous donnerait pour le passage entier :

\* Voir MASPERO dans le *Recueil de Vieweg*, VII, pages 47, 48. Le type est dit appartenir au plus tôt au X<sup>e</sup>, au plus tard au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle.

† Fait déjà noté par les dictionnaires coptes.





‡ Cf. STERN, *Grammatik*, § 30. Suivant le système de ce savant, notre petit texte contiendrait des traces d'une influence de la “mittläggyptischer dialect.”



§ STERN, *l.l.* , § 31.












πρῆξελ εποκηρος ετω πρεφκηετ ευχε  
 κσοονπ, ce qui correspond fort bien à πιδωκ ετρωο  
 οτοζ η βεππε ισχε κεεει de la rédaction memphitique du  
 même texte.








Cette petite correction\* est assez importante pour rendre légitime  
 la publication de la petite note qu'on vient de lire.

73. Dans une note antérieure, † j'ai montré que le signe ,  
 quand il entre dans le groupe  et varr., a la valeur .  
 Après avoir énoncé cette remarque, j'ai pu constater une série de  
 cas, où le signe , formant élément d'autres mots, est susceptible  
 de la même lecture. ‡

Voici les groupes nouveaux, où entre le signe , ayant la  
 valeur  *kes* :—

1.  (MARIETTE, *Dendérah*, I, 77 bis)  (BRUGSCH,  
*Wörterbuch*, II, 715 : *ems*),  [BRUGSCH, *l.l.* IV, 1519],  
 “oindre” = copte *OC* *linire*.












2.  (BRUGSCH, *Wörterbuch*, VI, 523 : *mama*),   
 (BRUGSCH, *Wörterbuch*, VI, 645 : *mesmes*),   
 (MARIETTE, *Dendérah*, III, 22a),  (BRUGSCH, *Wörter-*  
*buch*, VI, 645),  (MARIETTE, *Dendérah*, III, 19n) “mesurer,  
 soigneusement exécuter.”

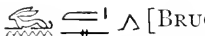
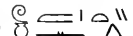
3.   [MARIETTE, *Dendérah*, I, 53, 3]   [PIEHL, *Insc.*,  
 Nouv. Sér., CIX, 7],   [MARIETTE, *Dendérah*, III, 21v],  
 [PIEHL, *l.l.*, LXXXVIII] = copte *OXI* *currere*.§


\* Le Dictionnaire (PEYRON, 388) ne connaît que la forme *ΧΠΔΔΤ*. Il  
 faut donc par elle remplacer celle de *ΧΠΔΤ*.

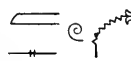
† *Proceedings*, XII, page 114 et suiv. Simultanément avec moi, M. ERMAN  
 paraît être arrivé au même résultat (*Die Sprache des Papyrus Westcar*, 1889,  
 page 77).

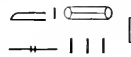

‡ PIEHL, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques*, Nouvelle Série, II, page 39.

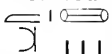

§ Le substantif  “jambes” [BRUGSCH, *Wörterbuch*, II, 592]  
 n'a rien à faire avec le groupe   et varr. *OXI* dérive de     exactement, comme *ΞΞΞΞΧΕ* “oreille” dérive de    .

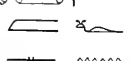

4.  [BRUGSCH, *Wörterbuch*, I, 265 : *unmes*],   
 [PIEHL, *Nouv. Série*, XXII, 7], "courir."\*


5.  [BRUGSCH, *Wörterbuch*, II, 716 : *emse-su*] courant," tourbillon" (?) \* = copte  $\Gamma\omega\text{C}\epsilon\epsilon$ ,  $\Gamma\text{O}\text{C}\epsilon\epsilon$ ,  $\gamma\rho\acute{o}\phi\omicron\varsigma$ , "brume."

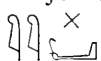
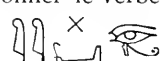

6.  [Pap. Ebers, BRUGSCH, *Wörterbuch*, VI, 645 : *mesu*] "morbus mulieris," = copte  $\Gamma\omega\text{C}$ , "coaguler" (qualit.  $\Gamma\text{HC}$ ).

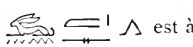



7.  [PIEHL, *Nouvelle Série*, CXX, 3 :  $\text{Q}\text{O}\text{C}\epsilon\epsilon$   $\text{Q}$   
], phrase à allitération !] "espèce de pain."


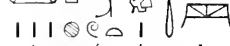
C'est là le seul exemple que je connaisse de ce groupe. Mais nous rencontrons très souvent, aux textes de basses époques, un groupe composé  [MARIETTE, *Dendérah* II, 48 a], var.  [ibid., III, 21 y] qui paraît être apparenté à l'autre. †

8.  (Pap. Ebers),  [ibid. Voir EBERS, *Die Masse*, etc., page 72].

Dans cette série de mots, j'ai dû omettre d'énumérer plusieurs vocables, contenant le signe  dans la valeur  $\Delta||$ , parceque je n'ai pas encore réussi à les expliquer, d'une manière suffisamment nette. J'espère pouvoir plus tard reprendre l'étude de ces mots.

Je ne veux pas quitter cette matière sans mentionner le verbe  que j'ai relevé dans l'expression que voici :   
 "celui qui mesure l'œil divin, à l'égal de Mehi" ‡


\*  est à , ce que, p. ex.  "manger" (*Pyramide d'Unas, passim*) est à  (BRUGSCH, *Wörterbuch*, IV, 1476).

† Cf. BRUGSCH, *Wörterbuch*, II, 503 :   
 "Sans nombre sont les pains *sens* et les pains *kespech*, qui son répartis sur la table à offrandes." (La traduction de BRUGSCH diffère sensiblement de la nôtre.)

‡ MARIETTE, *Dendérah*, II, 31b.








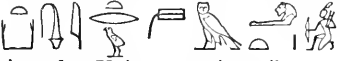
75. Le Dictionnaire [BRUGSCH, *Wörterbuch*, IV, 1338] donne un mot , "Bank, Schemel," qui a été relevé dans un texte, provenant de *Scheikh-abd-el-Gourna*. Voici la teneur du passage où le dit groupe a été trouvé :





Je n'hésite pas à rapprocher cette phrase de celle-ci, empruntée à un monument de Florence :

 \* "Tu laves tes pieds sur une plaque d'argent, sur un pavé de turquoise."

Ce rapprochement montre que le groupe , qui n'a été trouvé ailleurs, est fautif pour  et qu'il doit par conséquent disparaître du dictionnaire hiéroglyphique.

76. Le groupe , *äteru*, par BRUGSCH (*Wörterbuch*, V, 165), qui à ce sujet cite CHABAS, a été traduit "ausgiessen, sich ergiessen," traduction qui s'est uniquement appliquée au passage suivant :  "ein Lichtschein der sich an der Spitze der Krieger ergießt."


Je serais disposé à proposer pour le passage cité la traduction que voici : "celui qui fait resplendir le fleuve (le Nil), à la tête des soldats."











À mon avis,  n'est qu'une variante d'écriture du groupe fréquent , † par lequel les textes désignent le Nil.

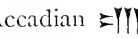


\* PIEHL, *Petites Études Égyptologiques*, page 60, note.  
 † BRUGSCH, *Wörterbuch*, I, 164.




THE IDEOGRAM .




BY THE REV. C. J. BALL.

Unlikely as it might seem, this extremely common character may be shown to afford an excellent illustration of the pictorial origin of the cuneiform syllabary. The linear form is  a figure which hardly suggests the idea of *bearing* and *carrying*, which is the meaning of the symbol, even when we have restored it to the upright position which, in fact, it occupies in the inscriptions of Gudea and in the seal-writing (Gudea, D. 5, 3, etc.).

The correct analysis of  *ga*, "to carry," was suggested to me by the Chinese *yü*, "to  carry," which, in the oldest accessible form, consists of  two hands holding up a vessel. The lower part of the Accadian character is  *sag*, "the head." The upper part is a vessel of some kind, which appears also in the symbol , linear  *ga*; while  is the raised arm, bent round to hold the  vessel on the head in the ordinary Oriental fashion (see Birch, *Ancient Pottery*, p. 195). As the entire ideogram was read *ga*, we may, if we please, regard  as phonetic: *cp.* , *ama* (from *ana*?) in which *an*, *am*, is phonetic.\*



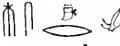
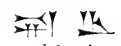






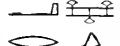
Having now solved our puzzle, we may note the remarkable similarity of the Accadian , *ga*, "to bear," "lift," etc., to the Egyptian  and , *fa* (Brugsch, *Wörtb.*, p. 534).

Some two or three years ago I reached the conclusion that the Egyptian language was akin to and younger than Accadian. In the *Proceedings*, June, 1890, I pointed out the identity of the Merodach symbol , the linear , with the Egyptian , Osiris, and observed in a footnote that the evidence of certain terms common to the two tongues appeared to indicate "a very early connexion





\* With  *ana*, *ama*, "heaven,"   "rain," *cp.* Japanese *ama*, "heaven," "rain."

between the primitive languages of Babylonia and Egypt; although the latter has developed on quite independent lines, and been influenced by its own environment." This inference was not based on isolated facts of possibly accidental coincidence. Our learned President, Mr. Renouf, remembers that I asked his judgment upon part of the evidence I had collected prior to June, 1890. One of the points which appear important is that Egypt achieved a real alphabet, the symbols of which are non-significant, whereas every symbol of the Accadian script is a significant word. This fact suggests the priority of the hieroglyphic system of Babylonia.





As Professor HOMMEL, in a paper read in the Assyrian section of the recent Oriental Congress, quite unexpectedly advocated a similar thesis, I may be permitted to give here a few more illustrations of the sort of evidence which led me to my conclusions, and which I have always hoped to lay before the Society.\*


Among the common words to which I called Mr. Renouf's attention above two years ago were  *kekii*, "darkness," the Accadian  *kukki*, and *gagig*, with the same meaning; also  *mes-t'er*, and  *mus-tug*, "ear." The correspondence of *t'* = *t*, *d*, observable in the latter instance, is seen again in *t'et*, "say," "speak," = Acc. *duttu*, in *t'er*, "all," the Acc. *diri*, in *t'a*, "strength" = Acc. *da*, in  *t'am* = *dan*, "might," in  *hat'*, "light" = *gad*, *gud*, "to shine," and other terms. It is natural, again, to suspect a relation between  *hem-t*, "wife," and *gin*, *geme*, "handmaid," or *gun*, *ugun*, "lady"; between  *hem* and *gin*, "to return"; between *hun*, "infant," and *gin*, "little," "young." But the relation of *t*, *d* to *t'* (English *ch*), and of *g* to *g'*, *h*, is the relation of original to derived sounds. So, too,  *a* agrees with the younger Accadian  *a*, "hand" (from *gad*), and  *ar*, "to come," "bring," with *ir* (from *gir*, *gar*). The very frequent *ar*, "to do," is plainly posterior to *gar*, "to do," and the same is true of *un*, "to be," compared with *men*, *wen*. Many of the alphabetic symbols admit

\* I was unfortunately not present when Dr. Hommel read his paper; but at a subsequent meeting the learned Assyriologist frankly informed the Section that I had anticipated him in regard to several of the ideograms upon which his theory was grounded.









of reduction to Accadian forms; e.g., ,  $\chi$ , agrees with ,  $\xi i$ , originally a circle, and ,  $f$ , with the linear form of   $mu\text{-}\dot{s}$ ,  $\tau u\text{-}\dot{s}$ , or  $\tau u\text{-}\dot{s}$ , "serpent" (see *Amiaud et Méchineau*, *Tabl. Comp.*, 198 bis, 154).

Of the pronouns the demonstratives *pe*, *pa*, *nenu*, *enen*, resemble the Accadian *ba*, *bi*, *ne*, *ene*, *nene*, "this," "that," "those."

Among other comparisons which I find in my old notes is that of *nu-târ*, *nomti*, *nouti*, i.e., *nun-tar*, "god," with the Accadian *din-gir*. The Egyptian term means "mighty," "strong" (Renouf, *Hibbert Lecture*, pp. 93, *sqq.*); and this may very well have been the original sense of the Acc. *dingir*, *dimmer*, for   *dim* is *rabû*, which presupposes an older *din*, and  *nun*, *ten*, is also *rabû* (S<sup>b</sup> 129; see SAYCE in Z. K. II, 67, note, for the name of the character, *nun-ten*); and  *gir*, (*mer*), *ne(r)*, is "strong," "strength."

The Accadian *nun* and *din*, *dim*, *ten*, are only dialectically different (so  is *num*, *nim*, *tum*); and a similar relation holds between *gir* and *dir*, *gar* and *dar*.

It would seem, therefore, that *nun-târ* is a dialectical equivalent of *din-gir*.

The Accadian symbol for "god" is the star, , and  is also used in that sense in Egyptian. The axe-symbol, , which is the usual one, may remind us that Bel is armed with an axe in Babylonian representations (*cp.* Baruch, vi, 15), doubtless as a symbol of power. Apart from the question of the primitive sense of the terms, grounds of formal resemblance and recognized phonetic variation appear to justify the comparison of *din-gir* with *nun-tar*. The same may be said for the comparison of  *enni*, *imi* = *an*, *am*, *ang*, "wind," "breath," with the Egyptian  *ânch*, "life," "living." The symbols agree, for  may be a simplification of , the linear form of the Accadian . The primary sound will have been *ġen*, *gan* (=the old Chinese *bam*, *gam*, modern *fung*, *hong*, "wind").

I conclude with the expression of my opinion that Egyptian presents many phenomena which recall the salient features of the so called *eme sal* dialect of the Accadian (e.g., *fa*, "to bear" = *wa*, *na* = *ga*).



## A BILINGUAL HYMN.

4 R. 46, 5-19.

(Cp. SAYCE,\* *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 79, 80.)

BY REV. C. J. BALL.

5. u-mu nu a-pa-ag (?) bi sig-gid (?) e-ne  
*Lord (whom) not (in) his fury withstand they*  
 belu ša ina uzzišu maḥir la išū  
*Lord who in his fury withstander hath not*  
 u-mu bara shigga u-mu kur-kurra  
*Lord, sovereign pure, lord of the world*  
 belu šarru damqa bel matāti  
*Lord, sovereign pure, lord of the world*  
 ngan-ngan id-ḡunna kia anu zu  
*That stayeth the strife of earth and heaven*
10. mutir šulme ša ilāni rabūti  
*Restorer of the peace of the great gods*  
 ena-ni u-mu a-na u-mu an-tugga  
*(Who with) his eye, the lofty lord, lords casteth down*  
 belu ša ina nikilmišu ušamqit dannūtu  
*Lord who with his look felleth the mighties*  
 dimmer bara mulu mulu dimmer bara  
*The god of the sovereigns of men, the god (that) sovereignty*  
 mulu tukua  
*man maketh possess*  
 bel šarrāni ša amelūtu muza'iz belētu  
*Lord of the sovereigns of men, that apportioneth lordship,*

\* Professor SAYCE could see "no connexion between the Accadian and the Semitic verses" of this piece; and held it to be "more than probable that the meaning was but little understood by the Semitic priests." In another place he calls these verses "maccaronic." So far, however, as I am able to judge, the Semitic lines appear to be a correct paraphrase, in the few cases where they are not a literal translation, of the Accadian.

15. u-mu ku mu shu gish-galla sham-mir kin-nir  
*Lord thy seat (is) Babylon, (thy) garland Borsippa*
- belu šubtaku Babili Barsib aguku  
*Lord thy seat (is) Babylon, Borsippa (is) thy crown*
- ana ana mu ana ana shag bi pesh-e  
*The heavens wide, the heavens, they all (are thine) heart (or fulness).*
- šamē rapšūtu gimir kabittiku  
*The heavens wide all (are) thy liver.*

## NOTES.

5. Is  $\langle \text{𒌦} \rangle$  to be read *umu*, from *umun*? or is it rather *mun-mu* = *mummu*, "lord," "lady" (*mummu Tiamat*)? or, as  $\langle \text{𒌦} \rangle$  is *shu*, is it *shumu* (*cp. san-shum*, "man"; LEHMANN, *Šam.*, p. 163, note), a by form of *nin*, *nun*?

There is no reason to distrust the Assyrian rendering of  $\text{𒌦} \text{𒌦} \text{𒌦} \text{𒌦}$ , viz., *uzzu*, "strength," "violence," "fierceness," "wrath." *Cp.* the Chinese *pok*, *pau*, "heat," "fierce," "angry." Or, transcribing *i-sig-aka* (?), *cp.*  $\text{𒌦} \text{𒌦}$  *sig*, *zarābu ša libbi*; and ZIMMERN, B.P.S., 55.

In  $\text{𒌦} \text{𒌦} \text{𒌦} \text{𒌦}$  the first element  $\text{𒌦}$  *sig* = *maḫāšu*, *narātu*, "to strike," "thrust," "resist," "thwart," "hinder," or the like; the second  $\text{𒌦} \text{𒌦}$  is *maḫāru*, "to confront," "withstand," 2 R. 22, 50 *b.* *Sig-gid-i-ene* is contracted to *sig-gid-ene*.

7.  $\text{𒌦} \text{𒌦}$  *bara*, is strictly the throne or royal seat; then, by a natural transfer, the occupant of the throne, the sovereign; and again, the throne-room of an earthly king, or the inner shrine of a heavenly one (a god): *cp.* 4 R. 9, 32 and 34 *a*; 5 R. 62, 47 *a.* The old Chinese *bak*, now *pao*, denotes any symbol of royal dignity, such as a sceptre or a throne (*cp.* Shi-king, III. iii. V. 5). *Pao-tso* means both "throne" and "shrine"; and *tso*, "seat," is used as a classifier of buildings, pagodas, etc.

9.  $\text{𒌦} \text{𒌦}$  : see BRÜNNOW, 3194. But *ngan* may be compared with Chinese *ngan*, "peaceful," "to tranquillize."

The analysis of  $\text{𒌦} \text{𒌦} \text{𒌦} \text{𒌦}$  seems to be *hand* + *lift up*:  $\text{𒌦}$  is *gun* = *našū ša eni*. *Cp.* also *nam-ku-na* = *šahluqtu*, "destruction," 4 R. 30, 22/25 *a.* "Stopper of hand-lifting" (*i.e.*, fighting) = *mutir šulme*, "restorer of peace." *zu* appears to be used as a copula;



*Gishgalla*, "door," as a name of Babylon, recalls *ka-dingirra*, "Gate of God." Cf. Ur-Bau, col. II, 2, *Gišgalla-ki* (AMIAUD).

𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗 looks like *plants + crown* (*mer = agū*). *Kinnir = ki(n)*, "place" + *nir*, "temple-tower" (*ziggurratu*; 2 R. 50, 1 a). "Place of the Tower" was a suitable name for Borsippa, the site of the *Birs Nimrūd*. *Kin-nir* resembles *kin-gi*, *kin-dir*, etc.

17. *šag, šab, ša*, "heart," "middle," is also "total," "all" (*puhru*; 5 R. 21, 63g); so that *šag bi* = "all of them": the Assyrian *gimir*, which is brief for *gimir-šunu*. *Bi* is plural; see on l. 11.

𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗 *peš, kir*, is defined *kabittu*, "liver," *libbu*, "heart," *mamlu*, "fullness." Another *peš* is "pregnant" (cf. Chinese *p'it, p'ei*, "pregnant," "fullness").



The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 6th December, 1892, at 8 p.m., when the following Papers will be read:—

- I. P. LE PAGE RENOUF (*President*).—"Notes on the different Egyptian Versions of the Bible."
- II. P. LE PAGE RENOUF (*President*).—"The Book of the Dead," Chapter XIX, and following.
- III. W. F. AINSWORTH, F.S.A.—"The Two Captivities: The Habor and Chebar."

**THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE  
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- ALKER, E., Die Chronologie der Bucher der Könige und Paralipomenon im Einklang mit der Chronologie der Aegypter, Assyrer, Babylonier und Meder.
- AMÉLINEAU, Histoire du Patriarche Copte Isaac.  
 ————— Contes de l'Égypte Chrétienne.  
 ————— La Morale Egyptienne quinze siècles avant notre ère.
- 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.
- BAETHGEN, Beiträge zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte. Der Gott Israels und der Götter der Heiden.
- 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.)
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- ERMAN, Papyrus Westcar.
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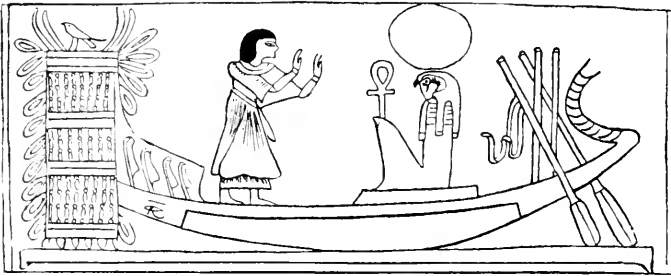
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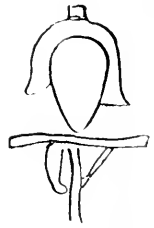


PLATE IX.

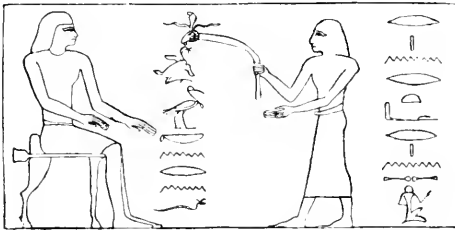
BOOK OF THE DEAD.



CHAPTER XV. Papyrus of Ani.



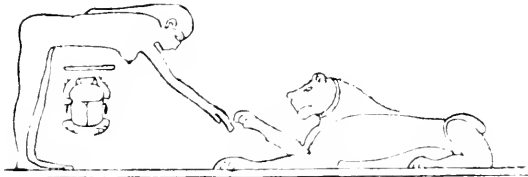
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LEPSIUS, "Denkmäler," Abth. III, Bl. 267.



CHAPTER XXVIII.  
NICHOLSON, "Egyptiaca."



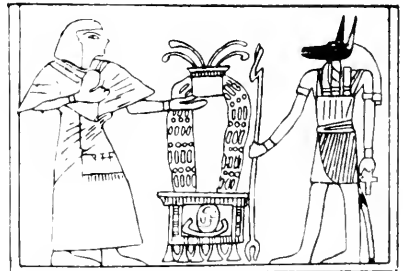
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CHAPTER XXII. Papyrus of Ani.



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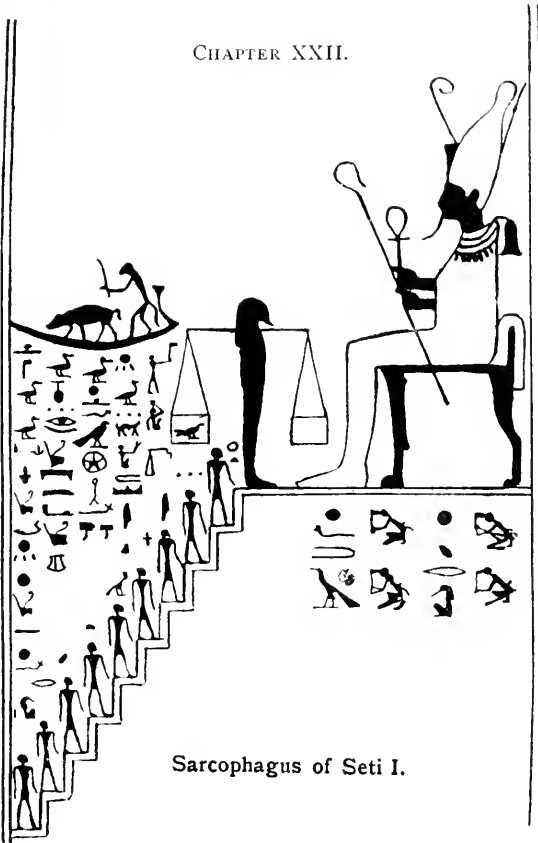
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Sarcophagus of Seti I.

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LEPSIUS, "Tottenbuch." 17, Vignette.

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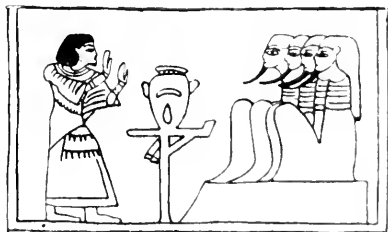
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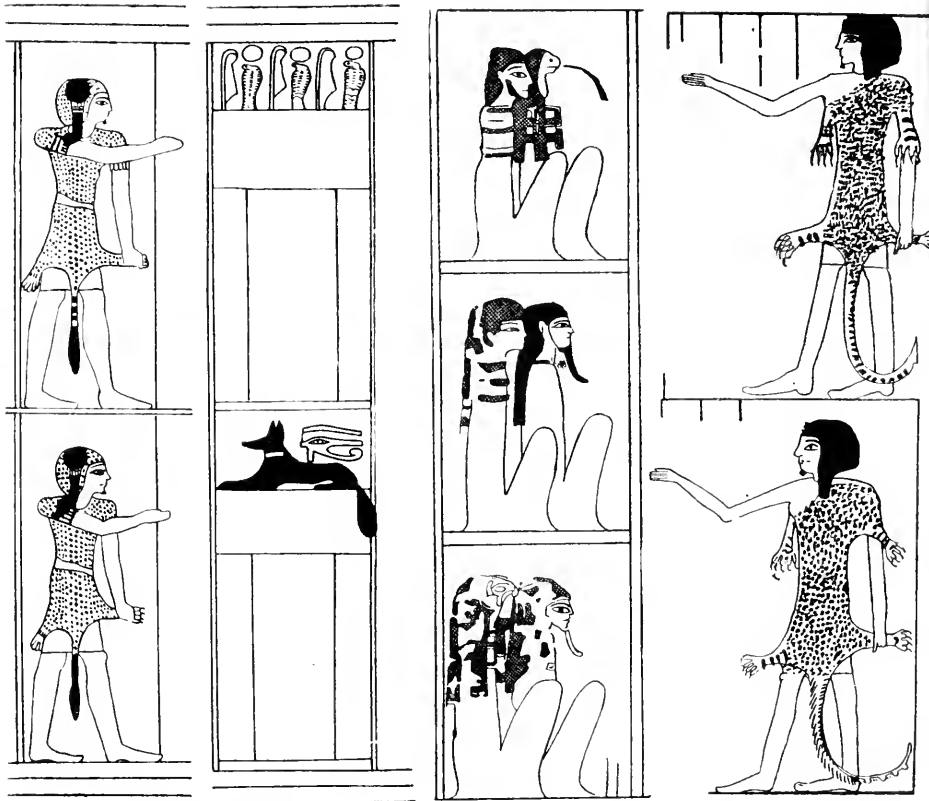
Fragment of an ancient papyrus scroll with Greek text. The text is arranged in vertical columns and is significantly obscured by damage and fading. The visible fragments of text include:

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... ΠΡΟ...  
... ΤΡΟ...  
... Α...  
... ΟΥ...  
... ΑΝΤ...  
... Ε...  
... ΧΟ...  
... Τ...  
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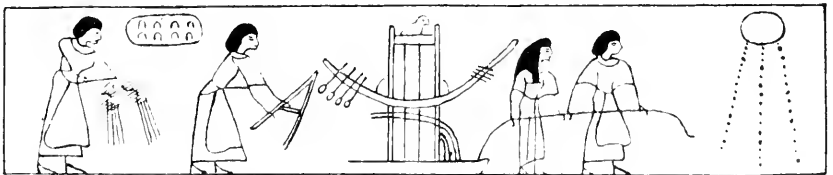
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Papyrus of Ani.

Leyden Papyrus.

INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTER XVIII.



CHAPTER XVIII. Papyrus Busca.

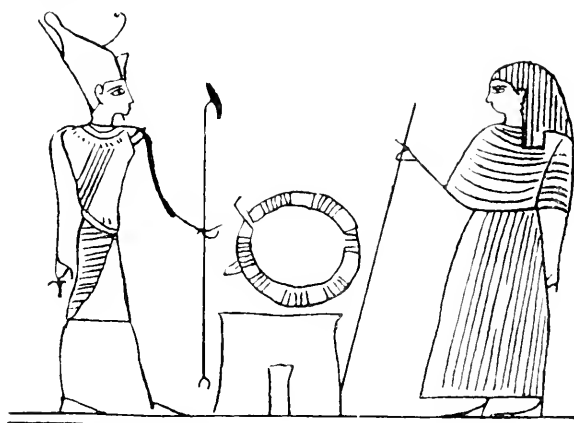
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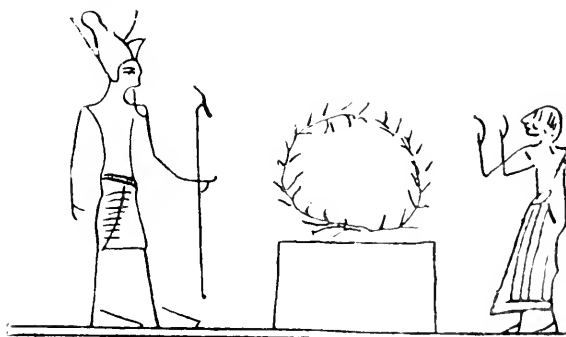


CHAPTER XVIII. BRUGSCH, "Thesaurus," Vol. V, p. 1190.



CHAPTER XIX. Papyrus du Louvre, 440.

E. DE ROUGÉ, "Études sur le Rituel Funéraire," p. 14.



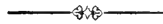
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E. DE ROUGÉ, "Études sur le Rituel Funéraire," p. 13.





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VOL. XV. TWENTY-THIRD SESSION.

*Second Meeting, December 6th, 1892.*



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"	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	
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"	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, Parts 1 to 7,	1890-91	2 0	2 6	
"	XIII, Part 8,	1890-91	5 0	6 0	
"	XIV, Parts 1 to 7,	1891-92	2 0	2 6	
"	XIV, Part 8,	1891-92	5 0	6 0	
"	XV,	1892-93	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., 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

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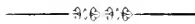
TWENTY-THIRD SESSION, 1892-93.

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*Second Meeting, 6th December, 1892.*

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, ESQ., PRESIDENT

IN THE CHAIR.



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

A special vote of thanks was awarded to Mr. E. de Bunsen for his present to the Library.

From the Secretary of State for India in Council:—

The Sacred Books of the East:—

Vol. XXX, The Grihya-Sûtras: Rules of Vedic Domestic Ceremonies. Translated by Herman Oldenburg. 8vo. 1892.

Vol. XXXII, Vedic Hymns. Translated by F. Max Müller. 8vo. 1891.

Vol. XXXVII, Pahlavi Texts. Translated by E. W. West, Esq. 8vo. 1892.

From Ernst de Bunsen:—

I Monumenti dell' Egitto e della Nubia, illustrati dal Prof. Ippolito Rosellini. Folio. 3 vols. of Plates in 2. Pisa. 1832.

—— ——— Text. 8vo. Pisa.

Monumenti Storici. 4 vols. in 5. Pisa. 1832-41.

Monumenti Civili. 3 vols. 1834-36.

Monumenti del Culto. 1 vol. 1844-

From Walter L. Nash:—

Antiquity of the Egyptian Calendar. By D. W. Nash, Esq., F.L.S. London. 1849.

Merlin the Enchanter and Merlin the Bard. By W. D. Nash.

From the Author:—Rev. C. A. de Cara, S.J. Degli Hittim o Hethi e delle Loro Migrazioni. Cap. XXII.

From the Author:—Rev. C. J. Ball, M.R.A.S. A Babylonian Ritual Text.

From the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. 8vo. 1892.

From J. Offord, jun.:—P. Bortolotti. Del Primitivo Cubito Egizio. Fascicolo II. Folio Modena. 1789.

From the Author:—Dr. Fritz Hommel. Der babylonische Ursprung der ägyptischen Kultur. München. 8vo. 1892.

From the Author:—Dr. Fritz Hommel. Aufsätze und Abhandlungen arabistisch-semitologischen Inhalts. München. 8vo. 1892.

From the Publisher:—Mayer and Müller. Aus Masorah und Talmudkritik. Exegetische Studien von Bernhard Koenigsberger. Berlin. 8vo. 1892.

The following Candidates were submitted for election, having been nominated at the last Meeting, 1st November, 1892, and elected Members of the Society:—

Mrs. Aitken, 27, Great King Street, Edinburgh.

Miss Brocklehurst, Bagstones, Macclesfield.

Miss Cropper, Eller Green, near Kendal.

Thomas Goffey, "Amalfi," Blundell Sands, near Liverpool.

William Sutherland Hunter, Kildonan, Pollokshields, Glasgow.

Rev. Harry Hamilton Jackson, M.A., Cheriton, Bromley Common, Kent.

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next Meeting, 10th January, 1893 :—

Elijah Coffin, 222, Gresham House, Old Broad Street, E.C.  
 Charles Stanley Hopkins, 6, Peel Terrace, Gosport, Hants.  
 Count Riano d'Hulst, Cairo, Egypt.  
 George Margoliouth, B.A., British Museum, W.C.  
 Rev. Joseph Henry Sutton Moxly, B.A., The Firs, Brentwood,  
 Essex.

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A Paper was read by P. le Page Renouf (*President*),  
 "Notes on the different Egyptian Versions of the Bible."

Remarks were added by the Rev. A. Löwy and the  
 President.

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A Paper was read by P. le Page Renouf (*President*) in  
 continuation of his former Papers on the Egyptian Book of  
 the Dead. A Translation with commentary of the XXIst  
 and other Chapters.

Remarks were added by E. Towry Whyte, Dr. Gladstone,  
 Walter L. Nash, P. R. Reed and the President.

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A Paper by W. Francis Ainsworth, F.S.A., "The Two  
 Captivities: The Habor and the Chebar," was read by the  
 Secretary.

Remarks were added by the Rev. A. Löwy.

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Thanks were returned for these Communications.



The following is the first part of a Summary of the Remarks made by the President, when opening the Twenty-third Session of the Society, on certain topics of interest to the Society to which attention has been directed either here or abroad. The remaining part will appear in February.

1. Several attempts have been made during the last year or two, both here and in America, to identify the Pharaoh of the Exodus with one or another of the kings of the XVIIth dynasty, in opposition to the now generally received opinion that the Exodus did not take place till a much later time. There is an interval of three centuries at least between Thothmes I and Hatshepsit (whom I have seen identified with the Princess who saved the infant Moses) on the one side and Menepthah on the other.

As these essays do not proceed from Egyptologists, but from writers who are apparently under the impression that their views are in closer harmony with the Biblical narrative and with the belief in the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, I think it well to state the exact nature of the extremely small amount of help which Egyptology can contribute to the solution of the question.

It should be thoroughly understood that the Egyptian records, on the one hand, know absolutely *nothing* about the Israelites; and, on the other, that the Biblical references to Egyptian matters are never characteristic of any particular reign or epoch, until we have come to a much later date than that of the Exodus. It is easy enough to identify Tirhakah or Necho or Shishak, but we are entirely deficient in data from which to identify the Pharaohs of Abraham, Isaac, Joseph or Moses. We do not even know whence the Biblical writers took the name or title of Pharaoh.

The early histories of Israel and of Egypt, so far as the records are known to us, are so absolutely independent of each other and so deficient in positive synchronisms, that the date of the Exodus, and of the Egyptian king who is connected with it, may be assigned to any year we fancy to be most consistent with our individual notions of Biblical chronology, without incurring the shadow of a chance of either contradiction or confirmation from Egyptian history.

There is, it is true, one word (but *one* word only) in the Biblical narrative which holds out the promise of a synchronism. This is the name of Rameses, as that of one of the cities which the captive Israelites were occupied in building. The name of Rameses points to a particular date. It is as significant of a celebrated historical personage as those of Alexandria, Ptolemais, Seleucia, Petersburg, or Washington. The name itself did not exist before the XIXth dynasty. It is not formed like those of Thoth-mes, Hor-mes, Chonsu-mes, or Ra-mes. A reduplicated form of the last of these names was assumed by the first Rameses and by his descendants.

We must be careful, however, before we draw an inference from this important fact. Egyptologists have generally inferred from it that the Exodus could not have taken place before the XIXth dynasty. Are they, however, prepared to draw a like inference from the statement in the book of Genesis, xlvii, 11, that Joseph gave his father and his brethren "a possession in the land of Egypt, in the land of Rameses, as Pharaoh had commanded"?

No one, as far as I am aware, has inferred from this that Joseph and his Pharaoh were later than the XVIIIth dynasty. It is generally understood that Rameses was the name given, at a later period, to the land which was once possessed by the Israelites. And the name of Rameses may have been used in like manner by "anticipation" in the book of Exodus. The town built by the Israelites may have received the name of Rameses in later days in honour of the great conqueror. If this be so, no real synchronism exists, and the Exodus may have taken place at any time before the beginning of the XIXth dynasty.

All this is quite true, but what advantage do our pious friends see in such a result?

They may dissociate Moses and the Exodus from the date of any Rameses, but they cannot so dissociate the writer of the sacred narrative. He certainly did not live *before* the great Rameses, and he may have lived many centuries later. The farther back they place the Exodus the more clear it becomes that the Pentateuch could not have been written by Moses, and the less claim has the narrative to be considered contemporaneous or even recent history.

The name of Rameses is the one and only basis of an argument in this question. But two other sources have been mentioned, and I must say a word or two about them.

The first of these is a passage of Manetho, who is quoted by

Josephus, as giving the name of Amenophis to the king who expelled the lepers and other unclean people, under which term the Hebrews are supposed to be meant. The royal name of Amenophis is never found after the XVIIIth dynasty. But either Josephus or a copyist has blundered at this name, because Manetho in this quotation says the king in question was the son of Rampses and the father of Sethos, names belonging to the XIXth dynasty.

No importance should be attached to any of the statements attributed to Manetho when it cannot be verified by the monuments. They are in general unhistorical, and for the most part fabulous. No one who had access to genuine historical information could possibly ascribe the third Pyramid to a queen Nitokris, or tell us that the Saite nome derived its name from the foreign king Saïtes. Egyptologists have wasted too much time upon his rubbish, and those who are not Egyptologists are sure to go wrong if they depend upon him.

Astronomical calculations have been referred to, and I can have no objection to them if they are correct and if the data upon which they depend are true. But however infallible the Multiplication Table may be, or yet the Logarithmic Tables, they cannot help us unless we have solid facts upon which we can bring them to bear. Unfortunately there is *nothing* on the Egyptian documents which have as yet come down to us which can by astronomical calculation be made to result in a date. I know that some Egyptologists have thought so, but a man may be an excellent Egyptologist and a very bad astronomer. Some of our best scholars are ignorant of the difference between the rising and the culmination of a star, and they talk as if the heliacal risings could be noted at each of the twelve hours before sun-rise. When ignorance of astronomical science is so complete, what can be expected? In proportion to this knowledge of both science and languages the conviction grows upon one, as it did upon the late M. de Rougé, that no materials have yet been discovered for fixing historical dates in periods of Egyptian history as far back as the Hebrew Exodus.\*

\* I am not arguing against my own Dissertation on the Calendars of Biban-el-Moluk.

I did not attempt, for I knew that it was hopeless, to find the historical date of the reigns to which the tombs belong in which the Calendar is found. What I attempted, and I trust with success, was something quite different.



## THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

BY P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

## CHAPTER XXI.

*Chapter whereby the mouth of a person is given to him in the Netherworld.*

Hail to thee, Lord of Light, who art Prince of the House which is encircled by Darkness and Obscurity. I am come to thee glorified and purified.

My hands are behind thee; thy portion is that of those who have gone before thee. (1)



Give me my mouth that I may speak with it; and guide (2) my heart at its hour of Darkness and Night.




## NOTES.

The oldest papyrus containing this chapter is that of Ani, and the translation is based upon it. But the text differs both from those written on the very ancient coffins of Heru and Set-Bastit, copied by M. Maspero,\* and from the later texts.


The second paragraph seems to be spoken by the god, the first and third being from the deceased.

“My hands are behind thee” is a formula implying protection.

On the coffins the invocation is addressed not to “Osiris, Lord of Light” or “Radiant One” , but to the , “one whose head is clothed with radiant white, of the House of Darkness and Obscurity.”


Instead of  “obscurity” the coffin has  without a determinative, but  shows what the word means.

\* *Mission Archéologique Française*, II, p. 216 and 223. The text is unfortunately incomplete on both coffins.

This ancient text continues—"Come thou to me, glorified and purified; let thy hands [*here the text is obliterated*], shine thou with thine head (). Give me my mouth that I may speak with it, and guide me on the glorious roads which are in heaven."

The Turin text is very corrupt, and parts of it are incapable of translation.

1. 

2. "Let me guide," according to the Ani Papyrus. But the later (hieratic) texts have the second person , which is more correct.

## CHAPTER XXII.

*Another Chapter whereby the Mouth of a person is given to him in the Netherworld.*

I shine forth out of the Egg which is in the unseen world. (1)  
Let there be given my mouth that I may speak with it in presence of the great god, Lord of the Tuat. Let not my hand be repulsed by the Divine Circle of the great god.

I am Osiris, the Lord of Restau, the same who is at the head of the Staircase. (2)


I am come to do the will of my heart, out of the Abode of Flame, which I extinguish when I come forth. (3)


### NOTES.

This is one of the chapters of which the text certainly belongs to the earliest epoch. It is one of those copied by Wilkinson from the coffin (2) of Queen Mentuhotep. In the Papyrus of Ani it is followed by Chapter 21 as its conclusion, and both chapters are appended to Chapter 1, before the rubric belonging to that chapter.

1. The Egg in the unseen world is the globe of the Sun while yet below the horizon. It is only through a mistranslation of Chapter 54, 2 that the Indian notion of a 'Mundane Egg' has been ascribed to the Egyptians.

The 17th Chapter addresses, "Rā in thine Egg, who risest up in thine orb, and shinest from thine Horizon."

2. See the picture of Osiris at the head of the Staircase, which is here given as represented on the alabaster sarcophagus of Seti I in the Soane Museum. Similar pictures are given on other sarcophagi. The gods on the stairs are called , 'the Divine Circle about Osiris.'

The 'Staircase of the great god'  at Abydos, is frequently mentioned on the funeral stelae.

3. The *Abode of Flame*. See Chapter I, note 15. The red glow of the Sky disappears after the Sun has risen, he is therefore said to "extinguish the Flame" after he has come forth. The same notion is expressed in the myth according to which Horus strikes off the head of his mother.

### CHAPTER XXIII.

#### *Chapter whereby the Mouth of a person is opened for him in the Netherworld.*

*He saith:* Let my mouth be opened by Ptah, and let the muzzles which are upon my mouth be loosed by the god of my domain.(1)

Then let Thoth come, full and equipped with Words of Power,\* and let him loose the muzzles of Sutu which are upon my mouth, and let Tmu lend a hand to fling them at the assailants.

Let my mouth be given to me. Let my mouth be opened by Ptah with that instrument of steel (2) wherewith he openeth the mouths of the gods.

I am Sechit (3) Uat'it who sitteth on the right side of Heaven : I am Sahit encircled by the Spirits of Heliopolis.†

And all the Words of Power, and all the accusations which are uttered against me—the gods stand firm against them : the cycles of the gods unitedly.


#### NOTES.

1. Osiris. On the sense of , literally 'the god of the domain,' see the articles of M. Naville and Professor Piehl, *Zeitschr.*,



\* .

† Tmu, Shu and Tefnut.

1880, 146 ; 1881, 24 and 64. I hold with Dr. Piehl that the domain meant in this formula is Abydos, and that the god is Osiris.

2. The word here translated 'steel' is , upon which see M. Devéria's dissertation, "Le Fer et l'Aimant" in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie Égyptienne et Assyrienne*, tome I, p. 2.

A description of the Ceremonies of the Opening of the Mouth as performed at the tomb will be found in the Introduction to this translation.

3. The name of this goddess is phonetically written  *Sht* in the Pyramid texts of Unas (l. 390), where the Murray Papyrus and other texts have the ordinary . The reading Sechemet is indefensible. Cf. *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, XII, p. 365.

#### CHAPTER XXIV.

*Chapter whereby the Words of Power are brought to a Person in the Netherworld.*

I am Chepera, the self-produced, on his Mother's thigh. (1)

The speed of bloodhounds is given to those who are in Heaven,\* and the mettle of hyaenas(2) to those who belong to the Divine Circle.

Lo, I bring this my Word of Power, and I collect this Word of Power from every quarter in which it is, more persistently (3) than hounds of chase and more swiftly than the Light.

O thou who guidest the Bark of Rā, sound is thy rigging and free from disaster as thou passest on to the Abode of Flame.

Lo, I collect † this my Word of Power from every quarter in which it is, in behalf of every person whom it concerneth, more persistently than hounds of chase and more swiftly than Light ; the same (4) who create the gods out of Silence, or reduce them to inactivity ; the same who impart warmth to the gods.

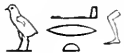
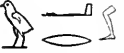
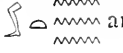

Lo, I collect this my Word of Power from every quarter in which it is, in behalf of every person whom it concerneth, more persistently than hounds of chase and more swiftly than the Light.


\*  Nu.


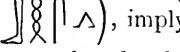
† 

## NOTES.

This is another of those chapters of which the antiquity is proved by the coffins of Horhotep and Queen Mentuhotep. And even in the early times to which these coffins belong it must have been extremely difficult to understand. In the translation here given I have adhered as closely as possible to the oldest texts, but these, as the variants show, are not entirely trustworthy.

1. *Thigh*. This is the usual translation, which accords with the frequent pictures of the goddess Nut, as the Sky, with the divine Scarab in the position described.\* But  signifies that which runs, from  *uār*, run, *fugere*; and the noun (*the runner*) is often applied to *running water*. It is the geographical name of a river or canal. M. Naville has already pointed out that in the Book of the Dead it has for variants  and , of which *bath* is a fair translation.

2. The names of these two animals (especially of the second) vary greatly in the texts. But if we wish rightly to understand the sense of the chapter, we must bear in mind that it is not the animals themselves that are meant, but the characteristics implied by the names of the animals. And as the Sanskrit *vṛkas*, the Greek *λύκος*, the old Slavonic *vluku*, the Gothic *vulfs*, and our own *wolf*, signify the *robber*, so does the Egyptian   $\Delta$ , whether signifying *wolf*, *wolfhound*, or *bloodhound*, indicate *speed*.

The names of the second animal in the earlier texts, whether they stand for hyænas , or for other animals of the chase ), imply either *speed* or *ferocity*. And what must we understand under the latter term? We must look to the context. It is of a god speaking of himself and of his attributes. He is proud of them, and certainly does not wish them to be taken in a bad sense. Nor is it necessary that we should do so. We have only to remember what we learnt at school.




\* See also the last picture in the Vignette of Chapter 17 in the Turin and all the later papyri.

Cicero (*de Sen.*, 10, 33) contrasts the 'ferocitas juvenum,' the high *pluck* of the young, with the 'infirmitas puerorum,' and the 'gravitas' and 'maturitas' of later periods of life.


Livy uses the term *ferox*, in the same sense as Cicero.



What we have to understand of the Egyptian expression is, 'mettlesome, of high, unbridled spirit.'


In the later texts the *Bennu* bird has been substituted for the beasts of the chase.

3. The later texts read , but all the earlier ones give another word  or . This is often used in a bad sense, when spoken of the enemy; but it merely implies tenacity, pertinacity, obstinacy, which are, of course, very bad things in opposition, but in themselves virtues of a high order.\*

The word is used as a name for the divine Cynocephali

 who appear at sunrise over the *Abode of Flame*.

+   
, the same who bringeth into being the gods out of Silence, or reduceth them to inactivity.

In addition to this interesting utterance of Egyptian theology, we have to note the idea of *Silence*  as the origin of the gods, or powers of nature. The notion was also current in the Greek world. The writer of the *Philosophumena* (VI, 22) speaks of ἡ ἡμνομένη ἐκείνη παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησι Σιγή. It was from this source that the early Gnostic Valentinus borrowed this item of his system. St. Irenæus (*Hæres*, II, 14) charges him with having taken it from the theogony of the comic poet Antiphanes.

## CHAPTER XXV.



*Chapter whereby a person remembereth his name in the Netherworld.*

Let my name be given to me in the Great House. Let me remember my name in the House of Flame (1) on the Night wherein the Years are counted and the Months are reckoned, one by one.

\* Columella speaks of the "contumacia pervicax boum."

I am He who dwelleth in Heaven, and who sitteth on the Eastern side of Heaven : and if there be any god who cometh not in my train, I utter his name at once.

## NOTES.

1. Every Egyptian Temple being symbolical of Heaven, had its Great House  and its House of Flame , as most sacred adyta at the extremity opposite to the entrance. The former occupied the central position, like the Ladye Chapel in our cathedrals, and the latter stood by the side of it.



THE TWO CAPTIVITIES.  
THE HAVOR AND THE CHEBAR.

BY W. FRANCIS AINSWORTH, F.S.A.

It is essential in determining the difference between the two rivers of Habor and Chebar, and connecting them with existing representatives, that it should be understood that there were several deportations of Judah and Israel to the East, but these divide themselves into two separate and distinct groups.

The first on record was effected by Tiglath Pileser, who carried off the pastoral population beyond Jordan with Zebulon and Naphtali (2 Kings xv, 29). This was in 741 B.C. Assyria was at that epoch rising in power, and it was probably to populate outlying districts that these deportations were effected.

The Egyptians according to 2 Chron. xxxv, 20, came up at a later period to fight against 'Carchemish by Euphrates,' and Josiah went out against them, and it would appear from Jer. xlvi, 2, that Pharaoh Necho still held that land in the time of Nebuchadrezzar.

The second deportation was carried out by Shalmaneser in the days of Hosea and Jehoiakim, and this king attacked and reduced Samaria and transported the children of Israel away into Assyria, and placed them in Halah, and Habor by the river of Gozan and in the cities of the Medes (2 Kings xvii, 6).

The third deportation, and the second group, took place in the time of Nebuchadrezzar, in the days of Jehoiakim, and this monarch removed king and people into Babylonia. This indeed constituted the Babylonish captivity, or that of the seventy years (Jer. xxv, 11, 12).

Two separate deportations are alluded to in the book of Kings, three in that of Jeremiah, while an earlier one is alluded to in the book of Daniel. The discrepancy not only occurs between the events recorded in the book of Daniel and those narrated in the books of Kings and Chronicles, but 2 Chron. xxxvi, 6, is not in accordance with 2 Kings xxiv.



Daniel and his companions appear to have been the first removed to Babylonia. Next Jehoiakim or Jehoiachin and his court were deported to "Babylonia and the land of the Chaldeans" (2 Kings xxiv, 1, 2; 2 Chron. xxxvi, 6, 7; Jer. xxiv, 5, 6). It was then also that Ezekiel was carried into Babylonia (Ezek. i, 2); whilst Mordecai was removed as far as Shushan (Esth. ii, 6).

Subsequently, the Holy City and Temple were destroyed by Nebu-zar-adan, when there was a further deportation as well as a general exode or emigration of Jews into Egypt, Sheba, Spain, and other lands.

Although it is impossible in the present day to determine all the places to which Judah and Israel were deported by the Assyrians, still we have quite enough information to fix upon the chief places.

It appears from passages in 2 Kings xix, 12, and Isa. xxxvii, 12, in which Rezepth (Resapha) is included, that they went by the old road, and indeed the only available one across the desert by Tadmor or Palmyra, whence some were directed upon the Khabūr, and others by the pass at Thapsacus to Halah and by the river Bilecha to Haran (1 Chron. v, 26).

Halah, afterwards Callinicus (Chalne of Benj. of Tudela), and then as Rakka, the summer residence of Harun Ar Rashid, stood at the mouth of the Bilecha, the Cyrus, Belius, Basileum Flumen of different epochs, and the transit thence by Ichnae, fatal to Crassus Publius and Alama, a "mansio regia" according to Isidorus of Charax, on the same river, would present no difficulties.

Habor is mentioned as a town on the river of Gozan. Gozan, which signifies "pasture land," and the Assyrians of Kurdistan still call their summer pastures Zozan, was the Gauzanitis of the Romans, and from fertility may well have given its name to the river of Habor. The pastures of Gozan were watered by the Jerjub, and to the east was the Aeger Eliensis or pastures of Eleia (Amm. Marcellinus writes it Heleia), now Ai-uj; also known as the pastures of Nahab in Dyar-Rabbia watered by the Huali, both rivers being tributaries to the Khabūr. The latter plain is renowned for a conflict between the Romans under Constantine and the Persians. The valley of the river Khabūr presented a line of traffic in the time of the Assyrians and of the Khalifs of Baghdad, and was at both epochs dotted with towns and villages. The names of these in the latter epoch are recorded by El Wakedi in his history of the conquest of the Christian Kingdom of Resaina or Ras-al-Ain and Karkisha or Kirkisya. The

MS. recording the subjugation of Mesopotamia by the Muhammadans, was known to Gibbon and to Ockley, the author of the *History of the Saracens*, but was not available to either. It was however recovered by Ewald and a faithful translation is given in my *Pers. Narr. of the Euph. Exped.* (Vol. I, p. 327 *et seq.*).

Sir H. A. Layard discovered many relics of Assyrian times on the banks of the river, and among them the remains of a palatial temple, called Arban, which he identifies with the Arbonai of Judith. This was very probably the Habor of Holy Writ. Simocatta calls it "Castellum Aborensum." El Wakedi also notices it as a castle on the Khabūr distinct from Karkisha, and Schultens makes mention of it in his *Life of Saladin*. The town gave its name to the Khabūr, which river was known to Strabo as the Aborras; to Ptolemy as the Khabora, and to Ammianus Marcellinus and Zozimus as the Aboras.

The Madai or Medes who dwelt on the banks of the Khabūr can scarcely have been the same as the Medes of Media proper, and we are indebted to Mr. E. A. Wallis Budge for discovering that their name in the cuneiform was Mitâni. They had their kings, and Amenophis III, who was as partial to these renowned hunting grounds as Tiglath Pileser, married one of their daughters.\* It has also been found that Karkisha is written Kirki in the Inscriptions. This is simply Kir in 2 Kings xvi, 9, and Isaiah xxii, 6. Kir signifies naphtha or bitumen. We have an example in the well-known naphtha springs at Kir-Kūk in Kurdistan.† Neubauer tells us (*Geo. du Talmud*, p. 354) that Kir of Isaiah was also Kirkisyon,

\* The cuneiform despatches decyphered by Mr. Budge, state that "Mitâni was situated in front of Hatti (Khetta or Hittites), that is to say somewhere near Car'chemish, or in the district called by the Egyptians Neherna, that is Mesopotamia."

† Kir-Kūk was one of the treasures or chief strongholds of the East, known to the Greeks as Ecbatanas. Its fortress, now in ruins, was of vast dimensions. Plutarch describes Alexander the Great as proceeding after the battle of Arbela through the provinces of Babylon to Ecbatana, where he was particularly struck with a gulf of fire, which streamed perpetually from an inexhaustible source. He was surprised also by a flood of naphtha which flowed in such abundance that it formed a lake. Transpose "hill" for "gulf," these phenomena are to be seen at Kir-Kūk to the present day, but are not to be met with at the Atropatenian Ecbatana (Takhti Sulaiman), at the Median Ecbatana (Hamadan), at the Assyrian Ecbatana (Amadiyah), the Persian Ecbatana (Persepolis), the Parthian treasures at Anatho and Thilultha, or the Syrian treasures of Gaza and Mount Carmel. The identification is of importance to commentators on the historians of Alexander.

whence Kirkisyeh and Kircessium or Cireessium and Cereusium, both Roman names for Karkisha. There was also a Kir in Moab, now Kirak, believed to be the same as Kir-haraseth and Kir-heres (2 Kings iii, 21; Jer. xlvi, 31, 36).

Unfortunately, from proximity of name, although Habor is written with a cheth and Chebar with a caph in Kings and Chronicles, the Habor has been confounded with the latter river from olden to modern times. The mistake is propagated in the *Bible Dictionary* (Art. *Ezekiel*), and in the *Cyclopedia of Biblical Literature* (Art. *Chebar and Ezekiel*), and so discerning a traveller as Sir H. A. Layard perpetuates the same error when he writes: "To the Chebar" (applying this name to the Khabūr) "were transported by the Assyrian king, after the destruction of Samaria, the captive children of Israel, and on its banks 'the heavens were opened' to Ezekiel, and 'he saw visions of God,' and spake his prophecies to his brother exiles. Around Arban may have been pitched the tents of the sorrowing Jews, as those of the Arabs were during my visit. To the same pastures they led their sheep, and they drank of the same waters. Then the banks of the river were covered with towns and villages, and a palace-temple still stood on the mound, reflected in the transparent stream."

The latter part of the paragraph applies eloquently and picturesquely to the Israelites deported by the Assyrians; but Ezekiel, as we have before shown, was one of the victims of the Babylonian Captivity. "We know," adds the same great authority, "that Jews still lingered in the cities of the Khabūr until long after the Arab invasion, and we may perhaps recognise in the Jewish communities of Ras-al-Aïn, at the sources of the river, and of Karkisia or Carchemish, at its confluence with the Euphrates, visited and described by Benjamin of Tudela in the latter end of the twelfth century of the Christian era, the descendants of the captive Israelites.

Benjamin of Tudela, it is to be observed, identified Karkisia or Karkisha with Carchemish or Kharkh'mish, as he writes it, as he did Rakka with Calneh, by which it is presumed he meant Halah or Calah, not Chalne, a primeval city in the land of Shinar.

We now come to the Chebar, or 'great river' of Babylonia, for that is the meaning of the appellation—in Arabic 'kebir.' Mr. Ormuzd Rassam has recently advocated in the *Jour. of Trans. of the Victoria Institute* (2nd part of Vol. XXV), the identity of the four rivers of the 'Garden of Eden,' with the Euphrates, Tigris, Greater

Zab and Jaibūn or Pyramus. The idea is very ingenious, and the arguments brought forward in its favour equally so—if not convincing. They are all the more so, as the original population must have descended from higher lands. But the ‘Garden of Eden’ must be looked upon as a Jewish legend. Still as it stands we ought to abide by the strict Biblical record, “And a river went out of Eden to water the garden, and from thence it was parted and became into four heads.” It is the same in the Vulgate, and Mr. Rassam’s rendering of the text by which he establishes that the river could have four heads apart, and at great distances from one another, is by no means satisfactory.

We still hold then by the idea, elsewhere advocated, that the Jewish notion of a Garden of Eden had Babylonia in view. It is only in such a country, that of a delta, that we can find a river—in this case the Euphrates—dividing into four or more branches, after passing from the higher country to the alluvial plains. This it does after passing a remarkable spot which Neubauer tells us in his *Geographie du Talmud*, p. 327, was known to the Jews as the “Gates of Paradise.” This corresponds to the Πύλαι or Pylæ of Xenophon, and the Massices and Macepracta of the Romans. The Sidd or Khalū Nimrūd, commonly known as ‘the Median Wall,’ took its departure from the same point to cross over to the Tigris. Below the derivatives from the Euphrates have flowed at times into the Tigris, at others the Tigris, as is still the case with the Shāt-al-Hye or Hai, have flowed into the Euphrates.

The first derivative from the Euphrates occurs at Lake Jazrūn, on the right bank of the river, and it is by its size and its historical importance well qualified to represent the Pison or ‘spreading of waters,’ or the Chebar, ‘the great river.’ It constituted indeed the Western Euphrates, and was looked upon by Pliny as the Euphrates proper, which at one time it appears to have been. Describing the division of the Euphrates (lib. V, cap. xxvi), he says, “*Scinditur a Zeugmate octoginta tribus millibus passuum circa vicum Massicen et parte laeva in Mesopotamiam vadit per ipsam Seleuciam, circa cam præfluenti infusus Tigri.* (The Nahr-Malcha.) *Dexteriore autem alveo Babylonem, quondam Chaldaea caput petit, mediamque permeans distrahitur in Paludes.*” In another passage the same historian says, “*Sed longo tempore Euphratem præclusere Orcheni et accolæ agros rigantes; nec nisi Pasitigri defertur in mare*” (lib. VI, cap. xxvii). The Orcheni here alluded to were the people of Ur of the Chaldees

(Mukayir), and the Pasitigris was the name given to the lower part of the Western Euphrates, after the channel had been re-opened by the Macedonians.

It is to be observed here, that Sir Henry Rawlinson has published an exhaustive and eminently satisfactory paper upon the identity of the plain of Babylonia, or that portion of it which he calls Gan Eden, as the site of the Jewish legend, and this view of the subject is strengthened by the researches of modern Assyriologists. Professor Sayce, for example, has shown that the plain of Babylonia is called in the cuneiform inscriptions Edinu, and in the older Akkadian Edin, 'a plain.' Pinches and Delitzsch have also corroborated the statement that one of the Akkadian words for the country is Edina, and further that the Assyrian form of Edina or Edinu, is the same as Eden.

Neubauer, in his *Geographie du Talmud*, (p. 365) calls this first derivative of the Euphrates Nahr Sur or Sar. It was also known as Sura of Rab. or Sura Lake, now Jazrūn. Also as Sura of Perath or Frat (Euphrates). It is still called Sura, albeit pronounced as Sora.

According to the Talmud, Matha Meshaya,—the Massices of the Romans,—was a suburb of the city of Sura, which itself was one of the great seats of learning in the time of the 'Principality of the captive Jews.' The river or canal was also known to the Romans as the Nahr Sares, corrupted by Ptolemy into Maarsares and Marses.

It was, according to Pliny (vi, 24), "*the Chebar or Chobar of the Old Testament*;" the Kobar of the Septuagint and the Gobyā of the Talmudists, upon the banks of which Nebuchadrezzar planted a colony of Jews, among whom was the prophet Ezekiel. In another paragraph (lib. VI, cap. 26) Pliny calls it Gobaris, and identifies it with the Nahr Malcha or Royal River. The Gobyā of the Talmud and the Gobaris of Pliny are only other forms of Chebar, a name which Hieronymus (St. Jerome), referring to Ezekiel, says should be written Chebâr.

It is a remarkable fact that all the towns of old were built on the Western Euphrates, as Hira and Kufa, as also the more modern towns of Masjid Ali and Kerbellah. There were no towns on the Euphrates below Babylon, save the Ur of the Chaldees where the two rivers came into close conjunction. The cities of Chaldea proper were all on derivatives of the Euphrates or the Tigris.

The tomb of Ezekiel, visited by many travellers, lies at Keffil on the Hindiah beyond Borsippa. The prophet appears to have dwelt chiefly at Tel Abib, which has been identified with the Birs Nimrūd at Borsippa. Hence, Rabbi Petachia in his *Travels* translated by Dr. Benisch, was led to identify the Hindiyah canal with the Chebar, or Chabor as he has it, and he says "the river Euphrates and the river Chabor join ; they can nevertheless be distinguished"—not a very clear statement.

But I think I have said enough to show that there were two different regions of captivity—the Assyrian and the Babylonian—and that the town and river of Habor in Mesopotamia was not the Chebar in Babylonia, where Ezekiel dwelt, saw his vision, and was ultimately buried. It is only surprising that such a question should require to be set at rest in the present day.



## THE RAIYÂN-MOERIS AND THE PTOLEMAIC MAPS.

BY COPE WHITEHOUSE.

Prior to June, 1882, the entire scientific world accepted the theory of M. Linant de Bellefonds in regard to Lake Moeris. According to all Egyptologists, there was, in the fifth century B.C., a shallow reservoir, on the upper eastern plateau of the Fayoum. It was used to irrigate the fertile Arsinoïte Nome, which occupied the rest of the depression to the West. It covered about 45 miles and had a maximum depth, during the inundation, of about 30 feet. Herodotus, therefore, if this were correct, had wholly misdescribed what he had seen. There was no lake 450 miles in circumference, 50 fathoms deep, with its major axis from North to South, rising at each annual flood above the level of the low Nile at Memphis. No island, with two pyramids, two statues and a tomb, stood where the lake was deepest. On two low platforms at Biahmu, where the depth of water never exceeded 20 feet, two statues were believed to have been placed. These monuments, it was said, had been erroneously depicted as pyramids surmounted by two colossal enthroned figures. This was, briefly, the theory, which, from its adoption by Dr. Lepsius, had gained universal credence. It was challenged by me, in every material particular, in the *Proceedings* of this Society in June, 1882. There is no doubt that M. Linant was wrong. It seems almost inconceivable that the weight of authority attaching to the Director-General of Public Works (1843), Brugsch, Bunsen, Ebers, Lepsius, Mariette, Maspero, Oliphant (1881), and Schweinfurth (1880), should not have proved a guaranty of entire accuracy. So far as M. Linant is concerned, he deserves a larger measure of indulgence than was meted to him at my hands. Deeply impressed with the need of a storage-reservoir for Middle Egypt, he was led to identify the project he designed with that which he thought might have existed. "*I ragionamenti, per così dire, matematici di Linant,*" (Benetti, *Carta Idrografica d' Italia*, 1892, p. 63), misled those who followed him.

According to the views put forward in the *Proceedings* of this Society (June, 1882, June, 1883), the entire Fayoum was submerged at the time it was visited by Herodotus. The Arsinoïte Nome had no existence. The depression had been a back-water of the Nile, like Albert Nyanza, before the natural intake of el-Lahun-Hawara was controlled by a regulator. The Arabic traditions on this point are correct. The Bahr Jūsuf, partly natural, partly artificial, was called by this name centuries before the time of Saladin. The tradition which associates the conversion of the Fayoum from a marsh and lake into a fertile province, by an engineer of alien race, before the Ramesside dynasty, with the preservation of Lower Egypt from the plagues of an ill-regulated Nile, contains a large element of truth. Manetho, supported by other ancient authorities, rightly says that the region was subsequently neglected. The use of the Fayoum as a flood-escape for the Nile, and a drainage basin for the adjacent province of Beni-Suef, is of such importance, that it is not difficult to understand, how even a fairly-enlightened government might permit the waters to rise inside the Fayoum to the natural level of the Nile. At all events, Herodotus saw it in this state. The Fayoum papyri, however, show, in detail, the reclamation under Ptolemy Philadelphus, whose success is described by Strabo and Diodorus. At length, the lake no longer curved round to the South, on the North-eastern shore; so that Pliny used the past tense, "*luit*," of that part of the lake which had previously interposed between the Arsinoïte and the Memphite Nome, Medinet el-Fayoum and Dashur, as described by Mutianus.

So far as the theory of a Fayoum-Moeris is concerned, full corroboration of my levels, facts, and conclusions will be found in the recent work of Major Brown, Director-General of Irrigation for Upper Egypt. In *The Fayoum and Lake Moeris*, justly commended for its lucid statements and admirable illustrations, he arrives at the same results as regards Linant's theory, and cites the opinion of Colonel Ross, formerly Inspector-General of Irrigation, to the same effect.

Two points deserve special consideration. In 1882, I mentioned the existence of a temple in the desert to the north of Dimeh, which was indicated to my companion, Mr. Tristram Ellis, and myself, but which we were, for various reasons, prevented from approaching. Dr. Schweinfurth justly claims the honour of having made it known in 1885, by his accurate description. It was visited, photographed,



and levelled by me in 1889. Major Brown now furnishes the scientific world with the results of his visit in 1892.

This desert-temple is of great archæological importance, because it is six miles from the shore of the present lake el-Qerūn, nearly 250 feet above its level, without a possibility of a local water-supply, and possesses, in the present condition of the Fayoum, no characteristic feature to explain its situation. On the other hand, with a submerged Fayoum, it would be an important post on the direct route from the Little Oasis to Alexandria.

The promontory of Dimeh rises abruptly from the deepest part of the Fayoum. According to my view this is the pyramid-island in the Fayoum-Moeris. The repeated aneroid observations, on which I relied, are now replaced by an accurate line of levels, run by two skilled engineers, Messrs. W. O. Joseph and A. Pini, employed by the Egyptian Government, under the direction of Major Brown.

*Line of Levels from the Birket el-Qerun over Dimeh to the Desert Temple.*

Lake Qerun, water surface, May 2, 1892	...	...	...	...	...	-43'5
Plateau of Dimeh (South end)	...	...	...	...	...	+13'3
Plateau ,, (North end)	...	...	...	...	...	17'0
Causeway	...	...	...	...	...	25'4
Mounds in Dimeh	...	...	...	...	...	28'3
Depression, north of Dimeh	...	...	...	...	...	7'7
Ridge	...	...	...	...	...	14'4
Depression	...	...	...	...	...	6'1
Elevation	...	...	...	...	...	16'6
Depression	...	...	...	...	...	9'6
Pottery Mound at Desert Temple	...	...	...	...	...	24'6
Floor of Temple Chamber	...	...	...	...	...	35'5

These measurements are in metres below and above sea-level. Low-Nile at Memphis may be taken at 16 metres: High-Nile at el-Lahun at 26. Thus, if the Fayoum were submerged to the level of 22 metres, the surface of the lake el-Qerūn would be 65 metres higher than at present. Dimeh would be an island surmounted by ruins, "where the lake was deepest" (Herodotus). This lake might nowhere exceed 230 feet in depth, but, in such a matter, it would

surely be hypercritical to consider the 50 paces (250 feet) of Pliny, or the 50 fathoms of Herodotus and Diodorus, a serious exaggeration.

Without doubt this vast area would easily receive the dangerous surplus of the Nile. In order to double the Nile supply during the three months of early summer, it has been calculated that 2,000 million cubic metres should be available. If this Fayoum-Moeris rose and fell four metres, it would have sufficed to accomplish its annual task. Upper Egypt having taken from the river all it required, the Greek engineers were able, during the low-Nile, to keep all the channels of navigation and irrigation abundantly supplied from the Lake, by a stream of equal, if not greater volume, than that which reached Egypt at Philæ.

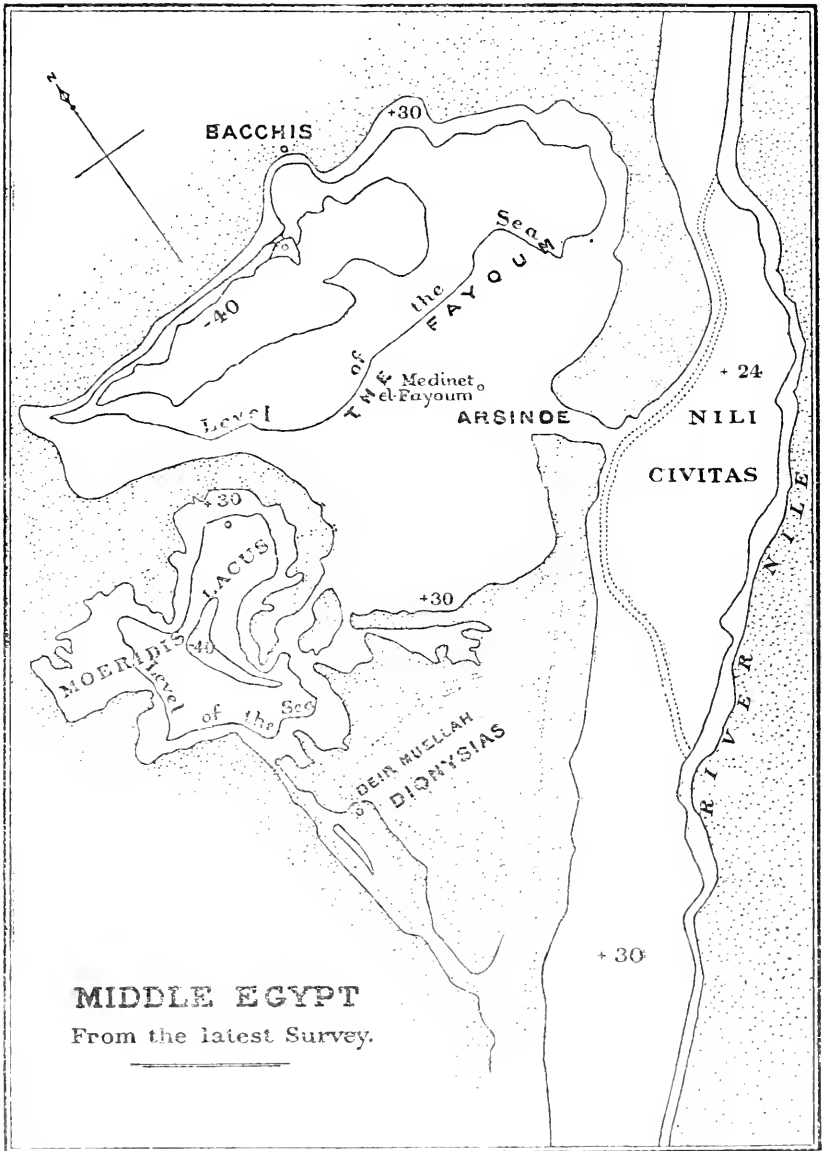
The Fayoum has not yet been fully contoured, but the accompanying map\* shows, approximately, the area below the level of the highest possible Nile in the adjacent valley. It will be seen that it is connected with the Raiyan basin on the South. The two passes are now blocked with sand and gravel to the height of high-Nile at el-Lahun.

Professor Benetti says: "*Le ricerche archeologiche aprirono al Whitehouse la via per lanciare nel mondo una di quelle proposte destinate a far epoca nella storia dell' ingegneria ;*" but, with these possible benefits to Egypt, this inquiry does not concern itself. The sole question is, whether the Raiyan Basin formed part of the great Lake of Herodotus, and was the only reservoir, the "Meridis Lacus" of Cl. Ptolemy, in A.D. 150.

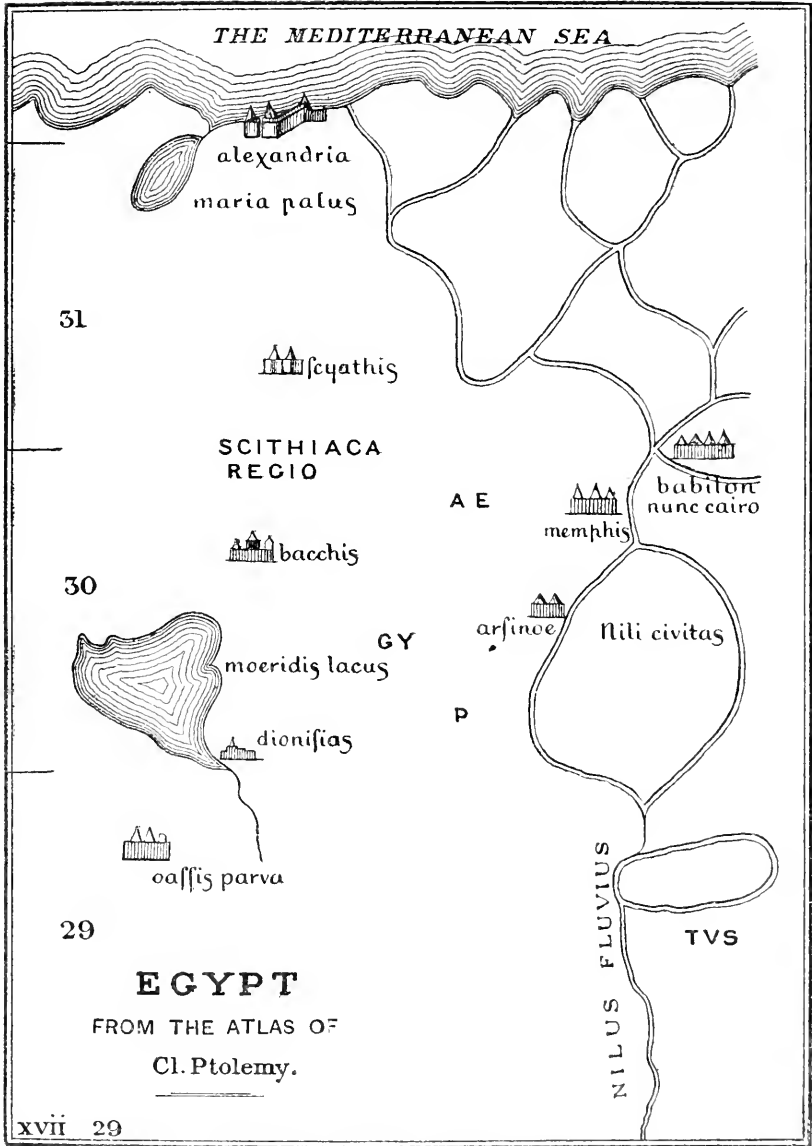
It is certainly surprising, even if it is not a fatal objection, that no definite lacustrine remains, of late historic date, should have been found, either by myself in my nine expeditions, with their total of many weeks stay, or by the Government survey-parties, by Dr. Schweinfurth and Professor Mayer-Eymar. Herodotus states, with great precision, that the Lake, in his day, was longer than it was wide. It is easy to see that if this be admitted, even tentatively, I was bound to press to the South of the Fayoum, to ascertain whether there could have been an extension in that direction. It is indisputable that such an extension might have existed. If the Fayoum were again filled to the level conceded by Major Brown and Colonel Ross,

\* This map and the map from the atlas of Cl. Ptolemy were drawn by me for the Royal Geographical Society (*Proceedings*, Nov., 1890).





**MIDDLE EGYPT**  
From the latest Survey.





and fixed by the causeway at Dimeh, the insignificant barriers of sand could be easily removed, and the unbroken sheet of water would have its major axis parallel with the Nile.

It is not sufficient, in an exhaustive analysis of Lake Moeris, to commence with Herodotus and end with Pliny. We are quite as much bound to believe the Alexandrian geographer as the Ionian traveller, and to seek a rational explanation of his statements. My views were fully set out in the *Proceedings* for December, 1885. I now, however, add a copy of a manuscript map from an atlas in the Library at Venice. It is dated 1554, but it is obvious that its author copied the *Moeridis Lacus* from an exceptionally fine manuscript of Cl. Ptolemy.

The Latin text of Claudius Ptolemy is as follows:—

Et circa Moeridis paludem: Mastitæ populi

Bacchis	...	...	60° 30'	...	...	29° 40'
Dionysias	...	...	60° 30'	...	...	29° 00'

et in Oasitas,

Oassis parva...	...	...	60° 15'	...	...	28° 45'
Et Maria palus	...	...	60° 15'	...	...	30° 50'
Et Moeridis Lacus	...	...	60° 20'	...	...	29° 20'

Cl. Ptolemy therefore says that, in A.D. 150 there were two towns, forty minutes of latitude apart, in the province of Mer-ur, the land of ta-Se, the abode of the Mastitæ, with the same longitude. There is no place in the Fayoum which could be Bacchis, North of lat. 29° 20', or more than six miles North of the present Lake. Dionysias was, then, at least ten miles South of Gharaq, and somewhat South of the Raiyan entrance to the long, narrow, Muellah depression. If the Wadi Raiyân formed no part of the district, connected with the Nile through the el-Lahun-Hawara intake, why should the oasis of Muellah have been reckoned as "circa Moeridis paludem"?

The Alexandrian cartographer also gives the centre of "Moeridis Lacus." It is ten minutes of longitude to the West of the line joining Bacchis and Dionysias, and equidistant from each of them. It is, therefore, not the centre of the Birket el-Qerûn, or of any Fayoum-Moeris which did not extend as far to the South of

29° 20' as it did to the North, (see authorities cited, *Proceedings*, December, 1885). These Ptolemaic data have since been worked out for me, separately, by three experts in Ptolemaic cartography. There is no gainsaying the plain fact that, if the Raiyān-Moeris never existed, it is an archæological problem of peculiar interest to know why Cl. Ptolemy carefully defined the situation of a dry valley, possessing now no sort of value, except as it may once more become a *Meri*, capable of discharging the functions of a flood-escape, and a storage reservoir.

The text of Cl. Ptolemy has never been disputed: the maps, prior to 1882, had been universally rejected. Masūdi, however, mentions a map of Egypt extant in A.D. 950. The Mount Athos atlas is of the twelfth century. Dr. Nordenskiöld has now restored this monument of ancient geography to the rank which it held for sixteen centuries, and from which it is incredible that it should ever have been displaced. Lake Moeris varies in shape, but not in position, according to the technical execution and character of the map, from a point surrounded by colour, as in the MS. of Mount Athos, replaced by a cinquefoil in the printed edition of Berlingheri, to a definite form in the Roman editions (see Nordenskiöld), and the Venetian manuscript atlas of 1554. It undergoes modifications in the seventeenth century, as shown in the Frankfurt edition of Mercator, A.D. 1605. These changes are clearly due to the erroneous identification of the Raiyān-Moeris of A.D. 150, with the Fayoum-Moeris of B.C. 450, reconstructed from the text of Herodotus. They arise, therefore, from attempts to combine and confound, not to reconcile, the descriptions of the earlier Greek authors with that of Cl. Ptolemy, as if they were synchronous, and no changes had taken place in the development of the Arsinoïte Nome, when Qasr Qeroun was built 50 feet below the level of the causeway at Dimch.

The Fayoum-Moeris was reached by the traveller from Memphis before he arrived at Arsinoë: It was not far from Hawara: It extended not less than twenty miles to the South of it. The Ptolemaic-Moeris is entirely South and South-West of the Fayoum: its form is unconventional: Bacchis is not on its northern shore: Dionysias is not, as the Ptolemaic text might otherwise have been thought to imply, at the Southern extremity: The long, narrow, valley does not communicate with the Nile.



In this connection, I ought, perhaps, to cite the inscription which I found on a fragment of the Fayoum papyrus, previously unknown.



Rā it is who enters the Southern pool, *Mer of ta-Se.*

It would be, however, a mistake to attach much weight to the Southern position here assigned to Moeris. It may refer to the Fayoum-Moeris, as bearing South from Memphis. More importance attaches to the four Canals of the Fayoum papyrus, as completed by my discovery of the first line (*Leemans' Volume*, 1885), and the Western Canal of Arabic tradition, "into the desert of Beni Hamed."

The Wadi Raiyān can be converted into a lake having this form and position. It would make an efficient regulator of the Nile flood, and an efficient feeder for supplementing the low Nile. "The reservoir would return to the Nile Valley 2,160 million cubic metres available for irrigation. Now 60 days is given as the critical period in Lower Egypt, when the Nile supply is generally insufficient. Calculating with a period of 100 days, which is the length of the critical period for Upper Egypt, we obtain a mean discharge of 20 million cubic metres a day, which might be so distributed as to prevent the minimum Nile falling, at any rate, below 45 million cubic metres a day" (Brown, p. 107).

How far these coincidences amount to proof must be left for each student of the Fayoum to determine for himself. The map of the French Expedition (1809, and 1882,) marks unbroken desert to the South of the Fayoum. In 1887, Lord Cromer informed the Marquis of Salisbury that, "Mr. Cope Whitehouse's scholastic researches led him to believe that a depression existed to the South of the Fayoum. Levels were taken (by engineers in the employ of the Egyptian Government) last winter, and it was discovered that the depression termed (by him) the Raiyān Basin did actually exist." "It was very much to Mr. Whitehouse's credit that he should have made the discovery." "There is good hope that it may be utilized to the benefit of Egypt. If this hope is realised, Mr. Cope Whitehouse will have a fair claim to a reward proportionate to the advantages which, after full examination, it is found will accrue to the Government and population of Egypt from this discovery." (*Memo-*

*andum on the Raiyān Project and the action of Her Majesty's Government, 1891, p. 6).*

In 1892, the Egyptian Government states that the Wadi Raiyān is a depression, a short distance from the Nile valley (13 kilom.), which if filled with water up to 24 metres (above sea) would become a lake, having a surface of about 600 million square metres, and a greatest depth of 64 metres. The only question being now considered by the Ministry of Public Works, is whether it is also the best plan for accomplishing the desired results.

In B.C. 1800, it is said, in Semitic records, that a Hyksos Pharaoh, Raiyān ibn el-Walīd, was haunted by the vision of the ever-recurring periods of drought and deluge. Seven years of good Nile, with an inundation rising to a beneficent height, and falling rapidly to a volume which never shrank below the requirements of the summer crops, filled the treasury of Egypt, while the surplus of its granaries fed the neighbouring lands, from Arabia on the East to Tripoli on the West. Seven years of bad Nile, however, surely followed. The cattle were driven to the desert, or took refuge on mounds, amid a waste of waters. Food was exhausted. It seemed as if the river would never suffice to carry off the enormous tropical rain-fall. It ebbed a few inches to rise again with renewed destructive force. Again, it seemed as if the Nile would never rise, and stories of its diversion into the Red Sea were eagerly believed. Egypt, after a series of such conflicts, would lie exhausted, until a fresh cycle of good years had restored her wealth, filled out the seven ears of corn, upon one stalk, rank and good; while the well-favoured kine, fat-fleshed, fed in the meadows (Gen. xli). At this juncture an engineer of the royal, alien race, bearing the auspicious name of Joseph (Jūsuf) is recommended to the notice of the king. The valley of the Nile was already filled with monuments of human achievements in enduring stone, of such unrivalled perfection, that they are as highly esteemed by the Phœnicians of to-day as when they ranked among the Wonders of the Roman world: one-half of Lower Egypt was morass and shallow lake, or alluvial soil covered with drift-sand and saline efflorescence, as it also is to-day.

This statesman, or engineer, is said to have been invested with supreme control over feudal lord and peasant. He receives a name which denotes "the Life" (*pa-anx*) he gives to a land, where he "added" a second perennial stream to that which entered Egypt at

the Cataracts of Assūan. He "took away" the reproach of barrenness (Gen. xxx, 23, 24) from the country, in which, for the last twelve centuries, he has been paid the heroic honours due to that "el-Azīz," "the mighty one," who, by his wise conciliation of the forces of nature, governed the Nile by the aid of the Fayoum depression, and raised to social order the semi-independent nomads of the Delta.

Whether the records are trustworthy as strict history, or there has been personification of a science, an epoch, or a race, is beside the question. It is now contended, that there is no foundation for the claim which I make to disallow my own originality. The whole drama, the Labyrinth and Pyramids, the Fayoum and the Sphinx, the Hyksos and Goshen, the Bahr Jūsuf and the Prophecy of Jacob, the Raiyān Gate of Paradise and the Raiyān Canal, the Blessings and the Plagues, the scene and the actors, are, nevertheless, the direct outcome of the abstract research to which Lord Cromer alluded, verified by careful study of the region in which the events took their rise. The occurrences may be mythical in their legendary presentment. Apion denied that there had been an Exodus; but Josephus correctly cited Manetho, whether he, thereby, strengthened or weakened his case. It was clearly my duty to disclaim, at the outset, that a vision of prosperity, with a Delta cultivated to the Mediterranean, Cairo a sea-port, and modern inventions utilising the flood-force of the Nile, was so wholly mine, that never, from the foundation of Egyptian society under Menes, had it occurred to anyone what a simple means existed of doubling the wealth of the country. By retracing ancient lines, deciphering obscure records, a scheme presented itself which considered even Greek mythology, as did Herodotus, to be fertile in historical result. ΑΙΜΝΗ ΧΑΡΟΝΤΟΣ is the Birket el-Qerūn on Greek mediæval maps, even if Phlegethon had no prototype in the Libyan desert, or the statue of the Nile in the Vatican does not include a reference to the Horn of Plenty, a few miles from the Sphinx.

It is said by an Arab writer, that Joseph could never have completed his reclamation of the Fayoum had it not been for Divine aid. The Angel Gabriel with the tip of the pinion of his wing dug deep the channel midway between Assiout and el-Lahun. The proof of the miracle was thought to lie in the fact that, the water never failed in this section, even when there was none entering the artificial intake. It does not imply a belief in the historical accuracy of the narrative

to quote it, in order to show that the channel was known to be partly the work of nature. "The Fayoum was badly supplied with water in 1889, the springs in the Bahr Jūsuf having partially failed from the drought of 1888," (*Report, Department of Irrigation for 1889, Cairo, 1890, p. 31*). Similar springs must have existed when the tradition of the Demiurge Gabriel was reduced to writing. It would have been unfair to suppress the legend and cite the fact. So with this Raiyān-Moeris; if claim were made for the originality of a discovery, which had been only re-discovered, there might be room for animadversion, but it is a novel incident in literary controversy that blame should be imputed, because genuine documents were correctly cited in these *Proceedings* in 1882-3-5, which have had the undoubted effect of turning the attention of scholars, statesmen, and engineers to the past, as well as future, of the Fayoum. It was said in 1883, that I "discovered everything in the Fayoum" (*Academy*). It seems to me that no discredit can now attach to any impulse that I may have given to research, by pointing to the sources of knowledge, to which I gratefully attributed the little that I had done, in the hope that others, who would prove themselves more competent, might profit by drinking more deeply from the fount which, duly filtered, furnished me with many a wholesome draught.

#### DEMOSTHENES AGAINST MEIDIAS.

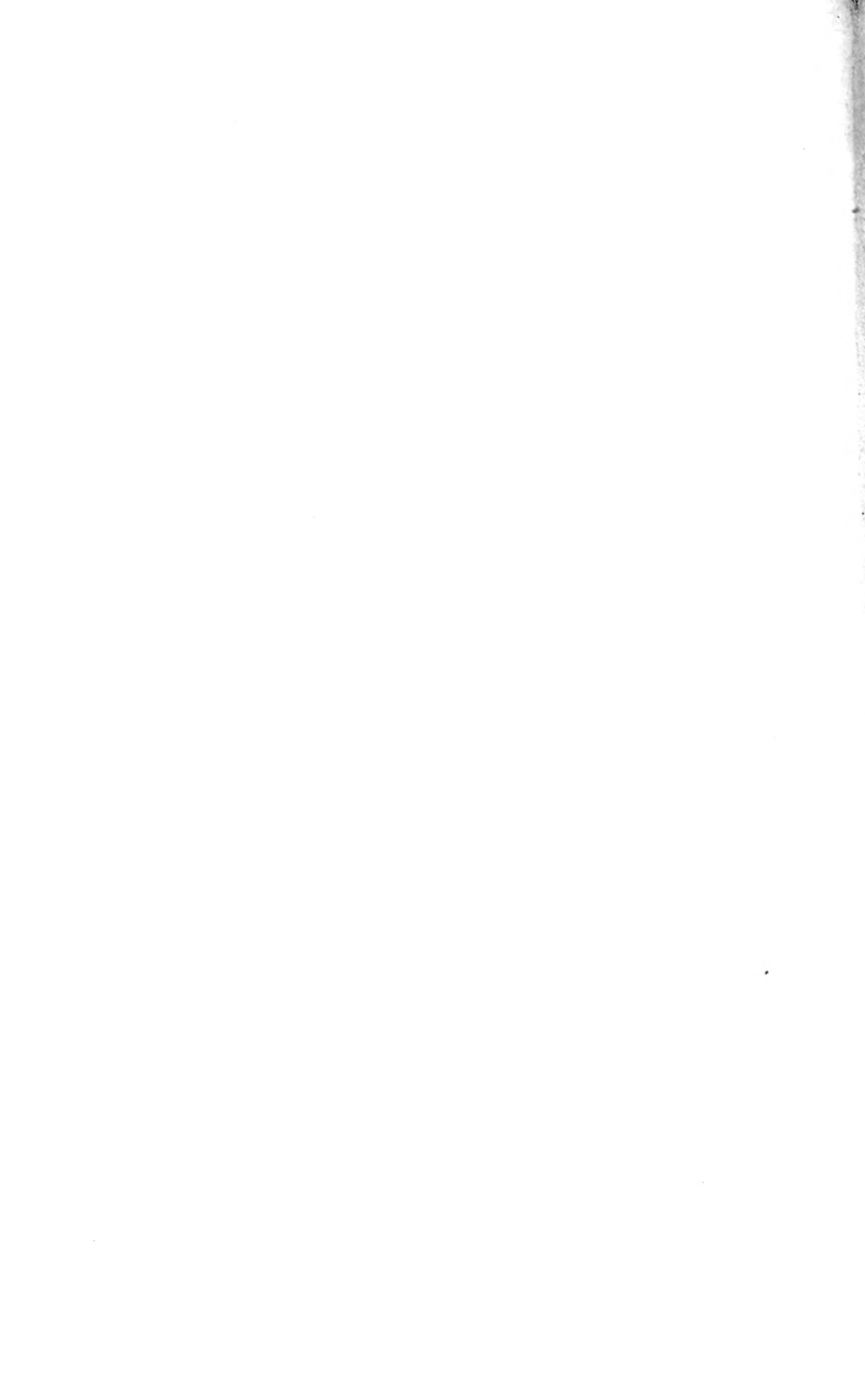
In April 1887, several fragments of papyri were obtained by me in Medinet el-Fayoum, which came, I was informed, and believe, from the ruins of a town, visited several times by me, and especially in 1887, on the expedition in which Captain Surtees was detailed to accompany me. Up to that time no one had examined it, although its traditional origin is from an ante-Hyksos date. In 1887, I pressed upon Her Majesty's Government the necessity of sedulously guarding the priceless treasures of the Fayoum from rapine. Assuming that Egypt was now passing through a transition stage, similar to the Alexandrian-Ptolemaic period, and from similar causes, it was reasonable to suppose that, before A.D. 1900, every monument of ancient prosperity in the Fayoum and its neighbourhood would once more mark a thriving town, a perennial canal, or an important military station. As the capital of Athens, in its latest renaissance, deploras the artistic losses sustained in this century, while the excavations at Pompeii show the utmost care, so the Arsinoite Nome deserved special protection, from the certainty of renewed prosperity, and the



COL. I.	[ΡΙΛΣ]	ΚΗΨΙΣΦΑΝΕΙ
	[ΤΑΙΤ]	ΩΝΤΕΤΤΡΑΓΜΕ
	[ΝΩ]	ΝΑΥΤΩΙ· ΟΡΓΗ
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	[ΤΟ ΤΥ]	ΧΟΝΛΕΞΕΙ· ΑΛ
	[ΛΑΜΕ]	ΝΑΝΤΙΣΑΦΝΩ
	[ΤΟΝΛ]	ΟΓΙΣΜΟΝΦΘΑ
	[ΣΑΣΕΞ]	ΑΧΘΗΤΑ ΤΤΡΑ
	[ΞΑΙΚΑ]	ΝΥΒΡΙΣΤΙΚΩΣ
	[ΠΤΟΙΗ]	ΣΗΙΔΙΟΡΓΗΝ
	[ΓΕΝΙΦ]	ΗΣΑΙΤΕΤΤΟΙ
	[ΗΚΕΝ]	ΛΙ· ΑΔΑΝΕΚ
	[ΠΤΟΛΛ]	ΟΥ· ΣΥΝΕΧΩΣ
	[ΕΠΤΙΠ]	ΟΛΛΑΧΗΜΕ
	[ΡΑΣΤΤΑ]	ΡΑΤΟΥΣΝΟ
	[ΜΟΥΣΤΤ]	ΡΑΤΤΩΝ
	[ΤΙΣΦ]	ΩΡΑΤΜΙΟ
	[ΥΜΟΝΘ]	ΝΔΗΤΟΥ
	[ΤΟΥΜΗ]	ΜΕΤΟΡΓ
	[ΗΣΑΠΤΕΧΕ]	ΙΝΑΛΛΑΚ
	[ΛΙΒΕΒΟΥΛ]	ΕΥΜΕΝ
	[ΩΣΟΤΟΙΟΥΤΟΣΥΒ]	
	[ΡΙΖΩΝΕΣΤΙΝΗΔΗ]	
	[ΦΑΝΕΡΟΣΑΛΛΑΜΗ]	
	[ΝΟΤΤΗΝΗΚΑΚΑΙΤΤΕ]	

COL. II.	ΠΟΙΗΚΩ	[ΣΑΚΑΤΗΓΩ]
	ΡΩΚΑΙ	[ΥΒΡΕΙΠΤΕ]
	ΠΟΙΗΚΩ	[ΣΦΛΙΝΕ]
	ΤΑΙΤΟΥΣ	[ΝΟΜΟΥΣ]
	ΗΛΗΔΕ	[ΙΣΚΟΠΕΙΝ]
	ΩΑΝΔΡΕ	[ΣΔΙΚΑΣΤΑΙ]
	ΚΑΤΑΓΑ	[ΡΤΟΥΤΟΥΣ]
	ΔΙΚΑΣΕΙ	[ΝΟΜΩΜΟ]
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	ΟΩΜΕ	[ΙΖΘΝΟCΟΡ]
	ΓΗΣΚΑΙ	[ΖΗΜΙΑCΑ]
	ΞΙΟΥCΙΓΟ	[ΥCΕΚΟΥCΙ]
	ΩCΚΑΙΔ	[ΓΥΒΡΙΝΤΑΗ]
	Μ[ΕΛ]ΟΥΤΗ	[ΤΑΣΤΩΝ]
	[ΑΛ]ΛΩC	[ΠΩCΕΞΑ]
	[ΜΑ]ΡΤΑΗ	[ΟΝΤΩΗ]

Transcription from a Papyrus Codex of Demosthenes.





ease with which graveyards are now rifled, and papyri, especially, scattered or destroyed.

This specimen of exceptional calligraphy is part of the Oration of Demosthenes against Meidias (p. 527); the only codex thus far recovered older than the Xth century. Its publication in fac-simile may possibly lead to the identification of other fragments. It will be remembered, that this is the oration of which some student draughted a syllabus on the back of those farm accounts, now so famous for the Constitution of Athens by Aristotle.



The Society has been indebted to the Royal Geographical Society for the use of the two maps illustrating this Paper.



N.B.—The Plates illustrating Mr. Renouf's translation of the Book of the Dead, and the facsimile of the Papyrus (paper by Mr. Cope Whitehouse), have unfortunately been delayed, owing to the weather; they will be issued with the next number of the Proceedings.

W.H.R.



The Anniversary Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, on Tuesday, 10th January, 1893, at 8 p.m., when the usual business of the Meeting will be transacted.

The following Paper will be read:—

P. LE PAGE RENOUF (*President*). “The Book of the Dead” (continuation).



#### ERRATUM.

*Proceedings*, Vol. XIV (June), page 421, line 9, for  $\frac{1}{10}$  read  $\frac{1}{10}$ .

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The first XVII Chapters have already been issued in the *Proceedings*.

The request having been made by a number of friends that this translation, &c., should be issued in a different form, so as to be a separate book, and Mr. Renouf having kindly consented, it is proposed to issue a limited number of copies upon large paper, in numbers, at 5s. each. Members desirous of obtaining copies should *at once* communicate with the Secretary.

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VOL. XV. TWENTY-THIRD SESSION.

*Third Meeting, January 10th, 1893.*

[ANNIVERSARY.]



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"	XII, Parts 1 to 7,	1889-90	2 0 " "	2 6	
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TWENTY-THIRD SESSION, 1892-93.

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New York. 8vo. 1891.

From the Author:—Dr. A. Wiedemann. Notices of Books from the Jahrb. d. Ver. v. alterthumsfr. im Rhein, XCII. 8vo. 1892.

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"	II, "	2	8	0	...	10	6	"	VII, "	2	10	6	...	12	6
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TWENTY-THIRD SESSION, 1892-93.

---

*Third Meeting, 10th January, 1893.*

[ANNIVERSARY.]

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, ESQ., PRESIDENT,

IN THE CHAIR.

The President referred to the loss the Society had suffered by the death of the Venerable JAMES AUGUSTUS HESSEY, D.C.L., D.D., Archdeacon of Middlesex, and a Vice-President of the Society. DR. HESSEY was born in 1814, and died on the 24th of December, 1892. He was elected a member of the Society on the 3rd of December, 1889, and although none of his writings have appeared in the publications, he took a warm interest in the deliberations of the Society.

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

From the Author:—Charles E. Moldenke, A.M., Ph.D. The New York Obelisk Cleopatra's Needle, with a preliminary sketch of the history, erection, uses, and signification of obelisks. New York. 8vo. 1891.

From the Author:—Dr. A. Wiedemann. Notices of Books from the Jahrb. d. Ver. v. alterthumsfr. im Rheinl, XCII. 8vo. 1892.

From Dr. Wiedemann:—Der byzantinische Purpurstoff im Gewerbe-Museum zu Düsseldorf von Heinrich Frauberger.

Jahrb. d. Ver. v. Alterthumsfr. im Rheinl, XCIII. 8vo. 1892.

From the Society:—La Stèle funéraire du Teghin Giogh, et ses copistes et traducteurs chinois, russes et allemands. Par Prof. G. Schlegel. Helsingissä. 8vo. 1892.

From the Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne, III.

The following Candidates were submitted for election, having been nominated at the last Meeting, 6th December, 1892, and elected Members of the Society:—

Elijah Coffin, 222, Gresham House, E.C.

Charles Stanley Hopkins, 6, Peel Terrace, Gosport, Hants.

Count Riano d'Hulst, Cairo, Egypt.

George Margoliouth, B.A., British Museum, W.C.

Rev. Joseph Henry Sutton Moxly, B.A., The Firs, Brentwood, Essex.

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next Meeting, 7th February, 1893:—

Rev. Walter William Crump, B.A., Marlborough House, Cottenham, Cambridge.

Rev. A. W. Greenup, Leighton Bromeswold, W. Huntingdon.

Rev. Owen J. Jones, The Old Meeting Parsonage, West Hill, Mansfield, Notts.

Rev. Charles Lerebourg, Vicaire de Saint Philippe du Roule, 164, Faubourg Saint Honoré, Paris.

Miss Agnes L. Money, Stodham Park, East Liss, Hants.

Henry Spicer, B.A. (Lond.), F.L.S., F.G.S., 14, Aberdeen Park, Highbury, N.

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A Paper was read by P. le Page Renouf (*President*) in continuation of his former Papers on the Egyptian Book of the Dead.

Remarks were added by Miss Ingram, the Rev. A. Löwy, the Rev. C. J. Ball, the Rev. Dr. Gaster, W. G. Thorpe, W. J. Haywood, and the President.

Thanks were returned for this communication.

## SECRETARY'S REPORT

FOR THE YEAR 1892.

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Notwithstanding the loss suffered by the Society during the year 1892 through death and other causes, it is satisfactory to be able to state that with the assistance of the Members the number on the Roll has been fairly maintained. I hope, however, that during the year 1893 there will be a further effort, and when the annual Report is presented at the end of that year, it will be possible to state that our list of Members has very considerably increased. Year after year I repeat the request, and it is only surprising that, if only in self-interest, so many of the Members remain perfectly passive, and really do nothing. As is nearly always the case, the labour rests on the few, who, possessing a true interest in the Society, exert every endeavour in their power for its advancement and welfare. The Society, it must never be forgotten, is by no means restricted to the particular studies of Egyptology and Assyriology. It has published many communications upon other subjects embraced in the general title of Biblical Archæology, and the Council are quite prepared and always willing, within limits, to extend the radius of operations. To do this satisfactorily we must receive the assistance and cöoperation of those interested in the other subjects included in our studies, and I can only express the hope that this assistance and cöoperation will be freely given during the coming year.

The twenty-second session of the Society commenced on the 3rd of November, 1891, and was completed in June, 1892. During this period a number of papers have been submitted to the Society, which may fairly be said to have equalled both in value and interest those received during former years.


In my last Report mention was made of the proposed translation with commentary by our President, of the Egyptian Book of the Dead. This most valuable work is, as the readers of our *Proceedings* are aware, well advanced. I cannot help feeling that it is a subject of great congratulation that MR. RENOUF has thus given to our Society the result of many years' careful examination and study; and has enabled us to issue his translation of the Book of the Dead, with his commentary and notes. The labour entailed few will ever realize, and the advantages which will come to the Society from its publication it would be difficult to judge, as also how greatly it will increase the value of our *Proceedings* to scholars.

Having been requested, by a number of friends, MR. RENOUF very kindly consented to allow a separate large paper edition to be published,

in order that those persons wishing to do so might be enabled to possess this valuable work in the form of a separate book. Only a limited number of copies will be issued, and I am happy to be able to state that the first part, Chapters I to XIV, with illustrations of the vignettes, is in the press, and will be ready for issue very shortly.

Commencing with a few preliminary notes, in the December (1891) number of the *Proceedings*, MR. RENOUF added further remarks in May, 1892, on the meanings of certain primitive Egyptian words. In March appeared Chapter I; in April, Chapters II to XIV; in May, Chapters XV and XVI; in June, Chapter XVII; in November, Chapters XVIII to XX; and in December, Chapters XXI to XXV.

In opening the Twenty-third Session (1892-3), at the Meeting in November, the President offered some remarks on certain subjects discussed in the year just elapsed, which were of special interest to the Society. These remarks embraced the question of the Pharaoh of the Exodus, which appeared in December; the relations between the old Egyptian and the Semitic languages, and the relations between the Chinese language and the Accadian or Sumerian. These will appear in a future Number.

Besides the above invaluable series, the Society has been indebted to MR. RENOUF for other communications. In January, he called attention to a difficult passage in the Pyramid Text of King Teta. In June, there appeared a very interesting communication entitled, A Second Note on the Royal Title , the first having been printed in the previous January.

Also in February, in a paper entitled An Ambassador Royal of Rameses the Great, MR. RENOUF describes an inscribed seated statue dug up in the neighbourhood of Norwood. It is supposed that, having originally been an ornament in the garden, it, from lapse of time, gradually became covered with earth, and was thus lost sight of.

A very exhaustive paper from the pen of one of the Honorary Members, PROFESSOR E. REVILLOUT, will be found in the *Proceedings* for January and March, the first part having appeared in December, 1891. In it, the author gives besides a translation of the Bilingual Papyrus written in Demotic and Greek, preserved in the British Museum, a very careful and valuable analysis of its contents.

A note upon this papyrus by PROFESSOR DR. E. EISENLOHR appeared in the *Proceedings* for April.

PROFESSOR KARL PIEHL (*Honorary Member*), in January and November, continued his Notes on Egyptian Philology, and PROFESSOR MASPERO (*Honorary Member*), in February and April, carried forward his Notes from Day to Day upon Egyptology (Part IV). VICTOR LORET, in his paper on the Title Ahems-n-kip, added his own notes on the same subject, already treated by PROFESSOR E. LEFÉBURE (*Proceedings*, Vol. XIII, June, 1891). DR. GLADSTONE in March supplied further

interesting information on Metallic Copper, Tin and Antimony from Upper Egypt, in continuation of his paper printed in the *Proceedings* of March, 1890 (Vol. XII). Remarks were added by PROFESSOR ROBERTS-AUSTEN.

In the same Part (March) F. L. GRIFFITH discussed on the Egyptian year, to which the President added a note. Again, in April the same writer described, and illustrated, an interesting cup bearing an Hieratic inscription. This was followed in June by two valuable papers on Egyptian Weights and Measures, and an account of a number of fragments of papyrus giving the fragments of the Egyptian tales—The Story of Sanehat, The Story of Sekhti, and The Dialogue between a Man and a Ghost. This paper was illustrated with nine plates. In June also MR. GRIFFITH, in a notice of DR. PETRIE'S new book on Meidûm, added some interesting notes upon the paintings in Egyptian tombs.

TO DR. WIEDEMANN (*Honorary Member*) the Society has been indebted, as in former years, for several communications of interest. In April, he describes some Egyptian inscriptions in the Musée Guinet, at Paris, and again in June, added a note on DR. YOUNG'S interpretation of Hieroglyphics.

The last paper, following the order I have usually pursued, is that by JOSEPH OFFORD, junr. on Isis and Osiris, printed in May.

Of papers dealing with Assyriology the number has not been so great as in former years, but they have been of more general interest than the publication of untranslated texts. In January, the HON. MISS PLUNKETT advanced a theory with reference to the Accadian Calendar. In the same part appeared the text, followed in February by the translation, by the Rev. CHARLES JAMES BALL, of a Babylonian Deed of Sale, containing points of interest. In February, also, was printed a valuable paper by the same writer, entitled Glimpses of Babylonian Religion. This paper, which contained notes upon Human Sacrifice, and the Gods and their Images, was illustrated by a number of unpublished cylinder seals.

MR. BALL in November called attention to his conclusion that the Egyptian language is akin to, and younger than, the Accadian. In it will be found several very remarkable instances of the correspondence of words in the two languages which point clearly to the connexion. His translation (November) of a difficult Bilingual Hymn, will be studied with interest. In April, ROBERT BROWN, junr., continued his Euphratean Stellar Researches, and THEO. G. PINCHES in a short note on Yá and Yáwa, in November, supplied some additions to our knowledge of this interesting subject.

In the same Part (November) the REV. A. J. DELATTRE, S.J., continued his very valuable series of papers on the Letters of Tell el Amarna, and I am happy to be able to report that other papers by him on the same subject will be published during the present session.

Of papers dealing with other and more general subjects I may mention the communication from W. FRANCIS AINSWORTH, on Masons' Marks at Al-Hadhr, or Hatra, which appeared in May. Also the second note from PROF. DR. EISENLOHR, on a Phœnician Monument at the frontier of Palestine, illustrated by a facsimile of his own sketch.

To W. E. CRUM we have been indebted for the text with translation and notes on another fragment of the story of Alexander, preserved in the British Museum. This Coptic MS. adds to the text preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale already published by M. Bouriant in the *Journal asiatique*.

Illustrated papers by F. COPE WHITEHOUSE, entitled the Raiyān-Moeris and the Ptolemaic Maps, together with a note on a fragment of the Oration of Demosthenes against Meidias, appeared in the December number of the *Proceedings*.

In my last Report I mentioned that the Council had made arrangements for the issue of the second part of Volume IX of the *Transactions*, thus completing that series of our publications. This would have appeared during the past year, but for my own inability to carry on the necessary work, owing to the confusion and labour caused by removing the library and effects of the Society to its new house. I am happy to be able to state, however, that the publication of the Part will not much longer be delayed.

Before passing on to the other portions of my Report, I may well at this point say something about the removal of the Offices and Library. Since its foundation the Society has occupied a somewhat anomalous position. It is a large body of men possessing a library of considerable value, a small collection of antiquities, and other objects of interest, but really holding no position in the eyes of the law. Year by year the operations of the Society have increased, and its library has been extended to such an extent that it was difficult to find a suitable home. It also appeared absolutely necessary that the Society should follow the example of other similar bodies, and become incorporated. This, I am glad to say, by the kindness of MR. CHARLES HARRISON, a member of the Council, has been effected, and we are now a properly constituted Corporate Institution. The lease of the house at 11, Hart Street, in which the Society occupied rooms, having expired, and the Society's effects having grown too large for the accommodation there given, it became necessary to find another and more permanent home. Fortunately the house, 37, Great Russell Street, was then unoccupied, and the Council considering that it was the most suitable, at all likely to be obtained, again called in the assistance of MR. CHARLES HARRISON, who so often and so kindly has acted in the interests of the Society, and the house was secured on lease. Necessarily such a step caused very considerable alteration and addition to the furniture and fittings of the

library and offices. The best means of obtaining the necessary funds was considered to be a circular stating what had been done, and what was required. In June last a copy of the circular giving full information was sent to every Member of the Society, which has resulted in subscriptions from several of the Members. In a future number of the *Proceedings*, the list of subscriptions will be published, and it is to be hoped that there will be no difficulty in obtaining the amount required to properly complete the necessary alterations.

It is more than desirable that the ordinary funds of the Society should not be drawn upon, and I must therefore urge upon the Members the necessity of at once giving their assistance to so excellent an object.

I have stated that year by year the number of books in the library has increased. During the past year, besides the Journals received in exchange from kindred institutions, the list of which has been increased, many authors and kind friends have added to the completeness of the library. In each number of the *Proceedings* have been acknowledged, and on the last leaf will be found a list of books more particularly required for the use of students; it is to be hoped that, month by month, some book or books may be removed from this list, and our library may thus become more and more perfect in the different departments.

We have received several valuable gifts during the past year, of which I may particularly mention the copy of Rosellini presented by MR. ERNST DE BUNSEN. Besides being a work much required, it possesses a peculiar value and interest to the Members, being the copy formerly belonging to his father the late BARON DE BUNSEN.

The audited Balance Sheet annexed shows that the funds available for the year 1892 have been £508 10s. 5d., and the expenditure in the like period £470 4s. 5d. The balance carried forward to the current year 1893 is £38 6s. 0d.

W. HARRY RYLANDS,  
*Secretary.*

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





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

## COUNCIL, 1893.

—◆—  
President.

P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

### Vice-Presidents.

THE MOST REV. HIS GRACE THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

THE MOST REV. HIS GRACE THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

THE RIGHT HON. LORD AMHERST OF HACKNEY.

THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P., D.C.L., &c.

THE RIGHT HON. LORD HALSBURY.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR A. H. LAYARD, G.C.B., &c.

F. D. MOCATTA, F.S.A., &c.

WALTER MORRISON, M.P.

SIR CHARLES T. NEWTON, K.C.B., D.C.L., &c.

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REV. GEORGE RAWLINSON, D.D., Canon of Canterbury.

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VERY REV. ROBERT PAYNE SMITH, Dean of Canterbury.

### Council.

REV. CHARLES JAMES BALL.

REV. CANON BEECHEY, M.A.

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W. HARRY RYLANDS, F.S.A.

Hon. Secretary for Foreign Correspondence.

REV. R. GWYNNE, B.A.

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WILLIAM SIMPSON, F.R.G.S.

## BOOK OF THE DEAD.

BY P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

*Chapter whereby the Heart (1) is given to a person in the Netherworld.*

He saith : Heart \* mine to me, in the place of Hearts ! Whole Heart † mine to me, in the place of Whole Hearts !

Let me have my Heart that it may rest within me ; but (2) I shall feed upon the food of Osiris, on the eastern side of the mead of amaranthine flowers. (3)

Be mine a bark for descending the stream and another for ascending.

I go down into the bark wherein thou art.

Be there given to me my mouth wherewith to speak, and my feet for walking ; and let me have my arms wherewith to overthrow my adversaries.






Let two hands from the Earth open my mouth : Let Seb, the Erpā of the gods, part my two jaws ; (4) let him open my two eyes which are closed, and give motion to my two hands which are powerless : and let Anubis give vigour to my legs, that I may raise myself up upon them.


And may Sechit the divine one lift me up, so that I may arise in Heaven and issue my behest in Memphis.


I am in possession of my Heart, I am possession of my Whole Heart, I am possession of my arms and I have possession of my legs. (5)

[I do whatsoever my Genius willeth, and my Soul is not bound to my body at the gates of Amenta.]

## NOTES.

1. The Egyptian texts have two names for the Heart,  phonetically written   *àb*, and  also written  and

\*  *àb*, 'heart.'

†  *hatu*, 'whole heart.'

*hatu*.\* The two words are commonly used synonymously, but they are sometimes pointedly distinguished one from the other. Etymologically *ab* is connected with the sense of lively motion *ab*, like the Greek *καρδία, καρδίη* (*εία τὸ ἀπάστυς σαλεύεσθαι*) with *κραδᾶω* and *κραδαίνω*. Other Indo-European names, our own *heart*, the Latin *cor* (*cord-is*), the Sanskrit *hṛd*, and the corresponding Slavonic and Lithuanian names have the same origin.

From the orthography of it seems to have been connected in popular opinion with its position in the anterior part of the body. And from various uses of the word it appears to denote not merely the heart, but the heart with all that is attached to it, especially the *lungs* which embrace it. It is for instance to the that *air* is conducted according to the medical Papyri. And it is not improbable that and , organs of respiration, are closely connected words.


But perhaps the best argument may be found in the Vignettes of chapter 28, where the two lungs are actually drawn as in the hieratic papyrus (Pl. 2) published by Sir Charles Nicholson. In others (as Leyden, T. 16) even the larynx is visible. (*See Plate*.)

The Italian word *corata* is immortalised through its occurrence in a memorable passage in Dante (*Inf.*, XXVIII), but for want of a better English term than the butcher's technical word *pluck* † I use the expression *whole heart*.


2. *But*, . This is the most frequent reading both in the earliest and in the latest papyri. But some texts have simply , which is certainly a mistake, and others omit the conjunction before the verb. The sense is not much affected by this omission. signifies *if not, unless, until, but, but surely*. Cf. the Semitic


\* This variant already occurs on the coffin of Amamu.


† In late Latin *corallum*, whence the Romanic forms *corajhe, corata, coratella, corée, couraille*. In *Garin le Loherens* we find "la coraille del cuers."



3. *The mead of amaranthine flowers.*  *kaiu*

is the name of a plant which frequently occurs in the medical prescriptions. It is also mentioned among the aromatic plants

() required in the sacred laboratory of Dendera.

One of the kinds is named *kaiu* of the Oasis . It is

identified with the Coptic **ΚΙΩΥ**, *amaranthus*. In several copies of this chapter the name of the plant is followed by the geographical determinative , which is really implied in the context. Was this mythological 'mead of amaranth' suggested by the Oasis and its vegetation?

4. This sentence is a repetition (in other words) of the preceding one. On the title *Erpā*, see *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, XII, 359. My chief difficulty about understanding it as compounded of  and , and signifying *keeper of the Pāt*, that is *of the deceased* (human beings), is that Seb is essentially the *Erpā of the gods*. *Erpā* is one of those titles which cannot be translated without perverting the sense of the original.

5. This passage is a very frequent formula not only in the Book of the Dead, as the papyri give it, but in other texts of the same nature; see, e.g., *Aelteste Texte*, 34, 14. The next passage included in [ ] is an addition to the original text. It occurs however in some excellent MSS.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

*Chapter whereby the Heart of a person is not taken from him in the Netherworld.*

O ye gods who seize upon Hearts, and who pluck out the Whole Heart; and whose hands fashion anew the Heart of a person according to what he hath done; lo now, let that be forgiven to him by you. (1)

Hail to you, O ye Lords of Everlasting Time and Eternity!

Let not my Heart be torn from me by your fingers.

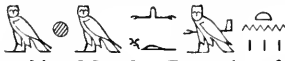




Let not my Heart be fashioned anew according to all the evil things said against me.

For this Heart of mine is the Heart of the god of mighty names, (2) of the great god whose words are in his members, and who giveth free course to his Heart which is within him.



And most keen of insight (3) is his Heart among the gods. Ho to me! Heart of mine; I am in possession of thee, I am thy master, and thou art by me; fall not away from me; I am the dictator to whom thou shalt obey in the Netherworld.

NOTES.

1. There is a great difference here as in so many other places between the MSS. of different periods. I long ago translated the

 of the *Todtenbuch* by *non ignoretur a vobis*, M. de Rougé, after me, by *non renuatur a vobis*. But M. Naville pointed out the fact that in some of the oldest MSS. the particle  did not occur. It now appears that the particle is not found in any of the older MSS., and I have also found it omitted in hieratic papyri. The passage therefore must be translated differently, and this is possible through a slight change in the interpretation of  from *ignorare* to *ignoscere*; *ignoscatur illi a vobis*. The pronoun  which in the older texts follows  refers to 'what he hath done' of the last clause.

2. *The god of mighty names* is Thoth, and the later texts read "For this is the Heart of the great god who is in Hermopolis."

3.  According to another reading  *new, fresh, young, vigorous*.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

*Chapter whereby the Heart of a person is not taken from him in the Netherworld.*

O Lion-god!

I am Unbu, (1) and what I abominate is the block of execution.

Let not this Whole Heart of mine be torn from me by the divine Champions (2) in Heliopolis!

O thou who clothest (3) Osiris and hast seen Sutu:

O thou who turnest back after having smitten him, and hast accomplished the overthrow.

This Whole Heart of mine remaineth weeping over itself in presence of Osiris.

Its strength proceedeth from him, it hath obtained it by prayer from him.


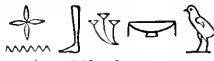
I have had granted to it and awarded to it the glow of heart at the hour of the god of the Broad Face, and have offered the sacrificial cakes in Hermopolis.

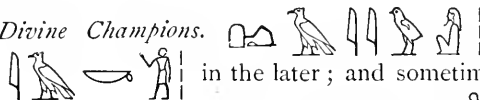


Let not this Whole Heart of mine be torn from me. (4) It is I who entrust to you its place, and vehemently stir your Whole Hearts towards it in Sechit-hotepit and the years of triumph over all that it abhors and taking all provisions at thine appointed time from thine hand after thee.



And this Whole Heart of mine is laid upon the tablets (5) of Tmu, who guideth me to the caverns of Sutu and who giveth me back my Whole Heart which hath accomplished its desire in presence of the divine Circle which is in the Netherworld.

The sacrificial joint and the funereal raiment, let those who find them bury them. (6)



#### NOTES.


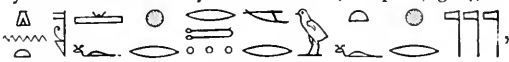
1. *Unbu*,  is one of the names of the solar god, the offspring (*Tot.*, 42, 19) of Nu and Nut. As a common noun the word *unbu* means the Hawthorn or some other kind of flowering bush. This god is called  'the golden Unbu' in the Pyramid Texts (*Teta* 39). We have no means of determining the exact sense of this word, which as an appellative expresses an attribute possessed both by the Sun and by the fruit, foliage, or other parts of the tree.


2. *Divine Champions*.  in the earlier papyri,  in the later; and sometimes both readings occur in the same MS. Such determinatives as  certainly do not denote very pugnacious qualities in the divine Champions.




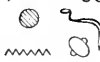
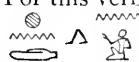

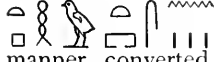


3. *Clothest*.  is a word of many meanings, and the context generally determines which is the right one. In the present instance we have no such help. Some of the more recent MSS. give , the determinative of *clothing*. One of the meanings of the word is *undo, let loose*, but this *undoing* probably implies *destruction*; which cannot be meant here.

4. M. Pierret here breaks off his translation of the chapter, with the note: "La fin de ce chapitre est absolument inintelligible; les variantes des manuscrits hiératiques ne l'éclaircissent pas."

Like many other portions of the book this chapter is hopelessly corrupt, and the scribes did not understand it better than we do. They have probably mixed up different recensions without regard to grammatical sense. The deceased addresses gods in the plural , but immediately afterwards we have the singular suffix .

5. *Tablets or records.* . See *Zeitschr.*, 1867, 50. The word already occurs in the Pyramid Texts, Pepi I, 364, in the sense of *memory*, , 'his memory for man and his love for the gods.'

But there is another word,  (*Denkm.*, III, 65 a), which signifies a *stand* upon which objects are placed.


6. The last words of the chapter were extremely puzzling to the scribes of the later periods, who altered them in ever so many ways. The older MSS. read . And this is borrowed from an ancient text, which may be found on the sarcophagus of Horhotep, line 338. The variants ,  of the papyri, and  of the sarcophagus show that it is the sacrificial joint which is meant, and not a verb as the scribes of a later period thought. For this verb they had to discover an object and accordingly we find    'I trod *their caverns.*'   was in like manner converted into a verb. See the introductory note to Chapter 29.

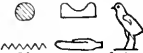

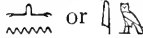

### CHAPTER XXIX.






*Chapter whereby the Heart of a person may not be taken from him in the Netherworld.*



Back thou Messenger (1) of thy god! Art thou come to carry off by violence (2) this Whole Heart of mine, of the Living. (3) But I shall not surrender to thee this Heart of the Living. The gods have regards to my offerings and fall upon their faces, all together, upon their own earth.

## NOTES.

The two most ancient copies of this chapter are found upon the coffins of Amamu, Plate XXX, and of Horhotep, *Mission Arch. Française au Caire*, t. 1, p. 157, lines 335-337. The papyrus of Ani is the only one of the early period in which it occurs. None of these texts is perfect. A part of the text of Amamu has been destroyed, but there remains enough to show that Horhotep has omissions. And in the text of Ani the word  has slipped in from the 28th chapter, and is entirely out of place where it now stands.

The scribes of a later period had to exercise their ingenuity on the subject. They changed  *hentu* into  *henà*, and this being itself a disagreeable word, they prefixed to it a negative  or .

1. *Messenger*, , a word used here and elsewhere in religious texts in the same sense as  an angel, ambassador of God. The later texts have  'every god,' by the change of  into .

2. *By violence*, . Cf. .

3. *The Living*  and saved, in opposition to the Dead and damned. This plural form is a mere sign of a common noun.

## CHAPTER XXIXE.

*Another Chapter of the Heart; upon Carnelian.*

I am the Heron, the Soul of Râ, who conduct the Glorious ones to the Tuat.

It is granted to their Souls to come forth upon the Earth to do whatsoever their Genius willeth.

It is granted to the soul of the Osiris *N* to come forth upon the Earth to do whatsoever his Genius willeth.

## NOTE.

Certain chapters having reference to the Heart were written upon gems\* and served as amulets, the 26th upon Lapis-lazuli, the

\* See a charming article by Professor Ebers in the *Zeitschrift* of 1880, entitled "Einige inedita."



27th upon green Felspar, the 30th upon Serpentine, and the foregoing chapter upon Carnelian.

M. Naville has called this chapter 29B, as marking its natural place in the Book of the Dead. It is not often found in the Papyri. M. Naville found one copy in the Berlin Papyrus of Nechtuamen, and another traced by Lepsius in Rome from a papyrus now lost. A third copy will be found in the papyrus of Ani\* in the British Museum. It differs from the two others in "conducting the *gods* to the Tuat," and by omitting some words for which there was no room in the space provided.

#### CHAPTER XXXA.

*Chapter whereby the Heart of a person is not kept back from him in the Netherworld.*

Heart mine which is that of my Mother,

Whole Heart mine which was that of my coming upon Earth,

Let there be no estoppel against me through evidence; let not hindrance be made to be by the Divine Circle; (1) let there not be a fall of the scale (2) against me in presence of the great god, Lord of Amenta.

Hail to thee, Heart mine; Hail to thee, Whole Heart mine, Hail to thee, Liver (3) mine!

Hail to you, ye gods who are on the side lock, conspicuous by your sceptres, (4) announce my glory to Râ and convey it to Nehabkau.

[And lo, though he be buried in the deep deep Grave, and bowed down to the region of annihilation, he is glorified there. (5)]

#### CHAPTER XXXB.

Heart mine which is that of my Mother,

Whole Heart mine which is that of my birth

Let there be no estoppel against me through evidence, let no hindrance be made to me by the divine Circle; fall thou not against me in presence of him who is at the Balance.

Thou art my Genius, who art by me, the Artist (6) who givest soundness to my limbs.

Come forth (7) to the bliss † towards which we are bound;

\* Pl. 33.

† 

Let not those Ministrants (8) who deal with a man according to the course of his life (9) give a bad odour to my name.

Pleasant for us, pleasant for the listener, is the joy of the Weighing of the Words.

Let not lies be uttered in presence of the great god, Lord of the Amenta.

Lo! how great art thou [as the Triumphant one (10).]

#### NOTES.

This chapter is found not only on papyri but upon innumerable scarabs. The differences of text are very great, but the principal ones may be considered as represented by M. Naville's 30A and 30B. They branch off from each other after the mention of the Balance.

The oldest copy known on a scarab is that of King Sebak-em-saf of the XIIIth dynasty. It is in the British Museum (No. 7876) and has been described by Dr. Birch in his study\* of the "Formulas relating to the heart." "This amulet," he says, "is of unusual shape; the body of the insect is made of a remarkably fine green jasper carved in shape of the body and head of the insect. This is inserted into a base of gold in shape of a tablet . . . . The legs of the insect are . . . . of gold and carved in relief . . . . The hieroglyphs are incised in outline, are coarse, and not very legible."



1. *The Divine Circle*, . This word on the scarab of Sebak-em-saf is written which shows that (a wall of enclosure) is ideographic of the whole word. And this sign in hieratic, when placed upright has given rise to the which takes its place in the later texts.


2. *Fall of the scale*, = the Coptic  $\rho\iota\kappa\iota \dot{\iota}\theta\omega\tau\epsilon\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\tau\iota$  or the Greek  $\rho\acute{o}\pi\eta \tau\omicron\upsilon \zeta\upsilon\gamma\omicron\upsilon$ .

3. *Liver*; This seems to be the real meaning of


4. These gods are mentioned in the Pyramid Texts in a passage closely resembling this one of the Book of the Dead. "They bring to Unas (line 479) the four Glorious ones who are on the side lock of Horus; who stand upon the Eastern side of Heaven, and who

\* *Zeitschr.*, 1870, p. 32.


are conspicuous through their sceptres . They announce to Râ the glorious name of Unas, and proclaim ( cf.  $\text{orw. eporw}$ ) Unas to Neheb-kau." The text of Teta is very imperfect in this place.






The word  appears to have the sense of *insignire, designare*. This sense is a key to every passage in which the word occurs.

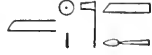
5. The few early copies of this paragraph are too fragmentary and too contradictory to furnish a restoration of the text, which must have meant something like what is expressed in this translation.

6. *The Artist*, , which is here a common noun rather than a proper name.

7. The deceased addresses his heart, and thereupon speaks in the first person plural, *we*; that is *you and I*.

8. *The Ministrants*. The  were high officials in the Egyptian court, but here they minister to Osiris in the Netherworld. They are apparently the same gods who are addressed in the 27th Chapter as fashioning the heart of a person according to his deeds when living.


9. The determinative  shows that  is here to be taken in the sense of the duration of human life, and the pronominal suffixes  or  show whose life is spoken of. The latter suffix has reference to , which is accordingly to be translated in the singular. The plural sign merely indicates a common or collective noun.





10. *As the Triumphant one*. So *Aa*, the papyrus of Nebseni. Another authority (B.M. 7865) quoted by Dr. Birch has  like Râ, the Triumphant One.

The formula "How great art thou"! occurs in other primitive texts; cf. *Aelteste Texte*, Pl. 5, lines 7 and 8. In line 8 it occurs twice.

GIŠGALLA-KI—BABYLON. KI-NU-NIR-KI—BORSIPPA.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

Every Assyriologist must congratulate you and the whole Society of Biblical Archæology, on the important discovery of Rev. C. J. BALL in your last number. I refer here not only to the happy explanation of the ideogram  $\text{𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗}$  *gur, gil, vil, il*, “to lift up,” and its identification with the Egyptian  *fu (zwa)*, but above all to the analysis of 4 R. 46, 15/6, where we find  $\text{𒂗} \text{𒂗} \text{𒂗} \text{𒂗} \text{𒂗}$  *giš-gal-la*, “door,” as a name of Babylon; upon which Rev. C. J. BALL remarks: “it recalls *Ka-dingirra*, Gate of God; *cp.* Ur-Bau, col. II, 2, *Gišgalla-ki* (AMIAUD).” To the other identification, in the same line of the quoted text, *Ki-in-nir* = Borsippa, Rev. C. J. BALL adds only “Place (*ki*) of the Tower (*nir*) was a suitable name for Borsippa, the site of the Birs Nimrud; *kin-nir* resembles *kin-gi, kin-dir*,” etc.

Now, not the late AMIAUD but myself was the first who identified the town  , so often mentioned in the inscriptions of Tello, with the Assyrian  $\text{𒂗} \text{𒂗} \text{𒂗} \text{𒂗}$ , explained in the great Syllabary <sup>S<sup>b</sup></sup>, line 267, by *gi-iš-gal* = *manzazu*, “dwelling-place” (*Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 314, in the 2nd livraison, which appeared August, 1886, half a year before AMIAUD'S *Tableau Comparé*). No doubt that in all places where we meet this  $\text{𒂗} \text{𒂗} \text{𒂗} \text{𒂗}$   (or only  $\text{𒂗} \text{𒂗} \text{𒂗} \text{𒂗}$  ) we have to read *Gišgalla-ki* and to understand Babylon. This is at the same time of higher historical importance than we may imagine at first sight.

But also BALL'S *Ki-in-nir* = Borsippa I can identify with an old town of the Tello inscriptions. We read in the last line of Ur-bau “To the goddess *Du-zi-zuab*, lady of *Ki-nu-nir-ki*, he has built the house (temple) of her town *Gišgalla-ki*.” It cannot be by accident that we read here in the same line *Gišgalla-ki* and *Ki-nu-nir-ki*, and in the text translated by Rev. C. J. BALL, *Giš-gal-la* (Babel) and *Ki-in-nir* (Borsippa), also in the same line.

We understand now why Nebukadrezzar employs the ideogram  $\text{𒂗} \text{𒂗} \text{𒂗} \text{𒂗}$  specially for Babylon (see the instances in DELITZSCH'S

*Wörterbuch*, p. 6). As a *cosmical* term, 𒍪𒍪 𒊕𒊕 means the southern part of the heavenly abyss, beyond the horizon, which was called otherwise *šilu*, *šilân* (see my "Astronomy of the Chaldeans," *Ausland*, 1892, and for the etymology of *šilu* (𒍪𒍪𒍪), JENSEN, *Zeitschr. für Assyriol.*, V, p. 131.\* Therefore the synonyms of 𒍪𒍪 𒊕𒊕: viz., *Ḳabara-ki* ("tomb, sepulchre"), *Nukar-ki* ("town of enemy"), *Kaniš-ki* ("town of the subduer"), *Malak-ki* ("town of decision")—*Babyl. Geschichte*, p. 399, note 4—are all names of the underworld or Scheol, and the south wind (*šūtu*) is called 𒍪𒍪𒍪 *gišgal-lu* (or perhaps better *gišgul-lu*). In the translation of *Ḳabara-ki*, *Nukar-ki*, etc., *šū Gišgulla-ki* (the same as *Gišgalla-ki*), Prof. DELITZSCH saw the Babylonian equivalent of Scheol, *šū-alu(-ki)*. It is certain that here we really have a name of Scheol, if not also the name Scheol itself; but I think it not impossible that the tablet-writer intended by the prefix *shū* a kind of rebus, so that instead of the common reading *šū Gišgalla-ki* he gave also the possibility of reading *Shu-alu(-ki)*; *šū'alu* then, an older form of *šilu*.

Let us now see what *rôle* the newly discovered town played in the time before Hammurabi and his dynasty gave it the name and the rank of the Babel as it is known to us.

In the first place, I give as a mere hypothesis that the title *šar ali*, "king of the town," in the name of *Sar-gani-šar-ali* and his son *Bin-gani-šar-ali* of Agade, is the same as *šar* 𒍪𒍪𒍪 𒊕𒊕; only the determinative ideogram *-ki* is left out, and 𒍪𒍪 is put (as in other cases) for the fuller 𒍪𒍪𒍪.

Then, *Ur-šū-Ḳ* (*Ur-Ghanna*, Orchemus) of Sir-gùl-la, mentions the same deity *Lugal-šū-Ḳ* as *Ur-bau*, only that the name is written in *Ur-Bau's* statue *Lugal-šū-Ḳ-ki*—so proving the existence of *Gišgalla-Babel* even for this remote period as a holy place; compare the inscription published, *Revue d'Assyriol.*, II, 4 (1892), p. 147, last column, first line.

In the inscriptions of the grandson of *Ur-ghanna*, the king or patesi *E-anna-du*, are mentioned not only the towns *Ur* (communication of Mr. Heuzey), *Giš-ban-ki*, *Uruk* (the latter, *Découvertes*, pl. 31, 2, col. 5), but also, immediately after *Uruk*, our *Gišgalla-ki*

\* Notwithstanding, Jensen translates *šilân* still by "west" (instead of "south"). In my quoted articles I proved that *šitan* is the culminating point of the sun in the north, and *shilân* the other (unseen for us) in the south.

and another town, *Az-ki*, which I identify with *Azu*, commonly known as “Azu of the elephants” (*Azu-pirāni*).

If we go on, we find in the inscription of a somewhat younger patesi of Sirgulla (*Revue d'Assyr.*, II, 4, p. 148), *En-timinna* (𒂗𒌷 𒂗𒌷 𒂗𒌷), the phrase: “To the god *Lugal-Gišgalla-ki* (“king of *Gišgalla*” or Babel) I built the palace (*e-gal*) of his town *Gišgalla*.”

For Ur-Bau, patesi of Sirgulla, see above; Gudea mentions “Du-zi-zuab, lady of *Ki-nu-nir-ki*” (Borsippa) as “his goddess,” so that we may conclude this mighty prince possessed also Babel and Borsippa.\*

Some centuries before Hammurabi, the king Sin-idinā of Larsa built a canal from Larsa to *Gišgalla-ki* (*Geschichte*, p. 351), and Iri-Aku (Rim-Sin),† before his overthrow by Hammurabi, “rebuilt *Gišgalla-ki* of the goddess Ma-sig-dug” (4 R. 35, No. 6; *Geschichte*, p. 359)—a striking illustration at the same time for the vassalship of Amraphel to Larsa in the days of Ariokh (Gen. xiv). A few years afterwards Hammurabi overthrew his former patron and rebuilt the temples of Larsa.

Finally, I will draw attention to a cylinder-seal, published in E. de Sarzec's *Découvertes*, pl. 30 bis, No. 21, where we read (in old Babylonian characters):—

𒂗𒌷 𒂗𒌷 (?) | 𒂗𒌷 𒂗𒌷 | 𒂗𒌷 𒂗𒌷 𒂗𒌷 𒂗𒌷 | 𒂗𒌷 𒂗𒌷 𒂗𒌷 𒂗𒌷

*i.e.*, E. K1-rapal-tu (or -rapaštu), king of Gishgalla-ki. Who can help thinking of Kimtu-rapaštu, the other name of Hammu-rabi, though we have not yet direct proof that *i-ki* (or *i-di*?) = *kimtu* or *ghammu*? And is not a form *Hammu-rapal(tu)* the prototype of the Hebrew transcription אֲמֹרָפֶל (LXX: Ἀμαρπαλ)? In this case *-rabi* (also in other proper names, as Samas-rabi, Sin-rabi, etc.), would be a mere ideograph for *rapiš*, *rapaštu*, *rapattu*; compare 5 R. 73 e 𒂗 (rag) = *rapāšu*, and the possibility of reading *ra-bi* as *ra-gaš*.

PROF. DR. FRITZ HOMMEL.
















MUNICH, December 19th, 1892.

\* The Semitic translation of *Ki-nu-nir* we find in *Nuh ša šaltu* (“Streitesruhe”), Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 216.



† King of Larsa.


THE IDEOGRAM .



BY PROF. DR. FRITZ HOMMEL.




The linear form of this ideogram, which is explained in S<sup>b</sup> 238 by Sumerian *dubbi-sag* (i.e., *dubbi-saĝ* for *dubbi-sar*), Babylonian *duṣṣarru*, "writer," and otherwise by *alal*, *ilal* (*našābu ša ḫane*), is . Now, we have in Egyptian an ideogram of the same signification, "writer" (*saḥ*, *saš* even in the Pyramid texts, the same words as Sumerian *sar*, *saĝ*, "to write") which represents the writing-utensils of the scribes  (ink-vessel, *ḫalam*, palette). Both ideograms are the same, not only as a whole, but also in the slightest details;  is ,  is a linear contraction of , and the upright wedge at the side is the  (*ḫalam*) of the Egyptian hieroglyph. In the fifth chapter of my book *The Babylonian Origin of the Egyptian Civilisation*,\* I have given thirty-four instances of identical Babylonian and Egyptian signs, to which I can add now some ten more. Three of them,  , Merodach =  , Osiris,  *apsû* =  *du'at* " (heavenly) abyss," and  "to live" = , "to live," were identified even in 1890 by Rev. C. J. BALL in these *Proceedings*. Not yet noticed in my *Ursprung* are:—



35. The above named ideogram for "writer."

36. Bab.  "net," Egypt. .

37. ,,  "door," Egypt. .














38. ,,  "seed," Egypt.  "seed, grow."

39. ,,  "hill" (Sumerian *dul*, *du*, originally ) Egypt.  *du*, "mountain."


40. ,,  *gub*, "left," Egypt.  'ib, "left." †

\* *Der Babyl. Ursprung der Aegyptischen Kultur*, 68 pages in 4°, Munich (Franz), 1892.

† The Babylonian figure gives the side view, the Egyptian the front view.

41. Bab.  lam \* Egypt.  "plough."  
 42. „  "upon," "above," Egypt.   
 43. „ , , , "right" (*zag*), Egypt.  "right" (*'imn*).  
 44. „  *š*u, "hand," Egypt.  *š*u, "feather" (wing)(?).  
 45. „  "bow," Egypt. , .†

That in Egyptian, besides the pure Semitic grammar and syntax, there existed a great number of Sumerian borrowed words, and these in most cases in the younger Neo-Sumerian form, I have pointed out in several places of my above quoted book. This fact, so important for the *Babylonian* origin of the two eldest civilisations of the Euphrates and Nile valleys, is corroborated by several new instances given by Rev. C. J. BALL in the last number of the *Proceedings*, of which the most striking is the Egyptian *mšdr* (משדר), Neo-Sumerian *mušdug*, "ear," (Turkish *ešet-mek*, "to hear"), of which the old Sumerian form was *gišdug*. The Berber *amezzug*, "ear," stands in the midst between *mušdug* and *mšdr* (the latter in the Pyramid texts with  $\text{𐎠} = š$ , not with  $\text{𐎠} = s$ ).

Concerning the concordance of the Babylonian ideogram for "writer" with the Egyptian , it may be noticed that Prof. A. H. SAYCE in the *Transactions* of this Society, Vol. I (1872), explained *alal* = *naçabu ša kane* ("shaft of a reed") by papyrus, to which he compared also the expression  $\text{𐎠} \text{𐎠} \text{𐎠}$  *li-hu-si dub* = *li'u* (with the determinative-prefix *giš*, "wood, plant") for tablet.

\* Comp. the agricultural *t.t. ki-lamma*, and *uššubu*, "to make grow."

† The first thirty-four instances are given in my *Der Babyl. Ursprung der Aegyptischen Kultur*, pp. 61-63.



## COBALT IN ANCIENT EGYPT.

BY A. WIEDEMANN.

In the *Proceedings* of March, 1890, and March, 1892 (XII, p. 227, *sqq.*; XIV, p. 223, *sqq.*), Dr. Gladstone gave a series of important notes about the use of copper, antimony, and tin in ancient Egypt; I may add here some words about another interesting mineral manufactured by the same people. The knowledge of cobalt has been very often erroneously given to the Ancients.\* Already Humphry Davy† showed by analysis, its occurrence in Roman glasses. John in Minutoli, "Reise zum Tempel des Jupiter Ammon," Berlin, 1824, expresses a double opinion: p. 334, 339 he pretends that the Egyptians did not know or at least did not use cobalt-blue as a pigment; on p. 353 he gives the analysis of a Roman glass found in the Thermes of Titus or at Pompeii containing cobalt, and on p. 352, that of a blue glass of Thebes showing some oxide of cobalt. Other analyses were made at the instigation of Lepsius.‡ A small quadrangular Egyptian amulet, which from the description of Lepsius appears to date from the later time of the new Empire, turned out to be a dark blue opaque glassy flux, painted with cobalt. An oblong dark blue glass-bead was painted likewise with cobalt; the quantitative analysis gave 2.86 per cent. oxide of cobalt; and another glass-bead contained 0.95 per cent. oxide of cobalt. The celebrated chemist A. W. Hofmann remarked on these analyses, that certainly the cobalt was added to the glassy fluxes in the form of a cobalt-mineral, but that it was impossible to define this mineral. Afterwards K. B. Hofmann§ found out that the blue frits of the time of Ramses III, at Tell el Iehûdije were painted with

\* For instance by Qüenstaedt, "Handb. der Mineral," p. 250; Beckmann, "Beitr. zur Gesch. der Erfind.," III, p. 204, *sqq.*

† "Annales de chimie," tome xcvi; *cf.* "Descr. d'Égypte," ii, p. 34, and Rosellini, "Mon. civ.," ii, p. 191, *sqq.*

‡ Lepsius, "Metalle in den Aeg. Inschriften," in "Abh. der Berl. Akad.," 1871, p. 64 *sq.*

§ "Aeg. Zeitschr.," 1885, p. 65.

cobalt. The mineral was therefore often used by the Egyptians, though the blue colour was usually obtained from copper.

The chief difficulty was now to find out whence the workmen got the mineral. Boudet\* thought that it came from India, from which country, especially from Surat, oxide of cobalt is imported even to the present time. But India is very remote, and so this guess remained necessarily a doubtful one; and with good reason, as in 1892 cobalt was discovered in Egypt itself. Johnson Pascha found in a very little known part of the country, a mineral, which was analysed by Droop Richmond and Hussein Off.† They discovered a new element in it, to which they gave the name Masrium, and after which the mineral was called Masrit. Besides this element and some other ingredients the mineral contained 1·02 per cent. oxide of cobalt. The same authors tried vainly to find cobalt in some samples of Egyptian colours handed over to them by M. Grébaud; they found only combinations of copper and iron. The analyses put together above show this negative result to be only an accidental one, and that cobalt was used by the Egyptians. The discovery of Richmond and Off proves sufficiently on the other hand that cobalt might have been found by the Egyptians in their own country, and that they did not need to import it from foreign shores.

\* "Descr. d'Eg.," *l.c.*; Rosellini, *l.c.*

† "Journal of the Chemical Society," vol. 61-52, nr. 355: June, 1892, p. 491-5.



## LETTRES DE TELL EL-AMARNA.

(6<sup>e</sup> Série.)

PAR A. J. DELATTRE, S.J.

## I.

BURRABURIYAS, ROI DE BABYLONIE, A AMÉNOPHIS IV,  
ROI D'EGYPTE.*(British Museum 3.)*

Dans cette lettre, passablement obscure, à cause surtout du mauvais état de la tablette, Burraburiyas propose à Aménophis IV des échanges plus considérables que ceux qu'ils ont faits précédemment sous le nom de présents mutuels. Il semble offrir ses filles au roi d'Égypte. On a dit que Burraburiyas parlait aussi dans cette lettre d'une princesse égyptienne comme de sa belle-fille: nous sommes d'un avis différent, bien que nous ôtions par-là au monument ce qui en ferait le principal intérêt. Nous justifions notre manière de voir dans les notes.

## TRANSCRIPTION.


## RECTO.

1. *A-na Na-ap-ḥu-ra-ri-ia, šar mat Mi(iš-ri-i),*
  2. *um-ma: Bur-ra-bu-ri-ia-aš, šar mat Ka-ra-ilu-du-ni-(ia-aš).*
  3. *A-na ia-a-ši šu-ul-mu.*
  4. *A-na ka-a-ša, a-na bi-ti-ka, a-na aš-ša-ti-ka, a-na . . . ,*
  5. *a-na ra-ab-bu-ti-ka, a-na ša-bi-ka,*
  6. *a-na narkabâti-ka, a-na si-si-ka, u a-na ma-ti-ka,*
  7. *da-an-ni-iš lu šu-ul-mu.*
- 
8. *Iš-tu Ka-ra-in-da-aš, iš-tu mari ši-ip-ri*
  9. *ša ab-bi-ka a-na mu-uḥ-ḥi ab-bi-ia it-ta-al-la-ku-ni*
  10. *a-di i-na-an-na, da-bu-tu šu-nu.*
  11. *I-na-an-na a-na-ku u ka-ša da-bu-tu ni-nu.*
  12. *Mari ši-ip-ri-ka a-di III-šu [= šilašū] it-ta-al-ku-ni,*
  13. *u šu-ul-ma-na ba-na-a mi-im-ma ul tu-ši-bi-lam ;*

14. *u a-na-ku-ma šu-ul-ma-na ba-na-a*  
 15. *mi-im-ma ul u-ši-bi-la-ku.*  
 16. *A-na ia-a-ši-ma mi-im-ma ul aḳ-ra ?*  
 17. *U a-na ka-ša-ma mi-im-ma ul a-ḳar-ku ?*  
 18. *Mar ši-ip-ri-ka ša ta-aš-pu-ra,*  
 19. *X ma-na ḥuraši ša na-ša-a ul ma-li,*  
 20. *u a-na u-tu-ni-ku i-iš-ku-nu V ma-na ḥuraši ul i-la-a.*  
 21. . . . . *kap i-la-a i-na ša-la-mi pa-an di-ki-ni-šu . . . in*
- 
22. . . . . *ma-a<sup>3</sup>i-du . . . . .*  
 23. . . . . *da-bu-tu it-ti-a (?)*  
 24. . . . . *ul ip-ši.*

Des lignes manquent à la fin du recto et au commencement du verso.

VERSO.

25. . . . .  
 26. . . . . *i-ša-ri-mi a-na mat (?) . . . . .*  
 27. . . . . *lib-bi (?) i-nu-šu-nu-ti mar ši-ip-ri-ka ki-i il-la-ak (?),*  
 28. *li-il-ḳa-a,*  
 29. *u zinnišsāti li-u-tu i-tu-ka i-ba-aš-šu-u*  
 30. *sam-ma ma-lu ša ta-ba-bi lu-ša-a-la,*  
 31. *a-na(?)si-i, ba-al-di li-gal, u ma-ma-aš-ku*  
 32. *ki-i ša ba-al-di ma-lu i-bu-uš ; mar ši-ip-ri-ka li-il-ḳa-a.*  
 33. *U  (?) la-bi-ru-tu ip-šu-tu i-ba-aš-šu-u.*  
 34. *Ki-i Ši-in-di-šu-ga-ab mar ši-ip-ri-ia ik-ta-al-la-ku,*  
 35. *narkabāti ki-i ka-al-li-i ḥa-mu-ut-ta li-iš-ša am-ma*  
 36. *a-na mu-uḥ-ḥi-ia, li-ik-šu-da*  
 37. *u iš(?) -šu(?) -ti ar-ku-ti li-bu-šu-ma.*  
 38. *Ki-i mar ši-ip-ri-ia u mar ši-ip-ri-ka il-la-ka.*  
 39. *it-ti a-ḥa-mi-iš li-il-ku-ni.*  
 40. *A-na šu-ul-ma-ni-ka II ma-na abni ukni ul-ti-bi-la-ku ;*  
 41. *u aš-šu marati-ka ašsat mar-ia . . . . . iš-mu-u*  
 42. *ištin abna kišadi ša ti im ši i ti Xa abnu uknu*  
 43. *M XL VIII mi-nu-št-na,*  
 44. *a-na šu-ul-ma-ni-ša ul-ti-bi-la-ka.*  
 45. *U ki-i mar ši-ip-ri-ka it-ti Ši-in-di šu-ga-ab*  
 46. . . . . *i-bu-uš-ma u-tu . . . . .*  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .

## TRANSLATION.

(1) A Napkhurariya, roi du pays de Misri, (2) en ces termes : Burraburiyas, roi du pays de Karduniyas. (3) Pour moi, je vais bien. (4) A toi, à ta maison, à ta femme . . . . . (5) à tes nobles, à tes soldats, (6) à tes chars, à tes chevaux, à ton pays, (7) salut soit grandement.

(8) Depuis Karaïndas [roi de Babylonie, et] depuis que les messagers (9) de ton père se sont rendus chez mon père, (10) jusque tout récemment, ils [les rois d'Égypte et de Babylonie] furent amis. (11) Présentement moi et toi nous sommes amis. (12) [Cependant] tes messagers sont venus trois fois (13) sans que tu m'aies fait parvenir aucun présent de *valeur* (?), (14, 15) et moi non plus je ne t'en ai envoyé aucun. (16) [Mais] n'ai-je rien de précieux, (17) et toi, n'y a-t-il rien de précieux qui t'appartienne ? (18) Quant aux messagers que tu m'as envoyés, (19) les dix mines d'or qu'ils m'ont apportées n'étaient pas complètes, (20) et pour tes objets [les objets à fabriquer pour toi], ils ont déposé cinq mines d'or non épuré. (20-26). . . . . (27, 28) . . . . . Que tes messagers, quand ils seront venus, en prennent suivant leur *désir* (?).

(29) Il y a chez moi de jeunes femmes ; (30) demande n'importe laquelle, que tu veuilles épouser, (31) je l'amènerai [la ferai amener, et] le puissé-je bientôt, et ton *mamaš*, (32) quand je l'aurai fait en toute hâte, ton messenger l'emportera. (33) Il y a aussi [chez moi à ta disposition] un X, œuvre ancienne [ou de façon antique].

(34) Lorsque Sindisugab, mon messenger, partira [de chez toi], (35) puisse-t-il emporter les chars en toute hâte, (36) et me les apporter, (37) pour que j'en fasse d'autres, neufs, [sur leur modèle]. (38) Quand mon messenger et le tien partiront [de chez toi], (39) qu'ils fassent route ensemble.

(40) Je te fais apporter comme présent deux mines de pierre *uknu* [cristal ?], (41) et pour ta fille, la femme de mon fils, (*suivant ce que* ?) l'on entend [dire], (42-44) je t'envoie un *collier* (?) en pierre de . . . . . dix de pierre *uknu*, dont le *poïds* (?) est de 1048, (45, 46), et lorsque ton messenger (sera venu) avec Sindisugab . . . . . je ferai . . . . .

## REMARKS.

Ligne 13.—Les *šulmana banâ*, paraissent être dans la réalité des objets d'échange lucratif.

Ligne 30.—J'ai supposé, pour *tabali*, la racine בעל.

Lignes 41-44.—La traduction que nous avons donnée de ce passage, suppose *aššat mari-ia* apposé à *marati-ka*. C'est ce qu'il y a de plus favorable à l'hypothèse d'une fille d'Aménophis IV mariée à un fils de Burraburiyas. Mais il s'agirait d'un mariage projeté et non d'un mariage accompli. En effet, la princesse que Burraburiyas appellerait *la femme de mon fils*, est encore en Egypte, et c'est par l'intermédiaire du père que le roi de Babylonie lui fait parvenir des présents. Ce dernier s'autoriserait, pour parler et agir comme il le fait, d'une rumeur suivant laquelle Aménophis IV se montrerait favorable à la future union. Mais une autre traduction est possible, qui écarte toute idée de mariage. La voici :

*La femme de mon fils, ayant appris . . . . . l'envoie comme présent pour ta fille, etc.*

Dans la phrase ainsi comprise, les verbes sont à la 3<sup>e</sup> personne du singulier masculin avec un sujet féminin, mais le cas se présente fréquemment dans nos lettres.

Il y a malheureusement une lacune à l'endroit qui fixerait le sens de la phrase.

Ligne 43.—*Minu*, le nombre des unités du poids dont le nom est sous-entendu. Comme il s'agit de bijoux précieux, l'unité de poids est probablement très petite, vu le nombre inscrit.

## II.

### TUSRATTA, ROI DE MITANNI, A AMÉNOPHIS III.

(*British Museum*, 9.)

Tusratta raconte qu'un certain Pirkhi, ou Tamkhi, sans doute un chef du voisinage et probablement du pays de Khatti, l'a inquiété au début de son règne, en soutenant les prétentions d'Artassoumara, son frère à lui Tusratta. Le roi de Mitanni a exterminé les partisans indigènes de ce dernier, et puis les bandes de Khatti venues à son secours. Il s'est emparé d'Artassoumara lui-même et l'a tué. Il fait hommage à Aménophis III de dépouilles enlevées aux gens de Khatti. Il lui envoie des présents ainsi qu'à sa femme Ghiloukhipa.

Pour atténuer l'impression fâcheuse que ce récit devait produire, étant donné que Ghiloukhipa était sœur d'Artassoumara aussi bien

que de Tusratta, il insiste, chemin faisant, sur les bons rapports qui existent entre les deux cours, et accable le roi d'Egypte de protestations d'amitié.

## TRANSCRIPTION.

1. *A-na* † *Ni-îp-mu-a-ri-a*, *šar mat Mi-iš-ri i*,
2. *a-ḥi-ia*, *ki ṭim-ma*
3. *um-ma* : † *Tu-iš-î-rat-ta šar mat Mi-i-it-ta-an-ni*
4. *aḥu-ka-ma*. *A-na ia-ši šul-mu*.
5. *A-na ka-a-ša lu-u šul-mu* ; *a-na* ☞ *Gi-lu-ḥi-pa*
6. *a-ḥa-ti-ia lu-šul-mu*, *a-na bit-ka*.
7. *a-na aš-šâ-ti-ka a-na mari-ka*, *a-na amiluti rabuti-ka*,
8. *a-na šabi bak-ra-ti-ka*, *a-na sisi-ka*,
9. *a-na narkabâti-ka u a-na lib-bi mati-ka*,
10. *ta-an-ni-iš lu šul-mu*

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11. *Iš-tu i-na kussi ša a-bi-ia a-ši-bu*,
12. *u ši-îḥ-ri-ku*, *u* † *Pir-ḥi a-ma-ta*
13. *la pa-ni-ta a-na mat-ti-ia i-ti-bu-uš-ma*
14. *u bi-il-šu id-du-uk*, *u aš-šum a-ni-tim*
15. *ia-ši it-ti ša i-ra-h-ma-an-ni-ni da-bu-u-ta*
16. *la u-ma-aš-ša-ra-an-ni*. *U a-na-ku aḫ-pu-na-ma*
17. *aš-šum a-ma-a-ti an-na-tim la pa-na-a-tim*
18. *ša i-na mat-ti-ia in-ni-îp-šu*, *ul im-ti-ki*,
19. *u amilutu ta-i-ka-ni-šu ša* † *Ar-ta-aš-šu-ma-ra*
20. *aḥi-ia ka-du mi-im-mu-šu-nu ad-du-uk-šu-nu-ti*.

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21. *Ki-i at-ta it-ti a-bi-ia da-ba-a-ta*,
22. *u aš-šum an-ni-tim al-ta-par-ma ak-ta-ba-ak-ku*,
23. *ki-mi-î aḥu-ia i-ši-im-mi-šu-nu-ma*,
24. *u i-ḥa-ad-du*. *A-bu-ia i-ra-ha-am-ka*
25. *u at-ta aḫ-pu-na-ma a-bu-ia*
26. *ta-ra-ha-am-šu*, *u a-bu-ia*
27. *ki-i ra-a-mi a-ḥa-ti a-na ka-a-ša*
28. *(id)-ta-na-ak-ku*. *U (?) an (?) -nu um ma-ša (?) - (ku?)*
29. . . . . *ki-i ka-a-šu it (?) -ti (?) a-bi-ia*.
30. *(Lu ti)-ti-ma aḫ-pu-na-ma ša aḥu-ia*,
31. *ki-i id-du-u su(?) -pur (?) lib(?) -bi mat Ḥa-at-ti*
32. *kaḫ-pa-am-ma ki-i amiluti nakruti a-na mat-ti-ia*
33. *it-ta-al-ka*, ☞ † *Raman bi-li a-na ka-ti-ia*
34. *id-din-šu-ma u ad-du-uk-šu*.
35. *Iš-tu kab-bi-šu-nu ša i-na mat-ti-šu ša i-du-ru*, *ia-nu*.

36. *A-nu-um-ma I narkabat, II sisi*  
 37. *I amila zu-ḥa-ru, I zinništa zu-ḥa-ar-tum,*  
 38. *ša ḥu-up-ti ša mat Ḥa-at-ti ul-ti-bi-la-ak-ku.*

39. *A-na šul-ma-ni ša aḥi-ia V markabāti,*  
 40. *V ši-mi-it-tum sisi ul-ti-bi-la-ak-ku.*

41. *U a-na šul-ma-ni ša ☉ Gi-lu-ḥi-pa*  
 42. *a-ḥa-ti-ia ištīn-nu-tum tu-ti-na-tum ḥuraši,*  
 43. *ištīn-nu-tum an-za-ba-tum ḥuraši, I ma-aš-ḥu ḥuraši,*  
 44. *u I abna ta-ba-tum ša šamni ma-lu-u,*  
 45. *ul-ti-bi-la-aš-ši.*

46. *A-nu-um-ma ▼ Gi-li-ia ☰☱☲☳ sukka-li,*  
 47. *u ▼ Tum-ni-ip-ip-ri al-ta-par-šu-nu. Aḥu-ia ḥa-mu-ut-ta*  
 48. *li-mi-iš-šir-šu-nu-ma, ti-ti-ma ḥa-mu-ut-ta*  
 49. *li-ti-ru-ni-im-ma, ki-mi-í šul-ma-an-šu*  
 50. *ša aḥi-ia í-ši-im-mi-ma u a-ḥa-ad-du.*

51. *Aḥu-ia da-bu-u-ta it-ti-ia li-bi-h-i,*  
 52. *u aḥu-ia mari sipri-šu li-iš-pu-ra-am-ma,*  
 53. *ki-mi-í šul-ma-an-šu ša aḥi-ia*  
 54. *i-li-ik-ku-ni-im-ma u í-si-im-mi*

#### TRADUCTION.

(1) A Nipmuaria, roi du pays de Misri, (2) mon frère, pour information, (3) en ces termes : Tusratta, roi du pays de Mittanni, (4) ton frère. Pour moi, je vais bien. (5) A toi, salut ; à Ghiloukhipa, (6) ma sœur salut ; à ta maison, (7) à tes femmes, à tes fils, à tes nobles, (8) à tes vaillants soldats, à tes chevaux, (9) à tes chars, et dans ton pays, (10) salut soit à un haut degré.

(11) Depuis que je me suis assis sur le trône de mon père, (12) et j'étais tout jeune, (12, 13) Pirkhi a infligé de mauvais traitements à mon pays, (14) et il en a tué la population, (14-16) et quant à moi la bienveillance ne me fit pas défaut pour cela chez ceux qui m'aimaient, (16) et aussi de mon côté, (17, 18) je ne me *laisai pas abattre* (?) par ces choses fâcheuses qui se passaient dans mon pays, (19) et les homicides [au service] d'Artassoumara (20) mon frère, avec tout ce qui tenait à eux, je les tuai.

(21) Comme tu usais d'amitié envers mon père, (22) pour ce motif, j'envoie message et te déclare [ces faits]. (23) afin que mon frère apprenne ces choses, (24) et s'en réjouisse. Mon père



t'aimait, (25, 26) et toi aussi tu aimais mon père, et mon père. (27-28) par amitié, t'a donné ma sœur. Et je (?) . . . . . (29) . . . comme toi envers mon père.

(30) *Tu sauras* (?) aussi que mon frère [Artassoumara], (31) ayant lancé des messagers dans (?) le pays de Khatti (32) tout entier, (32, 33) et que des ennemis [gens de Khatti] s'étant rendus dans mon pays, (33, 34) le dieu Raman, mon maître, le livra à ma main, et que je le tuai. (35) D'eux tous, il n'en est pas un qui soit retourné dans son pays.

(36-38) Maintenant je t'envoie un char, deux chevaux, un jeune homme, une jeune fille, du butin du pays de Khatti.

(39, 40) Comme présent à mon frère, je t'envoie cinq chars et cinq attelages de chevaux.

(41, 42) Comme présent à Ghiloukhipa ma sœur, (45) je lui envoie (42) un *tutinatum* d'or, (43) un *anzabatun* d'or, un *mašūu* d'or, (44) et une bouteille remplie d'huile [parfum].

(46, 47) Maintenant je t'envoie Gilia, [mon] messenger, et Tumnipipri. (47, 48) Que mon frère les laisse partir sans retard ; (48, 49) qu'ils me rapportent bien vite des nouvelles, (40) pour que j'apprenne l'heureux état de mon frère, et que je m'en réjouisse.

(51) Que mon frère ressente de l'amitié à mon endroit, (52) et que mon frère envoie ses messagers, (53, 54) pour qu'ils apportent de bonnes nouvelles de mon frère et que je [les] entende.

#### REMARQUES.

Ligne 8.—*Bakratam*, vaillance, de la racine בַּכַּר, qui exprime en hébreu l'idée de *primogéniture*, à laquelle se rattache celle de *force*. Cf. Genèse, xlix, 3.

Ligne 14.—*Bi-il* ne me semble pas pouvoir signifier ici maître. En effet, si Pirkhi est étranger, comme je le pense, et qu'il ait tué un prince étranger, son maître, la chose importe peu pour Tusratta. Si Pirkhi est un sujet de Tusratta, il ne peut avoir tué celui-ci ; il ne peut pas davantage avoir tué le roi précédent, car il ne causait des embarras au pays de Mittanni que depuis l'avènement de Dusratta. Je considère *bi-il* comme un équivalent masculin de *bahlat*, *bahulatu*, qui signifie peuple.

Ligne 19.—*Taiḫani-šu* (= *daikani-šu*) *ša Artasšu mara*, ne peut signifier les meurtriers d'Artassoumara, car celui-ci reparait vivant dans la suite, aux lignes 30-34.

Lignes 30-34.—Malgré les incertitudes du texte, il semble que *aĥu-ia* (= mon frère, c'est-à-dire Artassoumara) soit le seul antécédent possible de *šū*, qui se lit deux fois à la ligne 34.

### III.

#### AUTRE LETTRE DE TUSRATTA A AMÉNOPHIS III.

(*British Museum*, 10.)

Dans cette lettre, Tusratta annonce à Aménophis III le départ d'une statue de l'Istar de Ninive, qui doit séjourner quelque temps en Egypte, et revenir ensuite au pays de Mitanni, où elle était l'objet d'une vénération spéciale. La statue avait déjà fait le voyage sous Satarna, père de Tusratta. On la portait de temps en temps en Egypte apparemment pour satisfaire la dévotion des princesses de Mitanni, épouses des Pharaons.

Inutile de dire que le culte rendu en Mitanni à la grande déesse du panthéon ninivite, suppose des affinités entre ce pays et l'Assyrie.

Je reviens, à l'occasion de cette lettre, sur les alliances qui unissaient les familles royales d'Egypte et de Mitanni, afin de compléter autant que possible, et de rectifier en partie, ce que j'en ai dit avant la publication du recueil anglais.

En tête de la lettre 8 du *British Museum*, écrivant à Aménophis III, *Im-mu-ri-ia*, Tusratta l'appelle *ĥa-ta-ni-ia*, = mon gendre ; il s'appelle lui-même *i-mi-i-ka*, = ton beau-père. Il dit de plus : *Salut à ma sœur et au reste de tes femmes*. Les appellations de *ĥatan* et de *imi* semblent se justifier dans cette lettre, non par le mariage de la sœur de Dusratta, qui se nommait Giloukhipa (*British Museum*, 9, l. 5, 27) mais par la promesse qu'il fait d'envoyer sa propre fille à Aménophis III, qui l'a demandée pour en faire *la maîtresse* de l'Egypte, c'est-à-dire reine (l. 18, 19). Ce serait des appellations anticipées.

La princesse mitannienne, épouse d'Aménophis III, ne semble pas pouvoir être Tadukhipa, parce que celle-ci avait épousé Aménophis IV. En effet, Tusratta, dans une lettre au fils et successeur immédiat d'Aménophis III, à Aménophis IV par conséquent, dit à celui-ci *mon gendre*, et dit de lui-même *ton beau-père*. Il dit également : *Salut à Tadukhipa, ma fille, ta femme*. (*Berlin*, 24. Voir notre traduction du document dans les

*Proceedings*, juin 1891, p. 558-561.) Le même Tusratta, dans une lettre à Tii, veuve d'Aménophis III, lui dit : *Salut à Tadukhipa, ta belle-fille, kallati-ka* (*Brit. Mus.*, 11, l. 4, 5. Voir la traduction, No. IV, ci-après). Et on admettra difficilement qu'Aménophis IV ait épousé une veuve de son père.

Quelle est donc cette fille de Tusratta qu'Aménophis III avait épousée et faite reine, sans doute après avoir perdu Giloukhipa, dont à partir d'une certaine époque on ne trouve plus de trace dans la correspondance de Tusratta? A m'en tenir aux documents de Tell el-Amarna, je croirais que c'est Tii, à laquelle nous verrons Tusratta écrire familièrement, dans une lettre dont l'en-tête, qui aurait pu nous renseigner, est par malheur détérioré comme l'ensemble du document. Cette opinion me semble au moins plus probable que celle que j'ai suivie jusqu'à présent, et qui faisait de Tii la sœur, non la fille de Tusratta.

Par contre, chez les égyptologues, dit M. Maspero (*Histoire*, 4<sup>e</sup> éd., 1886, p. 210), "on s'accorde généralement à la croire étrangère, mais les uns affirment qu'elle était sémite, les autres qu'elle était lybienne. Tii était pourtant une égyptienne de vieille souche, comme l'indiquent son nom et le nom de ses parents. Elle n'appartenait pas à la race royale, mais sortait d'une famille de simples particuliers : peut-être, si nous connaissions le fond de son histoire, n'y verrions-nous qu'un épisode de roman, un roi épousant par amour la bergère traditionnelle."

## TRANSCRIPTION.

1. *A-na* † *Ni-im-mu-ri-ia*, *šar mat Mi-iš-ri-i*,
  2. *aḫi-ia*, *ḫa-ta-ni-ia*, *ša a-ra-ha-mu*,
  3. *u ša i-ra-ha-a-ma-an-ni*, *ki ṭim-ma*
  4. *um-ma* : † *Du-uš-rat-ta šar Mi-i-ta-an-ni*
  5. *ša i-ra-ha-a-mu-ka*, *i-mu-ka-ma*.
  6. *A-na ia-ši šul-mu*. *A-na ka-a-ša lu-u šul-mu*.
  7. *A-na bit-ka*, *a-na* ☞ *Ta-a-ṭu-ḫi-ḫa marat-ia*,
  8. *a-na aššat-ka ša ta-ra-ha-mu*, *lu-u šul-mu*.
  9. *A-na aššati-ka*, *a-na mari-ka*, *a-na amiluti rabuti-ka*,
  10. *a-na narkabāti-ka*, *a-na sisi-ka*,
  11. *a-na šabi-ka*, *a-na mat-ka u a-na*
  12. *mim-mu-ka*, *dan-is dan-is dan-is lu-u šul-mu*.
- 
13. *Um-ma* ☞ † *Ištar ša* ☞ † † *Ni-i-na-a*, *bilit matāti*
  14. *kap-ḫi-ši-na-ma*, *a-na mat Mi-iš-ri-i*,

15. *i-na mati ša a-ra-ḫu-a-mu, lu-ul-lik-ku-mi*  
 16. *lu-us-za-ḫi-ir-mi ; a-nu-um-ma i-na-an-na*  
 17. *ul-ti-i-bil-ma it-tal-ka.*

- 
18. *A-nu-um-ma i-na tir-ši a-bi-ia-ma*  
 19. *→† Istar bil-tum i-na mati ša-a-ši it-tal-ka,*  
 20. *u ki-i-mi-ī i-na pa-na-a-nu-um-ma*

- 
21. *it-ta-šap-ma uk-ti-ib-bi-du-ši (?)*,

- 
22. *u i-na-an-na ahu-ia a-na X šanitu*  
 23. *ili ša pa-na-a-ti li-gi-ib-bi-is-si.*  
 24. *Ahu-ia li-gi-ib-bi-is-su i-na ḫa-di-ī,*  
 25. *li-miš-šir-šu-ma li-du-u-ra.*

- 
26. *→† Istar bilit ša-mi-ī aha-ia u ia-ši*  
 27. *li-iš-šur-an-na-ši C li-im-mu →→→,*  
 28. *u ḫi-du-ta ra-bi-ta bilit anniti*  
 29. *a-na ki-la-a-al-li-ni li-d-din-an-na-ši-ma,*  
 30. *u ki-i ta-a-bi i-ni-bu-uš.*

- 
31. *→† Istar a-na ia-ši-ma i-lī,*  
 32. *u a-na aḫi-ia la-a iš-šu.*

#### TRADUCTION.

(1) A Nimmuaria, roi de Misri, (2) mon frère, mon gendre, que j'aime, (3) et qui m'aime, pour information, (4) en ces termes : Tusratta, roi de Mitanni, (5) qui t'aime, ton beau-père. (6) Je vais bien. A toi, soit salut. (7) A ta maison, à Tadûkhipa, ma fille, (8) à ta femme que tu aimes, soit salut. (9) A tes femmes, à tes fils, à tes nobles, (10) à tes chars, à tes chevaux, (11) à tes soldats à ton pays, et à (12) tout ce qui t'appartient, salut à un très haut degré.

(13) [Je parle] ainsi : Istar de Ninâ [Ninive], (13, 14) la maîtresse de tous les pays, au pays de Misri, (15) au pays que j'aime, qu'elle se rende, et (16) qu'elle revienne. Voilà que maintenant, (17) je l'envoie et qu'elle part.

(18) Au temps de mon père, (19) Istar, la maîtresse, s'est rendue en ce pays. (20) Et comme précédemment (21) elle y a séjourné et qu'on l'y a honorée, (22) maintenant mon frère, dix fois (23) plus qu'auparavant, puisse-t-il l'honorer ! (24) Que mon frère l'honore avec joie, (25) qu'il la laisse partir et qu'elle revienne.

(26) Istar, la maîtresse du ciel, mon frère et moi (27) qu'elle nous conserve cent ans, (28, 29) et que cette maîtresse *clément* (?)

nous donne à l'un et l'autre grande joie et faveur, (30) et que nous agissions en amis.

(31) Istar [re]montera vers moi, (32) et ne *s'attardera* (?) pas chez mon frère.

## REMARQUES.

Ligne 21.—*Uktibidu*, de la racine כּבּד.

Ligne 23.—*Ligibissi* pour *likibissi*, pour *likibid-si*, de la même racine.

Ligne 27.—*Limmu* = année. On se rappelle l'expression : *limmu* d'un tel, dans les inscriptions de Ninive, et qui, d'après notre passage, doit signifier simplement *l'année* d'un tel.

Ligne 28.—*Anniti*, voir Brünnow, 4580. L'expression *bilit anniti* signifierait littéralement : *la maîtresse de clémence*.

## IV.

TUSRATTA A TII, VEUVE D'AMÉNOPHIS III ET REINE D'ÉGYPTÉ.

(*British Museum*, II.)

Pièce très fruste, et néanmoins facile à comprendre en plusieurs endroits parce qu'elle roule sur le même sujet que la lettre 24 du recueil de Berlin, dont nous avons donné la traduction dans les *Proceedings*, en juin 1891, p. 558-561.

Dans cette dernière lettre, adressée à Aménophis IV, Tusratta demande l'exécution de promesses faites par Aménophis III, lequel était mort avant d'avoir pu tenir parole ; il invoque le témoignage de la *grande Tii*, femme d'Aménophis III et mère d'Aménophis IV, qui connaissait les engagements de son mari défunt.

Dans la lettre à Tii, probablement portée en Egypte par le même courrier, Tusratta prie la reine de témoigner en sa faveur auprès de son fils, le nouveau roi. Elle connaissait seule, avec Mani, porteur ordinaire des messages d'Aménophis III à Tusratta, les engagements conclus après débat entre les deux monarques. Tusratta, à ce qu'il semble, s'était exécuté le premier, et Aménophis III, un moment, lui avait inspiré des craintes par sa lenteur à s'acquitter de ce qu'il devait. Mais Tii avait rassuré Tusratta par l'intermédiaire de Giliya, un messenger souvent employé par lui ; elle lui avait conseillé de continuer ses dons, lui prédisant qu'il finirait par s'en

trouver bien, comme cela était arrivé à son père. Tusratta rappelle ces faits, où la responsabilité de Tii est engagée, afin de la décider à intervenir.

A la fin de la lettre, Tusratta parle de sa femme Youni, qui était en correspondance avec Tii par des messagers particuliers et réciproques.

## TRANSCRIPTION.

1. *A-na* (☞ *Ti-i*) *bilit mat Mi-iš(rî-i)*, . . . . .
2. *um-ma*: † (*Du-us*)-*rai-ta šar Mi-(ta-an-ni)* . . . . . *A-na ia-ši*)
3. *šul-mu*. *A-na ka-a-ši lu-u šul-mu*. (*A-na* † *Na-ap-ḥur-ri-a*)
4. *mar-ka lu-u šul-mu*. *A-na* ☞ *Ta-a-tu-ḥi-pa (marat-ia)*
5. *kallati-ka, lu-u šul-mu, a-na matîti-ka, a-(na bit(?)-ka),*
6. *u mim-mu-ka, dan-is dan-is lu-u šul-mu.*

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7. *At-ti-i-ma ti-i-ta-a-an-ni ki-mi-î (a-na-ku it-ti)*
8. † *Mi-im-mu-ri-ia mu-ti-i-ka ar-(ta-na-ha-am-ma),*
9. *u Mi-im-mu-ri-ia ap-pu-na mu-(ti-i-ki)*
10. *ki-i-mi-î it-ti-ia ir-ta-na-ha-am u (ti-i-ti)*
11. (*a-nu*) † *Mi-im-mu-ri-a mu-ti-i-ki ša a-ma-(ti al-ta-na-ap-par)*
12. (*u*) *ša a-dab-bu-bu, u* † *Mi-im-mu-ri-a*
13. (*ap-pu*)-*na mu-ti-i-ki a-ma-ti* † † † † *a-na ia-ši*
14. (*il-ta*)-*na-ap-pa-ru u ša i-dab-bu-bu. At-ti-i*
15. . . . . -*ya u* † *Ma-ni-î i-ti, u at-ti-i-ma*
16. . . . . . . . . . . *il ka-pi-šu-nu. Ti-i-ti a-ma-ti* † † † †
17. (*ša it-ti*) *a-ḥa-mi-iš ni-id-bu-bu; ma-am-ma*
18. (*ša-nu*)-*um-ma la i-ti-šu-nu.*

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19. *A-nu-um-ma at-ti-i-ma a-na* † *Gi-li-ia*
20. (*ta-ak*)-*ta-bi: a-na bi-li-i-ka ki-bi-i-(ma)*
21. † *Mi-im-mu-ri-a mu-ti it-ti a-bi-i-ka*
22. (*ir*)-*ta-na-ha-am-mi u ak ka-a-ša it-ta-za-ar mil. . .*
23. *u (?) it-ti a-bi-ka ra-h-mu-ut-ta-šu la im. . . . .*
24. (*i-na*) *aš-ra-na ša il-ta-na-ap-pa-ru la ip-ti. . . . .*
25. (*U i-na*)-*an-na at-ta it-ti* † *Mi-im-mu-ri-ia*
26. . . . . . . . . . . *ra-h-mu-ut-ka la ta-ma-aš-ši-ra-(am-ma)*
27. . . . . . . . . . . *ru-ub-bi u u-zu-ur-šu . . . . .*
28. . . . . . . . . . . (*i-na*) *ḥi-du-ti ta-al-ta-na-ap-(pa-ra)*
29. (*u lib-bi-šu ul ta-ma*)-*ar-ra-aš*

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30. . . . . . . . . . . *mu-ti-i-ki ra-h-mu-ut-ta*

31. . . . . *nu i-na-an-na-a-ma . . .*  
 32. . . . . *mar-ka a-n X šaniti . . . . .*  
 33. . . . . *am u a-ma-ti*  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 34. . . . . *mi-i-ni i-na- . .*  
 35. . . . . *ki-it-ti-na u an-ni . . . . .*  
 36. . . . . *na-ta-a-ni i-ti . . . . .*  
 37. . . . . *šu- u um-ma a-na . . . . .*  
 38. . . . . *šu ↓ Na-ap-ḥur-ri-ia . . . . .*  
 39. . . . . *u a-nu-um-ma i-na*  
 40. . . . . *i-na-an-ti-nu la . . . . .*  


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 41. . . . . *i-ma i-na bi-i-ki a . . . . .*  
 42. . . . . *u a-na pani ↓ Na-ap-ḥur-(ri-a)*  


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 43. . . . . *ta-at-ru-uš ; šum-ma*  
 44. *(a-na pa-ni)-šu la ta-tar-ra-aš, u a(t-ti-i)*  
 45. *(lu-u- ti)-i-ti. Gar-gar-↓>>> ša ḥuraši ub-bu-(ḫu-u-du)*  
 46. *↓ Na-ap-ḥur-ri-ia li-id-ti-na ; la mi-īm-ma*  
 47. *(lib)-bi lu-u la-a u-ša-am-ra-aš ; ma-la-a*  
 48. *i(?)-din(?) a-bi-šu, X šanitu li-i-it-ti-ir-an-(ni)*  
 49. *(i-n)a ra-a-h-mu-ti u i-na gu-ub-bu-ti (?)*  


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 50. *U ad-du-ki Σ<>>> mari šipri-ka it-ti mari šipri*  
 51. *ša ↓ Na-ap-ḥur-ri-ia, it-ti . . . . .*  
 52. *ša ⚡ I-u-ni aššat-ia li-il-(li-ku)*  
 53. *a-na ma-al-ta-ri-iš-ma u Σ<>>> mari šipri*  
 54. *ša ⚡ I-u-ni aššat-ia a-na mat-ia*  
 55. *li-il-li-ku a-na ma-al-ta-(ri-iš)*  


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 56. *A-nu-um-ma a-na šul-ma-ni-i-ka*  
 57. . . . . *Σ<>>>↓ ta-pa-tum ša šamni ta-pa-a-ti (ma-li-i),*  
 58. *ištin-nu-tum Σ<>>>↓ . . . . .*

## TRADUCTION.

(1) A (Tii), maîtresse du pays de Misri . . . , (2) en ces termes : Tusratta, roi de Mitanni. . . . . Je (3) vais bien. A toi, salut, (à Napkḫurriya) (4) ton fils, salut. A Tadukhipa, (ma fille), (5) ta belle-fille, salut. A tes pays, à ta maison (?), (6) et à tout ce qui t'appartient, salut à un haut degré.

(7, 8) Tu sais comment moi j'ai usé d'amitié envers Mimmuriya ton mari, (9, 10) et comment Mimmuriya aussi a usé d'amitié envers moi. (Tu sais) (11) que (j'ai envoyé) des propositions à Mimmuriya, (12) et que je les ai débattues, et que Mimmuriya (13, 14) aussi, ton époux, m'a envoyé des propositions et qu'il les a débattues. Toi (15) mon . . . et Mani vous le savez. Et toi, (*tu as été mêlée*) (?) à tout cela. Tu sais les propositions (17) que nous avons débattues ensemble. Aucun (18) *autre* (?) ne les connaît.

(19, 20) Voilà que tu as dit à Giliya : " Dis à ton maître [de ma part] : (21) Mimmuriya, mon époux, (21, 22) a usé d'amitié envers ton père, et pour toi comment gardera-t-il . . . . . ? (23) Et envers ton père il n'a point *démenti* (?) son amitié, (24) et ce qu'il [ton père] a envoyé (par) bienveillance, il [Mimmuriya] ne l'a pas . . . . . (25) (Et main)tenant, toi, envers Mimmuriya . . . . . (26) ne donne point de relâche à ton amitié. (27) . . . . . Augmente et garde-lui . . . . . (28) tu lui enverras avec joie, (29) (et tu ne lui frois)seras pas le cœur.

*Les lignes 30-44 sont trop mutilées pour qu'il soit permis d'essayer aucune reconstitution ni traduction.*

(45, 46) Que Napkhurriya donne les *gargar* d'or *x* ; (46, 47) qu'en rien il ne me froisse le cœur ; tout ce que (48) son père donnait, qu'il le donne à son tour au décuple, (49) par amitié et *générosité* (?).

(50-52) Et pour toi, que tes messagers viennent avec les messagers de Napkhurriya, avec les . . . . . de Youni, ma femme, (53) *au plus tôt* (?) et que les messagers (54) de Youni, ma femme, . . . . . (55) partent *au plus tôt* (?) .

(56-58) Voilà que comme présents pour toi, (j'envoie) . . . . . un vase de . . . (rempli) de *bonne* (?) huile . . . . ., un . . . . .

#### REMARQUES.

Ligne 4.—*Marat-ia*, d'après *British Museum*, 10, l. 7. Voir plus haut, l'introduction du n° III.

Ligne 8.—*Muti-ka* sic ; mais l. 13, régulièrement *muti-ki*. *Ar-ta-na-ha-am* restitué d'après l. 10, *ir-ta-na-ha-am*, en considération de la symétrie de la phrase.

Ligne 11.—*Al-ta-na-ap-par*, restitué d'après son symétrique (*il-ta*)-*na-ap-pa-ru* à la ligne 13. Peut-être faut-il, à cause du manque d'espace à la fin de la ligne, restituer *as-pur*, qui a le même sens.



Ligne 15.—*Iti*, a pour sujet *Mani*. Le verbe est sous-entendu après le premier sujet *atti*.

Ligne 29.—Restitution d'après l. 47, et *Berlin*, 24, recto, l. 54. Voir *Proceedings*, t. XIII, 1890-91, p. 561.

Lignes 42-45.—Tusratta me semble dire : "Tu te présenteras devant Napkhurriya, ton fils ; si tu ne te présentes pas à lui [pour témoigner en ma faveur], tu sais pourtant bien [ce qu'il en est]."

Ligne 50.—*Addu-ki*, pour *attu-ki*. Formation analogue à *attu-a*, *attu-kunu*, etc. Voir Delitzsch, *Gramm.*, p. 132.

Ligne 57.—*Mali* d'après *Brit. Mus.*, 9, l. 44. Voir plus haut, n° II.

## V.

## LE ROI D'ALASIYA AU ROI D'EGYPTE.

(*Berlin*, 11.)

Le roi d'Égypte s'est plaint de certains méfaits commis par les gens du pays de Loukki, sans doute voisin d'Alasiya, de connivence avec les habitants de cette dernière contrée, et il a fait des menaces à ce sujet. La lettre du roi d'Alasiya répond à ce message.

Il me semble qu'il s'agit de brigandages dont auraient eu à souffrir des Égyptiens venus pour affaires en Alasiya, ou traversant cette principauté pour ce rendre ailleurs dans le même but. C'est ainsi que Burraburiyas, roi de Babylonie, se plaint à Aménophis IV des mauvais traitements subis par des voyageurs, ses sujets, en Palestine, sur un territoire dépendant de l'Égypte (*Berlin*, 7, verso, ll. 27-36.)

## TRANSCRIPTION.

1. *A-na šar-ri mat Mi-iš-ri aḫi-ia, ki ṭim-ma*
  2. *um-ma : šar-ri mat A-la-ši-ia aḫu-ka-ma.*
  3. *A-na ia-ši šul-mu, u a-na ka-ša lu-u šul-mu.*
  4. *A-na bit-ka, aššâti(?) -ka, mari-ka, sisi-ka,*
  5. *narkabâti-ka, u i-na ma-a-du šabi-ka,*
  6. *matâti-ka, amiluti rabuti-ka, dan-is lu-u šul-mu.*
- 
7. *Am-mi-ni, aḫu-ia, a-ma-ta an-ni-ta*
  8. *a-na ia-ši ta-kab-bi ? Šu-u ahu-ia*
  9. *la i-ti-šu : a-ma-ti an-ni-ta la i-bu-uš.*
  10. *A-na-ku, i-nu-ma amiluti ša mat Lu-uk-ki,*

11. *ša-at-ta ša-ta-ma, i-na mat-ia la(?) . . -iḫ-ra,*  
 12. *i-ni-gi.*

13. *Aḫ-ḫi, at-ta ta-kab-bi a-na ia-ši :*  
 14. *amiluti ša mat-ka it-ti-šu-nu i-ba-aš-ši ;*  
 15. *u a-na-ku aḫu-ia la i-ti-mi ki-i it-ti-šu-nu*  
 16. *i-ba-aš-ši. Šum-ma i-ba-aš-ši amiluti ša mat-ia,*  
 17. *u at-ta a-na ia-ši šu-pur, u a-na-ku*  
 18. *ki-i lib-bi-ia i-bu-uš.*

19. *At-ta-ma la-a ti-ti-í. Amiluti ša mat-ia*  
 20. *la-a i-bu-uš a-ma-ta an-ni-ta. Šum-ma*  
 21. *i-bu-šu amiluti ša mat-ia, u at-ta ki-i lib-bi-ka*  
 22. *i-bu-uš.*

23. *I-nu-ma, aḫu-ia, ki-i mar šipri-ia*  
 24. *la-a ta-aš-pur, dup-pi an-ni-tum aḫu ša šarri*  
 25. *(lu) iš-pur. Ša i-bu-uš mar šipri-ka*  
 26. *i-kab-bu-ni.*

27. *Ša-ni-tam a-i-tum a-ba-í-ga a-na*  
 28. *a-ba-í-ia i-na ba-na-ni i-bu-šu*  
 29. *a-ma-(ta) an-ni-ta ; u i-na-an-na, aḫu-ia,*  
 30. *la ta-ša-ga-an i-na lib-bi-ka.*

#### TRADUCTION.

(1) Au roi du pays de Misri, mon frère, pour information, (2) en ces termes : Le roi du pays d'Alasiya ton frère. (3) Je vais bien. A toi salut. (4) A ta maison, à tes *femmes* (?), à tes enfants, à tes chevaux, (5) à tes chars, à tes nombreux soldats, (6) à tes terres, à tes nobles, salut à un haut degré.

(7, 8) Pourquoi, mon frère, me dis-tu chose pareille ? (8, 9) Lui-même mon frère ne le sait pas [n'est pas bien informé de ce dont il s'agit]. (9) Je n'ai pas fait chose pareille. (10) Pour moi, si les gens du pays de Loukki, (11) chaque année, font . . . . dans mon pays, (12) je suis innocent.

(13) Mon frère, tu me dis : (14) "Les gens de ton pays sont avec eux." (15, 16) Et moi j'ignore qu'ils sont avec eux. (16) Si les gens de mon pays sont avec eux, (17) toi, mande-le moi [le cas échéant], et moi (18) je ferai selon mon cœur [volonté].

(19) Mais toi, tu n'es pas au courant [de la chose]. Les gens de mon pays (20) n'ont pas fait chose pareille. Si (21) les gens de

mon pays le font [réellement] (21, 22) toi, agis suivant ton cœur [volonté, j'y consens].

(23) Maintenant, mon frère, (23, 24) comme tu ne renvoyais pas mon messager, (24, 25) le frère du roi [c'est-à-dire, moi] a envoyé cette tablette. (25) Ce que j'ai à faire, ton messager (26) me le dira.

(28) Au surplus, quand tes pères (27-29) ont-ils fait précédemment chose pareille à mes pères? (29) Et maintenant, mon frère, ne te mets pas [pareille résolution] dans l'esprit.

#### REMARQUES.

Ligne 11.—*Šata*, pour *šatta*. *Šatta šatta* = année année, c'est-à-dire, tous les ans.

Ligne 12.—*I-ni-gi*, pour *i-ni-ki*, de la racine 𐎎𐎎. Sur la préformante *i* à la première personne, voir nos observations dans les *Proceedings*, t. XII, p. 220, 221.

Ligne 27.—*A-i-tum*, interrogatif. Nous l'avons traduit *quand*, mais il signifierait bien aussi *est-ce que*.

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#### VI.

#### AUTRE LETTRE DU ROI D'ALASIYA AU ROI D'ÉGYPTE.

(*British Museum*, 6.)

D'après ce que je crois saisir dans cette lettre, d'une interprétation très difficile, elle a été dictée par les mêmes circonstances que la précédente. Le roi d'Égypte, mal disposé à l'égard du roi d'Alasiya, lui avait fait parvenir un message épistolaire contenant des ordres ou des menaces, sans donner au porteur le pouvoir de traiter personnellement avec lui. Précédemment, il avait refusé audience à un ambassadeur de son vassal. Le roi d'Alasiya l'engage à réfléchir et à entendre son nouvel envoyé. Ce dernier apportera cent talents de bronze au roi d'Égypte, dont le messager retourne aussi chargé de présents. A la fin du long passage mutilé, au milieu de la pièce, le roi d'Alasiya parle, dirait-on, d'une difficulté qu'il a réglée de son mieux entre un marchand alasiyen et un marchand égyptien. Il demande encore pour le futur envoyé égyptien la permission de traiter avec lui, et pour le sien la faveur d'une audience. En terminant, il reproche au Pharaon de ne lui avoir pas rendu certaines politesses qu'il lui avait faites.

## TRANSCRIPTION.

1. *Um-ma : šar mat A-la-si-ia*
2. *a-na šar mat Mi-iš-ri ahi-ia-ma.*
3. *Li-ma-ad i-nu-ma šal-ma-ku u*
4. *ra-ši mat-ia, u iš-tu šul-mu(?)-ka(?).*
5. *U šu-lu-lum-ka, šu-lum bit-ka, mari-ka,*
6. *aššāti, sisi, narkabāti-ka,*
7. *matī-ka, rabiš lu-u šal-mu. A-mur at ahu-ia,*
8. *i-nu-ma ta-aš-tap-ra a-na ia-a-ši,*
9. *a-na mi-nim-mi la-a tu-ma-ši-ra*
10. *mari ši-ip-ri-ka a-na maḥ-ri-ia(?)*
11. *Ša-ni-tum u la-a iš-mi i-nu-ma*
12. *ti-na-ku ni-ka-am, u la ti-id-du*
13. *mi-ma i-na lib-bi-ka u aš-šu-u*
14. *iš-ma-am ; u a-nu-ma ut-ta-šir*
15. *mar ši-ip-ri-ia i-na maḥ-ri-ka*
16. *u al-lu-u ut-ta-šir-ka.*
17. *I-na ka-ti mar ši-ip-(ri)-ia a-na ka-tam*
18. *C bilāt iri. Ša-ni-tum, u a-nu-ma*
19. *u-nu-ti i-ba-al mar ši-ip-ri-ka :*
20. *išt-in 𐎶 ir-šu iši ušu ḥuraši šu-ḥi-a,*
21. *u narkab-tum šu-ḥi-tum i-na ḥuraši,*
22. *u II sisi, u XLII illuri(?) u*
23. *L 𐎶 naparki (?) illuri (?), u II ku-ši-ti illuri (?), u*
24. *XIV 𐎶 kalli (?), u XV 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 ḥa-ba-na-tu ša šamni ṭabi.*
25. *(U) iš-tu illuri(?) šarri IV illuri (?) u IV napraki (?) illuri(?)*
26. . . . . *tu u-nu-ti ša i-ia-nu*
27. . . . . *u su (?) i-ma-ru*
28. . . . . 𐎶 *ir-ši u*
29. . . . . *na tu-kir i-ia-nu*
30. . . . . 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 *ut-ta-šir*
31. . . . . *ši-ip-ri-ia.*

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32. . . . . *ši-mu*
33. . . . . *na u*
34. . . . . *ri-ia . .*
35. . . . . *šu-uš-ši . . . .*
36. . . . . *u mar si ip . . . .*

37. . . . . *ki-ia u*  
 38. . . . . *ki-ma ar-ḥi-iš*  
 39. . . . . *A-la-ši-ia amil tam-ga-ri*  
 40. . . . . *amil tam-ga-ru-ka u amil tamgaru-ia*  
 41. . . . . *i it . . . . . ga-gi it-ti-šu-nu*  
 42. *u lu-u (i)-bu-uš ki-it-ti*  
 43. *i-na bi- . . . . . ku-ni ; u*  
 44. *mar ši-ip-(ri)-ia a-na maḥ-ri-ḫa*  
 45. *i-li-ku u mar si-ip-ri-ka*  
 46. *a-na maḥ-ri-ia i-li-ku. Ša-ni-tum,*  
 47. *šamni u illuri (?) a-na mi-nim la-a*  
 48. *tu-ma-ši-ru-ni a-na-ku-ma ša*  
 49. *ti-ri-šu at-ta u a-na-ku id-di-nu*  
 50. *u al-lu-u ḥa-ba-na-at (ša) šamni ṭabi*  
 51. *ma-la-at a-na ta-pa-ki a-na (ka-ka)-dī-ku*  
 52. *uš-ši-ir-ti i-nu-ma tu-ša-ab a-na kussi*  
 53. *šar-ru-ta-ka.*

## TRADUCTION.

(1) En ces termes : Le roi d'Alasiya (2) au roi du pays de Misri mon frère. (3) Apprends que je vais bien, ainsi que (4) les principaux de mon pays, et qu'ils font des vœux pour ta prospérité (?). (5) Salut à toi, salut à ta maison, à tes enfants, (6) à tes femmes, chevaux et chars, (7) à ton pays. Salut à un haut degré. Considère, toi, mon frère : (8) quand tu m'envoies message, (9, 10) pourquoi ne laisses-tu pas venir ton envoyé en ma présence ? (11) De plus, [mon frère] ne comprend pas que (12, 13) je juge suivant l'équité, et tu ne mets rien dans ton esprit [tu ne considères rien], et pour . . . (14) . . . . ., qu'il soit admis, maintenant, (15) mon messenger, en ta présence. (16) Et ne sera-t-il pas admis chez toi ? (17) Il se trouve dans la main de mon messenger, pour toi, (18) cent talents de bronze, et voilà (19) que ton messenger aussi apporte [de ma part] des objets : (20) un lit de bois d'*ušu*, incrusté d'or, (21) un char incrusté d'or, (22) deux chevaux . . .

*L'énumération des objets se poursuit jusqu'à la fin de la ligne 25, mais je ne comprends le sens de presque aucun mot, et les lectures même que je propose sont très problématiques ; je vois seulement (l. 25) qu'on envoie un vase contenant une huile excellente. Il n'y a rien à trouver dans les lignes 26-38, trop mutilées.*

(39) . . . . . Alasiya, marchand. (40) . . . .  
 . . . . ton marchand, et mon marchand. (41) . . . . .  
 (42) Et j'ai fait chose juste. (43) . . . . . (44, 45)  
 Mon messenger ira en ta présence, et ton messenger (46) viendra en  
 ma présence. (47, 48) Pourquoi ne m'envoies-tu pas à moi des  
 huiles et du . . . . ; tandis que ce que (49) tu désires, moi, je l'ai  
 donné. (50-52) N'ai-je pas envoyé un *ḥabanat* d'excellente huile à  
 verser sur ta tête (52, 53) quand tu t'assieds sur ton trône royal ?

## REMARQUES.

Ligne 4.—*Ištu*, iptéal de la racine שרה ?

Ligne 12.—*Tinaku* pour *dinaku*. *Nīkan*, voir le n° V, note sur la ligne 12.

Ligne 16.—*Allū* aurait-il le sens du latin *nonne*, qui convient ici, et mieux encore à la ligne 50 ?

Ligne 48.—*Tumaširu-ni anaku*. Je considère le pronom séparé comme une répétition du suffixe *ni*.




Ligne 49.—*U* introduit la proposition principale de la phrase comme ך en hébreu.

Ligne 52.—*Uššir-ti*. On s'attendrait à avoir simplement *uššir* ; *ti* fait penser à la désinence *ti* de la 1<sup>re</sup> personne du singulier dans les prétérits hébraïques.





Quelques remarques nouvelles, en permettant d'identifier le *baït*, montreront que ces vues sont justes.

Le mot *abait* a pour déterminatif un petit oiseau à aigrette, <sup>1</sup> (cf. le Copte ⲄⲘⲓ, *upupa*), peut-être l'alouette huppée, si ce n'est pas simplement le jeune épervier, tandis que sa variante *baït* est déterminée par un insecte dont les pattes antérieures dépassent la tête : cette attitude est rendue d'une manière contradictoire, et par conséquent douteuse, au tome premier et au tome second du Totdenbuch de M. Naville, mais en recourant au texte même, le papyrus de Nebseni ou papyrus Burton, qui est au British Museum, toute incertitude disparaît. Voici, d'après une obligeante communication de M. Wallis Budge, la véritable forme donnée au *baït* par le scribe : , chapitre 76, et , chapitre 104.<sup>2</sup>

Cette esquisse ne rappelle à l'esprit que le mantis, célèbre dans les légendes africaines.<sup>3</sup> L'oiseau *abait* a donc pour variante un insecte de nom analogue, qui est le mantis : or cet insecte se retrouvant, comme l'aviron-oiseau *abait*, dans la barque d'Abydos, et, au rituel de l'Ap-ro, se combinant avec la guêpe comme ailleurs l'oiseau, il y a là une double raison pour que l'oiseau guêpe ou *bird-fly* soit l'*abait*.

En premier lieu, une stèle de la 18<sup>e</sup> dynastie publiée par S. Sharpe<sup>4</sup> et étudiée par M. Wallis Budge,<sup>5</sup> mentionne la navigation des âmes qui s'en allaient chaque année à la Fête d'Abydos, analogue ou identique à la porte de l'enfer ou Ro-sta, dans la barque osirienne, (comme les âmes qui passaient de Gaule en Angleterre, d'après une tradition déjà recueillie par Procope) :<sup>6</sup>

  
  
*insecte-Ba d'Abydos*, dit le texte à l'élu, *large est pour lui la place dans la barque, et il suit le dieu à U-Puka, lors de la fête d'Uaka*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Schiaparelli, *Una tomba Egiziana inedita della VIIa dinastia*, p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Naville, *Totdenbuch*, II, pl. 159 et 240.

<sup>3</sup> Girard de Rialle, *Mythologie comparée*, I, p. 103.

<sup>4</sup> *Egyptian Inscriptions*, I, pl. 105.

<sup>5</sup> *Transactions*, VIII, part 3, p. 327.

<sup>6</sup> Leroux de Lincy, *Le Livre des Légendes*, p. 92.





Après la purification de la statue funéraire qu'il s'agissait de consacrer par l'ouverture symbolique de la bouche, et avant l'éclairage de cette statue, avait lieu sa présentation au prêtre officiant, le Sem, qui dormait<sup>1</sup> dans la tombe d'un sommeil visité par les dieux, et que réveillait l'arrivée des autres prêtres. (Le texte de l'Ap-ro, aux tombes royales, est divisé en colonnes au bas desquelles se trouvent, nettement séparés du reste par une barre, des espèces de titres, notes, ou mementos).

Ligne 40.<sup>2</sup> *Le Sem couché s'éveille, et découvre les Amu-Khent.— Les dieux et le couché.*

Ligne 41. *Le Sem dit : Je vois le père en sa forme complète.*<sup>3</sup>

Ligne 42. *Les Amu-Khent disent devant le Sem :*

Ligne 43. *Il n'existait plus pour toi, ton père.*

Ligne 44. *Le Sem dit devant les Amu-Khent :*

Ligne 45. *Le Chasseur<sup>4</sup> de dieu l'avait pris.—Le Chasseur de dieu.*

Ligne 46. *Les Amu-Khent disent devant le Sem :*

Ligne 47. *Je vois le père en sa forme complète.—Forme de Mantis.*

Ligne 48. *Quelles choses ! Il n'existait plus,—Guêpes.*

Ligne 49. *Et il n'y a pas de manque en lui.*<sup>5</sup>—Ombre.

L. 47.	L. 48.	L. 49.
		<p data-bbox="760 1306 871 1351">(et le corps noir et nu).</p>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Stèle C 3 du Louvre, l. 14 et 15.




<sup>2</sup> Sési I, III, p. 3.








<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Zeitschrift*, 1881, pl. 4b, l. 26-7.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Todtenbuch*, ch. 112, l. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Teti, l. 269 et 278, et Tombeau de Horhotep, l. 43.



Cette catégorie est celle des mânes, comme l'indiquerait le mot *bait* (ou *abait* avec le préfixe archaïque<sup>1</sup>), ressemblant à , *animé*,<sup>2</sup> et comme le montre l'Ap-ro, qui appelle  de *mantis-guêpes-ombre* le mort figuré par sa statue, . La statue de l'Ap-ro restait pareille à l'ombre jusqu'aux derniers rites de la cérémonie, ceux de l'habillement, car elle était nue comme l'ombre égyptienne, et c'est par anticipation que les premiers tableaux la montrent armée et vêtue; le titre du livre dans Sêti I dit formellement: *faire l'Ap-ro dans la salle de l'or à la statue, la première fois: on la place sur du sable dans la salle de l'or, la face au Sud, et elle est nue dans la terre, le jour où ses habits sont derrière elle*.<sup>3</sup>

L'ombre n'était que le décalque du corps; aussi voit-on souvent l'hiéroglyphe qui la désigne sur la tête de la momie, indice du rapport étroit de ces deux parties de l'homme; dans les différents exemplaires du Todtenbuch, le mot *ombre* varie même avec le mot *corps*,<sup>4</sup> et on lit dans un texte cité par M. Birch: <sup>5</sup> *vos âmes*   , *se posent sur vos ombres* (c'est-à-dire sur vos corps, cf.    , *ce qu'illustrent certaines vignettes des papyrus funéraires*.<sup>7</sup> Au Livre de l'Enfer, le corps et l'ombre sont en parallélisme: "le dieu est venu à son corps, *kha-t*; le dieu a été remorqué à son ombre, *khab-t*; tu as rejoint ton corps, *t'e-t*."<sup>8</sup> (C'est le Soleil infernal ayant à la fois la tête du bélier, c'est-à-dire de l'âme, *ba*, et le nom du cadavre, *af*.) L'idée qui ressort de ces textes est celle-ci: l'enfer, tombe collective, devant contenir les momies, qu'on savait néanmoins ailleurs, les momies y furent représentées par les ombres. Lucien peuplait de même son Hadès de squelettes imaginaires, substitués des vrais corps.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Merenra, I. 105, et Pepi II, I. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Merenra, I. 74, et Pepi II, I. 77.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Schiaparelli, *Il Libro dei Funerali*, parte prima, p. 27.

<sup>4</sup> Chapitres 89 et 92, éditions Lepsius et Naville.









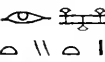











<sup>5</sup> *Transactions*, VIII, part 3, "On the Shade or the Shadow of the Dead,"

























p. 394.

<sup>6</sup> Pierret, *Études Égyptologiques*, VIII, p. 13, Stèle C 117 du Louvre.



<sup>7</sup> Naville, *Todtenbuch*, I, ch. 89, 97 et 104.

<sup>8</sup> Sharpe et Bonomi, *Sarcophage de Sêti I*, pl. 13, B.

Si l'oiseau *abaït* correspondait à l'âme *ba*,<sup>1</sup> pourquoi la guêpe  ne correspondrait-elle pas à l'ombre , , ,    , le phonétique *kheb* étant très usité pour la guêpe (même dans le titre royal)? La réunion des groupes *abaït* et *kheb*, toute pareille au composé *ba-îθ*, âme et cœur, qu'Horapollon<sup>2</sup> donne pour le nom de l'épervier, n'aurait rien que de naturel; en effet, les mots *âme* et *ombre* avaient une tendance prononcée à se réunir, *ba kheb*, comme on le voit au *Todtenbuch* et ailleurs :             etc. M. Birch a publié un assez grand nombre de figures d'âmes oiseaux ayant l'éventail de l'ombre derrière elles :<sup>3</sup> d'autres l'ont, comme la momie, sur la tête.<sup>4</sup>

On remarquera que le mot *ombre* pouvait recevoir la marque du pluriel quand il ne s'agissait que d'une seule personne, par exemple  ,    ,  ,<sup>5</sup> ce qui rappelle les trois guêpes paraissant former un pluriel dans la rubrique de l'Ap-ro (si la répétition du signe n'est pas là pour la lettre *u*, comme dans  ,<sup>6</sup>    ,<sup>7</sup> etc.) En tout cas, cette rubrique, faisant de l'ombre une sorte d'intermédiaire entre l'âme et le corps, semble bien devoir se comprendre ainsi, d'après les observations qui précèdent : *forme de mantis et guêpes (ou guêpe), ce qui est l'ombre*, et les trois groupes n'en seraient pour ainsi dire qu'un, ayant l'ombre humaine pour déterminatif, en hiéroglyphes ordinaires    ,     (cf.  ). ou

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Proceedings*, Juin 1892, p. 400-2.    <sup>2</sup> I, 7.  
<sup>3</sup> *Todtenbuch*, ch. 91, l. 2.    <sup>4</sup> *Todtenbuch*, ch. 91 et 92.  
<sup>5</sup> Birch, *On the Shade*, p. 393.    <sup>6</sup> Champollion, *Notices*, II, p. 621.  
<sup>7</sup> *On the Shade*, planches.    <sup>8</sup> *Id.*, p. 622.  
<sup>9</sup> Birch, *On the Shade*, p. 391.    <sup>10</sup> Naville, *Todtenbuch*, II, ch. 149, k.  
<sup>11</sup> Dümichen, *Der Grabpalast des Patuamenap*, II, pl. 2, l. 40.  
<sup>12</sup> Flinders Petrie, *Ten Years' Digging in Egypt*, p. 73.

encore  ; le nom de l'ombre est écrit  dans l'Ap-ro de Butehamen.<sup>1</sup>

Le type *bird-fly*, fantastique au même titre que le scorpion à deux aiguillons des anciens, serait donc l'ombre, légère et fuyante comme un être ailé, mais identique au corps nu par le contour, quelque chose comme le revenant, *εἴδωλον ἀμαυρόν*, le corps fluide de l'âme, le périsprit des modernes. Aussi, tout en le représentant par un oiseau et par un insecte (la sauterelle et la colombe de Théodoret, sans doute), les Egyptiens ne perdaient-ils pas de vue le corps qu'il figurait, de même que pour les *rekhiu*, dont le phonétique est déterminé comme celui de l'*abait* par l'oie<sup>2</sup> ou par l'oiseau huppé, et dont ils faisaient tantôt des oiseaux et tantôt des hommes.<sup>3</sup> Les Grecs ne concevaient pas les choses autrement lorsqu'ils donnaient à l'âme la forme humaine malgré son nom de *ψυχή*, comme dans la *Νεκρία* de l'Odyssée.

La conjecture que le *bird-fly* de l'âme pourrait être le papillon,<sup>4</sup> comme chez les Grecs (et chez plusieurs autres peuples), paraît très plausible : c'est à tout le moins quelque chose de ce genre, un oiseau ou un insecte figurant (par comparaison ou calembour) l'âme-ombre, qui figure le corps ; le vol de l'âme au dessus du corps est indiqué par le papillon lui-même dans un texte de basse époque.<sup>5</sup>

Par contre, en Grèce, l'abeille symbolisait aussi les âmes, que Sophocle comparait à un essaim,<sup>6</sup> comme Virgile : *ac veluti in pratis*, etc. ;<sup>7</sup> suivant Porphyre, les anciens appelaient abeilles les âmes destinées à renaître ;<sup>8</sup> Saon fut guidé vers l'autre de Trophonius par un essaim d'abeilles ;<sup>9</sup> et ce caractère à demi funèbre de l'insecte a dû être pour quelque chose dans la croyance, si fortement enracinée chez les Romains, qu'un essaim portait malheur là où il s'arrêtait.

<sup>1</sup> Schiaparelli, *Il Libro dei Funerali*, parte prima, p. 66, et pl. 4, l. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Naville, *Todtenbuch*, ch. 1, pl. 6, et ch. 18, pl. 78, 79.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Diodore, I, 87.

<sup>4</sup> *Proceedings*, Juin 1892, p. 400.



<sup>5</sup> *Recueil de travaux*, IX, p. 90.




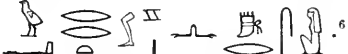
<sup>6</sup> Porphyre, *de Antro Nympharum*, 18.

<sup>7</sup> *Enéide*, VI, v. 705.

<sup>8</sup> Porphyre, *de Antro Nympharum*, 18 et 19.

<sup>9</sup> Pausanias, IX, 40.

L'Ap-ro montre l'*abait* dans son rôle humain : les autres textes le représentent dans son rôle divin, qui n'est d'ailleurs que l'élargissement du premier. Analogue peut-être au  ornithocéphale des hypogées royaux<sup>1</sup> et au  des *Aelteste Texte*,<sup>2</sup> l'*abait* alors n'était plus seulement l'âme et l'ombre, mais le type, le chef, et le guide des mânes.

Aux pyramides royales, entre Tatun qui parfume le pharaon et Ra qui l'appelle, le *bird-fly* enfante ou façonne,  le royal défunt. Ce texte montre le dieu en barque sous la forme, ou d'un oiseau becquetant, dans Merenra, l. 706, ou d'un épervier dans le même, l. 109, ou d'une oie dans Pepi I, l. 79, ce qui coïncide assez bien avec l'un des cartouches de Merenra, le *Μεθεσοûφης* de Manéthon, , et dont le *b* serait devenu un *m*, comme dans Khemmis pour Kheb et Méroé pour Béroa ; on aurait encore ici l'*abait* protecteur et pilote représenté par différents oiseaux, ce dont il ne faut pas s'étonner, car les Egyptiens se plaisaient à ces réunions de symboles ; ils faisaient dire par exemple à l'élu, au sujet d'un des endroits sacrés d'Abydos : *je vole en épervier-bak, je glousse en oie-smen, et je me pose sur cette Route du bassin,*  *fin,*  ou<sup>5</sup> : *je suis l'oiseau-nenu sur la Route sans*

Les autres textes mentionnant le *bird-fly* présentent le personnage sous un même aspect que les pyramides royales, c'est-à-dire qu'ils font de lui une sorte d'Hermès psychopompe ou de Charon égyptien.

Les deux chapitres du *Todtenbuch* où on le rencontre sont ainsi conçus :—

Chapitre 76.—*Formule pour prendre toutes les formes qu'on veut. L'entre dans le palais du roi (Osiris) ;<sup>7</sup> l'Abait m'amène. Salut à toi,*

<sup>1</sup> Champollion, *Notices*, II, p. 600.

<sup>2</sup> Pl. 26, l. 8 ; cf. *Todtenbuch*, ch. 101, l. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Daressy, *Recueil de travaux*, XI, p. 79.

<sup>4</sup> *Todtenbuch*, édition Naville, ch. 1, l. 49.

<sup>5</sup> *id.*, h.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Pepi I, l. 646 et 651.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Pierret, *Etudes égyptologiques*, I, p. 34.

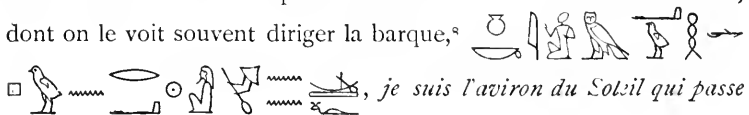
*qui voles au ciel pour éclairer les étoiles. Je veille sur la mitre.<sup>1</sup> C'est moi. Je prospère à jamais. Dieu grand, livre-moi le passage par où je pénétrerai.*

Chapitre 104.—*Formule pour s'asseoir entre les grands dieux. Je m'assieds entre les grands dieux, je passe par l'endroit de la barque-sekti (un des aspects de la nef solaire, à laquelle on identifiait la Neshemt<sup>2</sup>) ; l'Abait m'amène pour voir les grands dieux qui sont dans le monde souterrain. Je suis un de ceux dont la parole est infaillible en leur présence.—Tu es pur.*

Au sarcophage de Horhotep, *chapitre d'amener la barque*, l. 468-9, l'élu questionné sur son guide vers l'Elysée répond : *mon guide est le bird-fly*, ou, d'après la variante des Aelteste Texte, *le bird-fly, c'est mes guides.*

Enfin, dans la barque même, une partie du gouvernail est appelée l'oiseau *abait*, et le rôle de pilote des âmes qu'avait l'*abait* explique bien pourquoi le gouvernail de la nef des âmes a reçu ce nom. C'est par une confusion d'autant plus naturelle entre la rame et le rameur, que les Egyptiens personnifiaient toutes les parties de chaque navire divin,<sup>3</sup> dont l'ensemble s'identifiait souvent avec son dieu, comme on l'a vu pour le *bird-fly*. La Neshemt elle-même était une déesse,<sup>4</sup> et avait des prêtres.<sup>5</sup> Les rites du voyage réel ou fictif des morts à Abydos, lors des funérailles, *pour connaître les choses d'Abydos*,<sup>6</sup> comportaient l'adoration des poteaux où l'on attachait la proue et la poupe des barques.<sup>7</sup>

Quand donc l'élu est dit naviguer en *ba-sauterelle* d'Abydos, cette expression peut l'assimiler aussi bien au gouvernail qu'au conducteur de la Neshemt. Il se représente ailleurs comme l'*aviron du Soleil*, dont on le voit souvent diriger la barque,<sup>8</sup>



<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Todtenbuch*, ch. 92, l. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Dendérah* IV, 74, b.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Todtenbuch*, ch. 58, 99 et 122.

<sup>4</sup> Mariette, *Abydos*, III, p. 26, 426 et 451.


<sup>5</sup> *Id.*, III, p. 493.


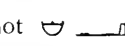
<sup>6</sup> Champollion, *Notices*, II, 404.

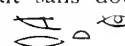
<sup>7</sup> Virey, *Le Tombeau de Rekhmara*, pl. 26 ; cf. Champollion, *Notices*, II, p. 620.


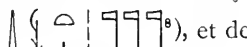


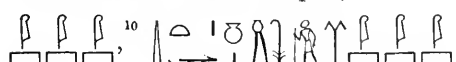
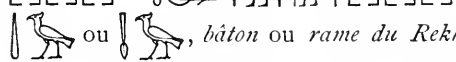
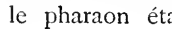
<sup>8</sup> Pépi II, l. 857 ; *Todtenbuch*, ch. 130, l. 10, ch. 49 b, et passim ; Pierret, *Etudes Egyptologiques*, I, p. 54 ; etc.



en barque par lui ses vieillards, je suis la baguette de la Destinée qui fait marcher par elle la barque des aînés, etc.<sup>1</sup> Au papyrus No. 2 de Berlin, Meruitens comparé à Thoth est appelé le gouvernail de la terre entière, d'après la traduction de M. Chabas,<sup>2</sup>  @

, (cf. le mot , *pilote*<sup>3</sup>).

Dans un papyrus magique du British Museum, le nom de *bâton* ou de *rame du lac* est donné à Horus, et c'est Horus<sup>4</sup> qui manœuvre d'habitude, dans la barque divine, les deux grands avirons de l'arrière, lesquels portent la tête d'épervier d'Horus lui-même à leur extrémité supérieure là où se trouvait sans doute aussi, dans la Neshemt, la tête de l'*abait*, dit l'*œil*, ,<sup>5</sup> cet œil déesse *Mert* qui accompagnait le mort amenant la nef des âmes;<sup>6</sup> la tête du pharaon, dans le vaisseau de l'autre monde qui porte Ramsès III,<sup>7</sup> termine pareillement les avirons.

La même qualification de bâton ou de rame, formait un des titres de la hiérarchie égyptienne ; s'il existait une fonction de , porteur de bâton, ou peut-être d'enseigne (cf. , et de porteur de rame, , *samer porteur de la rame? bai du roi*,<sup>8</sup> une autre charge était celle de *bâton du roi dans les temples*, sous les Ptolémées,  et, sous l'ancien Empire, ,<sup>10</sup> et, sous l'ancien Empire, ,<sup>11</sup> et, sous l'ancien Empire, , *bâton* ou *rame du Rekhi*, c'est-à-dire du pharaon ; le pharaon était l'homme ou le Rekhi suprême, puisque, au

<sup>1</sup> Sarcophage de Horhotep, l. 329 et 311-2 ; cf. *Todtenbuch*, ch. 63, l. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Zeitschrift*, 1864, p. 101.

<sup>3</sup> Mariette, *Abydos*, III, p. 398.

<sup>4</sup> *Todtenbuch*, ch. 15, l. 27.

<sup>5</sup> *Id.*, édition Naville, II, ch. 99, pl. 226.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.*, ch. 58 et 122.

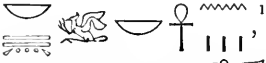

<sup>7</sup> *Rosellini*, II, pl. 107-8 ; et Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, édition Birch, II, pl. 13, 2.

<sup>8</sup> *Dendérah*, III, 37, h ; cf. *id.*, IV, 23.





<sup>9</sup> Brugsch, *Supplément au Dictionnaire*, p. 422.

<sup>10</sup> Stèle d'Imhotep, fils de Khahap, l. 4.

<sup>11</sup> Lepsius, *Auswahl*, pl. 16.

Ramesséum, Ramsès II est <sup>1</sup>, que, à Philæ, sous Auguste, les rois d'Égypte sont appelés <sup>2</sup> et que la reine est assez souvent dite la Rekhit, aux basses époques,<sup>3</sup> comme Hathor dans son protocole royal.<sup>4</sup>

## III.

L'oiseau *Rekhi* pourrait être l'oiseau *Abait* sous un autre nom : le premier est exactement semblable au deuxième ; l'épervier par excellence, Horus, qu'un nom saïte paraît identifier avec le *bird-Ay*, <sup>5</sup>, est le guide des Rekhiiu ;<sup>6</sup> les Rekhiiu, ou certains Rekhiiu ont pour protecteur ou chef, d'après les Pyramides royales,<sup>7</sup> un dieu  (*si tu repousses Batu dont ses deux Rekhiiu*, ou ses deux groupes de Rekhiiu, , *aiment l'arrivée, ce sera repousser le roi*) ; il y avait dans l'enfer une porte *du retour des Rekhiiu*,<sup>8</sup> et l'idée du Rekhii en barque est quelquefois suggérée par les textes ou les tableaux : ainsi la nef menant Ramsès III au paradis est décorée de Rekhiiu peints sur la voile,<sup>9</sup> et une barque sacrée de l'ancien Empire s'appelle <sup>10</sup> ; ces rapports entre l'*Abait* et le *Rekhi* ont peut-être leur valeur, mais il faudrait des documents plus précis pour qu'il fût permis de se prononcer.

Il n'est pas plus certain qu'on doive assimiler le dieu *abait* ou *bebait* au dieu Baba, Babi, Babou, Bai,<sup>11</sup> personnage dont le *Todtenbuch* fait un chien qui garde le bassin infernal,<sup>12</sup> et que divers

<sup>1</sup> Champollion, *Notices*, I, p. 882 ; *cf. id.* I, p. 341, et II, p. 71, 81 et 232.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, I, p. 176.

<sup>3</sup> J. de Rougé, *Edfon*, II, pl. 132 ; *Denkmäler*, IV, pl. 82, b, l. 1 ; etc.

<sup>4</sup> *Dendérah*, I, pl. 29, a, 59, a, 79, a, et II, 26, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Mariette, *Abydos*, III, p. 469.

<sup>6</sup> Teti, l. 282 ; Champollion, *Notices*, II, p. 345 ; etc.

<sup>7</sup> Pepi I, l. 648 et 720, et Merenra, l. 748-9.



<sup>8</sup> Merenra, l. 65.

<sup>9</sup> Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, édition Birch, I, II, pl. 13, 2.

<sup>10</sup> *Denkmäler*, II, pl. 18 et 22.

<sup>11</sup> Unas, l. 644 et 647 ; Sarcophage de Horhotep, l. 446 ; etc.

<sup>12</sup> *Todtenbuch*, ch. 17, l. 67 ; *cf. id.*, ch. 125, l. 36, et édit. Naville, II, pl. 313.

documents disent fils aîné d'Osiris,<sup>1</sup> ou juge des morts à Héracléopolis, avec Osiris et Shu,<sup>2</sup> ou guide des heures,<sup>3</sup> ou servant de type à l'une des parties du corps,<sup>4</sup> ou né de la déesse Akhemt, ,<sup>5</sup> ou même, en un sens, analogue à Khem dont son hiéroglyphe semble joindre le fouet à la mitre osirienne, .<sup>6</sup> Malgré ces affiliations, Baba, maître des ténèbres,<sup>7</sup> monstre que l'on conjurait,<sup>8</sup> dévorateur des entrailles des grands,<sup>9</sup> auteur de la térébentine produite par le saignement de son nez,<sup>10</sup> etc., était profondément typhonien, comme l'ont compris les Grecs,<sup>11</sup> et comme le montre bien un texte du moyen Empire, au sarcophage de Horhotep, *chapitre d'amener la barque*, l. 437-440.<sup>12</sup>

Ce caractère hostile concorde assez mal avec les données que l'on a sur l'*abait* psychopompe, et, de plus, le nom du Baba, qui ressemble bien à celui de la caverne, *baba*, n'est jamais déterminé par l'oiseau ou l'insecte, deux objections importantes.

On pourrait répondre à la première que le mantis, insecte particulièrement vorace, a un double aspect, malfaisant et bienfaisant, dans les fables africaines, de même que le revenant chez tous les peuples, en sorte qu'il n'y a pas d'impossibilité non plus, théoriquement, à ce que l'*abait* et l'*ombre* aient eu un rôle bon et mauvais, en Egypte. Ce seraient alors, dans leur mauvais rôle, le Babys-Typhon triomphant d'Osiris, d'après les traditions d'Abydos,<sup>13</sup> et la guêpe servant d'hiéroglyphe au mot meurtrier, ou au sang malfaisant du crocodile (le saignement de nez de Baba), d'après Horapollon.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Todtenbuch*, ch. 63, l. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, ch. 18, l. 30.

<sup>3</sup> Unas, l. 643-4.

<sup>4</sup> Pepi I, l. 568, et *Aelteste Texte*, pl. 11, l. 15.

<sup>5</sup> Unas, l. 644-5; cf. Sarcophage de Horhotep, l. 413-4; et Dümichen, *Der Grabpalast*, I, 2<sup>e</sup> partie, p. 53.

<sup>6</sup> *Proceedings*, Juin, 1886, p. 198; cf. Sarcophage de Horhotep, l. 446.

<sup>7</sup> Unas, l. 646-7.

<sup>8</sup> Pepi I, l. 604.

<sup>9</sup> *Todtenbuch*, ch. 125, l. 36; cf. *id.*, ch. 17, l. 64-8.



<sup>10</sup> Birch, *Revue Archéologique*, 1863, p. 121.

<sup>11</sup> *De Iside et Osiride*, 62, et *Athénée*, XV, 7.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Aelteste Texte*, Sarcophage de Mentuhotep, pl. 12, l. 9-12.




<sup>13</sup> *Athénée*, XV, 7.

<sup>14</sup> II, 24.

La seconde objection serait aussi contrebalancée, non seulement par le passage des pyramides royales où Babu, , est adjuré de se retirer après avoir passé le pharaon en barque, ,<sup>1</sup> mais encore par le chapitre 63 du *Todtenbuch* (version A de l'édition Naville) :

*Formule pour boire de l'eau et ne pas être brûlé par le feu.—O taureau de l'Ament, je guide vers toi. Je suis cet aviron de Ra qui passe en barque par lui les anciens. Que je ne sois pas brûlé, que je ne sois pas consumé. Je suis Baba, le premier fils d'Osiris: la purification de chaque dieu est dans son œil à Héliopolis (cf. Aïn Schams). Je suis le premier enfant d'Osiris, l'aîné, le grand preneur, qui se repose. La prospérité d'Osiris est son nom. Il délivre, et tu vis par lui.*<sup>2</sup>

On voit que le chapitre 63 assimile l'élu à la rame et au Baba, et, si le Baba ne se trouve pas par là même assimilé à la rame (comme l'*abait*), la coïncidence est véritablement étrange. Malheureusement, quelques analogies indirectes ne suffisent pas, en pareille matière, pour amener à confondre deux types d'apparence aussi distincte, qui ont pu n'avoir que des points de contact.

On ne saurait, encore moins, voir l'*abait* dans le *ba* ou *sacred boat* , qui paraît bien désigner une barque de transport,<sup>3</sup> ni dans le *bat* du passage que voici, des pyramides royales: *Merira est le Vénérable, Merira est le Sistre à deux faces*, , *Pepi est Celui qui délivre, et il se délivre lui-même de tout mal.*<sup>5</sup> Que le mot *bat* (dont le déterminatif n'a pas l'édicule qui figure ici entre les deux cornes) ait le sens de *maillet* , et de sceptre, *abt*,<sup>6</sup> car le sistre chassait Typhon,<sup>7</sup> ou de fétiche, *chase-esprit*, l'objet représenté dans ce texte n'en est pas moins la forme archaïque du sistre. On le retrouve à la

<sup>1</sup> Pepi I, l. 604; cf. *Denk.*, IV, pl. 46 a, l. 32.

<sup>2</sup> *Todtenbuch*, ch. 63, l. 1-3.









<sup>3</sup> *Proceedings*, Juin. 1892, p. 401.

<sup>4</sup> *Proceedings*, Juin, 1892, p. 400.

<sup>5</sup> Pepi I, l. 267-8; cf. Merenra, l. 480.

<sup>6</sup> Pierret, *Vocabulaire hiéroglyphique*, p. 125; Simeone Levi, *Vocabularie geroglifico-copto-cbraico*, t. II, p. 120; et Brugsch, *Supplément au Dictionnaire*, p. 12.

<sup>7</sup> Plutarque, *de Iside et Osiride*, 63.

basse époque, à Dendérah,<sup>1</sup> et bien antérieurement on le voit, sous l'ancien et le moyen Empires, porté par certains grands.<sup>2</sup> Il y avait des chefs, ou , *haq bat*,<sup>3</sup> de cet emblème,<sup>4</sup> comme Hathor elle-même, qui était   .<sup>5</sup> C'est ainsi que, chez les Romains, le bucrâne était la marque distinctive des *Sodales Augustales*.<sup>6</sup> Le sistre, crécelle dérivée du bucrâne,    ,<sup>7</sup> et figurant la tête de la déesse vache avec ses cornes, avait deux faces qui, au dire de Plutarque,<sup>8</sup> étaient Isis et Nephthys ; de plus, un de ses noms était *abt*.<sup>9</sup>

S'il reste douteux que l'*abait* soit l'oiseau *rekhi* ou le dieu *Baba*, et s'il diffère de la barque *ba* comme du fétiche *bat*, les croyances que résume son nom paraissent néanmoins avoir laissé quelques traces. Il s'agit en définitive de la conduite des âmes (*ba*, *khebtu*), par un oiseau leur pareil vers les Symp légades égyptiennes, ou la Fente d'Abydos,<sup>10</sup> de sorte qu'on peut voir là (les Egyptiens aimant assez à joindre les idées de voguer et de voler),<sup>11</sup> l'origine de l'émigration fabuleuse des éperviers d'Egypte, et par suite de la fameuse légende du Mont des Oiseaux, Gebel el Taïr.

D'après cette légende, dont la forme et le lieu ont souvent changé, il existe en Egypte une montagne des oiseaux, ou de la grotte,<sup>12</sup> qui a une gorge servant "tous les ans, à un jour fixe," de rendez-vous à une foule d'oiseaux. Suivant Quatremère,<sup>13</sup> les historiens arabes contaient que ces oiseaux, appelés *boukir*, étaient attirés par un

<sup>1</sup> Dendérah, I, pl. 25, l. 3, et IV, pl. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 466-7 ; et J. de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, pl. 304.

<sup>3</sup> Horhotep, l. 455.

<sup>4</sup> *Denkmäler*, II, pl. 81 ; J. de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, pl. 56 ; *Mastabas*, p. 530 ; Champollion, *Notices*, II, p. 434 ; Pierret, *Etudes égyptologiques*, VIII, p. 130 ; etc.

<sup>5</sup> Dendérah, I, pl. 28 ; cf. *Abydos*, II, pl. 39, et III, p. 23.

<sup>6</sup> J. Marquardt, *le Culte chez les Romains*, II, les *Sodales Augustales*.

<sup>7</sup> Dendérah, I, pl. 28 ; cf. stèle C. 15 du Louvre.

<sup>8</sup> *De Iside et Osiride*, 63.

<sup>9</sup> Brugsch, *Dictionnaire*, p. 37.





<sup>10</sup> Cf. Birch, *Zeitschrift*, 1864, p. 95.

<sup>11</sup> Pepi I, l. 390 ; Pepi II, l. 916 ; Horhotep, l. 730, 731 ; etc.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Todtenbuch*, 149, g, édition Naville.

<sup>13</sup> *Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Egypte*, t. I, p. 29-38.

talisman, et venaient successivement introduire leur bec dans une fente de la montagne. La fente se refermait sur l'un d'eux, et les autres s'envolaient (vers l'intérieur de l'Afrique).<sup>1</sup> L'emplacement tantôt occidental et tantôt oriental de la montagne, variait entre les environs d'Aschmounéin, de Siout et d'Akhmin (mais toujours dans le voisinage d'un couvent), c'est-à-dire qu'il flottait dans la partie de l'Egypte où le fleuve est resserré entre les deux montagnes qui le bordent. D'après la Description de l'Egypte, les oiseaux sont des ramiers noirs, appelés Segauou el-Hadd, nom qui indiquerait pourtant une petite espèce d'épervier.<sup>2</sup>

Le départ des éperviers est raconté par Elien :<sup>3</sup> au commencement du printemps ils s'en allaient (à peu près comme les colombes de l'Eryx<sup>4</sup>), en Libye, sous la conduite de deux des leurs, dans des îles où ils faisaient leurs nids et d'où ils ramenaient leurs petits. Le même auteur parle aussi de deux corbeaux consacrés dans la montagne à l'Apollon de Coptos,<sup>5</sup> lequel était Horus-Khem,  ,<sup>6</sup> qui, sous le nom d'Horus de Shent, ou de Coptos, participait aux fêtes d'Abydos.<sup>7</sup> Les deux corbeaux sont probablement une variante des deux éperviers<sup>8</sup> du sud et du nord<sup>9</sup> figurant le nome Coptite, dont le dieu Khem présidait à une des fêtes funéraires, *la sortie de Khem*, possédait une Neshemt comme Osiris,<sup>10</sup> était souvent mentionné à Abydos, était adoré aux gorges conduisant comme Abydos hors de l'Egypte, était le maître des Mat'au,<sup>11</sup> et avait son nid dans l'oasis dite *l'île de Testes*,<sup>12</sup> où s'en allaient les mânes, comme nous l'apprend la stèle de Londres.<sup>13</sup> Si ces éperviers et ces corbeaux correspondaient aux deux  et aux deux , emblèmes de l'âme,<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Guide Joanne, *Egypte*, p. 468.

<sup>2</sup> Heptanomide, ch. xvi, § 2.

<sup>3</sup> *De Natura Animalium*, II, 43.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.*, IV, 2, et *Varie Historie*, I, 15.

<sup>5</sup> *De Natura Animalium*, VII, 18.

<sup>6</sup> J. de Rougé, *Inscriptions Géographiques d'Edfou*, pl. 139; cf. Pepi II, l. 738.

<sup>7</sup> *Stèle du Louvre*, C. 3, l. 14 et 15; cf. *Todtenbuch*, ch. 17, l. 61-3.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Horapollon, I, 8.

<sup>9</sup> *Dendérah*, IV, pl. 33.

<sup>10</sup> J. de Rougé, *Revue Archéologique*, 1865, p. 334.

<sup>11</sup> Mariette, *Papyrus de Boulaq*, II, pl. 11, l. 4.

<sup>12</sup> Chabas, *Papyrus Magique Harris*, pl. 6, l. 11-13.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Brugsch, *Dictionnaire Géographique*, p. 1001.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Champollion, *Notices*, II, p. 514; et Horapollon, I, 7.

qui représentent l'*abait* aux pyramides royales (*cf.* comme couples de conducteurs les deux chacals *Ap-uatu*, et les deux loups qui menèrent Rampsinet aux enfers), on s'expliquerait pourquoi la fable du Mont des Oiseaux a hanté les parages d'Akhmin, une des villes de Khem, qui aurait hérité avec Coptos des traditions d'Abydos déchuée,<sup>1</sup> en les adaptant aux siennes. Aujourd'hui, la légende est fixée près de Minieh, et l'antique région ou porte de la Fente, U-pek, dont le site se trouvait assez éloigné du Nil, est tombée dans le même oubli qu'Abydos.

Par une fortune analogue, le Mantis a cédé aussi la place à l'oiseau dans les croyances locales, mais son caractère de guide reste fort explicable. Il existe des oiseaux qu'on appelle *indicateurs*, et le mantis a une faculté du même genre que la leur, du moins en apparence : en effet, une des particularités de cet insecte, objet de superstitions chez presque tous les peuples, est qu'il étend souvent ses pattes antérieures à droite ou à gauche comme s'il désignait une direction, et de là vient qu'on a cru, en Provence comme en Angleterre,<sup>2</sup> par exemple, qu'il enseignait le chemin aux passants.

En somme, il y avait à apprécier le raisonnement suivant : l'*abait*-oiseau est parfois un gouvernail de barque, donc l'oiseau-guêpe en barque est l'*abait*, et cette conjecture se trouve confirmée ainsi : le *bait*-mantis est une variante de l'*abait*-oiseau, et il y a un mantis-guêpe, donc le mantis-guêpe est aussi une variante de l'oiseau-guêpe, qui par là se ramène encore à l'*abait*.

L'*abait* ou *bait*, serait la forme *spiritualisée* du corps nu, ou l'ombre, le spectre, le revenant ; devenu le type des ombres, et représenté par un dieu, une barque, ou un aviron, il servait de guide aux âmes s'en allant dans l'autre monde par la Fente d'Abydos, et c'est de cette émigration que vient sans doute la légende du Mont des Oiseaux.

<sup>1</sup> *Cf.* Strabon. XVII, 41.

<sup>2</sup> *Cf.* Blanchard, *Métamorphoses des Insectes*, p. 574.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 7th February, 1893, at 8 p.m., when the following Papers will be read :—

P. LE PAGE RENOUF (*President*). “The Book of the Dead.”—  
Translation and Commentary (*continuation*).

REV. A. LÖWY :—“Notes on a Babylonian Brick.”



[N.B.—The plates for the December number of the *Proceedings*, and those for the present number, will be issued in February.—W.H.R.]





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OF  
THE SOCIETY  
OF  
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

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TWENTY-THIRD SESSION, 1892-93.

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*Fourth Meeting, 7th February, 1893.*

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:—Major R. H. Brown, R.E. The Fayûm and Lake Mœris, with illustrations. London. 4to. 1892.

From Walter L. Nash:—The Pharaoh of the Exodus, an examination of the modern systems of Egyptian Chronology. By D. W. Nash. London. 8vo. 1863.

From the Author:—Rev. C. A. de Cara, S.J. Degli Hittim o Hethei e delle loro migrazioni, Chap. XXIII.

Estratto dalla Civiltà Cattolica. Serie XV. Vol. V. 1893.

From the Author:—Rev. A. Löwy. Half a Century of Progress in the Knowledge and Practice of Judaism. 1892.

[No. CXIII.]

The following Candidates were submitted for election, having been nominated at the last Meeting, 10th January, 1893, and elected Members of the Society :—

- Rev. Walter William Crump, B.A., Marlborough House, Cottenham, Cambridge.  
 Rev. A. W. Greenup, Leighton Bromeswold, near Huntingdon.  
 Rev. Owen J. Jones, The Old Meeting Parsonage, West Hill, Mansfield, Notts.  
 Rev. Charles Lerebourg, Vicaire de Saint Philippe du Roule, 164, Faubourg Saint Honoré, Paris.  
 Miss Agnes L. Money, Stodham Park, East Liss, Hants.  
 Henry Spicer, B.A. (Lond.), F.L.S., F.G.S., 14, Aberdeen Park, Highbury, N.

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next Meeting, 7th March, 1893 :—

- Rev. A. Schmitz, Curate Herzogenrathe, bei Aachen, Germany.  
 Harry R. G. Inglis, 20, Bernard Terrace, Edinburgh.  
 Pundit S. E. Gopalacharlu, South Mada Street, Mylapore, Madras, India.  
 Major David Fitzgerald Downing, R.A., The Arsenal, Woolwich.  
 Professor William Matthew Flinders Petrie, D.C.L., 32, Torrington Square, W.C.  
 Miss Bradbury, Rivers Vale, Ashton-under-Lyne.

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A Paper was read by P. le Page Renouf (*President*) in continuation of his former Papers on the Egyptian Book of the Dead.

Remarks were added by the Rev. A. Löwy, Rev. James Marshall, and the President.

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A Paper was read by the Rev. A. Löwy, "Note on a Babylonian Brick," which will appear in the next number of the *Proceedings*.

Thanks were returned for these Communications.



PLATE XI.

BOOK OF THE DEAD.



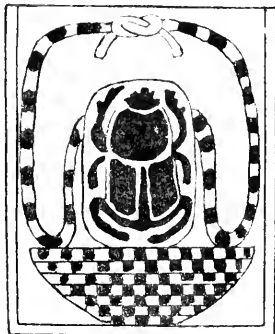
CHAPTER XXVIII.  
Papyrus, Brocklehurst, II.



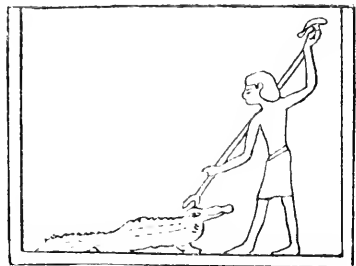
CHAPTER XXVIII.  
Papyrus, Musée du  
Louvre, III, 93.



CHAPTERS XXVI—XXIX.  
Papyrus, Berlin Museum, 22.



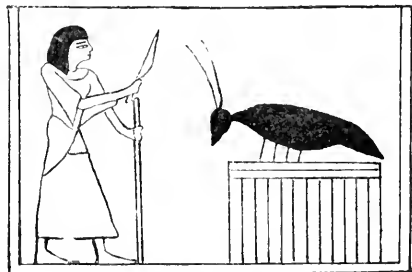
CHAPTER XXX.  
Papyrus, Musée du Louvre, III, 93.



CHAPTER XXXI.  
Papyrus, Musée du Louvre, III, 89.



CHAPTER XXXIII.  
Papyrus, Leyden Museum, IV.



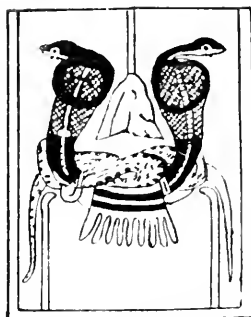
CHAPTER XXXVI.  
Papyrus, Leyden Museum, IV.

PLATE XII.

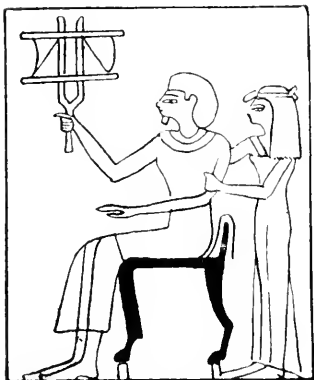
BOOK OF THE DEAD.



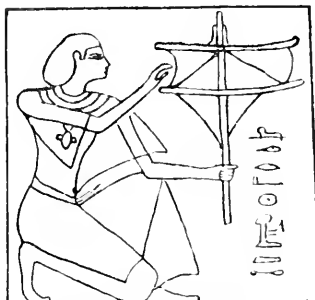
CHAPTER XXXVI.  
Papyrus, Berlin Museum, 2.



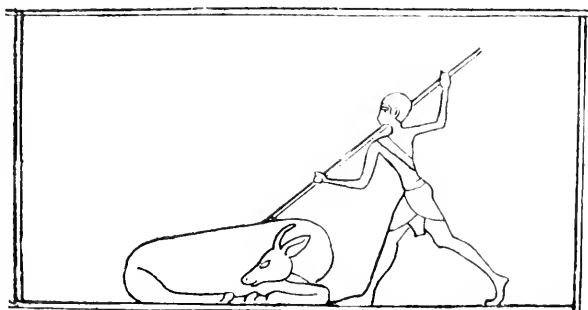
CHAPTER XXXVII.  
Papyrus, Cairo, Bulaq, 21.



CHAPTER XXXVIII.  
Papyrus, Musée du Louvre,  
Cat. des Médailles.



CHAPTER XXXVIII.  
Papyrus, Leyden Museum, V.



CHAPTER XXXIX. Pyramid of Saqâra, Grab 24.  
LEPSIUS, "Denkmäler," Abth. III, Bl. 266.





## BOOK OF THE DEAD.

BY P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

*Chapter whereby the Crocodiles are repulsed who come to carry off the Words of Power from a person in the Netherworld.*

Back, in retreat! Back, Crocodile Sui! Come not against me, who live by the Words of Power (1).

I utter (2) that Name of the great god, who granteth that two of his Messengers\* should come; the name of one is *Batta* (3), and the name of the other is *Thine Aspect is Fixed Law* (4).






Heaven determineth (5) its hour; my Word of Power determineth all that which concerneth it; and my mouth determineth my Word of Power. I eat, and my teeth are like flint, and my grinders are like the Cliff of Tuf (6).

O thou who art sitting (7) with a watchful eye against this my Word of Power; do not thou carry it off, O Crocodile who livest by thine own Word of Power.




## NOTES.






This chapter is but rarely found in the more ancient collections. It was on the coffin of Queen Mentuhotep, but M. Naville gives the readings of only two early papyri. The later recensions add a text which we shall find later on in chapter 69, and which has no connection whatever with the present chapter.





1. The Words of Power are supplied to the deceased by Thoth in chapter 23.






2. The Turin text and those which agree with it read "Do not thou utter," as if the Crocodile were about to use the Word of Power. I read . The  was first corrupted into , and  was farther improved into , which in its turn necessitated the addition of a suffix of the second person.




















































\* See chapter 29, note 1.

3. This name was changed in the later texts to the more familiar one of the divine Ape    *Benit*.

4. *Fixed Law*,  or    . The central idea of theology in the Book of the Dead is that of *Regularity*, whether in permanence or change. Those things alone are divine which abide unceasingly or which recur in accordance with undeviating *rule*.

5. *Determineth*. The word   here, as in other places, has the sense of circumscribing, as in a circuit  , prescribing the limits, fixing and determining.

6. *The Cliff of Tuf*   , literally 'his cliff,' namely of Anubis, in allusion to his frequent title  .

7. *Sitting*. Here follow *Pc* and the papyri generally in reading  . The scribe of *Ca* seems to have been thinking of          .                                        of a well-known magic text (Unas, 320).

## CHAPTER XXXII.

*Chapter whereby the Crocodiles are repulsed who come to carry off the Words of Power from the glorified in the Netherworld.*

Osiris standeth up upon his feet (1); his company of gods raise him up.

O Son who conversest with thy father, do thou protect this Great one from these four (2) crocodiles here who devour the dead and live by the Words of Power.

I know them by their names and their way of living, and it is I who protect his own father from them.

Back, thou Crocodile of the West, who livest on the Setting Stars (3). What thou execratest is upon me. Thou hast devoured the head of Osiris, but I am Rā (4).

Back, thou Crocodile of the East, who livest upon those who devour their own foulness. What thou execratest is upon me. I have come, and I am Osiris.

Back, thou Crocodile of the South, who livest upon impurities. What thou execratest is upon me. Let not the red flame be upon thee. For I am Septu (5).

Back, thou Crocodile of the North, who livest upon that which lieth between the hours (6). What thou execratest is upon me. Let not thy fiery water be inflicted upon me. [For I am Tmu (7).]

All things which exist are in my grasp, and those depend upon me which are not yet.

I am arrayed and equipped with thy Words of Power, O Rā; with that which is above and with that which is below me.

I have received increase of length and depth, and fulness of breathing within the domain of my father, the Great one.

He hath given to me that beautiful Amenta in which the living are destroyed. But strong is its possessor though he faint in it daily.

My face is unveiled, and my heart is in its place.


The Uræus is upon me daily.

I am Rā, who protecteth himself, and no evil things can overthrow me.

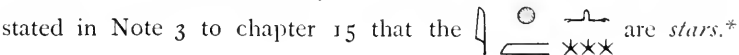
NOTES.


This chapter is in even worse condition than the one which precedes it. There are a few scraps of it on a coffin at St. Petersburg which M. Golenischeff assigns to the earliest period. The only early MS. which is of any use, *Ba*, the Berlin papyrus of Nechtuamon, is here in a very mutilated condition, as may be seen on referring to M. Naville's edition.


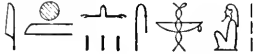




1. *Osiris standeth up upon his feet.* So *Ba*; but the coffin at St. Petersburg lends its support to the text of Bekenrenef (of the 26th Dynasty), which opens the chapter with the name of a crocodile

 "Let the Great one fall upon his belly"!


2. The ancient text had only four crocodiles, and only four are mentioned in the text of Bekenrenef. The Turin text speaks of eight; two for each of the cardinal points. But the Saitic text already has two invocations instead of one for each crocodile.


3. The sense of this myth is obvious. Every star which sets is supposed to be swallowed by the Crocodile of the West. It was stated in Note 3 to chapter 15 that the  are stars.\*







\*  as a feminine noun and proper name occurs in the Pyramid Texts (Unas, 644).

Besides the  the *stars which set* and the  the *circumpolar stars*, whose navigation  *CWK* is continuous, there are the  whose name is very significant.  and  have the sense of *turning back*,\* and the only stars whose apparent motion is ever retrograde are the *planets*.





All these stars are supposed as divinities to aid in the navigation of the Bark of Rā. The Egyptians could not have had a correct planetary theory (which only became possible through Kepler), but they understood at least that the motions of the planets were *regular*, and that they depended upon the Sun. Eudoxus is reported to have derived the data for his theory from his Egyptian instructors.

4. Instead of Rā the name of Sut is found in the later texts. Bekenrenef has .

*Septu*, , the 'armed,' one of the Solar appellations, already found in the Pyramid texts (*Unas*, 281). He appears in chapter 130, 7, in connection with the block of execution.

6. The text is here hopelessly corrupt. M. Pierret has 'offrande,' which he most probably derives from  or , a reading found in some papyri. But *Ba*, our oldest authority, has , and Bekenrenef has . The Turin copy has ; and the context does not help us. Of these four readings (and there are probably others which I do not know) that of Bekenrenef seems to me the best; but  has so many possible applications that I will not venture to suggest one.

7. [I am Tmu.] These words are not in *Ba*, but they occur in all other copies, and the omission of the divine name which stops the crocodile is an evident fault.

\* Brugsch has produced excellent evidence for the supposition that  or  signifies the *two turnings* of the Sun, that is at the solstices,  being the southern solstice and  the northern.

The chapter ends here, and what follows is an addition for which our earliest authority is that of Bekenrenef. But even this text is already corrupt, and requires to be corrected by more recent ones.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

*Chapter whereby all Serpents are kept back.*

Oh serpent Rerek, advance not! Here are the gods Seb and Shu!

Stop! or thou shalt eat the rat which Rā execrateth, and gnaw the bones of a putrid she-cat.

## NOTE.

This chapter is often found in coffins. There is a chapter much resembling it in the tomb of Horhotep (line 364), at least as regards the opening words. It addresses Rerek and tells him that Shu and another deity are coming, and that the speaker is Horus. No allusion, however, is made to the dead rat and cat. These typify the impurities and abominations to which the damned are liable in the world to come.


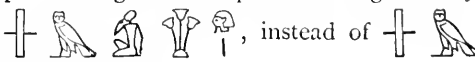


## CHAPTER XXXIV.


*Chapter whereby a person is not devoured by the dweller in the shrine (1).*



O Uræus! I am the Flame which shineth, and which openeth out eternity (2), the column of Tenpua (3) [*otherwise said*—the column on which are blossoming plants.]



Away from me! I am the Lynx goddess (4).


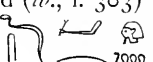
## NOTES.

1. It is not possible to say what is here actually meant by  *hat*. Every word almost in this tiny chapter was a puzzle to the Egyptian scribes, who altered the text in a hundred ways. The Turin text provides against the persons being *bitten by the Eater of the head*, , instead of , as even Bekenrenef has it. 

2. *Open out Eternity* . This is the oldest and most approved reading even in later times. But in *Pe* the flame 'shineth on the brow of the Glorified ones.'

3. A quite unknown deity and most probably a mere blunder. The MS. which contains it, *Ca*, suggests another reading *Tenpua* with , the determinative of *plants*. This not proving satisfactory,  *renpit* was substituted. But all this was mere conjectural emendation.

4. *The Lynx goddess*,  Maftit. The name of this deity is generally translated Lynx, and it is certainly applied to an animal of the feline species closely resembling the cat. But the notion expressed by the name is that of *swift speed* . (See Dümichen, *Rec.* IV, 100, where this verb is in parallel with others of the same sense.)

This deity is again mentioned in the 39th chapter as taking part in the conflict with the dragon of darkness, and it is named in the strange magic formulæ already found in the Pyramid texts. She is called  (Teta 310), and she apparently defends the deceased (*ib.*, l. 303) against two serpent divinities, one of whom at least,  *T' eser-ṭepu* (*praeclaro capite*), is known to us as one of the forty-two assessors of Osiris (*Todtenbuch*, 125-33).

#### CHAPTER XXXV.

##### *Chapter whereby the person is not devoured by a Serpent in the Netherworld.*

Oh Shu, here is Tattu, and conversely, under the wig (1) of Hathor. They scent (2) Osiris.

Here is the one who is to devour me. They wait apart (3). The serpent Seksek passeth over me.


Here are wormwood bruised (4) and reeds.


Osiris is he who prayeth that he may be buried.


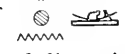


The eyes of the Great One are bent down. and he doth for thee the work of cleansing (5); marking out what is conformable to law and balancing the issues (6).


NOTES.


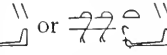
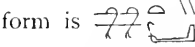
The translator of this chapter cannot pretend to do more than give an accurate meaning to each word. The true sense of the chapter must have been lost when the earliest copies known to us were written.

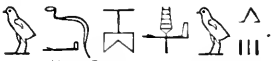

1. *Wig*, . The head-dress of the gods is one of the mythical forms of representing the light cloud at sunrise or sunset, in which the deity is *pileatus*.

2. *Scent*, . The Egyptian word is also used for *nursing*, *putting to sleep*, probably through influencing the breathing. The *nose* as a determinative is used in the different senses of the word.


3. *They wait apart*. The early MSS. do not agree here in a single word, and they defy translation. The later MSS. are scarcely less discordant.  is *to alight, rest*, and this must also be the meaning of .  is connected with . *πeε* in the sense of *dispersing, separating*.

4. *Bruised, or trodden*. There being no rational context it is impossible to fix the sense of a word like , which may mean either *guard* or *bruise by beating* or *treading down*.

5. *Cleansing*  or . The result of the process is certainly *cleansing*, but the operation itself is generally supposed to be *washing*. This agrees with the Coptic *ⲡⲉⲒⲧ* *a fuller*, of which the old Egyptian form is . But *ⲡⲉⲒⲧ* has also the sense of *beating*, and the operation is in many countries thought to be one of the most important duties of washerwomen. With this sense of the word I would connect the names *Rechit* given to Isis and Nephthys, as signifying 'mourners.' Compare the Greek *ῥῆπτισθαί τινα, κόπτισθαί τινα, to mourn a person*, and the Latin *plangere*.

6. *Balancing the issues* . The first of these words is unambiguous.  signifies literally 'standing,' like *status*, or *στάσις*, and like those words also signifies position, situation, condition, circumstances, and also the point at issue, the question to be decided.

A well known passage in Cicero's *Topics* (93, c. 35) may be quoted here: "Refutatio accusationis, in quae est depositio criminis, Graece *στάσις* dicitur, Latine *status* appelletur: in quo insistit, quasi ad repugnandum congressa defensio."

Perhaps the passage in chapter 30 B, in which "the divine ministrants are said to deal with a man" according to his  may have reference to the circumstances of his life.




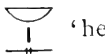

Chapters like this, however worthless in themselves, contain small fragments highly illustrative of the ideas of the Egyptians at an extremely remote period.

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

### *Chapter whereby the Āpshait is kept back.*

Away from me, thou with parted lips! I am Chnemu, the Lord of Shennsu, who am bringing the words of the gods to Rā. And I announce the news to Nebes.

#### NOTE.

The insect called  *āpšai* or  *āpšait* is difficult of identification. It is certainly not a tortoise as was formerly thought, but looks rather like the voracious *Blatta orientalis*. The form in *Le* is peculiar, but I have met it in a later papyrus. The last word of the chapter is doubtful. The most recent papyri have  'their Lord,' which gives a very good sense, but even the Turin copy has  'her Lord' which agrees with the oldest papyrus. Bekenrenef has  *Nebes*, a lion-headed goddess.



CHAPTER XXXVII.

*Chapter whereby the Merta goddesses are kept back.*

Hail ye Pair of goddesses Merta, Sister Pair, Merta! (1) I inform you of my Words of Power.

It is I who rise up from the Sektit boat. I am Horus the son of Isis, and I am come to see my father, Osiris.

NOTE.

The *Pair of goddesses* consists of Isis and Nephthys



*Rehetâ*, as the word is written at Denderah.



*Mertâ* signifies *two eyes*.



THE SUPERLINEAR PUNCTUATION, ITS ORIGIN, THE  
DIFFERENT STAGES OF ITS DEVELOPMENT, AND  
ITS RELATION TO OTHER SEMITIC SYSTEMS OF  
PUNCTUATION.

By G. MARGOLIOUTH (British Museum).

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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

1. The subject and scope of this treatise are fully and clearly indicated in its title. It must be remarked, however, that the order of the different parts as given there follows what may be called an ideal sequence, whilst in the treatise itself a practical arrangement will be adopted. From an ideal point of view, the origin of a system comes first, and then the consideration of the different stages of its development; but for practical purposes it is much more serviceable in this case first of all to fix our attention on the system of punctuation which forms the subject of this treatise, and to take in the characteristics exhibited in the different forms in which it appears, and then to proceed with the argument on its origin and its relation to Semitic systems of punctuation in general. This treatise will therefore be divided into the following two parts:—  
I. The superlinear punctuation in the different stages of its development. II. The origin of this vowel-system, and its relation to other Semitic systems of punctuation.

2. The “rationale” for the arrangement of the subject in the first part and for many statements in its different sections must, however, as the nature of the case requires, be sought in the conclusions at which the student is expected to arrive after having read through the second part of the treatise. This could not be otherwise, because the author could not but look upon the various questions connected with the first part of his subject in the light thrown upon them by the definite results at which he had arrived with regard to the problems that are discussed in the second part.

But great care will be taken to present the "phenomena" of the system itself in such a manner as to make it profitable to the student independently of the conclusions aimed at in the second part, and the author will also be careful to indicate with sufficient force and clearness the arguments which may be advanced in favour of the theories that are opposed to his own.

## PART I.

*The superlinear punctuation in the different stages of its development.*

§ 1. There are two principal forms in which the superlinear punctuation is known to us. The oldest known MSS. which exhibit the "simple" form of this punctuation are the British Museum MSS. Or. 1467 and 2363,\* and the chief representative of what may be called the superlinear "composite" form is the "Codex Babylonicus Petropolitanus,"† containing the "Prophetæ Posteriores."

§ 2. The simple system of punctuation as exhibited in Or. 1467 and 2363 will be shown in the following table:—

Name of Sign.	Sublinear Form.‡	Superlinear Form.
רפה §	ב̣	ב̣
שוא נע	ב̣ ב̣ ב̣ ב̣	ב̣
חטף פתח		
(חטף קמץ)		
חטף סגול		

\* Professor Merx's *Chrestomathia Targumica* (Porta Ling. Orient., Pars VIII) is very largely drawn from these two MSS., and a page of Or. 1467 is exhibited in Plate LIV of the Palæographical Society's Oriental Series. They are both of the 11th or 12th century.

† See Dr. H. Strack's photographic facsimile edition, St. Petersburg, 1876.

‡ ב̣ and ב̣ being the only exceptions, the ordinary forms, usually attributed to the school of Tiberias, may not unfitly be styled "sublinear," in contradistinction to the "superlinear" system.

§ The רפה, which is an important feature in Or. 1467 and 2363, is altogether omitted in Merx's *Chrestomathy*.

|| In קדם̣.

Name of Sign.	Sublinear Form.	Superlinear Form.
קמיץ גדול } קמיץ חטוף } חטף קמיץ }	ב̣ (ב̣) *	ב̣
פתח } (סגול) }	ב̣ (ב̣)	ב̣
חולם	ב̣ בּו	ב̣ בּו
שורק, קבוץ	ב̣ בּו	ב̣ בּו
צירי	ב̣ בּו	ב̣ בּו
חירק	ב̣ בּו	ב̣ בּו

§ 3. The following short passages exemplify all the signs contained in the above table.

(a) Hebrew. Num. xi, 1, 2.

וְיִהְיֶה הָעָם כַּמֵּתֵאֲנָנִים רָע בְּאֹזְנֵי יְהוָה וְיִשְׁמַע יְהוָה וְיִחָר אָפוֹ וְתִבְעַר בָּם אֵשׁ יְהוָה וְתֹאכַל בְּקֶצֶה הַמֶּחֶנֶה וְיִצְעַק הָעָם אֶל־מִשֶּׁה וְיִתְפַּלֵּל מִשֶּׁה אֶל־יְהוָה וְתִשְׁקַע הָאֵשׁ.

(Or. 1467, fol. 47a, col. 1.)

*Ibidem*, v, 10.

וְיִשְׁמַע מִשֶּׁה אֶת־הָעָם בְּנֶה לַמִּשְׁפָּחָתָיו אִישׁ לַפֶּתַח אֲהֵלוֹ וְיִחָר אָף יְהוָה מְאֹד וּבְעֵינֵי מִשֶּׁה רָע.

(*Ibidem*, col. 2.)

*Ibidem*, xii, 7.

לֹא כֵן עָבַדְתִּי מִשֶּׁה בְּכָל־בֵּיתִי נֶאֱמַן הוּא

(*Ibidem*, fol. 48b, col. 2.)

\* As often Baer, following MSS. of German origin.

(b) Targum. Gen. xxxii, 3, 4.

וּשְׁלַח יַעֲקֹב אֲזַגְדִּין קְדָמוּהי לֹאֵת עֵשָׂו אֲחוּהי לְאַרְעָא  
 דְּסִיעִיר לְהַקְלֵי אֲדוּם . וּפְקִיד יִתְהוֹן לְמִימָר כְּדִין תִּימְלוֹן  
 לְרִיבּוּנֵי לַעֲשֹׂו כְּדָנָן אֲמַר עֲבָדְךָ יַעֲקֹב עִם לָבָן דָּרִית וְאוּחִרִית  
 עַד כַּעֲנָן.

(Or. 2363, fol. 30a, col. 2.)

Num. xi, 20.

עַד יִירָח \* יוֹמִין עַד דְּתַקְלוֹן בֵּיהּ וִיהוֹן † לָכּוֹן לְתַקְלָא  
 הֲלֵף דְּקַעְתּוֹן בְּמִימְרָא ‡ דִּיּוֹן דְּשִׁנִּינְתִּיהּ שְׂרִיא בִּינִיכוֹן וְזַבְּוִיתּוֹן  
 קְדָמוּהי לְמִימָר לְמָא דָּנָן נִפְקָא מִמְצָרִים.

(Or. 1467, fol. 47b, Col. 2.)

*Ibidem* xxxii, 29.

וְאֲמַר מִשָּׂה לְהוֹן אַם § יִיעֲבְרוֹן בְּנֵי גַד וּבְנֵי רֵאוּבֵן עִמָּוֹן  
 יֵת יִרְדְּנָא כֹּל דְּמוֹרֵז לְקַרְבָּא קָדָם עֲמָא דִּיּוֹן וְתַתְּכַבֵּישׁ אֲרַעָא  
 קְדָמִיכוֹן וְתַתְּנוֹן לְהוֹן יֵת אֲרַע גַּלְעָד לְאַחַסְנָא.

(Or. 1467, fol. 73b, Col. 1.)

§ 4. Before discussing the differences to be noticed in the application of this vowel-system to the Hebrew and the Aramaic respectively (note e.g. the absence of דגש in the Aramaic), and before fixing our attention on the power and usage of each sign in detail, it seems best first to exemplify a later variation of which Or. 1470 (containing the Haftārōth) is a very good representative. It will be

\* Or. 2363 יִירָח,

† Or. 2363 וִיהוֹן,

‡ Or. 2363 דִּיּוֹן.

§ Or. 2363 יִיעֲבְרוֹן.

noticed that the sublinear sign  $\underline{\text{ר}}$  is there represented by the super-linear  $\underline{\text{ר}}^*$  in  $\underline{\text{ר}}^*\text{קדָם}$ ,  $\underline{\text{ר}}^*\text{קדְמוֹהי}$ , etc., and that the sign of רפה is absent.

The Hebrew text of the Haftārōth in Or. 1470 has the sublinear punctuation, and of the Targum the following passages will serve as examples:—

Häbaḳḳūḳ iii, 1, 2.

עֲלוֹתָא דְצִלֵי חֲבָקוֹק נְבִיא. † כִּד אֲתַגְלִי לִיה עַל אֲרָפָא  
 דִּיהֵב לְרִשְׁיֵעִיא דְאִם יְתוּבֹן לְאוּרִיתָא בְלָבָב שְׁלִים יִשְׁתַּבֵּי  
 לְהוֹן . וִיהוֹן כָּל הוֹבִיּהוֹן דְּחָבּוּ קְדְמוֹהי הָא כְּשִׁלּוֹתָא : יְיִ .  
 שְׁמַעִית שִׁמְעָ גְבוֹרֶתְךָ דְּחֵלִית . יְיִ רְבַרְבִּין עוּבְדֶךָ . דְּאֵת  
 יְהִיב אֲרָפָא לְרִשְׁיֵעִיא דְאִם יְתוּבֹן לְאוּרִיתְךָ וְלֹא תְבוּ וְאֲנֹן  
 מְרַגְזִין קְדָמְךָ . בְּנֹו שְׁנִיא דִּיהֵבַת לְהוֹן חִיִּיא . בְּכִין אֵת עֵתִיד  
 לְהוֹדְעָא גְבוֹרֶתְךָ בְּנֹו שְׁנִיא דְאֲמַרְתָּא לְחֵדְתָּא עֲלָמָא .  
 לְאֲתַפְרָעָא מְרִשְׁיֵעִיא דְעֵבְרוּ עַל מִימְרֶךָ . וְעִדִּיקָא עֲבָדִי  
 רְעוּתְךָ בְּנֹו רְגוֹךְ רְחֵמִין תִּדְכֹּר :

(Or. 1470, fol. 67*a*, Col. 2, and 67*b*, Col. 1.) Compare Merx's *Chrestomathy*, p. 105.

\* In the *Prolegomena* to his *Chrestomathy*, p. xi, Prof. Merx says: "Signum  $\underline{\text{ר}}$  quo Haṭef Qameṣ exprimitur in  $\underline{\text{ר}}^*$  his codicibus proprium est," as if this composite sign were a "general" characteristic of the British Museum MSS. with the superlinear punctuation; but the examples given by him on pp. 69 and 71 are evidently ascribed by some strange oversight to Or. 2363, the passages in question being mutilated and quite illegible in that MS. I have not noticed any instance of the sign  $\underline{\text{ר}}$  in either Or. 1467 or 2363, and this sign is no doubt a later development.

† Note the pauses within verses.

Häbaḳḳūk, v, 16.

אִמְרַת בָּבֶל שְׁמַעִית הוֹעֵזוּ מַלְכָּיו. מִן קֶדֶם דִּינָא דְאִדְרָנוּ  
 כִּינְרָאֵי. לִקְל מַלְיָא אֵלִיךְ זֵלָא סְפֹרְתֵי. אֶחָד הוֹעָא לַחֲנִימֵי.  
 וּבְאַתְר דְּשִׁרְיָא זְעִית. דְּשִׁבְקֵי לְיוֹם עָקָא. לְעִידָן אֶסְקָא  
 גְּלֹת עָמִיָּה מִנִּי וּתְפִרִינֵנוּ:

(Or. 1470, fol. 68, Col. 1); compare Merx's *Chrestomathy*, p. 111.)

§ 5. It had been thought that  $\text{ק}^{\text{ז}}$  was the only composite sign used in this variation, and that the Aramaic  $\text{ק}^{\text{ז}}$  was the only word\* which exemplifies it, but the following extracts from Or. 2227, a Yemenite Service Book written by a son † of the scribe who wrote Or. 1470 show that  $\text{ק}^{\text{ז}}$  was in the 16th century, at any rate, used largely in Hebrew, and that the sign  $\text{ק}^{\text{ז}}$  was as common as  $\text{ק}^{\text{ז}}$ .

Psalms xlvi, 8:—

בְּרוּחַ קָדִים תִּשְׁבֵּר אֲנִיּוֹת תְּרִישִׁישׁ:

*Ibidem*, v. 14:—

שִׁיתוּ לְבַבְכֶם לְהִילָה פִּסְגוּ אֲרַמְנוֹתֶיהָ לְמַעַן תִּסְפְּרוּ לְדוֹר  
 אֲהֲרֹן:

*Ibidem*, lxxxii, 1:—

אֱלֹהִים נִשְׁבַּ בְּעֵדַת אֵל בְּקֶרֶב אֱלֹהִים יִשְׁפֹּט:

*Ibidem*, v. 6:—

אֲנִי אִמְרַתִּי אֱלֹהִים אַתֶּם וּבְנֵי עֲלוֹן לְכֻלְכֶם:

(These four verses are on fol. 21a.)

\* It is, however, also used in דִּלְקָבִיל. See e.g. Or. 1472, folio 31, column 1. In Or. 2364 (Num. 25, 4), however, לִקְבִיל (לקביל) in Or. 1467).

† The scribe of Or. 2227 (A.D. 1540) was

אביגד בן דוד בן בניה בן סעדיה בן זכריה בן עודד בן מרגה  
 אלנסאך

and Or. 1470 (A.D. 1484) was written by . . . דוד בן בניה. Here then we have an authentic list giving seven successive generations of a family of Yemenite scribes.

Psalm xciv, 10 :—

יְיָ יוֹדֵעַ כַּחֲשׁוֹת אָדָם כִּי הִמָּה הַבֵּל :

(Fol. 21*b*.)

*Ibidem*, lxxxiii, 1 :—

אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹדְדֵי לֶךְ אֱלִת־הָרֶשׁ וְאֱלִת־שְׁקוּט אֵל :

*Ibidem*, v. 7 :—

אֱהָדֵי אָדָם וְיִשְׁמַעֲאֵלִים כְּוָאֵב וְהָגְרוּם :

(These two verses are on fol. 23*a*.)

§ 6. Two differences will be noticed between the Hebrew and the Targum in the extracts taken from Or. 1467 and 2363 :—(1) In the Targum the דגש is not used, whilst it is largely employed in the Hebrew.\* From this fact the inference may be drawn that the דגש is not a part of the superlinear system as such, but that in the Hebrew a sign from a different system was added for the sake of marking the traditional pronunciation more clearly. (2) A comparison of this punctuation with the sublinear system makes it necessary to differentiate the שוא נע represented by ב̄ into ב̇ (בְּאֵזִי = בְּאֵזִי), (הַמְחִינָה = הַמְחִינָה) and ב̈ (בְּאֵמֶן = בְּאֵמֶן), (אֱהָלוֹ) being represented by ב̆; whilst in the Targum the want of such a differentiation is not felt at all, the pronunciation being more like that of the Syriac where such distinctions have never been expressed by signs.

§ 7. An important feature of the earliest known examples of this punctuation as exhibited in Or. 1467 and 2363 is the use of the רפה † (represented by ב̄) for the letters בגדכפת.‡ In the Hebrew,

\* Not indeed as regularly as with the sublinear punctuation, but even the irregularity in its usage would seem to show that the דגש is imported into the superlinear punctuation from another system. Notice, however, in *e.g.*, יְבוֹלָה (Lev. xxvi, 4, in Or. 1467), the use of the מפיק besides the דגש.

† Not regularly, however.

‡ I have not, however, noticed a פ with the sign of רפה in the Aramaic; and if it is used at all, it can only be very rarely. This circumstance reminds one of the fact that the Nestorians also pronounced the פ hard, except in rare cases. See Nöldeke, *Syrische Grammatik*, p. 15.



where the **דגש** is used, this sign is really not necessary,\* as the absence of **דגש** implies the pronunciation indicated by **רפה**; but in the Aramaic, which lacks the **דגש**, the **רפה** is of considerable importance. In Or. 1470, however, where the **דגש** is largely used in the Aramaic, the necessity for employing the **רפה** is no more felt; hence its absence there.

§ 8. The sign of the **שוא נע** has been already remarked on (*see* § 6). The composite sign **ב̣**, having the sound *o* in too marked a degree, is in the oldest and simplest system expressed by **ב̇**. To the example **אֵהָלוּ** add such words as **זָרוּ**, **חָלוּ**, **אָנוּ**, **חָרוּ**. In the Targum, however, **קָרָם** = **קָרָם**.

The composite signs **ב̇**, **ב̣** in Or. 1470 and 2227 (besides several other MSS.) appear to mark an endeavour to assimilate the superlinear system to the more marked vocal differentiation exhibited in the sublinear punctuation. This inference may be looked upon as sufficiently evident. The Yemenite scribes of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were in the constant habit of using both systems, and it is only natural to think that the composite signs of the one system should suggest a similar formation in the other.

The two signs **ב̇** and **ב̣** really represent **ב̣** and **ב̣** as well as **ב̣**, the vowel **ב̇** representing both **ב̣** and **ב̣** (*vide infra*).

The **שוא נח** is not expressed at all, there being in reality no need for such a sign.

§ 9. It had been suggested‡ that the signs **ב̇** and **ב̣** represent in form the letter **א** in different stages of modification. It is, however,

\* The endeavour of the Masorites to indicate the pronunciation as clearly as possible has produced a tendency to a superfluity of signs in the Hebrew.

† In the Targum, where only **ב̇** appears to be used, it seems to be confined to the **ק** (**קָבִיל**, **קָרָם**), that letter requiring a fuller vocalisation on account of its hardness; compare in Hebrew **קָדְשִׁים** from **קָדֵשׁ**.

‡ See S. Pimsker's: **מבוא אל הנקוד האשורי או הבבלי**, or *Einleitung in das Babylonisch-Hebräische Punctuationssystem*, pp. 8 and xvi. Prof. Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, 2nd edition, Vol. I, p. 7, is, however, much more careful, restricting himself even in the Arabic to the statement that "ع is a small و."

much more likely that  $\overset{\text{b}}{\text{ܐ}}$  is a modified form of the Jacobite Syriac Pēthōhō ( $\text{ܥ}$ ), and that similarly the sign  $\overset{\text{b}}{\text{ܐ}}$  is nothing but the Greek  $\epsilon$  which is found in early Syriac MSS,\* instead of  $\text{ܥ}$ , the Jacobite vowel Zēḳōfō. If the Greek letter in question is written down so as to have its opening on the left, a shortening of the two sides at once produces the superlinear Kāmeṣ ( $\overset{\text{b}}{\text{ܐ}}$ ); and as the force of these two superlinear signs is analogous to the two Syriac vowels respectively, there seems to be no reason for doubting the correctness of this theory.

§ 10. The sign  $\overset{\text{b}}{\text{ܐ}}$  represents both  $\overset{\text{b}}{\text{ܐ}}$  and  $\overset{\text{b}}{\text{ܐ}}$ , that is both the short  $a$  and the short  $e$ . It does not follow, however, that no difference was made in the pronunciation. It is well known that the Arabic fēṭḥ ( $\text{ـَ}$ ) is subject to different modifications † of sound, and it is only reasonable to suppose that the vowel  $\overset{\text{b}}{\text{ܐ}}$  was not uniformly pronounced like  $\overset{\text{b}}{\text{ܐ}}$ , but that it actually had the sound of  $\overset{\text{b}}{\text{ܐ}}$ , where it corresponds to this sublinear sign. It is also probable that  $\overset{\text{b}}{\text{ܐ}}$  was not originally so decidedly like the vowel-letter  $e$  as we are apt to think, but that  $\overset{\text{b}}{\text{ܐ}}$  and  $\overset{\text{b}}{\text{ܐ}}$  were at first more closely related to one another in their pronunciation. Take for instance the word  $\overset{\text{b}}{\text{ܐܠܐܡܐ}} = \overset{\text{b}}{\text{ܐܠܐܡܐ}}$ . It is at once clear that neither in the one system nor in the other were the two syllables of the word pronounced alike. The strong accentuation of the first syllable as compared with the secondary character of the ultimate vowel precludes the idea of equality of sound. It would follow, therefore, that neither  $\overset{\text{b}}{\text{ܐ}}$  nor  $\overset{\text{b}}{\text{ܐ}}$  possessed an invariable pronunciation in the respective systems, but that it was only on account of a general relationship in sound that one sign was adopted for two or even three vocal variations.

§ 11. From the fact that  $\overset{\text{b}}{\text{ܐܠܐܡܐ}}$  and  $\overset{\text{b}}{\text{ܐܠܐܡܐ}}$  are both

\* See Add. 14,429, fol. 88r, and the account of Add. 14,667 in Wright's *Syriac Catalogue*, p. 111. The former MS. is dated A.D. 719, the latter is of the tenth century. See also Noldeke's *Syrische Grammatik*, p. 8.

† See, e.g., Wright's *Comparative Grammar*, pp. 76, 77. Compare also the various modes of pronouncing the vowel-letter  $a$  in English.

represented by  $\overset{\acute{}}{\text{ב}}$ ,\* it may safely be inferred that the originators of this vowel-system pronounced the  $\text{קמין}$  as the western Syrians pronounced their  $\overset{\acute{}}{\text{e}}$ , and not like the Nestorian  $\overset{\acute{}}{\text{a}}$ . If  $\overset{\acute{}}{\text{ב}}$  were pronounced  $\overset{\acute{}}{\text{a}}$ , the same sign would hardly have been adopted for the short  $\text{o}$ ; but if  $\overset{\acute{}}{\text{ב}}$  was pronounced  $\overset{\acute{}}{\text{o}}$ , or rather like the vowel sound in "small" (see § 12), the identity of the sign is at once explained. The same remark applies of course equally to the sublinear sign  $\overset{\text{̣}}{\text{ב}}$ , which is also both  $\overset{\acute{}}{\text{o}}$  and  $\text{o}$ , and it therefore follows that the originators of the two systems did not differ from one another in their pronunciation of the  $\text{קמין גדול}$ . This observation is of considerable importance with reference to the origin of this vowel-system, and its relation to the sublinear punctuation, and will obtain due consideration in the second part of this treatise.

§ 12. It is noticeable that both the sublinear and the superlinear systems of punctuation agree with the Nestorian differentiation of  $\overset{\circ}{\text{q}}$  and  $\overset{\acute{\circ}}{\text{q}}$  in Syriac. In the sublinear system there is a very close agreement with the Nestorian Syriac even in form, for  $\overset{\circ}{\text{q}}$  is clearly identical with  $\overset{\circ}{\text{q}}$  and  $\overset{\acute{\circ}}{\text{q}}$  with  $\overset{\acute{\circ}}{\text{q}}$ ; and in the superlinear punctuation  $\overset{\acute{\circ}}{\text{ב}} = \overset{\acute{\circ}}{\text{ב}} = \overset{\acute{\circ}}{\text{b}}$ , and  $\overset{\circ}{\text{ב}} = \overset{\circ}{\text{ב}} = \overset{\circ}{\text{b}}$ . In the Jacobite pronunciation of the Syriac there is, as is well known, no sign corresponding to the  $\overset{\acute{\circ}}{\text{q}}$ . This may be due to the circumstance that  $\overset{\acute{\circ}}{\text{e}}$  was practically pronounced like  $\overset{\acute{\circ}}{\text{q}}$  by the western Syrians, so that a fresh sound of the same or a similar character would have been confusing. In the two systems of punctuation, however, which meet us in Hebrew, we are actually confronted with a sign  $\overset{\acute{}}{\text{ב}}$  or  $\overset{\text{̣}}{\text{ב}} = \overset{\acute{}}{\text{e}}$  (see § 11) and also a sign  $\overset{\circ}{\text{ב}}$  or  $\overset{\circ}{\text{ב}} = \overset{\circ}{\text{q}}$ .† This would lead one to think that the originators of the two systems, though not pronouncing  $\overset{\acute{}}{\text{ב}}$ ,  $\overset{\text{̣}}{\text{ב}}$  like a pure long  $\text{a}$ , did not either pronounce it quite like a pure long  $\text{o}$ , but that the sound of  $\overset{\acute{}}{\text{ב}}$ ,  $\overset{\text{̣}}{\text{ב}}$  lay between the two, and was probably pronounced like the  $\text{a}$  in "small."‡

\* It has already been noticed that  $\overset{\acute{}}{\text{ב}}$  also represents  $\text{חנה קמין}$  in the oldest known examples of this vowel-system, as e.g.  $\overset{\acute{}}{\text{חלי}}$ ,  $\overset{\acute{}}{\text{צרי}}$

† No reference is of course intended here to the etymology of the two vowels.

‡ This is the now generally adopted view.

§ 13. A noteworthy and instructive feature meets us here in connection with the copulative ׀. The שׁוא following it is not נע, as one is accustomed to pronounce it in connection with the sublinear vowel-system, but is everywhere \* resting; so e.g. וּבְנֵי, וּלְעֵינַי, וּלְעֵינַי (not וּבְנֵי, etc.). So also in the Targum וּסְלִיק, וּשְׁבִיבִין, וּנְסִיב, etc. The ׀ is indeed not to be looked upon as a long vowel, but is to be classed with the “half-open” or “loose” syllables, like the ׀ in רְדַפּוֹ or the ׀ in מְלִיֵּי. This accounts not only for the absence of the מתג (except in cases like וּנְהַב, וּשְׁקָה), but also explains the רפה of the ׀ following the שׁוא, as e.g. וּבְגָדָיו, וּבְדָרְיוֹ.

§ 14. The signs בִּי ׀ and בִּי † require no special remark as far as the simple form of this punctuation is concerned; they correspond exactly to בִּי ׀ and בִּי ׀ respectively. But before closing our observations on this part of the subject, it may be useful to observe that the Sacred Name is never pointed with the superlinear signs in the earlier codices. Or. 1467 and 2363 exhibit יְהוָה ׀ in the Hebrew, whilst in the Targum, Or. 1467 has יְהוָה ׀, and Or. 2363 יְהוָה ׀. Later MSS. are, however, less scrupulous, applying the superlinear signs to the Sacred Name equally with other words.

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\* See Merx's *Chrestomathy*, p. 191, where a full account is given of the vocalisation of the copulative ׀. It must be noticed, however, that the vocalisation וּבְנֵי (Num. xxv, 8, in the Targum) is a mistaken reading. In Or. 1467, on which Merx's text rests, the שׁוא over the בִּי was evidently erased *prima manu*, whilst the reading in Or. 2363 is וּבְנֵי. The reading וּבְנֵי, p. 54, is also incorrect.

† The reading מְמַדְנָח mentioned in Merx's *Chrestomathy*, pp. xi and 15, note 2, is not at all clear in the MS., and it is quite possible that the very faint upper stroke is due to an accidental touch, or that, at any rate, it had been subsequently almost entirely effaced.

Another interesting observation to be made concerns the “furtive pathah.” Instead of its being written over the letters ה, ח, ע, it is placed over the preceding vowel-letter;\* so הֶ, חֶ, עֶ, אֱלֹהֶ, זֶרַעֶ, רֶחֶם, רֵיחַ, etc. This distinctly points to a pronunciation which treated the letters ה, ח, ע as “resting” consonants with a “preceding” *a* sound. Where, however, there is no vowel-letter, the usage appears to waver between e.g. הֶזְרַעֶ and הֶזְרַעֵ.

§ 15. It is due to a strange freak in the fortunes of literature that the later and composite form of the superlinear punctuation is mainly known to us by a MS. of much earlier date than Or. 1467 and 2363, which are the earliest known representatives of the simple form of this punctuation. It is of course possible that MSS. of the eighth and ninth centuries may sooner or later make their appearance to enrich our knowledge of both systems of punctuation, and to widen the scope of our view on this field of enquiry; but for the present the Codex Babylonicus Petropolitanus remains preëminent for its antiquity† as an exemplification of the composite superlinear punctuation.

§ 16. The following table illustrates the vowel-system as used in the above-named MS. of the later Prophets:—

Name of sign.	Sublinear form.	Superlinear form.
רפה	ב̣	ב̣
שוא נע } שוא נח }	ב̣	ב̣
קמץ גדול	ב̣	ב̣
דגש ante קמץ חטוף	ב̣ (ב̣)	ב̣
idem ante נח } חטוף קמץ }	ב̣ ב̣	ב̣

\* So also in Or. 2349 and the Hebrew text of the Haftārōth in Or. 1470, זרַעֶ רַחֵם, etc. (the same peculiarity is found in the Cambridge Add. MS. 1174, which was written by the same scribe as Or. 2349 and Or. 1470).

† Or. 4445, containing the Pentateuch with the sublinear punctuation, is, however, in all probability older than the St. Petersburg Codex of the latter Prophets. For a description of it see the *Academy* of April 2, 1892.

Name of sign.	Sublinear form.	Superlinear form.
פתח (סגול)	ב̣ (ב̣)	ב̣
<i>idem</i> ante דגש	--	ב̣
<i>idem</i> ante נח } חטף פתח }	— ב̣	ב̣
חולם	בו ב	ב̣
שורק (קבוץ)	בו̣ (ב̣)	ב̣
<i>idem</i> ante דגש	—	ב̣
<i>idem</i> ante נח	—	ב̣
צירי	ב̣ ב̣	ב̣
<i>idem</i> ante דגש	—	ב̣
<i>idem</i> ante נח } חטף סגול }	— ב̣	ב̣
חירק	בו ב	ב̣
<i>idem</i> ante דגש	—	ב̣
<i>idem</i> ante נח	—	ב̣

§ 17. The following passages from the *Codex Babylonicus* will exemplify all the signs contained in the above table:—

Isaiah xlii, 11-13:—

יִשְׂאוּ מִדְּבַר וַעֲרִיּוּ חֲצֵרוֹת תִּשְׁבַּ \* קִדְרֵי יַרְנֵנִי יִשְׁבֵּי סֹלַע  
 מִרְאֵשׁ הָרִים יִנְחֶהוּ : יִשְׁיִמּוּ לַיהוָה כְּבוֹד וְתִהְלָלְתוּ בְּאָיִים  
 יִגְדְּלוּ : יְהוָה כְּנָבוֹר יֵצֵא כְּאִישׁ מִלְחָמוֹת יַעִיר קְנֵאָה יִרְוַע  
 אֶת־יַעֲרִיחַ עַל־אֵיבָיו יִתְנַבֵּר :

\* Of the accents only the Athnah and Silluk are marked in these extracts.  
 See § 24.

Ezekiel xl, 42-44 :—

וְאֶרְפְּעָה שְׁלֹהֲנוֹת לְעוֹלָה אֲבָנֵי \* גְּזִית אֶרֶץ-אֲמָה אַחַת  
וְהֵנִי וְרֹחַב אֲמָה אַחַת וְהֵנִי וְגִבְהַאֲמָה אַחַת אֲלֵיהֶם וַיִּנְחֹוּ  
אֶת־הַעֲלָיִם אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁחֹוּ אֶת־הָעוֹלָה בָּם וְהִזְכֹּחַ : וְהַשְּׁפָתַיִם  
נִפְחָ אֶחָד מִזְכָּנַיִם בְּפִית סָבִיב | סָבִיב וְאֶל-† הַשְּׁלֹהֲנוֹת בְּשֶׁר  
הַקָּרְפָּן : וְהַחֹוֹשֶׁה לְשִׁעַר הַפְּנֹמִי לְשַׁנּוֹת שְׂרִים בְּחֶזֶר הַפְּנֹמִי  
אֲשֶׁר אֶל־פֶּתֶף שִׁעַר הַצִּפּוֹן וּפְנֵיהֶם דֶּרֶךְ הַדְּרוֹם אֶחָד אֶל־פֶּתֶף  
שִׁעַר הַקָּדִים פְּנֵי דֶרֶךְ הַצִּפּוֹן :

Isaiah xlix, 8 :—

כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה בַּעֲת רִצּוֹן עֲנִיתִךְ וּבַיּוֹם יִשְׁוֶעַה עוֹרֹתֶיךָ  
וְאֶצְרֶךְ וְאֶתְנַךְ לְבַרִית עִם לְהַקִּים אֶרֶץ לְהַנְחִיל נַחֲלֹת  
שְׂמִינֹת :

Häbakkük i, 8, 9 :—

וְקָלִי מִזְכָּרִים סוֹסִיו וְחִדּוֹ מִזֹּאבֵי-עָרֵב וְפָשׁוּ פְּרָשָׁיו וּפְרָשָׁיו  
‡ מִרְהוֹק יִבָּאוּ יִלְפּוּ פִנְשֵׁר הָשׁ לְאֶקּוֹל : פֶּלֶה לְחַמַּס יָבֹוא  
מִגַּמַּת פְּנֵיהֶם קְדִימָה וַיֹּאסֶף כְּחֹל שָׁבִי :

*Ibidem*, iii, 2, 3 :—

יְהוָה שְׁמַעְתִּי שְׁמַעְךָ יִרְאֵתִי יְהוָה פְּעָלְךָ בְּקָרֵב שָׁנִים  
חֵייוֹ בְּקָרֵב שָׁנִים תוֹדִיעַ בְּרָגוֹ רַחַם תִּזְכּוֹר : אֱלוֹהֵי מַתִּימָן  
יָבֹוא וְקָדוֹשׁ מִהָר פֶּאֶרָן כָּלֵה פֶסֶחַ שְׁמַיִם הוֹדוּ וַתִּהְלָתוּ  
כִּלְאֵה הָאָרֶץ :

\* Evidently deriving this word from גָּזוּ, and not from גִּזָּה. See Pinsker, p. 17.

† Note this pointing for the sublinear שְׁלֹהֲנוֹת.

‡ So in the MS. with double indication of the *e*.

Häbakkük iii, 7 :—

תַּחַת אֲוֶן רְאִיתִי אֱהֵלִי כְּשֶׁן יִרְגָּמֶן יִרְעוֹת אֶרֶץ מִדְּוָן :

§ 19. The use of the same sign ( $\bar{\text{ב}}$ ) for רפה, שוא נע, and שוא נח is very inconvenient, and must be looked upon as a retrograde step, if compared with the pointing of, e.g., Or. 1467, where the רפה is represented by  $\bar{\text{ב}}$ , and the שוא נע by  $\bar{\text{ב}}$ , whilst the שוא נח is not indicated at all. The explanation of this unsatisfactory fusion of signs must be sought in the design of assimilating the superlinear vowel-system as much as possible to the sublinear punctuation.\* The sign  $\bar{\text{ב}}$  was made to represent both kinds of שוא † simply because the sign  $\bar{\text{ב}}$  was found to serve both purposes; and as the sign of the רפה as used in connection with the sublinear system is also  $\bar{\text{ב}}$ , this sign thus chanced to obtain a threefold signification in the vowel-system exhibited in the *Codex Babylonicus*.

§ 20. As there are special signs in the superlinear punctuation to indicate a following doubled consonant, the דגש is not really necessary, except in cases like הַתְּהָה ‡ (Jer. xlviii, 1), הַתְּהָה (*ibidem*, v. 20), and הַאֲוֶנֶה (Is. xxxii, 9); and if it be considered that in the simpler and older form of this vowel-system the Targum is practically without the use of the דגש, one is led to the conclusion that also in

\* The reader is asked not to draw from this statement the inference that the sublinear punctuation is the older of the two, but to refer to Part II for further information.

† The name שוא appears to be confined to the sublinear sign  $\bar{\text{ב}}$ , and not to apply to the superlinear  $\bar{\text{ב}}$ . Compare the Syriac term  $\text{פִּסְטָא}$  for the sign of interpunction (:); see Bernstein's *Chrestomathy*, p. 205, l. 3, and *Lexicon*, p. 508.—It is, in any case, a serious mistake to look upon the horizontal stroke in composite vowels as a שוא, and to transcribe, e.g., זָכְרוּ by זֶכְרוּ, and שִׁירְתִּי by שְׁוִירְתִּי (as Pinsker does on the page facing p. 45). The line under and over the vowel-sign respectively indicates שוא or דגש for the following consonant, and not a שוא for the consonant bearing the composite sign.

‡ It is noticeable that יִרְנֹו is without a דגש in the נ in all its four occurrences in Isaiah. Pinsker, who is usually most reliable in his references, is at fault here.



this respect the superlinear punctuation shows distinct marks of an attempt to assimilate it as much as possible to the sublinear system. On the supposition that the superlinear vowel-signs were grafted on a text which had been previously punctuated on the sublinear method, such an element as the דגש would not unnaturally remain in the text notwithstanding the fact that the new punctuation could in most cases dispense with it.

§ 21. Long vowels may of course in the tone-syllable be followed by a נח or a דגש without the accompanying line under or over the vowel-sign respectively. To words like וְהָתְהָה, etc., mentioned in the preceding section, add instances like סְבִי, יְבוּזוּ, מִדְּבַר, תִּשָּׁב, etc.

The same remark applies to the “pathah”\* as the most prominent of the short vowels, e.g., אֲהָת, אֲהָת, אֲשֵׁר.

§ 22. It is generally thought that the punctuation of the *Codex Babylonicus* shares with the simpler superlinear system the entire absence of a sign corresponding to the sublinear  $\overline{\text{v}}$ , but there is no reason why the sign  $\underline{\text{v}}$  in words like וְאֵלֶךְ, וְתָרָא, דָּרַךְ, מִלֵּךְ, etc., should not be treated as the equivalent of  $\overline{\text{v}}$ † in a certain limited measure. The fact is that the sublinear  $\overline{\text{v}}$  represents a sound of diverse origin and of very uncertain quality. Students of Hebrew are familiar with examples illustrating the various derivations of this sound, and a few instances will therefore suffice to bring these etymological facts to the reader’s remembrance.

עֵגְלָתְךָ is, e.g., obtained from עֵגְלָתְךָ, קָרַן from קָרַן, עֵגְלָתְךָ from עֵגְלָתְךָ = Arab. عَجَل, and חֶפְצִי from חֶפְצִי; so also אֶתְּךָ = <sup>عَفَص</sup>عَفَص, and אֶתְּךָ must be looked upon as standing for אֶתְּךָ.‡ The

\* The “pathah” would naturally be of greater importance in a system in which the “ḫāmeṣ” is pronounced similar to *o* (*o*). Hence the Nestorians often employ the vowel  $\underline{\text{v}}$ , where the Jacobites have  $\underline{\text{v}}$ , whilst the reverse is much rarer; see Nöldeke’s *Syrische Grammatik*, p. 33.

† The name סְגוּלָה, generally rendered by “botrus,” would, indeed, not apply to the sign  $\underline{\text{v}}$ , but it is not identity of name that is suggested here, but partial identity of power.

‡ For a fuller treatment of this subject see e.g. Wright’s *Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, pp. 75, ff.

*Codex Babylonicus*, influenced as its pronunciation evidently was partly by the more original Arabic vocalization, and partly by a certain kind of provincialism,\* avoids the permutation of the various vowel-sounds into  $\overline{\text{v}}$  in most cases, and only allows itself to represent the  $\overline{\text{v}}$  by  $\underline{\text{v}}$  in a very limited number of instances, a large proportion of these being cases in which the  $\overline{\text{v}}$  represents the secondary syllable in the so-called segolate nouns. The following examples will suffice to illustrate this part of the subject:—†

Codex B. has  $i$  instead of the sublinear  $\overline{\text{v}}$  in, e.g., אֵל ‡ = אֵל (Ezek. ix, 3, etc.), בְּלָכְתוּ = בְּלָכְתוּ, וְאַתְּנָךְ § = וְאַתְּנָךְ, אֵל־ = אֵל־ = סגול in cases like יְחָרַב = יְחָרַב, וְאַצְרַךְ = וְאַצְרַךְ (Isaiah xlix, 8), וְאַפְסָרָם = וְאַפְסָרָם (Hosea x, 10), הַתְּקַדְּשׁ = הַתְּקַדְּשׁ, וְתִלְדַּךְ = וְתִלְדַּךְ. The sign  $\underline{\text{v}}$  takes the place of  $\overline{\text{v}}$  in instances like the following:— בְּרֹזֶל = בְּרֹזֶל, דְּבַרְכֶם = דְּבַרְכֶם, אֲהַבְתֶּם = אֲהַבְתֶּם, מִלֶּךְ = מִלֶּךְ, בְּשַׁלְּמֵי = בְּשַׁלְּמֵי, אֲרָאֶלְס = אֲרָאֶלְס.

There is, however, also a considerable number of instances in which the superlinear  $\underline{\text{v}}$  corresponds to the sublinear  $\overline{\text{v}}$ , and it is

\* The term "provincialism" is here used in opposition to the "traditional" pronunciation as represented in the best codices provided with the sublinear punctuation.

† A larger number of systematised instances will be found in Pinsker's *Einleitung in das Babylonisch-Hebräische Punktationssystem*, pp. xxi–xxv. Pinsker, however, thought that the punctuation of *Codex Babylonicus* was anterior to the sublinear system.

‡ Compare the Arab.  $\text{إِلِي}$ .

§ So almost universally  $i$  for  $e$  with the  $\text{א}$  of the first person singular of the Imperfect. The only two exceptions (וְאַצְרַךְ and וְאַפְסָרָם) are included in the examples given in the text. וְאַסְעָרָם (Zech. vii, 14) corresponds to וְאַסְעָרָם in the sublinear system. These are the only three occurrences of the sign ( $\underline{\text{v}}$ ) in the *Codex Babylonicus*. See Pinsker, p. 18 (where he only gives the first two), and p. xxiv.

this circumstance which leads me to look upon  $\underline{z}$  as being in a certain measure equivalent to  $\overline{z}$ . Thus is  $\text{בְּמִלְקָהִים}$  (Is. vi, 6) represented in *Codex Babylonicus* by  $\text{בְּמִלְקָהִים}$ ,\*  $\text{מְגִרְשֵׁי הַיָּם}$  (Joel i, 17) appears as  $\text{מְגִרְשֵׁי הַיָּם}$ , and so  $\text{מֶלֶךְ}$ ,  $\text{סֶפֶר}$ ,  $\text{עֶרֶב}$ ,  $\text{עָנָן}$  † (Isaiah xvi, 9),  $\text{וְאֵרָא}$ ,  $\text{קָנָה}$ ,  $\text{בְּקָרֵב}$  † (Hosea viii, 5) =  $\text{מֶלֶךְ}$ ,  $\text{סֶפֶר}$ ,  $\text{עֶרֶב}$ ,  $\text{בְּקָרֵב}$ ,  $\text{אֶרְוֹה}$ ,  $\text{קָנָה}$ ,  $\text{וְאֵרָא}$ ,  $\text{וְיִלְוֶה}$ , ‡  $\text{עָנָן}$ . It is true that in a large number of cases  $\underline{z} = \overline{z}$ , as, e.g., in  $\text{דְּרָכֶם} = \text{דְּרָכֶם}$ ,  $\text{תְּרַבִּית} = \text{תְּרַבִּית}$ ,  $\text{אֲנֹרִי} = \text{אֲנֹרִי}$  -  $\text{נָהַר} = \text{נָהַר}$   $\text{הַשָּׁמַיִם} = \text{הַשָּׁמַיִם}$ ; but this circumstance only shows the uncertainty of the sound represented by  $\underline{z}$ , § and proves its affinity to  $\overline{z}$  also in this respect.

It is in any case quite unreasonable to look upon  $\underline{z}$  as being simply a weakened  $\overline{z}$  and to class it with "pathah" entirely. A glance at the instances given above are sufficient to show that it largely represents an original *i* (e) sound. Besides its usage with the  $\text{מ}$  of nouns of instrument like  $\text{מִלְקָהִים}$  and the other examples already given, it occurs in all the suffixed forms of  $\text{עֶרֶב}$  (as, e.g.,

\* Nouns of instrument are purposely chosen here, as the original sound appears to be *i* for the  $\text{מ}$  in such cases, witness the Arabic noun form  $\text{مِغْلَل}$ ,  $\text{مِغْلَل}$ .

† This is the only instance of this vocalization of  $\text{עָנָן}$ , its usual form is  $\text{עָנָן}$  (see Pinsker, p. xxxv).

‡ Pinsker speaks of this and similar instances as occurring "auffallender Weise" (p. xxxiv), but as little surprise need be felt in this case as in, e.g.,  $\text{מֶלֶךְ}$ ,  $\text{סֶפֶר}$ . He was under the impression that the only regular and legitimate use of  $\underline{z}$  was to represent a weak *a* sound by it, but in reality it represents the original sound of *i* almost as much as that of *a* (*vide infra*).

§ The variability in the pronunciation of  $\underline{z}$  has already been touched upon, see § 10. The reader must have noticed besides that  $\underline{z}$  is also used to represent  $\overline{z}$ ,  $\overline{z}$ .

(עֵרֶר), and in forms like וַיֵּצֵרְךָ (Jer. xliii, 1, etc.), דִּבְרָכֶם, בַּעֲדֵיקֶתְךָ, etc. Among the largest classes of instances in which it occurs must no doubt be reckoned the segolate noun-forms, but the auxiliary vowel which  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{e}}$  represents in these cases is an *i* (e) sound rather than a "pathah," the latter sound being only used with gutturals, as, e.g., גִּבְהָ, נֵעַר, שֵׁעַר, etc.

The following few rules should be remembered in connection with the use of  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{e}}$ .

- (1.) It never occurs in a syllable which has either a full tone or a half-tone (*i.e.*, the מִתַּג of the sublinear system)
- (2.) It is never used before a consonant which has a רִגְשׁ.
- (3.) It never stands in an open syllable.
- (4.) It represents either an original *a* sound, or is derived from an *i* (or *e*).

§ 23. The following remarks remain yet to be made in connection with the punctuation of the *Codex Babylonicus* :—

(1.) There is no "furtive pathah" in the Codex, so יֹרִיעַ for the sublinear יָרִיעַ, יִצְרוּחַ for יִצְרִיחַ, גִּבְוֹהַ for גְּבוּהַ (or more commonly גִּבְהַ).

(2.) There is no מִתַּג in this system of punctuation, and there is indeed much less need for it than in the sublinear system. In the latter method of vocalization the מִתַּג under the י in, e.g., יִרְאֵה from the root ירא differentiates it from יִרְאֵה, root ראה; but in the *Codex Babylonicus* the vocalization itself marks the difference, יֹרְאֵה from ירא being printed with a long *i* over the י, and יִרְאֵה from ראה having a short *i* over the same letter. The accentual power of the מִתַּג, as in e.g. יִשְׁבִּי, פִּרְשִׁי is rather missed in *Codex B.*, but it is not unlikely that the מִתַּג was very little used even with the sublinear punctuation at the beginning of the tenth century,\* when *Codex B.* was written.

(3.) It is also worthy of notice that the vowel-signs are thrown as much as possible to the left in this system of punctuation, so

\* Witness its rare and irregular use in Or. 4445, which is, however, in all probability older than *Codex B.*

הַמִּשָּׁה, יִשְׂרָאֵל, אֵת, נָבִיא, בְּנֵי, הוֹלֵדֹת, etc. This fact seems to indicate an appreciation of the principle that the vowel-sounds follow the consonants, and are not simultaneous with them in pronunciation.\*

(4.) Another noticeable feature is the use of the דגש with all letters, except הו"ע, that are provided with a שוא נע and follow upon a consonant with a נח, so, e.g., וַיִּנְאָמוּ (Jer. xxiii, 31), יִשְׁפָּדֶךָ (Is. xliii, 2), מִמְלֶכֶת (Jer. i, 15), רִיטָרְחוּ (Jer. xxxviii, 21).† The most noteworthy part of it is the דגש with the א and ר, and if the view indicated above (see § 20) that the דגש is really not an original sign of the superlinear system be correct, it follows that we ought to find the same feature in early MSS. with the sublinear punctuation, whenever such should be discovered.

(5.) The Sacred Name is not pointed at all, when it is pronounced like אדני, but is provided with vowel-signs when the pronunciation is that of יהוה, as, e.g., יְהוָה (Jer. i, 6).

(6.) The conjunctive ׀, when attached to words beginning with במק, is pointed with שוא and not with ׀ as in the sublinear system, except when the letters במק are themselves pronounced with שוא; so, e.g., וּפְרָשׁוּ, but וּפְנִיָּהֶם.‡

(7.) The words כָּל־, בְּךָ, אֶת־ are usually provided with the sublinear punctuation in the *Codex Babylonicus*, and only occasionally bear the superlinear signs.

\* Pinsker, who is generally a very accurate observer, and from whom the present writer has learned much that is most helpful (many observations on the *Codex Babylonicus* he indeed primarily owes to Pinsker) only notices the position

of the vowel-signs in words like הוֹלֵדֹת, עִיר, בֵּית (p. 17), but omits to notice the general principle as stated here. It is in consequence of this omission that he finds it necessary to give a forced explanation of the phenomenon partially noticed by him; see *loc. cit.*

† For a longer list of examples, see Pinsker, pp. 111, 112.

‡ Pinsker (p. 3) mentions the different pointing of the conjunctive ׀ as one of his proofs in favour of the Babylonian origin of this vowel-system, but as he can only prove his point by first emending a passage in the סֵפֶר הַרְקֻנִיָּה, not much weight can be allowed to such a proof. See § 30.

(8.) *Codex B.* distinguishes  $\text{מִמְּנוֹ}$ ,  $\text{אִיִּנְנוֹ}$  from  $\text{מִמְּנוֹ}$ ,  $\text{אִיִּנְנוֹ}$ , the former pointing being always used when the suffix is that of the third person singular, and the latter forms, when the  $\text{נו}$  is the suffix of the first person plural. The "pathah" is also used before the suffix of the third person singular masculine and feminine in verbs, as  $\text{יִגְדְּנוּ}$ ,  $\text{יִעַנְנָה}$ . It is of course possible that the  $\text{◌◌◌}$  was in fact pronounced similar to the  $\text{◌◌◌}$  of the sublinear system in the forms in question, and that also the  $\text{◌◌◌}$  in  $\text{מִמְּנוֹ}$ ,  $\text{אִיִּנְנוֹ}$  was pronounced similar to the  $\text{◌◌◌}$  in  $\text{מִמְּנוֹ}$ ,  $\text{אִיִּנְנוֹ}$ , when these forms represent a suffix of the first person plural, but the omission of any kind of sign for doubling the  $\text{נ}$  of the suffix is a more significant deviation from the pronunciation of these forms in the sublinear system. Notice also that there is no  $\text{דגש}$  in the accusative suffix of the second person singular masculine in words corresponding to superlinear forms like  $\text{לְיִסְרָה}$ .

(9.) It is admitted on all hands that in most cases in which the  $\text{מערבאי}$  or Palestinian school differs from the  $\text{מדרנחאי}$  or Babylonian school, the *Codex Babylonicus* agrees with the readings of the  $\text{מדרנחאי}$ ,\* but in a not inconsiderable minority of instances the reverse takes place, so that no sufficiently decisive theory as to the origin of this punctuation can be founded on its relation to these two Masoretic schools.

§ 24. It is not intended to discuss here the system of accents used in the *Codex Babylonicus* and a few other MSS. ; but partly for the sake of completeness, and partly because the superlinear accentual system will have to be mentioned in connection with the question regarding the origin of this punctuation (see § 39), it is

\* The differentiation of  $\text{מִמְּנוֹ}$  and  $\text{מִמְּנוֹ}$ , etc., appears to be one of the more important cases of agreement between the *Codex Babylonicus* and the  $\text{מדרנחאי}$ ; the reading  $\text{וְנִסְתֶּם}$  (three times in Zech. xiv, 5) instead of  $\text{וְנִסְתֶּם}$  is evidently another. Dr. Ginsburg's careful Masoretic collation of *Codex B.* has resulted in the tabulation of a considerable number of instances in which that codex agrees with the  $\text{מערבאי}$ . Pinsker attaches too great weight to its more frequent agreement with the  $\text{מדרנחאי}$ .

found useful to subjoin a list of the pausal or \*disjunctive signs as used in the St. Petersburg MSS. *Codex B.*, Nos. 132, 133 † and Tschufut-Kale 8<sup>a</sup>, ‡ and the Oxford Hebrew MS. No. 64. §

Name of sign.	Ordinary form.	Superlinear form.
סְלוּק	ךְ	ךְ
אַתְנַח	ךְ	נְ
סְגוּלְתָא	בְ	בְ
שְׁלִשְׁלֵת	וּ	וּ
זָקַף	בְ, זְ	זְ
טְפָחָא (ante Athnah) } idem ante Silluk }	ךְ	ךְ

\* The conjunctive signs are the same as those used with the sublinear punctuation, with only this difference that גַּלְגַּל (∩) and מְאוּלַּא (∪) are not used.

† See §§ 26, 27.

‡ A specimen of this codex (Job xxxvi, 1-11) is prefixed to Baer's edition of Job. The punctuation used in it agrees, to judge from this specimen, with *Codex B.*, and does not show the characteristics of Nos. 132, 133, which will be discussed later on; so לְאֱלֹהִים (without "furtive pathah"), רְמִשְׁפֵּט (not (ו)רְמִשְׁפֵּט). The דָּגַשׁ in the מ of יִשְׁמְעוּ is, however, wanting.

§ According to Dr. Wickes, this MS. (consisting of one leaf) is a fragment of No. 132 in the St. Petersburg Library; see טַעְמֵי כ"א סְפָרִים, p. 142, note.

|| For further information on the names and forms, see Dr. Wickes' טַעְמֵי כ"א סְפָרִים. The order of the accents adopted here is that given by Dr. Wickes. It is, however, rather difficult to follow him in his explanations of the superlinear forms. It is by no means certain that אֲ represents the first letter of שְׁרִי, or that אֲ is the first י of יִתִּיב, and אֲ the ז of עִנּוּרִי. The sign אֲ appears to be the form of a cross rather than the letter ז (compare אֲקוּפָא = *crux*). It is, however, clear that the first letters of the names of the signs largely determined the forms; so הֲ, the ה of הֲזֵר = רְבִיעַ, טֲ, the ט of גֵּרֶשׁ = טְפָחָא.

¶ זָקַף גְּדוּל and זָקַף קַטָּן are not distinguished from one another in the superlinear system.

Name of sign.	Ordinary form.	Superlinear form.
רְבִיעַ	ב̣	ה̣
זָרְקָא	ב̣	ט̣
פִּשְׁטָא	ב̣	ט̣*
תְּבִיר	ק̣	ת̣
גְּרֵשׁ	ב̣	ט̣
לְגַרְמִיּוּדָא	בּו	ב̣

§ 25. The application of the composite superlinear vowel-system to the Targum appears to present no special features for consideration. It is only in its adaptation to the Hebrew text that a good many interesting characteristics offer themselves for observation. It will therefore suffice to quote a few instances from the Oxford MS. 64 :—†

Deut. ix, 6 :—

תִּזְדַּע אַרְיִי לֹא בְזוּתְךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֶיךָ יִהְיֶה לְךָ יְתֵ-אַרְעֵא  
 טַבְתָּא הָדָא לְמִירְתָּהּ אַרְיִי עִם-קֶשֶׁי קָדָל אֵאת :

From the same page may be quoted the phrases :—

יִבְקָשׁוּטוֹת לִיבְךָ אַרְיִי בַחֲבוּבֵי עַמִּיּוֹא הָאוּלֹן  
 דֵּי קָיִים יְיָ לְאַבְהָתְךָ and מִן קָדְמְךָ

It should be added, however, that although offering no special features in the punctuation, a careful study of the extant examples

\* The sign ב is used for the second Pashṭa, when it is repeated.

† *Vide supra*, § 24. The example given here was copied from Plate I of the Facsimiles published with Dr Neabauer's *Catalogue of the Hebrew MSS. in the Bodleian Library*. It is to be noticed that the Targum as well as the Hebrew text are provided with the superlinear accents in this MS. The only leaf of which the MS. consists is, however, mutilated.



will in a'l probability serve as a considerable aid in the grammatical study of the Jewish Aramaic.\*

§ 26. The school of punctuators who attempted to adapt the superlinear system to the traditional pronunciation of the Hebrew text did not, however, stop at the approach made in the *Codex Babylonicus*, but made a further advance in the same direction in MSS. of a later date of which the St. Petersburg Codices 132, 133 are at present the best known representatives.

Simcha Pinsker's great fidelity to the MSS. from which he made transcriptions is beyond doubt, and in the present writer's want of access to the originals, he feels justified in making for once a transcription of parts of the *עשרת הדברים* given by Pinsker on pp. 48-50, and in summarising that author's remarks on pp. 45, 46 of his important work on this punctuation:—

אנכי יהוה אלהיך אשר הוצאתיך מארץ מצרים מבית  
עבדים: לא יהיה לך אלהים אחרים על-פני ...

שמור אתיוום השבת לקדשו פאשר צוך יהוה אלהיך ...

יוום השביעי שבת ליהוה אלהיך לא-תעשה כל-מלאכה  
אתה ובנך ובתך ועבדך ואמתך ושורך וחמרך וכל-בהמתך  
וגרך אשר בשערך למען ינוח עבדך ואמתך כמוך ...

\* Instances from the Targum contained in the St. Petersburg MSS. Nos. 132, 133 will be found in Prof. Merx's *Chrestomathy*, pp. 46-48, 132-139, and 149 ff. It is to be hoped, however, that Prof. Merx will at some future time subject his otherwise most useful work to a careful revision. In his list of composite vowels

given on p. xvi, he gives the following:—<sup>א</sup>א, <sup>א</sup>א, <sup>א</sup>א, <sup>א</sup>א, adding: "Alias vocabulum cum lineola infra posita compositiones non legi"; but in his own book he presents us with the form קדמוהי (p. 46, etc.) and לקדמוי (?) (p. 132).

† In the *textus receptus*, the verse ends here, and the pointing is פני (indicating, however, an alternative arrangement), but in the MS. from which the above text is copied, the verse does not end before מצותו (end of v. 6 in the *textus receptus*). On the two styles of pointing the *Decalogue*, see Pinsker's *Einleitung*, pp. 46, 50, and Wickes טעמי כ"א ספרים, pp. 130, 131.

§ 27. The Decalogue, though given by Pinsker in its entirety, does not show all the peculiarities of Nos. 132, 133, etc.; but they are contained in the following summary of Pinsker's \* **הצעה לעשרת הדברים** as found in his *Einleitung*, pp. 45, 46.

(1.) In this more advanced † stage of the superlinear punctuation, the “pathah furtive” is used, as in *e.g.* **יְבוּחַ**.

(2.) The Divine Name has the sublinear sign  $\bar{\text{v}}$  under the **י**, when pronounced like **אדני**.

(3.) There is a **דגש** in the **נ** of the suffixes **נָה**, **נֹו**, as, *e.g.*, **יִעֲנֶנָּה**, **יִעֲנֶנּוּ**, **אִינְנֹו**, **מִפְּנֹו** singl. masc. in verbs, as **לִיִּסְרָךְ**.

(4.) The conjunctive **ו** has the *u* sound before **במה**, even if these letters are pronounced with full vowels, so *e.g.* **וּבְנֶךָ**.

(5.) In Nos. 132, 133, the vocalization **פֶּן**, **וּפֶן** is used instead of **פֶּן**, **וּפֶן** of the *Codex Babylonicus*.

(6.) The pointing **לֵלִי**, **בֵּן**, **אֶת־** is here used everywhere, and never **לֵלִי**, **בֶּן**, **אֶת־** as often in *Codex B.* ‡

(7.) No **דגש** is used with any consonant that is provided with a **עו** and preceded by a **נח**.

(8.) The **מתג** is occasionally used in these codices, so *e.g.* **יְהִי־הֵ**.

(9.) Pinsker also quotes the reading **רֵאמֹר** (Zech. iii, 5) as against **רֵאמֹר** of *Codex B.* to show that the **קבוץ קטן** also approaches to the *textus receptus* with regard to different Masoretic readings.

\* Pinsker comprises Nos. 132, 133 under the term **קבוץ קטן**. His work is written before either *Codex B.*, or any MSS. of the collection were transferred from Odessa to St. Petersburg.

† Even Pinsker acknowledged the deliberate adaptation to the Hebrew text in case of Nos. 132, 133.

‡ This circumstance shows the “gradual” naturalization of the superlinear signs in the traditional pronunciation of the Hebrew text.

## PART II.

*The origin of this Vowel-System, and its relation to other Semitic systems of Punctuation.*

§ 28. Having now completed the survey of the superlinear punctuation in its different stages of development, an attempt must be made to use the facts thus gained, together with such other information as may yet remain to be gleaned, as a basis of further investigation into the origin of these signs and their place among other Semitic methods of punctuation. Before, however, placing before the student a complete view of the results arrived at by the author of this treatise, it will be necessary to discuss three different theories that have been propounded on the subject:—

(1.) The view that the superlinear punctuation is of Karaite origin has, perhaps, never been seriously held by scholars,\* and the idea may be looked upon as extinct in the present day. But for the sake of completeness a short investigation of this theory will be offered in the following outline.

(2.) The view which most scholars † are inclined to accept is to the effect that the superlinear punctuation had its origin in the Babylonian schools, and is closely connected with the Masoretic methods of the **מְדִנְהָא** or “Easterns.”

(3.) Dr. Wickes, in his well-known work on *The Accentuation of the twenty-one so-called Prose Books of the Old Testament*, first of all ably combats ‡ the theory named under (2), and then maintains that the superlinear punctuation “seems to have been an attempt to simplify and introduce regularity into the older system,”§ thus declaring the superlinear vowel-system to be later than the sublinear punctuation.

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\* See Ewald's remarks in *Jahrbücher der Biblischen Wissenschaft*, 1848, p. 161; Geiger's *Urschrift*, pp. 167, 168. Neither of these scholars appears to have given much countenance to the Karaite theory of “origin,” although they are sometimes both quoted as having held this view.

† The fullest and on the whole ablest defence of this view is, no doubt, still that of Pinsker in his *Einleitung in das Babylonisch-Hebräische Punktationssystem*.

‡ See Appendix II of Dr. Wickes' work.

§ *Oper. cit.*, p. 146. See also the Rev. I. Harris' article on the “Rise and Development of the Massorah” in *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, April, 1889, pp. 241, 242.

§ 29. The theory which ascribes the origin of the superlinear punctuation to the Ḳaraïtes appears to rest on no foundation whatever, and must be considered as a pardonably false guess suggested by the fact that MSS. so punctuated were first discovered in the Crimea, famous for its Ḳaraïte settlements.\* But even this scanty sort of evidence is more than completely counterbalanced by the large number of Yemenite MSS. now in the British Museum that are provided with the simpler and more ancient type of the same punctuation, and it should also be remembered that Or. 1467 and 2363, which are the oldest codices of this simpler style, are in all probability of Persian origin, and have no connection with the Crimea.

It is quite unnecessary in the present state of the controversy to offer a refutation of the Ḳaraïte tradition that Rab Aḥa of 'Irāk invented this system of vocalisation at the commencement of the sixth century; † and even if the statement mentioned in Pinner's *Prospectus*, p. 54, according to which the Ḳaraïtes only adopted the sublinear or so-called Palestinian punctuation in the year 957, could be relied on, it would by no means prove that they were the inventors of the superlinear system. Being in the habit of using a system, and may be contributing to its development, is one thing, and inventing it is another; and all that Geiger ‡ says in connection with this statement is that the Ḳaraïtes had adopted the superlinear system before their separation from the Rabbanites.

It is of course very likely that the Ḳaraïtes, who professed to take their religious stand upon the plain sense of the Scriptures, should take a very great interest in the work of providing graphic signs for the traditional reading of the Sacred Books, § and there is also the significant fact that the distinguished family of Masorites and Punctuators which can be traced back to the latter half of the eighth century, || and whose last and best known scion was the famous Aaron ben Moses ben Asher, is by the best authorities looked upon as Ḳaraïte; ¶ but of actual evidence that the super-

\* See Ewald, *loc. cit.*

† See the number of the *Jewish Quarterly Review* already mentioned, p. 243.

‡ *Urschrift*, p. 168.

§ The Ḳaraïtes have in fact been credited, or have credited themselves, with the invention of the sublinear punctuation as well. *Ibidem*, pp. 242, 243.

|| Same number of the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, p. 247.

¶ So Graetz, Pinsker and Fuerst; as quoted in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, *ibidem*, p. 247.

linear punctuation originally emanated from these interesting opponents of the Rabbanites there is as yet none to adduce.\* On the contrary, the fact that no trace of this punctuation is found in the large number of partly very ancient Ḳaraite MSS. now in the British Museum may be looked upon as evidence in favour of the opposite theory; and if Derenbourg's view, † that vowel-signs were first used to facilitate elementary school teaching, be correct, it would be quite as natural for the Rabbanites as for the Ḳaraites to interest themselves in the origination and elaboration of graphic vowel-signs.

§ 30. The theory which identifies the originators of the super-linear punctuation with the Masoretic schools of the **בירנהאי** or "Easterns" occupies a much stronger position, and deserves a very careful investigation. It will therefore be serviceable first to state as clearly as possible the arguments that have been advanced in favour of this theory, and then to proceed with an examination of the evidence before us:—

(1.) In the *Parma Codex de Rossi* 12, containing the Pentateuch with Targum, and dated A.D. 1311, the following note is found:—

‡ תרגום זה נעתק מספר אשר הובא מארץ בבל והיה  
 מנקוד למעלה בנקוד ארץ אשר והפנו ר' נתן ברבי מכיר  
 בר' מנחם מאנקונא בר' שמואל בר' מכיר ממדינת אויירי  
 בר' שלמה הוא אשר גדע קרן המתלוצץ בארץ מגנצא  
 בשם המבורך בר' מנחם בר' צדוק הנקדן והגיהו ונסחו  
 לנקוד טברני.

In this subscription the superlinear punctuation is distinctly called **נקוד ארץ אשר**; and it is contended that, as the terms Assyria and Babylonia are very loosely used and sometimes interchanged, the vowel-system in question may well claim a Babylonian, or, at any rate, a Babylonico-Assyrian origin, and therefore coincide with the

\* It will, however, be seen later on that the theory held by the author of this treatise is entirely unaffected by the question of the Ḳaraite origin of this punctuation in its simpler form; see, however, § 36.

† *Revue Critique*, January 21, 1879, p. 455; *Jewish Quarterly Review*, *ibidem*, p. 233.

‡ The wording of this epigraphis taken from Dr. Wickes' **טעמי ב"א ספרים**, p. 142, note. Prof. Merx's wording of the same note differs from it in a few unessential points.

graphic signs used by the Masoretic schools of the **מדנחאי**. Similar testimony appears to be found in some of the Tschufut-Kale Bible Codices (48, 87, 103, 116), to which, according to extracts made by Prof. Strack (see **טעמי כ"א ספרים**, p. 145), certain readings with the superlinear punctuation are ascribed to the **מדנחאי**.

(2.) It is argued that the omission of the euphonic **דגש** in the **נ** of the suffixes **נו**, **נה**, in *e.g.* **בִּמְנוֹ**, **יַעֲנֶנָּה**, as well as the differentiation of **בִּמְנוֹ** (3rd pers. sing.) from **בִּמְנוֹ\*** (1st. pers. plural), show the close affinity of this punctuation with the Masoretic system of the "Easterns," and it is added that the reading **וְנִסְתָּה** † in Zech. xiv, 5, points to the same conclusion.

(3.) The pronunciation of the conjunctive **ו** with **שוא** ‡ in words like **וּפְרָשִׁי**, **וּפָשִׁי** is also advanced as an argument in favour of this theory, it being contended that this is an Eastern or "Babylonian" peculiarity.

(4.) From the fact that the *Codex Babylonicus* generally agrees with the requirements of the Masoretic schools of the **מדנחאי**, it is not unreasonably inferred that that MS. must have been written under the influence of the eastern Masoretic schools, and it is then further asserted that the superlinear punctuation itself must have had its origin in the same schools.

(5.) A special Masoretic argument is also drawn from the number of verses (1292)§ which the Masora ascribes to the Book of Isaiah, it being argued that a Masoretic note to chapter xx, verse 2, of *Codex B.* itself shows that the Palestinians did not divide up that verse, whilst the Babylonian schools made two verses of it, thus providing the missing verse needed to make up the number 1292; for without the division of xx, 2 there would only be 1291 verses.

§ 31. It will be seen that this theory rests—apart from the epigraph contained in *Codex de Rossi* 12—mainly on the Masoretic evidence afforded by the readings and marginal rubrics of the *Codex*

\* See § 23, (8.)

† *Ibidem*, note.

‡ But see § 23, (6), note.

§ The actual number given is **אלף ומאתים ושבעים ושנים**, but **ושבעים** is assumed to be simply a mistake for **ותשעים**; see Pinsker, *Einleitung*, p. 4.

*Babylonicus*.\* But even if the term נקוד ארץ אשור of the subscription given above should unquestioningly be taken as identical with נקוד בבלי,† Dr. Wickes' objection to this evidence is quite strong enough to deprive it of the weight given to it by Pinsker and others: "Can we trust," so he asks,‡ "the unsupported testimony of a single copyist? Is it likely that an Italian Jew, of the fourteenth century, should have known the origin of the system, when scribes living in the East were ignorant of it?" It may be fairly argued that Dr. Wickes overstates his case a little, for according to his own statement,§ the scribes of the Tschufut-Kale Bible Codices 48, 87, 103, and 116, appear to share the view of the "single copyist." But this apparent underrating of evidence is rectified by what Dr. Wickes says || himself with regard to the scribes of the Tschufut-Kale Bible Codices in question: "The writers of these notices were doubtless in the same position as modern scholars. They had no other texts with Oriental readings, and naturally concluded that the texts which contained such readings, exhibited also the Oriental mode of punctuation."

The argument from the very considerable agreement of *Codex B.* with the מדרגהאי has two weak points. In the first place, *Codex B.* can now no more be looked upon as practically co-extensive with our knowledge of the superlinear punctuation. It is only one MS. representing a certain highly developed phase of this vowel-system, but in our attempt to discover the origin of the system we must go back to the primary and simpler forms in which it appears. Supposing, therefore, that conclusive evidence could be furnished to show that *Codex B.* emanated from the Eastern Masoretic schools, the same evidence could not, without further proof, be held to apply equally to the earlier forms of the system, which, for aught we

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\* The further argument based by Pinsker on the very frequent agreement of *Codex B.* with the readings of בן נפתלי requires no special consideration, as there is no authority for connecting that Masorite with the Eastern Masoretic schools; see *Jewish Quarterly Review*, *ibidem*, p. 248, note 2.

† See § 36.

‡ טעמו כ"א ספרים, p. 146.

§ Dr. Wickes must also be regarded as a little biassed, for he adds: "The statements contained in the epigraphs to Jewish texts have always to be received *cum grano*."—Are the Jews the only forgers of epigraphs?

|| *Ibidem*.

know, might have been connected with the Western schools. And secondly, it is most important to remember that *Codex B.* itself can by no means be described as agreeing with the Eastern readings entirely. The Western readings are, it is true, in a minority; but it is a minority which is numerous enough to vitiate any positive inference that might be drawn in favour of the exclusive Eastern origin of the MS. in question.\*

§ 32. It is true that the “argumentum e silentio” must not be pressed too far, but it must be allowed some weight as an auxiliary kind of evidence; and it is certainly a remarkable fact that a writer like Sa’adyah Gaon, who was called to occupy the chief place in the Academy of Sura some few years after the completion of the *Codex B.*, should not even so much as mention the superlinear punctuation, when treating on subjects that are closely connected with problems offered by the peculiarities of that Codex. In chapter iv, § 3,† of his commentary on the ספר יצירה he assigns the סגול to the article in ההרים, and lays down the rule that the final guttural in words like לְשִׁבְעֵי must be pronounced with “pathah,” but entirely omits to mention that according to the Babylonian schools—with which he was then connected—the article in ההרים must be pointed with “pathah,” and that there was no “pathah furtive” in the superlinear punctuation. The only inference that can be drawn from Sa’adyah’s silence‡ is that this vowel-system was either not known, or, at any rate, not authorised in Babylonia in connection with the Hebrew text of the Bible in that Gaon’s time, *i.e.*, about the date when *Codex B.* was written.

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\* See § 23, (9), note.

† See Wickes, *op. cit.*, p. 145. The argument drawn by Dr. Wickes from Sa’adyah’s mention of the סגול, as also from the Masoretic note to Ezek. xxiii, 5: ותענב סגול (*ibidem*, p. 144), rests on a mistake. Dr. Wickes says that the superlinear punctuation has no סגול; but it was shown above (§ 22) that the sign ֿ answers to the סגול in a certain limited measure. See also Geiger’s *Urschrift*, pp. 485, 486.

‡ Sa’adyah Gaon is only mentioned as a prominent example, for there appears to be “universal” silence among the scholars of the time with regard to the superlinear punctuation.



§ 33. Dr. Wickes who, in a measure, convincingly argues against the identity of the superlinear punctuation with the graphic signs of the "Easterns," is much less fortunate when he attempts to establish a theory of his own on the subject. It will be best to give Dr. Wickes' view in his own words: "The superlinear punctuation stands," he says, "outside the system common to the Oriental and Occidental schools, and would seem to have been an attempt to simplify and introduce regularity into the older system,"\* and lower down on the same page he states that "it was *an* Oriental, but not *the* Oriental system."

Now it is quite true that the silence of Sa'adyah and others would be less startling, if the superlinear punctuation was only *one* of the systems used in Babylonia for the Hebrew text of the Bible, and not *the* system; but it must be admitted that even so Dr. Wickes' own "argumentum e silentio" would still retain some force. If the superlinear vowel-system was one of the acknowledged methods of Bible punctuation used in Babylonia, we can hardly suppose Sa'adyah Gaon to have been ignorant of it; and if he had knowledge of it, it seems very strange that he should not have referred to it in a passage like the one mentioned in § 32. The inference, therefore, would seem to be that the superlinear punctuation as used in the *Codex Babylonicus* was not even *one* of the authorised modes of Bible vocalisation in Babylonia.

But Dr. Wickes' view appears to be open to still graver doubts. He says that the superlinear punctuation "seems to have been an attempt to simplify" the older system. But the question must be asked: what style of the superlinear system was an attempt at simplification? Does Dr. Wickes mean that the composite punctuation of *Codex B.* embodies this attempt, or does he refer to the older and simpler superlinear style? If he means the former, the question may fairly be asked: how can a vowel-system which is itself a highly composite development of an older superlinear style of punctuation be looked upon as a simplification of a system which exhibits a different arrangement altogether? A complicated development which is at the same time a simplification is a notion that is not easy to grasp. And if it is the older and simpler style that Dr. Wickes had in mind, how is it that a movement towards fresh complication began almost immediately after the accomplished sim-

\* Wickes, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

plification? Before an attempt to simplify could reasonably be made, one must suppose an older fully developed style in existence; after this would come a reaction against the complications of such a highly developed style, and it is in consequence of this reaction that the simpler superlinear system would be introduced. For these processes a fairly long period of time must be conceded, and yet we are asked to believe that at the beginning of the tenth century the simplified system itself was already fully developed into a highly composite one.

Judging from the very scanty notice that Dr. Wickes is disposed to give to the Yemen MSS.\* in the British Museum, it seems clear that he occupies the former of these alternative positions, and it is therefore unnecessary to enlarge on the difficulties in which the second position would seem to involve us. But the idea of simplification is in itself open to a serious objection in connection with systems of vocalisation. If a single authentic and indisputable instance of such a step could be brought forward in support of the theory proposed by Dr. Wickes, one should perhaps feel obliged to enter into a further examination of the whole subject; but it appears that the tendency is all in the opposite direction, and one is therefore forced to dissent from Dr. Wickes' view on this point, however much regard one may feel obliged to pay to his excellent studies on the accents.

§ 34. The fact seems to be that the origin of the superlinear punctuation is not to be sought in a sectarian body like the *Ḳaraïtes*, or in a special Masoretic school like the Babylonian, but rather in that branch of Semitic speech which is known by the name of Jewish Aramaic. In speaking of the origin of this vowel-system, one must of course take the simplest style in which it appears as the main subject of investigation; and in doing so, one cannot help observing the following two important facts: (*a*) The superlinear punctuation as exhibited in Or. 1467 and 2363 presents us with a grammatically consistent vocalisation of the Targum, whilst the all but hopeless state in which the Jewish Aramaic versions appear in printed editions

\* Dr. Wickes is no doubt right in saying that he has found these MSS. of no service in his investigations into the use of the accents; but can the same be said with regard to the punctuation? It is quite possible for a careful student like Dr. Wickes to overlook points in one science whilst successfully engaged in the elucidation of another.

and many MSS. is apparently due to vocalised transcriptions from the superlinear into the sublinear system.\* This circumstance may be taken as evidence in favour of the natural aptitude of the superlinear punctuation to the Jewish Aramaic and of its original and close relationship to it. (b) Another important observation is that the simpler form in which this system appears is not sufficient to express the traditional pronunciation of Biblical Hebrew as it was used in liturgical readings from the Scriptures. It has already been noticed † that there is no דגש in the superlinear system pure and simple. Another important want is the differentiation of שׁווא into the simple שׁווא נע and the three semi-vowels חטף קמץ, חטף פתח, and חטף סגול; and one misses besides the traditional differentiation of pathah from סגול, a differentiation which clearly appears in Or. 4445 of probably the ninth century, and was no doubt known for centuries before.

I do not expect that much weight—if any—will be attached by modern scholars to the view that the vocalisation of the Scriptures was constructed independently of tradition,‡ and that therefore no argument can be founded on the insufficiency of the superlinear system to express the “nuances” of the sublinear vocalisation. Such a view is on the face of it totally unreasonable. For if it be allowed at all that the Scriptures were read or rather chanted in the Synagogue Services, it is quite impossible to assume that any other except the pronunciation used at such services should be perpetuated in MSS. that were to a great extent written for the guidance and preparation of public liturgical readers; and Mr. Isidore Harris is no doubt right in saying § that “the substantial agreement in regard to

\* See Merx's *Chrestomathia, Prolegomena*, pp. viii, ix, where he justly says :—  
 “Desperandum erat de instaurandis textibus, de scribenda grammatica . . . . .  
 At mutata est hæc rerum condicio Londinium allatis ex Arabia meridionali codicibus. . . . . Vocales in libris tiberiensibus picti ex libris babilonicis hausti sunt. . . . . Vocalismus babilonicorum librorum in Arabia sec. xii scriptorum in rebus gravissimis cum vocalismo syriaco edesseno convenit, ubi recedit, semper et eodem modo recedit. . . .” Whilst not agreeing with Prof. Merx in the use of the terms “tiberian” and “babilonian,” his view of the relation of the Jewish-Aramaic to the two systems is no doubt the correct one.

† § 6.

‡ See *Jewish Quarterly Review*, pp. 239, 240.

§ *Loc. cit.*

punctuation between the Babylonian and Palestinian schools, notwithstanding that they worked in independence of each other, is itself a proof that the system common to both was shaped on the lines of tradition. It was this fidelity to tradition which gave the Masorites their name."

But it might be argued that, although the superlinear punctuation does not express *all* the "nuances" of the traditional pronunciation, it may have been the first important stage of a graphic rendering of such pronunciation, and that it is only natural that greater perfectness should be the result of further elaboration and development. But even if this be so, it would at any rate follow that the simple superlinear punctuation could not be held to do "sufficient" justice to the traditional pronunciation of the Scriptures, and that, whilst the Jewish Aramaic would be likely to retain this form of vocalisation, an onward movement for the further development of graphic signs for the Hebrew Scriptures would be a necessity that was likely to be felt very strongly.

§ 35. If the superlinear punctuation was originally associated with the Jewish Aramaic (and possibly also with such Hebrew writings as were in their nature less sacred than the Scriptures), the use of the sub-linear vowel-signs with the Divine Name יהוה \* in the oldest MSS. of this kind, viz., Or. 1467 and 2363, would be at once explained. It was only natural that when the attempt was made to transfer the profane vocalisation to the sacred Scriptures, the punctuators should have felt conscientious scruples with regard to the application of these signs to the Sacred Name.

This theory would also explain the motive which prompted so many scribes to vocalise the Hebrew text after the sublinear and the Targum after the superlinear method in such a large number of MSS., and the subsequent addition of the sublinear signs to MSS. in which the Hebrew had been provided with the superlinear system would also require no further explanation.

Before going further, it may also be useful to add the testimony of Jacob Sappir as to the tradition of the Yemenite Jews themselves on the subject. In the second part of his *Reisebeschreibung*, entitled *אבן ספיר*, p. 198, he says: † "Und sie (*i.e.*, die Juden in Yemen)

\* See § 14.

† See Dr. H. Strack in the *Zeitschrift für Lutherische Theologie*, 1875, p. 607.

sagten mir, dass man diese Punktation zu profanen zwecken anwende und mit ihr nur das *Targum* und die *Gebetbücher* wersehe, nicht aber die *Biblicodices*." Traditional evidence of this sort may not be very weighty in itself; but if such evidence is found supported by several other important considerations, it is impossible not to accord to it its proper recognition in a critical enquiry like the one before us.\*

§ 36. The correctness of the theory proposed here becomes more apparent still, if a comparison be instituted between the superlinear punctuation and the two kinds of vowel-signs used in another branch of the Aramaic family of dialects, namely the Syriac. It has been already shown † that the superlinear sign  $\underline{\text{—}}$  is only a variation of the Jacobite vowel-sign  $\underline{\text{—}}$ , and it has also been suggested that  $\underline{\text{—}}$  probably represents the letter  $\omega$  which is used in ancient Syriac MSS. instead of  $\omega$ . ‡ These two vowel-signs therefore appear to have been borrowed from the Jacobite or Edessene vowel-system. A further glance at the various systems of vocalisation will reveal the fact that the signs  $\text{בֿ}$ ,  $\text{בֿ}$ , and  $\text{בֿ}$  bear a very close relationship to the Nestorian system of punctuation. It therefore seems only natural to assume that in the superlinear punctuation we are presented with

\* It was with genuine delight that the author of this treatise, after having arrived at definite results in his enquiry, found that so great a scholar as Derenbourg had already guessed the true bearings of the case: "Die babylonische Punktation ist vielleicht ursprünglich nur für das Targum verwendet worden . . . und hat daher einen profanen Charakter behalten." See the quotation *op. cit.*, p. 607. The subsequent discovery of so much evidence in favour of Dr. D.'s opinion must be looked upon as a strong testimony to his scholarly insight. Dr. H. Strack says himself on p. 608 of the same article ("Die Biblischen und Masoretischen Handschriften der Krim"): "für die Annahme, dass der babylonischen Punktation (seit wann?) ein weniger heiliger Charakter zugeschrieben sei, scheint mir der Umstand zu sprechen, dass in der Masora auch solcher (Tschufut-Kalescher) Codices, in welchen die babylonische Textrecension nicht erwähnt wird, denen also babylonische Codices nicht vorlagen, die besprochenen Bibelwörter zuweilen mit babylonischen Vocalzeichen versehen sind." Dr. Strack's query "seit wann?" can, I think, be answered with "from the very first."

† See § 9.

‡ *Ibidem*. It is of course not suggested that the Jews adopted signs straight from the Greeks, but that they borrowed them from the Syriac, when their power as letters had become merged into their nature as mere signs.

a vowel-system that combines Jacobite with Nestorian elements,\* in fact with a system which is in its nature very similar to the mixed Jacobite-Nestorian Syriac vocalisation that is found in later MSS. of the Western school, and in many of our printed Syriac books.†

Another remarkable testimony to the mixed Jacobite-Nestorian character of the superlinear punctuation, namely, the differentiation of  $\dot{\text{ב}}$  (= *u* =  $\text{օ}$ ) from  $\dot{\text{ב}}$  (= *o* =  $\text{օ}$ ) side by side with the Jacobite pronunciation of the  $\text{קמ״ץ}$ , has also been already noticed; and the absence of the  $\text{סגול}$  also appears less strange, if this theory be adopted, for the distinction between  $\text{ֿ}$  (=  $\text{ֿ}$ ,  $\text{ֿ}$ ) and  $\text{ֿ}$  (=  $\text{ֿ}$ ) is by no means uniformly observed in the Nestorian system,‡ and the sign  $\text{ֿ}$  has to do duty for both  $\text{ֿ}$  and  $\text{ֿ}$  in the Jacobite punctuation, so that there appears to be a certain indefiniteness about the *e* sound in all the Aramaic systems of vocalisation.

It seems besides very natural that the Jewish Aramaic should partake of the characteristics—both in pronunciation and application of graphic signs—of the closely allied Syriac dialect, and it is also not unimportant to observe that the term  $\text{נקוד ארץ אשור}$  in the subscription of the Parma *Codex de Rossi*, 12, § need not, strictly speaking, mean more than the vocalisation used with the Aramaic branch of Semitic speech, more especially so if it be considered that the designation “Syrians” is merely an abbreviation of “Assyrians.”

§ 37. A system of graphic signs derived from combined Jacobite-Nestorian sources could not be framed before the beginning of the eighth century, or at the earliest before the end of the seventh century; and as there is no evidence to show the previous use of such vowels, one may well acquiesce in this estimate of the earliest appearance of a complete system of punctuation among the Jews. At first only Jewish Aramaic, or perhaps also non-Biblical Hebrew, would be thus vocalised. With regard to the text of the Scriptures themselves a good deal of prejudice would have to be overcome, before vowel-signs would at all be allowed to intrude into the sacred

\* Only the *u* sound was represented by a sign taken from the Hebrew alphabet ( $\dot{\text{ב}}$ ), probably under the Arabic influence, where  $\text{ـ}$  is only a small *u*,

† See Noeldeke's *Syrische Grammatik*, p. 8.

‡ Noeldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

§ See § 30.

text. Gradually, however, the principle of utility and the general custom in connection with the Aramaic would overcome the prejudice. Vowel-signs would probably first be allowed in schools for the instruction of children.\* and from there they would pass into general use among all classes of the Jewish community. It is probably at this stage that the need of a more expressive vowel-system would be felt for the traditional pronunciation of the Hebrew text of the Scriptures, and more especially of the Pentateuch; and it is here suggested that the sublinear vowel-system was the result of an effort thus made not only to invent a sufficiently expressive system of punctuation † for the Scriptures, but also to formulate a scheme of signs that would not be likely to be confused with the punctuation used in profane literature. It is probable that the “pathah” (◡) is in form only a simplification of the superlinear sign ◄, ‡ and therefore a lineal descendant through the Syriac sign ◄ of the Greek α, and that the Kāmeṣ (◄) is merely a slight modification of the superlinear ◄. § All the other vowel-signs are clearly of Nestorian origin, || so that the sublinear punctuation is in reality nothing else than a modified form of the mixed superlinear Jacobite-Nestorian vocalisation, and it has been already shown that the pronunciation of both ◄ and ◄ like the *a* in *small*, and the presence in both of ḥ = ◌̇ point to the practical identity of the two systems as far as the quality of sounds is concerned. ¶ The placing of the signs under the consonants instead of above them, may have been due partly to the desire of making a difference between the sacred and profane methods, and partly to the confusion with the accents which the superlinear style would have occasioned; for the accentual forms ◌̇, ◌̇, ◌̇, ◌̇ bear a very close

\* See § 29.

† For the similar efforts made in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries for the superlinear punctuation itself, see §§ 4, 5.

‡ A remarkable confirmation of this view seems to be Dr. Franz Delitzsch's observation in his “Prafatio” to Baer's edition of Job, p. iv, that in the Tschufut-Kale Codex 8a, the sublinear pathah is formed like a parallelogram.

§ It is true that Or. 4445 already presents the form ◄ for the Kāmeṣ, thus appearing to give an air of greater probability to the remark of Elias Levita that this was the original form of the sign; but it is not at all unlikely that ◄ is a natural modification of ◄. In Or. 1476 and 2363 the ◄ is often written ◄.

|| See § 12, where it is shown that ḥ = ◌̇, and ḥ = ◌̇.

¶ See §§ 11, 12.

resemblance to some of the vowel-signs, and are only distinguished from them by their position over the line.

It is clear that the establishment of the sublinear system in the form in which it is at present known, could not have taken place before the middle or latter part of the eighth century, as at least half a century ought to be allowed for the overcoming of prejudices and the development of the new system. Or. 4445, in all probability of the middle of the ninth century, is the oldest known MS. of this kind at present; and if the theory proposed here be correct, we can only look forward to the discovery of sublinear MSS. of about three-quarters of a century older than Or. 4445. More ancient codices would either be without vowels altogether, or exhibit the sublinear style in process of formation.\*

§ 38. The sublinear vowel-system thus became the authorised style of punctuation for the Scriptures, and there is no ground for thinking that its use was confined to the Palestinian schools. On the contrary, there is sufficient evidence—though of a negative kind †—to show that the Babylonian schools used it equally with the Palestinian. *Codex B.*, however, makes us acquainted with another early movement in the direction of vocalic development. Not long after the introduction of the sublinear style, an attempt was made to represent the traditional pronunciation of the Scriptures on different lines from the authorised method; and *Codex B.* presents us with a perfect specimen of the result of these labours. That this MS. was written at a time when the sublinear punctuation was in entire possession of the field is clear, not only from the fact that Or. 4445 bears distinct traces of greater antiquity than *Codex B.*, but also from the use of the sublinear signs in כָּל־, אֶת־, בְּן־, and from the scrupulous avoidance of punctuating the Name יהוה with the superlinear signs when read like אֲדֹנָי.‡ The inconvenient identity of שׁוּא נח, שׁוּא נע, and רפה points to a desire to assimilate the superlinear punctuation as much as possible to the authorised method,§ and the not infrequent use of

\* Or. 4445 exhibits the use of the מִתַּג in its earlier stage.

† See § 32.

‡ Compare § 35.

§ The adoption of the דָּגֵשׁ testifies to the same endeavour; see § 20.



sublinear signs in the Masoretic rubrics of that codex also shows that that style was perfectly familiar to its scribe or scribes.

But the question must be asked: for what object and under what influences was the punctuation of *Codex B.* elaborated, and how are its considerable variations from the authorised method to be explained? To give a satisfactory answer to these legitimate enquiries is as yet impossible, as no sufficient data are known on which to form a judgment. That Arabic influence was at work in connection with it has already been noted,\* and it is probable that the retention of the *a* sound in so large a number of cases in which the sublinear style has the סגול, as well as the absence of the “furtive pathah,” is also due to this influence. On the other hand, it is certain that the scribe or scribes of *Codex B.* inclined much more to the Babylonian Masoretic schools than to the Palestinian; but the complete silence of Sa’adyah and his contemporaries on the peculiarities exhibited in *Codex B.* is on the other hand sufficient to prove that the vocalising methods followed therein were not in accord with the authorised use.

It is true that in a certain direction, namely, in the differentiation of long vowels from short ones, *Codex B.* is much more thorough-going than the usual system; † but it is hardly likely that such stronger differentiation should have been the main object of its introduction, considering that in pronunciation itself the difference from the authorised system was considerable. One should be inclined to ascribe its elaboration to a schismatical body who refused to be tied by the authorised method of the schools, and proceeded to formulate a system that was more in accord with its own habits of pronunciation. This would remind us of the Karaïte theory already discussed, with this difference that instead of ascribing the invention of the original superlinear system to the Karaïtes, one might be tempted to concede to them that peculiar development of it which is presented to us in *Codex B.* That such a solution of the question is a possibility has already been hinted at, ‡ but sufficient certainty there is not.

\* See § 22.

† Ewald already noticed that the punctuation of *Codex B.* presented “eine in einigen Theilen durchgebildete, in anderen aber weniger ausgebildete Unterscheidung der Vocale.” *Die Assyrisch-hebräische Punctuation, Jahrbücher der Biblischen Wissenschaft*, 1848, pp. 160–172.

‡ See § 29.

§ 39. The system of accentuation that first meets us in the *Codex Babylonicus* may safely be looked upon as an after-thought. Having elaborated a new composite vowel-system for the Scriptures, its inventors felt bound to produce a fresh series of signs for the cantillation as well. Further information on the subject will be found in Appendix II of Wickes' work on the Prose-accents, and it need only be remarked here that the forms of Hebrew letters that are still clearly visible in several of the signs may safely be taken as a proof of their recent introduction. If the signs in question had any pretence to antiquity, they would hardly have retained the forms י, נ, ח, and ע, but would, judging by all analogy, have undergone changes which would have partly deprived their forms of their original identity with the letters of the alphabet. It must also be noticed that the new accentual signs are in their forms so different from the vowel-signs that no fear of confusion \* needed any more to be entertained. One is justified in assuming that the ordinary accentual forms are older than the sublinear vowels which had to be placed under the line in order to avoid confusion ; but that for the same reason a new series of superlinear accents were formed, when the punctuation of *Codex B.* was brought into use. The conjunctive accents, however, were left untouched, as their forms gave no fear of being confused with the vowel-signs.

§ 40. The modified form of the composite superlinear punctuation exemplified by the St. Petersburg Codices 132, 134 presents to us the last known phase of its development. It is quite possible that when the first attempt at adaptation was made, the Pentateuch itself was exempted from the change, as peculiar sanctity has always been accorded to the Law in the more restricted sense of the word. Later on the prejudice would wear out, and Nos. 132, 133 (embracing the Pentateuch) would then represent this fresh advance, and it has been shown already † that the various peculiarities of these MSS clearly show a conscious effort to assimilate the composite superlinear punctuation as much as possible with the traditional pronunciation.

§ 41. The sequence then in which the different styles of punctuating the Hebrew and the Jewish Aramaic are to be taken is as follows :—

\* See § 37.

† See § 27.

I. The simple superlinear punctuation, as exhibited in Or. 1467 and 2363, of which the styles of 1470 and 2227 are later *partial* developments.

II. The sublinear punctuation as already shown, barring the **ܒܝܬܗ**, in Or. 4445.

III. The punctuation of the *Codex Babylonicus*.

IV. The style of vocalisation exemplified in the St. Petersburg MSS. Nos. 132, 133.

In a larger view of the subject, all these styles of vocalisation are to be traced to the combined elements of the Jacobite-Nestorian punctuation, and these in their turn are, as is well known, derived from Greek vowel-letters on the one hand, and developed from the ancient diacritic signs already found in Syriac MSS of the fifth century on the other hand.



## AN INSCRIPTION OF KHUENATEN,

TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED BY



A. C. BRVANT, B.A., AND F. W. READ.



The following inscription is copied from a rectangular slab of black granite in the British Museum (Northern Egyptian Gallery, No. 1000). The text is arranged in two horizontal lines carved on the vertical faces of the slab, and running completely round it. What is evidently a somewhat faulty copy of this inscription is given in Sharpe's "Egyptian Inscriptions," Second Series, Plate 48, where it is said to be taken "from a block in a garden in Cairo." Nothing is known of the way in which the slab came into the possession of the British Museum, nor of its history prior to the time when it was noticed by Mr. Sharpe.





This monument is of interest as being one of the few memorials which the national collection possesses of Khuenaten or Amenhetep IV, the so-called "heretic king," and as illustrating on a small scale the religion which he favoured, and the attitude of his successors to him and to it.

The beginning of the religious and social changes which culminated under Khuenaten is to be found in the reign of his father Amenhetep III (about 1500 B.C.). This king had married Thii, a daughter of one of the Mesopotamian kings or chiefs, and to her was doubtless due the special reverence paid to Aten, the god of the solar disk, which made its first appearance in the reign of her husband, and reached its highest point in that of her son. This son, to whose reign our monument belongs, married Nefer-neferu-Aten-Neferti, also a Mesopotamian princess, and her influence added to that of his mother seems to have completed the revolution already begun. In the early part of his reign he assumed the name of Khu-en-Aten (glory of Aten) in lieu of his ancestral name of Amen-hetep (servant of Amen). It was probably about this time that he commenced his crusade against the god of Thebes, obliterating the name of Amen on the monuments, and ultimately removing





his court from the old capital to the new city of Khut-Aten on the site of the modern Tell el-Amarna. Here are the tombs of some of his officials; here also were found some six years ago the famous "Tell el-Amarna tablets," and quite recently the grave of Khuenaten himself.

It must not be imagined that Khuenaten was merely a worshipper of the physical disk of the sun. He is certainly represented in an attitude of adoration before it, and there is ample evidence that it was held in great honour; but this was only as the emblem or visible representation of the true Aten, as the instrument through which he poured his blessings upon the world. That the word Aten is used in two senses can readily be shown. The forms   *Aten* and

  *pa âten* are of constant occurrence in the same inscription, and the use of articles was so rare in the "lapidary" style, that some strong reason for the insertion of the *pa* must have existed.

But the argument is concluded by the phrase     *Aten en pa âten*, which can only be translated "Aten of the Disk." ["Denkmäler," Abth. III, Band VI, Bl. 97 e]. Although, however, *pa âten* must always be rendered "the Disk," the word *âten* by itself is by no means to be taken in every case as the name of the god, and in several places in this inscription it occurs in the sense of "the Disk."


The "heresy" of which Khuenaten was guilty did not consist simply in the worship of Aten. This was quite legitimate, and was practised both before and after his reign without provoking hostility. It was the adoration of Aten as the chief god (exalting the name of Aten,\* as we read in the inscriptions), and above all the attempt to blot out the very name of Amen, which excited the hatred of the priestly class. But it is hardly true, as has been asserted, that the religion of Khuenaten was a monotheism. In this slab alone, in addition to Aten we find Horus and Ra mentioned. It may be, however, that Khuenaten regarded these as merely so many names of the one god. The inscription itself states that Horus rises from the horizon in his form of the light which is in the Disk, and this

\*     *tes ren en Aten* ("Denkmäler," Abth. III, Band VI, Bl. 105c).

would certainly appear to identify him with Aten. The word Ra probably possessed a double signification; either that of the physical sun simply; or the sun-god apart from his particular aspects typified by Horus, Aten, and many others.

Besides Khuenaten there are mentioned in this inscription his wife Nefer-neferu-Aten-Neferti, and his daughter Aten-merit. Altogether contrary to custom, the wife is only mentioned incidentally as the mother of the daughter, the object of the inscription being to glorify Khuenaten and Aten-merit. Among the numerous inscriptions of this reign in the "Denkmäler," not one is to be found similar in this respect. Aten-merit was the eldest of the king's seven daughters (he had no son), and she married Sāa-nekht Kheperuka-Ra, one of the three ephemeral kings who succeeded her father.

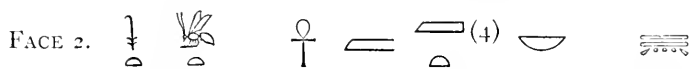
The text of the inscription, consisting as it does for the most part of strings of epithets, presents little difficulty to the translator.

There only occurs one doubtful expression,  *ta Khaibit-Rā*, which will be found discussed at length in note [6], at the end of the paper. The phrase is also found in two inscriptions in the "Denkmäler," one of which has been translated by Dr. Brugsch in his "History." But the suggestion of Mr. Renouf, which we have adopted, that it is to be regarded as the name of some temple, appears preferable to the translation of Brugsch, from the fact that the plates which accompany the two inscriptions represent the king and his mother Thii actually engaged in visiting a temple.



It is worth noting that in the "Denkmäler" it is the Khaibit-Ra of the queen mother Thii which is spoken of, while in our text it is the Khaibit-Ra of Princess Aten-merit. Perhaps two different temples are intended, or it may be that at the death of Thii her Khaibit-Ra passed into the possession of her grand-daughter.


The erasures on our slab are of considerable interest. The one at the beginning of the upper line on Face 3 has every appearance of being accidental; the others were certainly intentional. The queen's name has been erased in both places where it occurs, so that it can only be made out by one who knows what to look for. It is particularly to be noted that the word *āten* is nowhere mutilated, except in the queen's name, though it occurs in no less than nine other places. The same fact is observable on other monuments of this reign; in some cases the name of Aten seems to have been carefully preserved when the bulk of an inscription has been





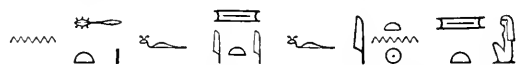
FACE 2.   
 Suten Nat anḥ em maāt neb tauī

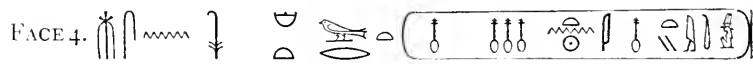
{ *King of Upper and Lower Egypt* } living by rule lord of the two earths

   
 Rā nefer heperu Rā uā en ṭā ānḥ  
*Nefer - kheperu Ra - ua-en-Ra, giver of life.*

FACE 3.  (5)  
 sa Rā ānḥ em maāt neb ḥāu  
*son of the Sun, living by rule, lord of diadems,*

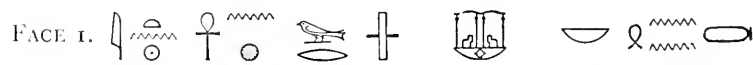
   
 Aten ḥu en āa em āḥā - ef suten sat  
*Khuenaten great in duration his (and) the royal daughter*

  
 en ḥat - ef merit - ef Aten merit  
*of body his, beloved his, Aten - merit*

FACE 4.   
 mes en suten ḥemit urit Nefer neferu Aten nefer tiith  
*born of royal wife great Nefer - neferu - Aten - Nefer - tii*

  
 anḥth t'eta ḥeh  
*living for ever and ever.*

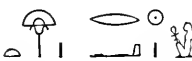
LOWER LINE OF HIEROGLYPHS.

FACE I.   
 Aten ānḥ ur ām ḥeb neb šenen  
*Aten, living, great in the panegyry, lord of the orbit,*





  
 neb      âten      neb      pet      neb      ta      em      ta

*lord of the Disk, lord of heaven, lord of earth, in the*


  
 Haibit      Rā (6)


*Khaibit - Ra*

FACE 2. 
  
 en      suten      sat      en      ḥat - ef      mer - ef

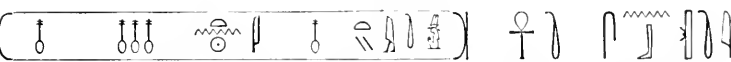
*of the royal daughter of body his, beloved his,*


  
 Aten      merit

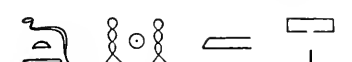
*Aten - merit*

FACE 3. 
  
 mes en suten ḥemit urit - ef nebt      tauī

*born of royal wife great his, lady of the two earths,*


  
 Nefer      neferu      Aten      nefer      tiith      anḥth      snebthā


*Nefer - neferu - Aten - Nefer - tii      living and strong*


  
 t'eta      ḥeḥ      em      per

*for ever and ever, in the house*

FACE 4. 
  
 hāā (2)      en      pa      âten      em      per      Aten

*of the rising of the Disk, in the dwelling of Aten,*


  
 em      Ḥut      Aten

*in Khut - Aten.*

## FREE TRANSLATION.

Hail to the father "Hail-to-Horus-of-the-two-horizons-rising-from-the-horizon-in-his-form-of-the-light-which-is-in-the-Disk," who giveth life for ever and ever; the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, whose attribute is unchangeableness, the lord of the two divisions of the world, Nefer-kheperu-Ra-ua-en-Ra, who giveth life; the Son of the Sun, whose attribute is unchangeableness, the lord of diadems, Khuenaten, great in his duration: and to the king's daughter, the issue of his body, whom he loves, Aten-merit (born of the great queen-consort, Nefer-neferu-Aten-Neferti, who liveth for ever and ever).

And hail to Aten, the living, who presides over the panegyry, lord of the orbit, lord of the disk, lord of heaven, and lord of earth, in the Khaibit-Ra of the king's daughter, the issue of his body, whom he loves, Aten-merit (born of his great queen-consort, the lady of the two divisions of the world, Nefer-neferu-Aten-Neferti, who liveth in strength for ever and ever); that is, in the House-of-the-rising-of-the-Disk, which is in the Dwelling-of-Aten, even in Khutaten.


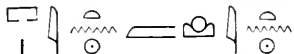
## NOTES.



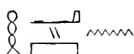


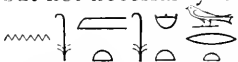

(1.) Such phrases as these are translated by some Egyptologists "the living father," "the living Horus," etc. This translation, however, is opposed to the grammatical structure of the language, and is least of all admissible when *anh* is followed by the name of a god. Names of gods frequently precede words which by ordinary rules of construction they should follow, and would certainly not be placed after words which by the ordinary rules should follow them.


(2.) Mr. Renouf considers \ \ in this case expressive of the doubling of the vowel.

(3.) The use of phrases of this kind within cartouches appears to be peculiar to Khuenaten and his successor Sāanekht. The separation into two names is quite arbitrary, as the sense requires us to read them as one. They are constructed on a totally different pattern from the royal names of any other period, if, indeed, they can be properly called "names" at all. Khuenaten, as we see, used besides two names after the manner of his predecessors, and before these he wrote the customary royal titles, but the cartouches we are now considering are not accompanied by any titles of royalty, and





none has yet been proposed. Mr. Renouf suggests that it is the name of the temple, just as Khutaten is the name of the town. In support of this view it may be pointed out that the expression occurs nowhere in the "Denkmäler" except in connection with the visit to the temple. The first part of the sentence on Bl. 102 is repeated in several other plates in the "Denkmäler," and  etc. is replaced by  thus strongly suggesting, as Mr. Renouf points out, that though not identical both are expressive of locality.

In our inscription there appears to be a double parallelism, and the phrase  is explained by   
 as  is by   
 It would seem therefore that Khaibit-Ra and Per-haa-en-pa-aten are alternative names of a temple of Aten in the new capital of Khuenaten, but not necessarily of the great temple of the town. The phrases  and  would seem rather to suggest on the contrary that some small chapel for more strictly private devotion is intended:

The name Khaibit-Ra (Shade or shadow of Ra) is certainly a strange one for a temple, but not more so than Khut-Aten (horizon of the disk) for a town. So too the absence of any determinative of a building is not such a forcible objection in this case as it would be in a text of any other period, for the name of the town itself, , as usually spelt, is similarly deficient.

What idea the expression "Shade of Ra" as the name of a building could convey to the mind of an Egyptian must still be doubtful. To explain it literally, as a protection from the sun, seems very unsatisfactory, although not perhaps impossible. It is also possible that the temple may have been regarded as an emanation or visible expression of Ra, just as a shadow is a representation of the object from which it is thrown. The word Khaibit however, like our own word "shade" had another meaning. The being of both gods and men comprised several principles,—body, soul, ka, and khaibit; but it is difficult to understand that a building could receive the name of one of these principles of the Sun-

god. A curious name which presents some likeness to this is found, however, in China, where a noted Buddhist temple is called T'in Dong, "Heavenly Boy," in memory of a celestial messenger who appeared to a hermit there.\* If the tale of its origin were lost, the name "Heavenly Boy" would be as great a puzzle as "Shade of Ra."

The determinative  is probably a scribe's error for .

\* Rev. A. E. Moule, "Four Hundred Millions," pp. 217, 218.



The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Tuesday, 7th March, 1893, at 8 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

P. LE PAGE RENOUF (*President*).—“The Book of the Dead:”  
Translation and Commentary (continuation).



**PROCEEDINGS**  
 OF  
**THE SOCIETY**  
 OF  
**BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.**




VOL. XV. TWENTY-THIRD SESSION.

*Fifth Meeting, March 7th, 1893.*



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"	XII, Part 8,	1889-90	...	5	0	" "	6	0
"	XIII, Parts 1 to 7,	1890-91	...	2	0	" "	2	6
"	XIII, Part 8,	1890-91	...	5	0	" "	6	0
"	XIV, Parts 1 to 7,	1891-92	...	2	0	" "	2	6
"	XIV, Part 8,	1891-92	...	5	0	" "	6	0
"	XV,	1892-93	...	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., 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.



PROCEEDINGS  
OF  
THE SOCIETY  
OF  
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

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TWENTY-THIRD SESSION, 1892-93.

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*Fifth Meeting, 7th March, 1893.*

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

— 3:6 3:6 —

The President mentioned that, reviving the Archaic Classes formerly held by the Society, he would deliver a series of lectures upon the Egyptian language and writing, at the rooms of the Society. The first lecture to be held on Wednesday week next, the 15th, at half-past four in the afternoon.

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

From the Palestine Exploration Fund:—The Tell Amarna Tablets  
Translated by C. R. Conder, Major R.E., &c., &c. London.  
8vo. 1893.

From the Anthropological Institute:—Notes and Queries on  
Anthropology, edited for the Council of the Anthropological  
Institute, by John George Garson, M.D., and Charles Hercules  
Read, F.S.A. Second Edition. London. 8vo. 1892.

From the Author:—Rev. C. A. de Cara, S.J. *Degli Hittim o Hethi e delle loro migrazioni*, Chap. XXIV.

Estratto dalla *Civiltà Cattolica*. Serie XV. Vol. V. 1893.

The following Candidates were submitted for election, having been nominated at the last Meeting, 7th February, 1893, and elected Members of the Society:—

Rev. A. Schmitz, Curate Herzogenrathe, bei Aachen, Germany.

Harry R. G. Inglis, 20, Bernard Terrace, Edinburgh.

Pundit S. E. Gopalacharlu, South Mada Street, Mylapore, Madras, India.

Major David Fitzgerald Downing, R.A., The Arsenal, Woolwich.

Professor William Matthew Flinders Petrie, D.C.L., 32, Torrington Square, W.C.

Miss Bradbury, Rivers Vale, Ashton-under-Lyne.

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next Meeting, 2nd May, 1893:—

Miss Nash, Cranham, Kents Road, Torquay, Devon.

Mrs. A. Heymanson, 13, Abbey Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.

Prof. Lewis B. Paton, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn., U.S.A.

Rev. James Davidson, B.D., Free Church Manse, North Berwick, Scotland.

A Paper was read by P. le Page Renouf (*President*) in continuation of his former Papers on the Egyptian Book of the Dead.

Remarks were added by Rev. C. J. Ball; Rev. R. Gwynne; Rev. A. Löwy; Rev. Jas. Marshall; J. Pollard; and Jos. Offord, Junr.

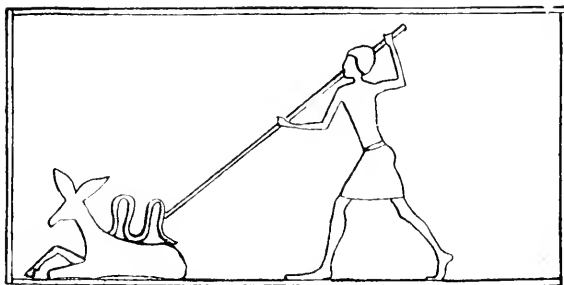
Thanks were returned for this communication.



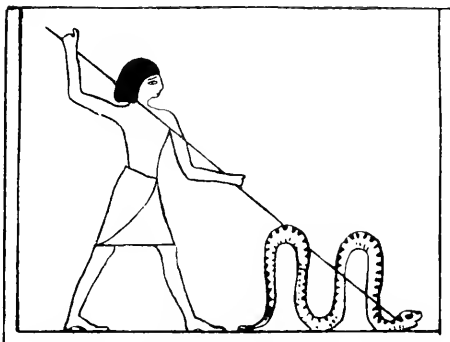


PLATE XIII.

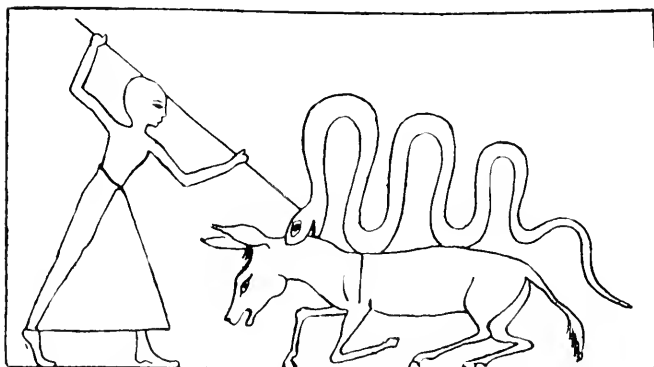
BOOK OF THE DEAD.



CHAPTER XXXIX. Sâgara. Grab 24.  
LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, Abth. III, Bl. 265.



CHAPTER XXXIX.  
Papyrus Musée du Louvre, 93.



CHAPTER XL. Papyrus, Leyden Museum. No. IV.





## CHAPTER XXXIX.

*Chapter whereby the Serpent Rekek is repulsed in the Nether-world.*

Back! down with thee, stabber (1) from Apepi! Drown in the lake of Heaven, in the spot wherein thy father ordered that thy murder should be carried out. Away from this birth-place of Râ, the god encompassed by\* his terrors.

I am Râ, encompassed by his terrors.

Back! the dark demon and the sword which he maketh to flash!

Râ flingeth down thy words; thy face is twisted round by the gods; thy whole heart is torn out by the Lynx goddess; chains are flung upon thee by the Scorpion goddess; and slaughter is dealt upon thee by Maât.

The gods who are on the roads overthrow thee.

Apep falleth down, the enemy of Râ.

O thou who removest the bolt from the East of Heaven at the stormy voice of bellows, and openest the gates of the Horizon before Râ: he cometh forth fainting from the wounds.

I am a doer of thy will, I am a doer of thy will, O Râ.

I have done well, I have done well; I have done to the satisfaction of Râ.

And I raise shouts of acclamation at thy success at fettering, O Râ. Apep is fallen and is in bonds.


The gods of the South, the North, the West and the East bind him; their bonds are upon him.

Aker (2) overthroweth him, and the lord of the ruddy sky doth bind him.

Râ is satisfied; Râ is satisfied; Râ maketh his progress peacefully.

Apep falleth; Apep goeth down; the enemy of Râ. And more grave for thee is the proof (3) than that sweet proof through the Scorpion goddess, which she practised for thee, in the pain which she suffered . . . (4).

Be thou emasculate, O Apep, enemy of Râ; be thou repulsed whom Râ hateth; look behind thee: a chopper is over thy head to divide it into two parts, and those who are above thy head assail it. Thy bones are broken, thy limbs are severed under the direction of Aker, O Apep, enemy of Râ.

\* †  between, in the midst of, surrounded by.

Thy boatmen [O Râ], succeed in measuring out thy path, and a journey, with which thou art satisfied; a progress, a progress towards home; and the progress which thou hast made towards home is a fair progress.

Let no evil hindrances come forth against me from thy mouth in what thou doest towards me.

I am Sutu, who causeth the storms and tempests, and who goeth round in the Horizon of Heaven, like to one whose heart is veiled.

Tmu saith: Let your countenances be raised up, ye soldiers of Râ, and drive back Nebtu in presence of the Divine Circle.

Seb saith: establish those who are upon their thrones in the middle of the Bark of Chepera; seize your shields and spears, and hold them in your hands.

Hathor saith: Seize your daggers.

Nut saith: Come and drive back Nebtu, who cometh against him who dwelleth in his shrine, and maketh his voyage in solitary guise: the Inviolable god, the resistless one.

O ye gods in your Divine cycles, who travel round the lake of Emerald, come and defend the Great one who is in the shrine from which all the Divine cycle proceedeth. Let glory be ascribed to him, and let honour be given to him. Oh then, proclaim him with me.








Nut saith, the mother of the gods: He cometh forth and findeth his path, and maketh captures of the gods; he hath the first place in the two houses of Nut.

Seb standeth still, the great cycle of the gods is in terror, Hathor is under terror, and Râ is triumphant over Apep.


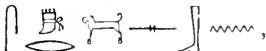


#### NOTES.




The extreme uncertainty of the text is such that no translation at present can be other than conjectural.

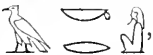


1. *Back, down with thee, Stabber.* The first word is clear enough; not so the two next.

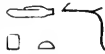
Are we to read ,  or ? for each of M. Naville's authorities gives a different word. The last of these readings has some support in a subsequent passage, but almost all copies have . There has evidently been a confusion between  and , and the determinative  of the latter



word has been transferred to the first. I believe that the true word is  which is used in the ancient forms of conjuration (see the texts of Unas, 304, 311, 542, 545, 554, etc.). It is always used in expressions of *lying down* or *falling down* , , and it is also found in parallelism with .

 without a determinative is susceptible of different meanings, and the very recent texts have it written with the determinative of motion  $\Delta$  or  $\Lambda$ , as significant of retreat. But the oldest determinative in this place is , and this inclines me to identify the word with , and translate it 'stabber.' But this is mere conjecture. See note 5 on Chapter 40.

2. *Akar*. The older MSS. differ hopelessly from each other as to the name of the god. , or as the name is also written , is the Personification of the *horizon*, and 'the two gates of Akar' are mentioned in the Pyramid text of Pepi I (line 72) as equivalent in sense to 'the two gates of Seb.' But with Akar the notion of obscurity is connected, whereas the notion of brightness is essentially connected with that of . Champollion translated this by 'Solar Mount,' and it would perhaps have been better to adhere to this term; for the word does not mean the horizon at all, but only the two places in it where the sun rises and where he sets. See picture of the god in Plate XIV.

3. *The proof*. Lit. *the taste*,  *tepit*, with the tongue as a determinative, in the sense of a *probe*. The hand of an Egyptian hero is said to *taste* his enemy. In the Bremner Papyrus the god *tastes* Apep four times. The same conception is found in the Homeric poems,

ἀλλ' ἄγε, θάσσον  
γευσόμεθ' ἀλλήλων χαλκήρεσι τε χειρίσιν.\*

though in Greek the *taste* comes generally to the *patient* rather than to the agent.

\* *Iliad*, 20, 258.

4. This passage, which would be most interesting if we could only get it accurately, is wretchedly corrupt. It is impossible from the variants to obtain a text grammatically intelligible. The Scorpion goddess is Isis.

## CHAPTER XL.

### *Chapter whereby the Eater of the Ass is kept back.*

Back, serpent Haiu (1), whom Osiris execrateth. May Thoth cut off thy head, and may there accrue to me whatsoever property proceedeth from thee [according to] what was decreed against thee by the Company of the gods for the accomplishment of thy slaughter.

Back, thou whom Osiris execrateth, from the Neshemet galley, which saileth towards the south with favourable breeze.

Pure are ye, all ye gods who overthrow the enemy of Osiris.

The gods upon the larboard utter loud acclamation.

Back, thou Eater of the Ass, whom the god Chas (2), who is in the Tuat, execrateth.

Know me! (*Repeated* four times).

“Who art thou?”

I am . . . . . \*

Down upon thy face (3)! thou who art eating at my sanctuary.

I am the Season, which cometh at its own will.

“Come not against me; thou who comest without being called, and who art unknown.”

I am the master of thine utterance, and the check upon thy pride (4).

O Ha-as, whose horns (5) Horus doth cut: by my children, the cycle of gods in Pu and Tepit, thou art severed from thy fold and thy fold is severed from thee.



And he who cutteth thee off cometh forth as the Eye of Horus; thou art kept back and assailed, and stopped (6) by the breath of my speech.

O thou god who devourest all wrong, and carriest off with violence (7); there is no wrong in me, my tablets (8) are free from wrong. Let me not suffer violence before the Divine Circle; let not disaster be hurled upon me.

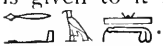
\* There is a lacuna here in the only MS. containing the text. The dialogue continues through the next line of the original.

I am he who giveth or taketh according to thy behest.  
 Let not *N* be seized, let him not be devoured (9).  
 He is Possessor of Life, and Sovereign Lord (10) on the Horizon.


## NOTES.


The translation of this chapter is based upon the important papyrus T 5 of Leyden, known as *Lb*. This is the only MS. which contains the whole chapter. All other copies begin after the sixth line. The usual chapter begins in *Lb* with a , which is the ordinary way of indicating a various reading. But the difference of reading applies rather to a mere paragraph than to the whole chapter. In this case we should expect  or something equivalent.

The Eater of the Ass is a Serpent, but who is the Ass?

Here, as in each case of mythological name, the animal is not meant, but something which is connoted by it. The name of the ass is given to it in consequence of one of its characteristics. It is . But this is one of the seventy-five names of the Sun-god in the Solar Litany.\* And he derives this appellation from his fructifying power.

But if the Ass is the Sun, who is the *Eater* of the Ass? This must be Darkness or Eclipse of some kind.

1. *Haiu*, the serpent who devours the sun, is undoubtedly the same as  *Haiu*, the serpent who in the Pyramid texts is ordered to lie down (Unas, 545, &c.), and cease from his attacks.

2. *The god Chas*, .

3. The usual chapter begins here. The text of *Lb* has generally been followed, but in some places later authorities have been preferred.



4. *Pride* or *boastings*,  *anta*, "glory," cf. *glorior*.

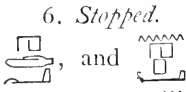



The speaker addresses his adversary as being a *miles gloriosus*.

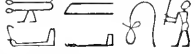
5. *Horns* or *barbed hooks*, ,  or .


The horns here spoken of, as possessed by a viper, are those of the deadly *Cerastes*, which are spines projecting from the arched eyebrows of the creature. See picture in Long's *Egyptian Antiquities of British Museum*, II, p. 316, copied from the great French work.

\* Naville, *La Litanie du Soleil*, p. 49 and 55, with the plates corresponding.



But the Sun-god is also called in his Litany\* . And a picture of the god† under the name  exhibits him as characterized by a pair of hooked weapons, suggested apparently by the mandibles of a beetle.

6. *Stopped.* There are three important variants here , and . And the last of these is possibly a corrupt reading from . The first two are synonymous.  may in certain contexts mean *destroy*, but it only signifies 'bring to a limit, to an end, stop,' like the *τερ* in *τέρ-μα*, *ter-min-o*. It is used in many cases, such as the staunching of blood, where no destruction is intended.

7. There is a picture in *Denkm.*, III, 279, of the god who carrieth off with violence . But it is a mummied form holding the *Tām* sceptre.

8. *Tablets,* . These are the tablets on which Thoth has written down the evidence taken at the *Weighing of the Words*, the examination at the Psychostasia. They are mentioned again at the end of Chapter 41.

9. Here I follow the general authority of the later texts.

10 *Sovereign Lord* . This word is closely connected, and was so from the first, with  'seize.' The best commentary upon it may be derived from the legal terms *usucapio*, *saisine*, *seisin*. The Sovereign Lord of Egypt is in our current legal phrase "*seized of the Two Earths*," that is of the whole Universe, North and South.

## CHAPTER XLI.

*Chapter whereby one avoideth the Slaughter which is carried out in the Netherworld.*

O Tmu, let me be glorified in presence of the god in Lion form, the great god; that he may open to me the gate of Seb.

\* In the 64th invocation.

† Lefébure Tombeau de Seti I, pl. XVII.

I prostrate myself to earth to the great god who is in the Netherworld. Let me be introduced into the presence of the company of gods who preside over those who are in Amenta.

O thou who art at the gate of Tebat ; god with the Red Crown (1), who art in Amenta ; let me feed, let me live by the breath of air and accompany the great Cleaver (2), and the Bark of Chepera.

Let me speak to the divine Boatman at the gloaming, let me enter in and let me go out ; that I may see who is there ; that I may raise him up and speak my words to him.







O Breathless one (3) : Let me live and be saved after death.




O thou Bearer of peace offerings, who openest thy mouth for the presentation of the tablets (4), for the acceptance (5) of the offerings and for the establishment of Maāt upon her throne ; let the tablets be brought forward, and let the goddess be firmly established.

I am Osiris, the great god, the eternal king, who numbereth his seasons and who lifted up his right arm, who judgeth the great ones and giveth mission to the gods of the great Circle (6) which is in the Netherworld.

#### NOTES.

The most noteworthy difference between the older recension of this chapter and that of the Saitic and later periods is that in the latter the god addressed at the opening is Osiris Unneferu, who is identified with Tmu. In the older recensions the identification may be seen in another way. Tmu is the god invoked, and in answer he says that he is Osiris, the great god.

1. *God with the Red Crown*  is , one of the titles of Osiris with the  crown. See picture in Lefébure, *Tombeau de Seti I*, part IV, pl. 34. This title, derived from the crown , is *Net-tà* or *Nait-tà*. It was borne by the high priest at Coptos (Brugsch, *Dict. Geogr.*, pp. 1374, 1377), and the King of Egypt derived his title  from the Crown  of the North which he wore as representing Osiris, or rather the *heir* of Osiris, Horus.

2. *The great Cleaver*,   , the name of the god who cleaves his path through the sky.



## THE TOWER OF BABEL.

BY THE REV. A. LÖWY.

In a pamphlet under the title of *Half a Century of Progress in the Knowledge and Practice of Judaism*, I incidentally alluded to specimens of Egyptian bricks which Lepsius deposited in the Royal Museum of Berlin. I stated that a specimen of a similar description of brick, bound together with straw fibres, has recently been brought by Mr. Edward Livingstone of Manchester from the so-called "Tower of Babel." The dimensions of that brick are 13 by 13 inches, with a thickness of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches; these dimensions very nearly agree with the figures given by several writers on Chaldean antiquities. The specimen here mentioned was removed by him from Birs Nimrud, the Borsippa of the Greek and Jewish writers.

Considering the countless millions of such sun-baked bricks which were used in Babylonian and Assyrian buildings, and that the system of binding the sun-dried material by means of vegetable fibres was known in Mesopotamia, we notice a fact that goes beyond a mere analogy in the elements of Babylonian and Egyptian architecture. A suggestion forcibly presents itself that as in Egypt so in Babylonia the bricks were made by prisoners of war whom the captor was always prone to transport from their native lands. The exiles, whose fate was much alike everywhere, were on the rivers of Babel employed in the making of bricks and in the erection of memorial palaces and temples, as well as in the canalisation of their enemies' territory. An unread page of history is laid before us by Oppert, in *La condition des esclaves à Babylone*, where he points out that the names of a considerable number of slaves denote their Canaanite origin.

An extremely interesting account of the great buildings erected in Babylon and Borsippa was put on record by Nebuchadnezzar in the cylinders which he deposited in Birs Nimrud (Borsippa) and which have been studied and translated by eminent decipherers of Cuneiform inscriptions. Mr. Budge in his "*Babylonian Life and*

*History*," among other scholars, has furnished translations of Nebuchadnezzar's records. That king says with regard to Borsippa: "I rebuilt the quay and the moat (lined and built) with bitumen and brick made to surround the citadel for protection. For the God Turkit, the breaker of the weapons of my enemies, I rebuilt the temple of Borsippa."\*

The Talmudists and the ancient Midrashic expositors of Genesis looked upon Borsippa as the site of the "Tower of Babel." Some of their notices of that Tower have been frequently cited as illustrative of the Babylonian records. But the following noteworthy legend has, so far as I know, escaped the attention of writers on this subject. In *Treatise Sanhedrin*, fol. 109a, occurs this tradition, and is there cited in the name of R. Johanan: "MIGDAL, SHALISH NISRAF, SHALISH NIBLA, SHALISH KAYEM." "Of the Tower (of Babel), one-third was burnt, one-third was buried underground" (literally, 'was swallowed up'), "and one-third remains standing."

Sir Henry Layard, following the measurements made by Rich, states that Birs Nimrud rises 198 feet, and has on its summit a mass of brickwork 37 feet high by 28 broad. He points out that "the vitreous surface, fused into rock-like masses, shows that their fall may have been caused by lightning." This conjecture gains additional force from the foregoing statement preserved in the Babylonian Talmud.

\* Pages 18 and 19.





[The following important communication which I have received from Brugsch Pasha has reference to one of the most brilliant and interesting discoveries of the day.

The ancient Egyptians not only personified natural phenomena, but when these were observed to follow a *fixed law* (*Maât*), deified them. The Zodiacal Light is one of these phenomena, and is now identified with a god known and worshipped in the earliest days of Egyptian civilization.—P. LE P. R.]

## ▲ OU LA LUMIÈRE ZODIACALE.

PAR H. BRUGSCH.

Mon illustre compatriote, Monsieur HERMANN GRUSON, de Magdebourg, connu du monde entier par la découverte de la fonte durcie et son application à la fabrication de fortifications gigantesques, vient de publier en langue allemande un remarquable livre intitulé : *Im Reiche des Lichtes*.\* Plus et mieux qu'un autre initié dans les mystères de la lumière et de la chaleur, l'auteur de ce travail a consacré ses loisirs à des recherches extrêmement importantes qui, dans le domaine de la physique astronomiques, se rattachent aux apparitions lumineuses du ciel et, en premier lieu, au soleil qui répand ses rayons sur le monde terrestre. L'examen approfondi auquel il a soumis les lois de la lumière, relativement à toute une série de phénomènes célestes, lui a ouvert des vues parfaitement nouvelles au sujet de l'origine de la lumière et de la chaleur. Je n'ai pas la prétention de me placer en juge sur la haute valeur des conclusions qui ressortent des études sagaces de Mr. GRUSON, mais je ne peux pas me taire en voyant qu'un des chapitres les plus intéressants de son livre s'occupe d'une apparition à laquelle la science a donné le nom de Lumière zodiacale. Il est vrai que la connaissance de la lumière en question ne date que d'une époque relativement très-récente. Elle a été observée pour la première fois

\* Sous le titre complet : *Im Reiche des Lichtes*.—Sonnen, Zodiakallichte, Kometen.—Dämmerungslicht-Pyramiden nach den ältesten ägyptischen Quellen. Von HERMANN GRUSON. Mit 28 Figuren u. 9 Tafeln. Braunsthweig, George Westermann. London, Asher and Co., 1893.

vers l'an 1660. Les savants ont pu constater, dès le temps de sa découverte, que la lumière zodiacale, surtout dans les régions du midi de notre globe, se manifeste régulièrement, à peu de jours près, chaque matin et vers l'orient *avant* le lever du soleil et chaque soir, vers l'occident, *après* le coucher du soleil. Ils ont pu vérifier également que la lumière zodiacale présente la figure d'une pyramide, un peu courbée à sa tête, dont la base repose sur la terre et dont la pointe se dirige vers le zénith du ciel. Ils ont finalement observé que la visibilité de l'apparition lumineuse disparaît lentement après une durée de trois quarts d'heure à peu près. Je l'ai observée moi-même pendant ce long séjour que j'ai fait en Egypte (dès l'an 1853), à des centaines de fois, et à chaque occasion où la lumière magique se présentait à ma vue, j'ai senti un vrai plaisir en admirant la splendeur de la pyramide en l'air. Malheureusement il y a peu de voyageurs, et parmi eux des savants de distinction, qui pendant leur séjour en Egypte ont dû jouir de ce plaisir, et cela par la raison la plus simple, c'est qu'ils n'en avaient aucune connaissance.





L'hiver de l'année passée j'ai eu la satisfaction de rencontrer aux heureux bords du Nil Mr. H. GRUSON, et de renouveler une amitié de bien ancienne date. Nous nous revîmes après un laps de temps de 43 années ! Je fus informé par lui-même qu'il avait entrepris son voyage dans le seul but d'étudier sur les lieux la lueur resplendissante de la lumière zodiacale. Grand étonnement de mon côté là-dessus.

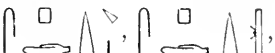




Sur la question de mon illustre ami, si la lumière pyramidale a été connue aux anciens Egyptiens, ma réponse n'affirma rien, et je ne supprimai nullement mes doutes sur le peu d'espoir de rencontrer des traces monumentales de sa connaissance soit aux temps pharaoniques soit à l'époque de l'empire gréco-romain en Égypte. Il faut le dire, Mr. H. GRUSON n'était pas du tout de mon avis. Sans mon entremise il avait fait la connaissance d'un dieu égyptien montrant la figure d'un homme en costume royal, la tête surmontée d'une espèce de triangle  $\nabla$ . Selon sa conviction cette personne divine aurait dû représenter la lumière zodiacale. En même temps il m'exprima la prière de poursuivre dans mes recherches scientifiques les traces de ce dieu lumineux pour me convaincre moi-même de l'exactitude de sa trouvaille.


Je me chargeai de la tâche, presque en regrettant d'avance le temps et la peine que j'aurais à perdre pendant la longue chasse au


dieu et à son fameux triangle. Aujourd'hui je sais bien que j'ai eu tort de jouer l'incrédule. Mais les recherches, les plus minutieuses qu'on puisse s'imaginer, que j'ai entamées et continuées pendant toute une année, ont fini par me démontrer toute la justesse de l'observation de Mr. H. GRUSON. Par suite de mes études il est assuré que le dieu en question représentait, déjà à l'époque de la construction des pyramides, la lumière zodiacale aux points du lever et du coucher du soleil. C'est donc de plein droit à Mr. H. GRUSON que notre science égyptologique doit une des plus rares et des plus curieuses révélations.





Pour le moment je suis occupé de rédiger un mémoire spécial qui réunira les nombreuses preuves et tous les documents tirés des monuments et des textes d'origine égyptienne et présentant, dans leur ensemble, les riches matériaux pour trancher impartialement la question. Je me permets aujourd'hui d'extraire de mon travail les exemples qui me paraissent mériter la première place dans la discussion, et dont quelques-uns se trouvent déjà cités dans la publication de Mr. H. GRUSON.

1. Remarquons d'abord que le nom du dieu , autrement écrit , se prononce *Sopd* ou *Sopdou* (, v. *Ounas*, l. 281). C'est, pour ainsi dire, la forme *masculine* du nom *féminin*  donné comme on sait à la déesse *Isis-Sothis*, représentant la constellation du Sirius.

2. L'origine des deux désignations, dont la première se rapporte à une des nombreuses formes du dieu *Horus*, l'autre à la déesse *Isis*, provient d'un substantif bien connu , du genre tantôt masculin (voir l'exemple en bas sous numéro 5) tantôt féminin. Je n'y vois pas une différence quant au sens général de *triangle*. Dans le papyr. mathém. du British Muséum l'écriture adoptée est  (ou ) *sopde-t*, donc dans la forme féminin. Dans les textes hiéroglyphiques de la basse époque le dessin antique  s'échange assez fréquemment avec cette autre :  (voir à la page 86 du "Thesaurus").

3. Le nom composé du dieu  "Horus le triangle," ou "Horus le triangulaire" (v. *Ounas*, l. 465), confondu

parfois avec  "Horus le Sothiaque" (*Teti*, l. 216) servait à désigner une apparition lumineuse du ciel. On n'a qu'à comparer le passage *Ounas*, 464-467, pour se convaincre qu'il y est cité après *Ra* (le soleil) et *Thot* (la lune) et avant les deux constellations *am-dait* et *Nekhkeh*.

4. D'accord avec cette supposition le signe du triangle , auquel nous donnerons désormais la valeur de lumière zodiacale, remplace occasionnellement les mots exprimant l'idée de lumière de la crépuscule comme dans l'exemple suivant tiré d'un texte funéraire de l'époque de THOTMES I<sup>er</sup>. Après avoir parlé d'offrandes présentées  "au moment de la soirée" (traduction de Mr. PIEHL) ou "à l'heure du soir" (d'après Mr. MASPÉRO), l'auteur du texte continue:  "qu'on lui amène un vase au lever du soleil" (Mr. PIEHL), ou "qu'on lui apporte la coupe au lever du soleil (?)" (Mr. MASPÉRO, v. le Recueil de Paris, 1883, pages 121 at 126). Les deux savants cités, comme on se convainc, ont remplacé le sens qui s'attache au mot  c'est-à-dire la lumière zodiacale, par le mot "soleil." Ils voyaient bien qu'il ne s'agissait dans cet exemple que du temps matinal tout au commencement du jour. D'après mes remarques la véritable traduction aurait été: "au lever de la lumière zodiacale."

5. Comme la dite lumière sous la figure d'une pyramide avance le lever quotidien du soleil, les anciens Egyptiens la regardaient comme une espèce de messenger ou héraut du soleil naissant *au premier jour de la création du monde*. Cette idée toute naturelle se trouve exprimée par exemple dans un hymne adressé au dieu créateur *Ptah* (de Memphis) et conservé sur le Papyrus hiéroglyphique No. VII du Musée égyptien de Berlin (v. les *Denkmaeler*, VI, pl. 118, à la ligne 118). Le texte est d'une clarté qui ne laisse rien à désirer. Dans des termes poétiques, qui du reste se répètent ailleurs, il y est nettement dit que le dieu a créé ce monde pour lui servir de corps. "Tu n'as pas eu le père qui l'aurait engendré dans ton essence, tu n'as pas eu la mère, qui t'aurait enfanté, tu t'as formé toi-même (*an atk outt-tou m khoprek an moutk mastou khnoumek t'esck*), telle est la phrase qui termine la description de la création. Ce qui suit présente un intérêt tout particulier par la mention du triangle ou de





## THE CONSTELLATION ARIES.

BY E. M. PLUNKET.

In the January number of the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archeology* for last year, under the title "The Accadian Calendar," two propositions were advanced :—

- I. The Accadian year was counted as a sidereal year.
- II. The Accadian calendar was first thought out and originated at a date not later than 6000 B.C.

The fact that the sun's entry into the constellation Aries appears to have marked through many millenniums the beginning of the Accadian year, was cited in support of the first proposition, and the fact that the sun's entry into Aries coincided in 6000 (or perhaps 6500) B.C. with the Winter Solstice, was relied on to support the probability of the second proposition, namely, that at the above date the calendar, which so honoured the inconspicuous constellation Aries, was first drawn up.\*

If we now find this inconspicuous part of the heavens equally honoured by several nations in very ancient times, we shall be led to think either that these nations, independently of each other, happened to observe and mark out the sun's annual course through the heavens at exactly the same date, and therefore chose the same point as marking the Winter Solstice ; or we must suppose that they derived their calendar and knowledge of the Zodiac from observations originally made by some *one* civilized race.

Bailly in his work on the history of ancient astronomy, speaking of the Brahmins of India, the initial point of whose Zodiac is at the first star in the constellation Aries, observes : " Mais pourquoi ont-ils choisi cette constellation pour la première ? Il est évident que

\* A corroboration of this view, *i.e.*, that the Accadian year originally began at the winter Solstice, is to be found in the name of the thirteenth (intercalary) month, " Dir Se," the dark (month) of sowing. This name suits a month immediately preceding the winter Solstice—it does not suit a month immediately preceding the spring Equinox.

c'est une affaire de préjugé et de superstition ; le choix du premier point dans un cercle est arbitraire, ils auront été décidé par quelque ancienne tradition," etc.

Dupuis, writing at the same date as Bailly, about a hundred years ago, and in conflict with him on many points relating to the Zodiac, was also struck by the choice of this same inconspicuous point in the great circle of the ecliptic, not only by the Brahmins of India, but also by other ancient nations. This fact, amongst others, he relied on to support his view of the unity of the astronomical and religious myths of all nations—he looked upon southern Egypt as the locality from whence these myths had chiefly been derived, and he suggested a date of more than 11000 B.C. for the mapping out of the Zodiac, at a time when the *Autumn Equinox* would have coincided with the sun's entry into Aries.

The argument drawn from the choice by several nations of the first division of Aries as initial point of the Zodiac and year, is of equal cogency in support of a calendar such as Dupuis suggests drawn up more than 11000 B.C. for a year beginning at the *Autumn Equinox* ; or for one, as suggested in this paper, drawn up about 6500 B.C., and dealing with a year beginning at the *Winter Solstice*. Oriental scholars and historians, from other than astronomical data, may probably be able, by a study of the records of many nations now within their reach, to decide whether either of these dates, and if so which of them, meets with corroboration from the monuments.

Dupuis at the end of his work, *Memoires Explicatif du Zodiaque*, gives in a diagram several Zodiacs in concentric circles ; some divided into twelve, some into twenty-seven or twenty-eight parts. He represents the colures by a cross which quarters these concentric Zodiacs, and he observes as follows : "On remarque d'abord que ces divers systèmes lunaires tirés de l'astronomie de différens peuples, s'accordent tous à placer dans les cases correspondantes à peu près les mêmes étoiles. Il suffit pour s'en assurer de comparer les étoiles désignées dans la même case de la division de chaque peuple. On remarque aussi qu'ils ont pris tous excepté les Chinois les mêmes étoiles pour point initial de la division, savoir celles de la tête du Bélier. Les Chinois au contraire ont fixé le point initial dans la partie du ciel diamétralement opposée, vers les pieds de la Vierge et près l'Epi."

Dupuis in another passage points out that the Chinese months took their names from the constellations in *opposition*, and not from



those in *conjunction* with the sun. Their month called after the group of stars containing Spica (or *l'Epi*), the first Chinese constellation in *opposition*, corresponded thus with the Accadian month "Bar Ziggur," called after the constellation Aries in *conjunction*. We have then in the Chinese and Accadian Zodiacs really, though not nominally, the same initial point. It is to this fact and not to the many other resemblances between the calendars of these two nations, that in this paper we wish to call attention.

Of the Brahmins of India we have already spoken ; their astronomy, like that of the Chinese, claims a high antiquity, and their observations and calculations date back to the fourth millennium B.C. The names of the Indian constellations are preserved to us in the Sanscrit language ; this in itself is a guarantee of antiquity, and these names are so to speak identical with those that we use at the present day when we speak of the figures of the Zodiac.

We have then the Accadians, the Chinese, and the Aryans of India all recognising the same point in the great circle of the heavens as the starting point of the Zodiac.

It is difficult, with Bailly, to attribute this "to some matter of prejudice or superstition ;" rather with Dupuis we are inclined to attribute it to a scientific observation, on the part of the early calendar makers, of the coincidence of that point with one of the four great natural divisions of the year.

Turning from the Accadians, the Chinese, and Indians to the Egyptians, it will be interesting to see if there are any indications in their astronomy or mythology, of honour paid to the constellation Aries in connection with the progress of the sun and moon through the figures of the Zodiac.

It is true that the acquaintance of the ancient Egyptians with these figures is a matter still in dispute, and their method of counting the year also presents great difficulties to scholars. They were, however, a people much given to the observation and worship of the heavenly bodies, and their astronomy and mythology were very closely woven with each other.

In the time of the Middle Empire it seems the months were not counted as lunar months, but as months of thirty days each. The year was not counted as a sidereal year, but as one of three hundred and sixty days—twelve months of thirty days—and five days added at the end of each year to bring up the number to three hundred and sixty-five days. No attention was paid to the odd hours and

minutes over and above the three hundred and sixty-five days, which are occupied by the Sun in completing his annual course.

Mr. Griffiths has remarked in the number of the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archeology* for March, 1892, that the hieroglyph for month points to an originally lunar month; the star under the first crescent would seem to point also to a month counted sidereally, *i.e.*, dependent upon the conjunction of the sun and moon in some particular star group of the ecliptic.

In the long and probably disastrous interval between the Ancient and Middle Empire many changes in ritual and civil observances were doubtless made, and the knowledge of how to count the years and months by the stars, if it was originally possessed by the priests and kings of the Ancient Empire, may have been lost, or abandoned voluntarily by those who had the charge of such matters.

Now in the Theban triad of Amen, Maut, and Chons—Chons, the Moon-god, is always represented as ram-headed, and his temple, at right angles, and in close proximity to, the great temple of Amen-Ra, is approached through an avenue of gigantic ram-headed sphynxes. Chons as Moon-god (or may we not say Month-god?)—if the first month of the year was that in which the sun and moon were in conjunction in Aries—might with justice be represented as ram-headed.

But Amen, the great god of the Theban triad, is also sometimes represented as ram-headed—his boat and his sceptre are always adorned with a ram's head, and the great temple to him in conjunction with the sun, *i.e.*, to Amen-Ra, is also approached through an avenue of ram-headed sphynxes.

We know that Horus, Isis, and Osiris—the Memphian triad—symbolised the *diurnal* motion of the sun and other heavenly bodies. May not the great Theban triad Amen, Maut, and Chons have originally symbolised the *annual* course of the sun and moon through the constellations the Zodiac, of which, as we have argued, the constellation Aries was the first division?

A prayer to Amen is translated by G. Maspero, in the April number for 1891 of the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archeology*; from this translation it would appear that Amen is implored to bring the calendar in to touch with the real seasons of the year. If Amen represented the yearly course of the sun, such a prayer might suitably have been addressed to him.

The great temple to Amen-Ra at Thebes is oriented to the

setting sun at the summer solstice. This is a very marked point in the sun's *annual* course. On the other hand, the temple at Aboo Simbel is oriented to the rising sun—not at the time of either solstice or equinox ; \* on the 26th of February the sun shines into the Holy of Holies of that rock-hewn temple, and now, 1893 A.D., the sun is in conjunction with the constellation *Aquarius* on the 26th of February. But if we calculate back to the date when Rameses II dedicated this temple to Amen-Ra, we shall find that the sun when first its rays penetrated into the shrine of the temple at Aboo Simbel was in conjunction with the constellation *Aries*—a group of stars not marking any of the four great divisions of the year ; but, as we have supposed, still held traditionally in honour as the initial point of the Zodiac, and selected for that honour at a date when the winter solstice coincided with the sun's entry into that constellation.

The Hebrews had a calendar before the exile counted evidently by lunar months ; these months are described, like those in the Accadian calendar, sometimes by name, and more often as “the first month,” “the second month,” and so on. After the exile the writers in the Bible make use of Babylonian names for the months ; no comment is added which should lead us to think that the Babylonian and Hebrew months differed from each other in any way. It has been very generally taken for granted that when Moses commanded the Hebrews to observe the month Abib, *i.e.*, “the month

\* Extract from the *Pall Mall Gazette*, April 20, 1892 :—“I was fortunate in seeing another wonderful thing during my visit to Aboo Simbel. The great temple is dedicated to Amen-Ra, the sun god, and on two days in the year the sun is said to rise at such a point that it sends a beam of light through both halls till it falls on the shrine itself in the very ‘Holy of Holies.’ Many theories are based on the orientation of the temples, and Captain Johnston wished to find on which day in the spring of the year the phenomenon took place ; so he took his instruments, and we all went up to the temple before dawn. It was the 26th February. The great hall with its eight Osiride pillars was wrapped in semi-darkness ; still darker were the inner hall and the shrine. Behind the altar sat the four gods Amen, Horus, Ptah, and Rameses himself, now deified. All the east was a deep rosy flush ; then that paled, and a hard white light filled the sky. Clearer and whiter it grew, till with a sudden joyous rush the sun swung up over the low ridge of hill, and in an instant, like an arrow from the bow of Phoebus Apollo, one level shaft of light pierced the great hall and fell in living glory straight upon the shrine itself. . . . .

A. F.”

of the ears of corn," he meant thereby the month in which the ears of corn ripened. But a month dependent on the uncertain ripening of corn could not have corresponded with any exactness to the month Nisan—calculated as it was by a rigid astronomical rule.

If however the month Abib with the Hebrews corresponded to Bar Ziggur or Nisan, the first month of the Accadian year—or as we have suggested in this paper, to the first month of an almost universally accepted year: there would be a simple astronomical reason for calling the month Abib—the month of the ears of corn—Abib would, in fact, like the Chinese and Indian first month, have been called after the constellation containing "the ears of corn" (marked by the bright star Spica) in the Virgin's hand, which rises in *opposition* as the sun sets in *conjunction* with the constellation Aries, and would have been identical with Nisan, *i.e.*, the month in which the sun is in conjunction with Aries.

We find then indications that the Accadians, the Chinese, the Aryans of India, the Egyptians, and the Hebrews, reckoned their year as beginning when the sun and moon entered the Constellation Aries. It is difficult to think that this method of reckoning the year was arrived at by each of these nations independently: that they should have also recognised in the star groups of the ecliptic the same fanciful figures, seems to make the theory of independent observation incredible. Whether one nation borrowed these ideas from another, or whether some "earlier race of men" bequeathed this knowledge to their many descendants, is still an open question. Scholars have not unanimously awarded the palm of seniority in civilization to any one nation, and we are not at variance with proved facts, if we elect to adopt the theory of a common stock from which the divergent races sprang. If then it should appear that these races possessed and incorporated into their earliest mythologies, a knowledge of the Zodiac, and of the head of Aries as its initial point: their separation from the parent stock must have been subsequent to the formation of the scheme that dealt with a calendar based on the figures of the Zodiac, and the date of 6000 B.C. becomes a foothold for the chronology of ancient history. We should also be led to think of the common ancestors of the civilized races: not as ignorant barbarians, but rather as men graced with high intellectual gifts—men whose teachings have been handed down through all the ages to this present day, and of whose imaginings the Zodiac remains the most ancient monument of the work of intelligent man.

## THE TEN PATRIARCHS OF BEROSUS.

BY PROF. DR. FRITZ HOMMEL.

It is well known, not only that Berosus gives the names of ten patriarchs as living before the great flood, but that also the number of the antediluvian patriarchs in Gen. v. is ten. But a comparison of both lists did not give a sufficient result till now, concerning the original identity of the two lists. I will give first the text of both :—

1. Ἄλωρος, Alorus	אָדָם (Adam).
2. Ἀλάπαρος, Alaparus	שֵׁת (Sheth)
3. Ἀμήλων, Ἀμίλλαρος, Almelson	אֵנוֹשׁ (Enosh).
4. Ἀμμένων, Ammenon	קֵנָן (Kēnān).
5. Μεγάλαρος, Amegalarus	מַהֲלַל־אֵל (Mahalal el).
6. Δάωνος, Δαῶς, Davonus	יָרֵד (Yered).
7. Ἐνέδωραχος, Eдорanchus	חַנּוֹךְ (Hanôk).
8. Ἀμέμφσινος, Amemphsinus	מֶתֶשֶׁלַח (Metû-shelah).
9. Ὠπάρτης, Opartes	לֶמֶךְ (Lemek).
10. Ξίσουθρος, Xisuthros	נֹחַ (Nô'ah).

The corrupted forms of the Berosian list cannot hinder us from seeing in it a mere copy or Greek transcription of a Babylonian original. Long known is the identification of Opartes (Π instead of TI of the MSS.) with *Ubara-tutu*, the father of Xisuthros, or of the Babylonian Noah. The origin of Xisuthros is probably *Khis-zud*, 𒀭𒍪𒍪𒍪𒀭𒍪𒍪𒍪 (Zimmern, *Babyl. Busspsalmen*, p. 26, note 1), in Semitic *Piv-napišti*, "offspring of life," or better, as I would propose, *Nûh-napišti*, "rest of the soul."\* Amelon is *amîlu*, "man," and so

\* Compare 𒀭𒍪𒍪𒍪𒀭𒍪𒍪𒍪𒀭𒍪𒍪𒍪 *sag-ud-du*, Brünn, No. 7883, *pušsuh libbi*, "rest of the heart," of which *nûh libbi* would be a mere synonym. In Sumerian the oldest form of *ud* is *ġud* (compare 𒍪, *ġud* = *namâru* "to be bright," and 𒀭𒍪, *ud* = *namâru*, neo-Sumerian *ġis*).

closely agrees with אֲנֹשׁ, whilst Amemphsinus is very probably a corruption of ΑΜΕΛ ΨΙΝΟC (Λ for Μ) = *Amel-sin* (Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 149). But if the name of the third patriarch is "man" (*amēlu*, in Hebrew אֲנֹשׁ), then the names of the two first kings must be names of gods, and of course of the two creator gods Ea and his son Merodach. Now Alorus is none other than *Aruru*, the wife of Ea (compare her name *belit ilāni*, and the name of her creature *Ea-bāni*, i.e., "Ea is creating"); and for Alaparus I should like to read Adaparus (Δ for Λ) = *Adapa*, another name of Merodach (e.g., in the mythological text of the Berlin Tell Amarna collection). Amegalarus I correct to Amel-Alaros, *amil-Aruru* (Λ for Γ). The second element of Evedorachos, Edoranchus, may perhaps be *Aku* (= *Sin*, as in Ariokh, Gen. xiv = *Iri-Aku*), and so also of *Han-ôk*. In Davonus, Daos, Prof. Delitzsch sees the Sumerian *dumu*, *duvu*, "son," "child," and compares it with יָרֵד "descendant" (*Paradies*, p. 149). Ammenon is, I think, the Babylonian *ummānu*, "workman," "artifex;" which is the more probable, as the Hebrew קוֹנֵן (compare Arabic كَيْن كَيْن, "faber, artifex") is a mere translation of it. This leads us to our present investigation about the origin of the Hebrew list in Genesis, chapter v.

An unprejudiced comparison of the so called Cainitic list of patriarchs in Gen. iv, shows us that originally both lists were the same.

Gen. v (so called Priest-codex):— Gen. iv (so-called Jehovist):—

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. אָדָם <i>Adôm</i> (see below)   | _____  |
| 2. שֵׁת <i>Sheth</i> (שֵׁתִי Shiti = Merodach)                             | _____  |
| 3. אֲנֹשׁ <i>Enôsh</i> "man"   | הָאָדָם <i>ha-Adam</i> , "The man."                      |
| 4. קַיִן <i>Kênân</i> (out of <i>Kainân</i> )                              | קַיִן <i>Kain</i> .                                      |
| 5. מַהֲלַל־אֵל <i>Mahalal-el</i>   | חַנוֹךְ <i>Hanôk</i> .                                   |
| 6. יֶרֶד <i>Yered</i>  | עִירַד 'Irâd (LXX Παῦσαῦ, read Παῦσαῦ).                  |
| 7. חַנוֹךְ <i>Hanôk</i>  | מַחֲוִיָּאֵל <i>Mehûya-el</i> .                          |
| 8. מֶתוּשֶׁלַח <i>Metû-shelah</i>  | מֶתוּשָׁאֵל <i>Metû-ša-el</i> .                          |
| 9. לֶמֶךְ <i>Lemek</i>   | לֶמֶךְ <i>Lemek</i> .                                    |
| 10. נוֹחַ <i>Noh</i> (and his three sons<br><i>Shem, Yaphet, and Ham</i> ) | (Three sons):—<br><i>Yabal, Yubal and Tubal(-kain)</i> . |

With the exception of the transposition of Nos. 5 and 7, and some slight variants, the second list is absolutely identical with the first. At the same time it is clear, that the name of No. 1 cannot have been *Adam*, because we have *ha-adam* in the second list as a variant of No. 3, Enôsh, but perhaps אָדָם (only אָ instead of אָד) *adôn*, "Lord" (for *Yahwe*, *Yahu* = *Yâ'u*, Ea, compare the interesting paper of Mr. Pinches about *Yâ* in these *Proceedings*, p. 13-15), compare Luke iii. 38. Now we have :—

## Babylonian.

## Hebrew.

<i>Aruru</i> (wife of Ea)	<i>Adôn</i> (= <i>Yahu</i> or Ea?).
<i>Adapa(ra?)</i> = Marduk	<i>Sheth</i> (ilu <i>Shiti</i> or Marduk).
<i>Amîlu</i> ("man")	<i>Enôsh</i> or <i>Adam</i> ("man").
<i>Ummânu</i> ("artifex")	<i>Ḳainân</i> or <i>Ḳain</i> ("artifex").
<i>Amil-Aruru</i> ("man of Aruru")	<i>Amel-alil</i> (see below).
<i>Duvu</i> ("child")	<i>Yered</i> ("descendant").
<i>Adar-Aku</i> ("splendour of A.")	<i>Han-ôk</i> ("beauty of Aku"?).
<i>Amil-Sin</i> ("man of the Moon")	<i>Metû-Shelah</i> ("man of Sh.").
<i>Ubara - Tutu</i> ("servant of Merodach")	<i>Lemek</i> (Lamga, "the servant : " a title of Sin).
<i>Nûh-napišti</i> ("rest of the soul")	<i>Nôh</i> ("rest").

One glance on this juxtaposition will suggest a close relation and probably a common original of these two lists. In אָדָם (for אָדָם) and שֵׁת we have only other names of the same gods; compare also the Egyptian *Shet* (the Babylonian Nergal, and brother of Merodach-Osiris). The same is the case in *Metû-Shelah*, because *Shelah* seems to be a younger pronunciation of *Sharrâhu* (= "Sin, as the god of the king Dungi of Ur," the same Ur, which was the original home of Abraham), being thus the exact equivalent of Amil-Sin. Mere translations are Enôsh or Adam for Amîlu, Ḳainân for Ummânu, and perhaps Yered for Duvu,\* if Duvu is indeed the Babylonian original of the Berosian Daonos or Daos. For Amil-Aruru the Hebrew writer put probably אֱלִילִים—אֱלִילִים; another redactor wrote אֱלִילִים—אֱלִילִים (compare אֱלִילִים, Neh. iii, 34, as a reminiscence of it, like אֱלִילִים "idol" of אֱלִילִים = Arûru?), and

\* Also עִירָד *ghirad* seems to be an expression for "child," compare Egyptian *χrd*; it is perhaps only an older form for *warad*, *jarad* (compare also *wa.aa*, *yalaa*.)

a third, no longer understanding the sense of אַמְלִי, replaced it by the similar sounding word מְהַלֵּל, "praise." Eboranchus is perhaps *Adar-Aku* (compare *adâru*, "splendour," Delitzsch, *Wörterbuch*, p. 167), of which אֲדָרָה, אֲדָרָה would be a partial translation (compare אֲדָרָה, "favour," but also "loveliness, beauty," in Hebrew).

But the translations of *Amîlu* (*Enosh*), the following *Ummânu* (*Āinân*), and the concluding *Nûh* (or *Tapšah*)-*napišti* (*Nôh*) would alone be sufficient to set it beyond doubt, that the list of the ten Hebrew patriarchs bears the marks of the closest relation to the Babylonian list of the ten antediluvian kings. Concluding, I remark, that in my opinion the Hebrew copyist (author of the so-called "priest-codex") must have lived centuries before the exile, because the names of the list of the so-called Jehovist (Gen. iv), are not so well preserved, and so presuppose the existence of the list of Genesis v.



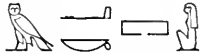






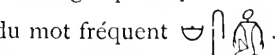


## NOTES DE PHILOGIE ÉGYPTIENNE.

PAR KARL PIEHL.


(Suite.)\*

77. Le groupe ; 78. Pithom et Heroonpolis; 79. Observations sur la manière de traduire adoptée par l'éditeur des textes des pyramides; 80. Passages de l'inscription d'Ahmès d'El-Kâb; 81. Expression, empruntée à une stèle du Musée de Leide; 82. Différents points de la stèle poétique de Thotmès III; 83. Le mot ; 84. Le mot ; 85. Le mot  "fils"; 86. Le groupe ; 87. Le signe .

77. Dans un ouvrage qui a paru récemment,† j'ai rapproché le groupe  du mot fréquent . Le passage, pour lequel j'ai cru pouvoir attribuer au groupe en question la lecture *hemes*, a la teneur suivante :



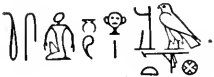
dont la traduction ("Ta Sainteté est assise à *Utes-Hor*, sur le grand siège d'Harmachis") n'offre pas de difficultés.

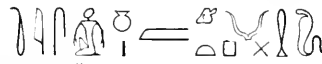
Actuellement, je dois retracter la lecture *hemes*, retraction qui a été nécessitée par les exemples que voici, où se voient des variantes du groupe  :


\* Voir *Proceedings*, Vol. XV, p. 47.

† PIEHL, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques*, Nouvelle Série, II, page 44.


‡ PIEHL, *l.l.* I, LXX, l. 6. Cf. BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1359 :






 “Je m’assois sur le front de ta Sainteté.” \*

 “Il s’est placé sur l’appui d’Horus.” †

 “Il s’est assis sur le trône d’Horus.” ‡


Il est évident que, dans ces circonstances, il faut lire notre groupe *tes*. Je n’hésiterais point de le rapprocher du groupe, généralement connu,  et varr. A cet égard, on peut consulter l’exemple que voici :

 “Je me place sur le trône de l’horizon dans la ville de Tentyra” § BRUGSCH [*Wörterbuch*, IV, 1579], a déjà adopté un mot  *tās*, “sich niederlassen, sich setzen,” mais il en fait un vocable nouveau, séparé de celui de .



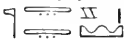
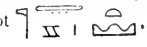
78. Au sujet de la ville de Pithom, BRUGSCH|| dans son dernier travail se prononce ainsi : “Die Stadt selber hiess neben Pitum, das Herodot unter dem Namen Patumos kannte, bei den Griechen Heroopolis und diese Benennung selber schuldete wiederum einem

\* DÜMICHEN, *Tempel-Inschriften*, I, 57, 2.


† DÜMICHEN, *ibid.*, 27, 9.

‡ DÜMICHEN, *ibid.*, 23, 9. On doit corriger, suivant les exemples d’en haut, le passage que voici :  “assis sur le tertre (?) à Edfou,” DÜMICHEN, *l.l.* 34, 4.

§ *Texte de Dendérah*.

|| BRUGSCH, *Steininschrift und Bibelwort*, page 117. En constatant, que l’auteur traduit la variante  (*Papyrus Harris*, N°. I, 77, 10) du groupe , par “die beiden Länder Gottes an den Küsten Ostafrikas” (page 168), nous ne pouvons ne pas faire remarquer qu’il aurait été logique de placer ces “pays” *des deux côtés* de la Mer Rouge, par où l’analogie avec “les deux pays” de l’Égypte aurait été complète. Toutefois, je regarde toujours  comme une variante purement graphique du mot .

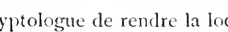



ägyptischen Worte seinen *bisher unbekannt* Ursprung. Die Inschriften von Tell-el-Maschuta nennen denselben Platz Eru oder Ero, an welches Wort sich die Bedeutung von 'Vorrathshaus, Provianthaus' knüpft. Die Griechen machten aus *Ero* ein *Hero*, und die Namensbildung von Heroopolis war wie von selber gegeben."

C'est sans doute un oubli involontaire qui a conduit notre éminent confrère à parler de "l'origine jusqu'ici inconnue" du nom Heroopolis.—GOODWIN—l'infatigable GOODWIN—a ici, comme bien souvent ailleurs, donné la clef de l'énigme ; du reste dans un sens, bien différent de celui, proposé par M. BRUGSCH. Dans un article, paru à la *Zeitschrift* de 1873,\* le regretté égyptologue a montré que le nom Héron grec correspond au nom égyptien Tmou, par exemple dans la traduction : 'Απόλλων κρατερός, υἱὸς Ἡρωῶνος qu'a fournie HERMAPION pour la bannière :  "Horus, taureau victorieux, fils de Tmou," tracée sur l'obélisque flaminien de Rome. GOODWIN, à ce sujet, fait observer que cela nous amène à identifier Pithom et Heroopolis, et il se sert de cette combinaison pour modifier la lecture des *Septantes* : Ἡρώων πόλις en celle de Ἡρωῶνος πόλις, tout en invoquant la traduction copte qui donne ici fort justement ΠΕ-ΘΩΛΛ.

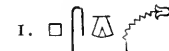

Les formes *Eru*, *Ero*, s'expliquent sans difficulté comme des abréviations, légèrement défigurées, du nom de localité Heroopolis ou Heroopolis.

79. L'éditeur des textes des pyramides, qui en accompagne son édition de traductions littérales,† me semble assez souvent tourner des mots, déjà connus, de leurs sens avoués, pour remplacer ces derniers par d'autres qui n'ont pas été prouvés et dont l'introduction

\* *Zeitschrift*, XI, page 13.

† J'ai plusieurs fois blâmé les traductions *littérales* de M. MASPERO. Une excellente preuve du grand danger que présentent de pareilles traductions, nous offre le penchant de cet égyptologue de rendre la locution  par "ne pas . . . . chaque jour"; c'est-à-dire "*quelquefois*," au lieu de "ne . . . . jamais." Le principe qui s'applique à de tels procédés, c'est évidemment une espèce d'addition mathématique : si  = "ne pas," et que  = "chaque jour," il faut que  = "ne pas . . . . chaque jour." Mais le développement, de même que l'analyse, des langues ne sont nullement

quelquefois modifie notablement le fond réel de l'original. J'examinerai quelques-uns des cas, où M. MASPERO, selon moi, a échoué quand il a voulu introduire des significations nouvelles pour des mots, depuis longtemps connus.

I. . La traduction "cracher, salive," que BRUGSCH, il y a longtemps, a prouvée pour ce groupe, est fortement appuyée par le déterminatif  qui représente d'une façon irréfutable "une bouche qui crache ou bave."\* Cela étant le sens d'un passage comme le suivant : †



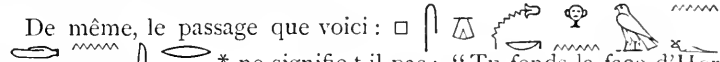

doit se présenter de la sorte : "Pepi crache sur ta chevelure, ô Osiris. Il empêche qu'elle soit malade." La traduction de notre collègue français : "Pepi Noferkiri oint ta chevelure, Osiris, il ne met pas sa souffrance," par contre est inadmissible et d'ailleurs en partie *incompréhensible*. La première des deux traductions nous révèle du reste un phénomène qui a sa valeur, j'entends l'emploi





soumis à des règles mathématiques, non plus que l'âme humaine, elle-même.— A propos de la traduction des textes des pyramides, que dit-on de celle-ci faite par l'éditeur d'après les textes d'*Unas*, lignes 218-220 : "Alors tu deviens l'Atoum de tout dieu : ta tête est *Hor-Taouti* ; l'*Akchim-sok* de ton intérieur est *Khont-miriti* ; l'*Akchim-sok* de tes deux oreilles, c'est les deux jumelles de Toum ; l'*Akchim-sok* de tes yeux, c'est les deux jumelles de Toum ; l'*Akchim-sok* de ton nez, c'est Anoubis ; l'*Akchim-sok* de tes dents, c'est Soupti ; l'*Akchim-sok* de tes bras, c'est *Hopi* et *Touamoutw*," etc. Pour ma part, je préférerais traduire le passage en question de cette manière : "Tu deviens la plénitude de tout dieu : ta tête est Horus de *Taout*, ô indestructible ! Ton devant est *Chont-merti*, ô indestructible ! Tes deux oreilles sont les deux filles de Tmou, ô indestructible ! Tes deux yeux sont les deux filles de Tmou, ô indestructible ! Ton nez est Anoubis, ô indestructible ! Tes dents sont Sopt, ô indestructible ! Tes deux bras sont Hapi et Touamoutf," etc. Je me demande vainement ce que c'est que l'*Akchim-sok* d'un nez, l'*Akchim-sok* des deux jumelles de Toum, etc. Quand on n'est pas capable de traduire mieux les textes, il est, à mon avis, préférable de ne pas les traduire du tout. De cette manière, on évite des peines inutiles aux hommes du métier. A la même fois, on échappe aux turlupinades des profanes qui exigent, avec quelque raison, que les traductions—sauf pour les termes techniques—soient intelligibles à tout le monde.

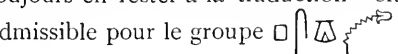
\* PIEHL, *Remarques sur plusieurs signes et groupes hiéroglyphiques*, § 1 (Actes du Congrès des Orientalistes de Stockholm).


† *Pyramide de Pepi II*, 958.

de la salive comme moyen prophylactique, fait auquel la seconde traduction ne fait pas d'allusion.

De même, le passage que voici :  \* ne signifie-t-il pas : "Tu fends la face d'Horus et tu détruis ses péchés," comme le veut M. MASPERO, mais plutôt : "Tu craches à la figure d'Horus et (*par là !*) tu chasses ses péchés." D'où vient ici le sens "fendre"? Le déterminatif  du mot *pesek* représente d'ailleurs "une bouche qui crache ou bave," † ce qui n'est guère de nature à rendre admissible un sens "fendre" pour le mot en question.

Quand M. MASPERO, critiquant BRUGSCH, se prononce ainsi : ‡ "Le passage du *Todtenbuch* auquel il (= BRUGSCH) renvoie (ch. 147, l. 17)  ainsi que le passage de notre texte, indiquent nécessairement le sens *tailler, couper, blesser*. Le déterminatif  serait ici, comme dans  et dans plusieurs autres mots, le déterminatif de la blessure laissant écouler le sang"—il faut faire remarquer que l'égyptologue français se trompe doublement : 1° parce que le déterminatif , comme nous venons d'observer, ne présente pas *une plaie saignante* ; 2° parce que l'exemple, emprunté au *Todtenbuch*, signifie ceci : "Je repousse le serpent Apophis, je crache sur (= je rends inoffensifs) les *nespu* (= "morsures" ?).

Il me semble donc que, d'accord avec BRUGSCH, nous pouvons toujours en rester à la traduction "cracher, salive," comme la seule admissible pour le groupe  et varr. §

2. Selon M. MASPERO, || "le mot  signifie *travailler au couteau* par suite *égorger*,—*travailler à l'herminette* ou à la hache, par suite *façonner, tailler*, etc."








\* *Pyramide d'Unas*, 214.

† PIEHI, *loc. cit.*

‡ Dans une note, relative au passage, cité d'après le texte d'Unas, note qui se voit *Recueil* III, page 203.




§ Dans les textes religieux, le crachement équivalait au terrassement de l'ennemi, *cf.* BUDGE, *The hieratic papyrus of Nesi-Amsu*, page 110.






|| *Recueil* XII, page 68, note 4.









Je suis tenté de croire que le groupe  dérive du substantif  "main," suivant la même règle qui a présidé à la formation de mots, comme  par rapport à ,  par rapport à , etc.\* Si cette explication est étymologiquement exacte, ce que je pense, le sens originnaire du groupe  a dû être "traiter à la main, *manier*," en allem—"behandeln." Ce sens paraît d'ailleurs convenir à bien des cas, où celui de "travailler au couteau" est inadmissible. Comparez par exemple le passage suivant : †



ce qui, à mon avis, signifie : "Sa sandale est saisie *ou* maniée par la main levée." ‡

Dans cette expression, l'auteur semble vouloir indiquer qu'il y a, *selon lui*, un lien étymologique entre  et . Le rôle prépondérant de la main dans l'action, exercée par le mot *neter*, est ultérieurement marqué par le déterminatif  "une main tenant une instrument contondant" que nous fait voir l'exemple que voici : §

     "Thoth a traité à la main, *munie d'un pilon*, ton ennemi"—comme on pourrait peut-être le traduire.

Du sens "traiter, travailler à la main" dérive fort naturellement celui de "traiter, travailler," par une sorte d'ellipse dont on pourrait citer force analogies. Ce sens convient pour cet exemple-ci : ||         "tes griffes travaillent leurs peaux." Une explication comme "tes griffes *travaillent au couteau*," etc., ferait ici une impression, moins satisfaisante.

\* PIEHL dans le *Recueil* I, page 200. La note 2 de cette page a été composée et introduite par le Rédacteur de ce journal sans ma permission et sans ma connaissance.

† *Pyramide de Teta*, 32.

‡ La traduction que donne M. MASPERO pour ce passage, est celle-ci : "Quand lui arrange sa sandale, (alors) c'est la main de Teti qui le soulève."

§ *Pyramide de Teta*, 278.

|| VON BERGMANN, *Hierogl. Inschriften*, XXVIII, 3.




















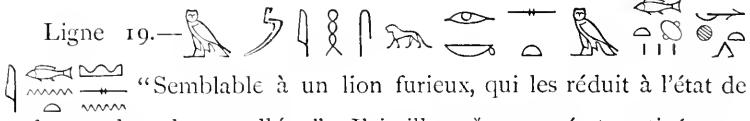


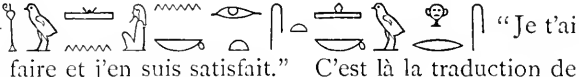








d'accord avec DE ROUGÉ, mais je ne connais pas d'exemples d'un pareil emploi du verbe , ayant à la même fois soit le sens de "résister" (DE ROUGÉ et M. MASPERO) soit celui de "approcher" (BRUGSCH).

Ligne 19.— "Semblable à un lion furieux, qui les réduit à l'état de cadavres dans leurs vallées." J'ai ailleurs\* proposé et motivé cette explication qui diffère foncièrement de celle des autres traducteurs.

Ligne 25.— "Je t'ai ordonné de la faire et j'en suis satisfait." C'est là la traduction de DE ROUGÉ, et elle parfaitement exacte. Par contre ni M. MASPERO ("je t'ai ordonné d'en agir ainsi et je me repose") ni BRUGSCH ("ich gab dir den Befehl sie auszuführen, und du warst einverstanden damit") n'ont ici réussi à trouver le vrai sens du fond de notre texte.

Voilà les observations que m'a suggérées un examen récent de la stèle poétique de Thothmès III.†

83. En parcourant le commentaire, si instructif, dont accompagne notre maître à tous, M. LE PAGE RENOUF, son excellente traduction du Livre des Morts, je vois que le mot hiéroglyphique  et *varr.* par lui est expliqué comme "the Look-out on the bow," *la vigie à la proue d'un navire.*‡ Pour ma part j'ai soutenu, et je soutiens toujours, que  désigne la partie opposée d'un navire, c'est-à-dire *la poupe*, et je demanderai la permission de citer une preuve qui me paraît parler très vigoureusement en faveur de mon opinion sur cette matière.

\* PIEHL, dans la *Zeitschrift*, 1886, page 19.

† Ayant déjà terminé cette note, j'ai eu l'occasion de parcourir la traduction, livrée par BIRCH (*Records of the Past*, II, pages 29-35) pour cette inscription. J'ajoute que la dite traduction semble aussi être inexacte pour tous les points, critiqués en haut, excepté celui de la ligne 10, où l'auteur a découvert *la moitié* de la vérité.

‡ *Proceedings*, XIV, page 359.

Le papyrus Ani qui a été édité avec tant de soin par M. LE PAGE RENOUF, porte (I, 15) ceci :



En rapprochant de ce passage l'extrait suivant d'un texte de la belle époque hiéroglyphique :



..... il me semble évident que "Horus en qualité de timonier" doit s'accorder avec l'expression



Mais le timon—ou plutôt les timons—étant attaché à la poupe du navire égyptien, il faut que



J'ai encore une raison—celle-ci également philologique—en faveur de mon acception du mot. Dans les textes égyptiens, le radical sert à exprimer les notions "accomplir, terminer, fin, terme," à la différence par exemple de qui rend les notions opposées "débuter, commencer, début, commencement." La corrélation qu'il y a entre ces deux radicaux est surtout manifeste pour la locution composée "à partir de ..... jusqu'à"..... que nous rencontrons fort souvent dans les textes.

Si de ce fait on rapproche celui que la proue se dit "l'avant, le commencement," en égyptien, il est plus que probable que pour la notion "poupe" on ait eu un mot, comme

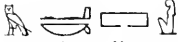





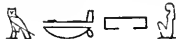




\* DE ROUGÉ, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques*, XXV.





† Notre vénéré confrère nous permettra-t-il de lui soumettre quelques observations sur un autre point de sa traduction du chapitre XV du *Totentbuch* ! C'est concernant l'expression suivante :







[cf. *Papyrus d'Ani* 20, 10] "The Land of the gods, the colours of Punit are seen in them ; that

84. Le Dictionnaire (BRUGSCH, VI, page 574) donne un mot , ayant le sens de "Hausfrau, Frau." A cette occasion, l'autorité de GOODWIN est citée, suivant lequel le dit mot se verrait au Papyrus Sallier, IV, page 1, l. 4. En consultant ce texte hiératique, on voit que la transcription du passage en question est à peu près celle-ci:  "ne reçois pas d'un étranger...." En d'autres termes, il n'y a pas de déterminatif  après la combinaison de signes , mais au lieu de  il faut transcrire , ce qui donne un excellent sens. Il n'y a par conséquent aucune raison d'accorder droit de cité au mot prétendu  "Hausfrau." Effaçons-le donc du Dictionnaire.




85. Parmi les différentes formes d'écriture qu'il y a pour le mot égyptien  "fils," le Dictionnaire (BRUGSCH, *Wörterbuch*, IV, 1151; voir aussi BRUGSCH, *Hierogl. Grammatik*, page 122, No. 145) compte aussi  "le chacal avec un barre vertical superposé." Cette dernière variante est dite provenir d'*El-Kâb* et appartenir à la belle époque hiéroglyphique.




Ayant longuement examiné des textes de cette dernière localité, comme d'autres, provenant de Thèbes et datant de la même époque, j'ai pu me convaincre qu'on n'y rencontre nulle part un mot , ayant le sens de "fils," tandis que j'ai mainte fois relevé ou le signe  seul, ayant la valeur d'un titre de fonctionnaire ("juge" ou quelque chose de semblable) ou le groupe , composé du mot  "fils" et du titre de fonctionnaire susmentionnée.

Je n'hésite pas à expliquer le prétendu mot  ("fils"), comme une erreur à la place de  "fils du juge," que cette erreur soit due au copiste moderne ou au scribe égyptien.

men may form an estimate of that which is hidden from their faces," selon M. LE PAGE RENOUF. Je préfère couper le tout en deux phrases parallèles, en regardant  et , deux expressions identiques de sens, comme sujets des deux phrases: "Les terres des dieux te voient dans des écrits, les contrées de Pount te vérifient (dans leurs comptes), ô mystérieux!" Par cette expression, un peu bizarre, l'auteur égyptien a probablement voulu faire comprendre que l'*Orient*, où sont situés les pays en question, est le domicile originelle du soleil. Voir d'ailleurs PIEHL dans le *Recueil Vivéeg*, II, page 73.



Cette observation est corroborée par la variante  \* que nous rencontrons pour le mot qui communément s'écrit  ou . Le déterminatif de la dernière forme représente l'ensemble du nez et de l'œil d'un individu humain.

Une autre preuve en faveur du même avis, c'est la variante  du mot fréquent . La forme  est à regarder comme une "Contamination-form" des deux autres.

\* BIRCH dans la *Zeitschrift*, 1871, page 51.



The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Tuesday, 2nd May, 1893, at 8 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

P. LE PAGE RENOUF (*President*). "The Book of the Dead."—  
Translation and Commentary (*continuation*).



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

*Members having duplicate copies, will confer a favour by presenting them to the Society.*

- ALKER, E., Die Chronologie der Bucher der Könige und Paralipomenōn im Einklang mit der Chronologie der Aegypter, Assyrer, Babylonier und Meder.
- AMÉLINEAU, Histoire du Patriarche Copte Isaac.
- Contes de l'Égypte Chrétienne.
- La Morale Égyptienne quinze siècles avant notre ère.
- AMIAUD, La Légende Syriaque de Saint Alexis, l'homme de Dieu.
- A., AND L. MECHINEAU, Tableau Comparé des Écritures Babylooniennes et Assyriennes.
- Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer. 2 parts.
- BAETHGEN, Beiträge zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte. Der Gott Israels und die Götter der Heiden.
- BLASS, A. F., Eudoxi ars Astronomica qualis in Charta Aegyptiaca superest.
- BOTTA, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847-1850.
- 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.)
- BUDINGER, M., De Colomarium quarundam Phoeniciarum primordiis cum Hebraeorum exodo conjunctis.
- BURCKHARDT, Eastern Travels.
- CASSEL, PAULUS, Zophnet Paneach Aegyptische Deutungen.
- CHABAS, Mélanges Égyptologiques. Séries I, III. 1862-1873
- DÜMICHEN, Historische Inschriften, &c., 1st series, 1867.
- 2nd series, 1869.
- Altaegyptische Kalender-Inschriften, 1886.
- Tempel-Inschriften, 1862. 2 vols., folio.
- EARLE'S Philology of the English Tongue.
- EBERS, G., Papyrus Ebers. Die Masse und das Kapitel über die Augenkrankheiten.
- ERMAN, Papyrus Westcar.
- Études Égyptologiques. 13 vols., complete to 1880.
- GAYET, E., Stèles de la XII dynastie au Musée du Louvre.
- GOLÉNISCHEFF, Die Metternichstele. Folio, 1877.
- Vingt-quatre Tablettes Cappadociennes de la Collection de.
- HAUPT, Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze.
- HESS, Der Gnostische Papyrus von London.
- HOMMEL, Dr., Geschichte Babylooniens und Assyriens. 1892.
- JASTROW, M., A Fragment of the Babylonian "Dibbarra" Epic.
- JENSEN, Die Kosmologie der Babylonier.



- JEREMIAS, Tyrus bis zur Zeit Nubukaänezar's Geschichtliche Skizze mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Keilschriftlichen Quellen.
- JOACHIM, H., Papyrus Ebers, das Älteste Buch über Heilkunde.
- JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY. Contributions to Assyriology and Comparative Semitic Philology.
- KREBS, F., De Chnemothis nomarchi inscriptione Aegyptiaca commentatio.
- LEDERER, Die Biblische Zeitrechnung vom Auszuge aus Aegypten bis zum Beginne der Babylonische Gefangenschaft mit Berücksichtigung der Resultate der Assyriologie und der Aegyptologie.
- LEDRAIN, Les Monuments Égyptiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale.
- LEFÈBURE, Le Mythe Osirien. 2<sup>me</sup> partie. "Osiris."
- LEGRAIN, G., Le Livre des Transformations. Papyrus démotique du Louvre.
- LEHMANN, Samassumukin König von Babylonien 668 vchr, p. xiv, 173. 47 plates.
- LEPSIUS, Nubian Grammar, &c., 1880.
- LIEBLEIN, J., Dictionnaire des Noms Hiéroglyphiques. 1871. 2 vols., 8vo.
- LVON, D. G. An Assyrian Manual.
- MARUCHI, Monumenta Papyracea Aegyptia.
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- VIREY, P., Quelques Observations sur l'Épisode d'Aristée, à propos d'un Monument Égyptien.
- VISSER, I., Hebreuwsche Archacologie. Utrecht, 1891.
- WALTHER, J., Les Découvertes de Ninive et de Babylone au point de vue biblique. Lausanne, 1890.
- WILCKEN, M., Actenstücke aus der Königl. Bank zu Theben.
- WILTZKE, De Biblische Simson der Agyptische Horus-Ra.
- WINCKLER, HUGO, Der Thontafelfund von El Amarna. Vols. I and II.
- WINCKLER, Textbuch-Keilinschriftliches zum Alten Testament.
- WEISSLEACH, F. H., Die Achaemeniden Inschriften Zweiter Art.
- WESSELEY, C., Die Pariser Papyri des Fundes von El Fajum. Zeitsch. der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellsch., Vol. I, 1847; Vols. IV to XII, 1850 to 1858, inclusive; Vol. XX to Vol. XXXII, 1866 to 1878.
- ZIMMERN, H., Die Assyriologie als Hilfswissenschaft für das Studium des Alten Testaments.

## 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 Messrs. Lloyds' Bank, Limited, 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.

A few complete sets of the publications of the Society can be obtained by application to the Secretary, W. HARRY RYLANDS, 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

The LIBRARY of the Society, at 37. GREAT RUSSELL 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.

As the new list of members will shortly be printed, Members are requested to send any corrections or additions they may wish to have made in the list which was published in Vol. VIII.

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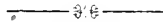
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VOL. XV. TWENTY-THIRD SESSION.

APRIL [NO MEETING].

*Sixth Meeting, May 2nd, 1893.*



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TWENTY-THIRD SESSION, 1892-93.

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*Sixth Meeting, 2nd May, 1893.*

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

The President referred to the very great loss which Oriental learning had sustained, and this Society in particular, of which he was one of the most honoured Members, by the death of Mr. ROBERT BENSLEY, Lord Almoner Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. He referred to Professor Bensley's very great and especial merits, not the least of which was the austere conscientiousness with which he drew his conclusions on any matter submitted to his judgment.

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

From the Société Impériale Archéologique de Moscou Antiquités Orientales; Travaux de la Commission Orientale de la Société. Tome I, livr. III. Moscou, 1893. 4to. (In Russian.)

From the Author:—M. V. Nicolski. Deux fragments assyriens, appartenant au prince P. A. Pontiatine. 4to. 1893.

[No. cxv.]

From the Author :—M. V. Nicolski. Les inscriptions cunéiformes des rois de Van, trouvées en Russie. 4to. 1893.

From the Travaux de la Commission Orientale de la Société Impériale Archéologique de Moscou.

From the Author :—Prof. Eduard Sachau. Die Altaramäische Inschrift auf der Statue des Königs Panammû von Šam-al, aus dem 8 Jahrhundert vor Chr. Geb. Folio. Berlin. 1893.

Reprinted from der Mittheilungen aus den Orient. Samml. des Königl. Museums zu Berlin. Hefte XI.

From the Author :—Theo. G. Pinches. Notes on some recent discoveries in the realm of Assyriology, with special reference to the private life of the Babylonians. 8vo. 1893 (?)

Reprinted from the Journal of the Victoria Institute (?) Vol. XXVI.

From the Author :—Rev. C. A. de Cara, S.J. Degli Hittim o Hethi. Parte seconda, Introduzione. 8vo. 1893.

Civiltà Cattolica. Serie XV. Vol. VI.

From the Author :—Rev. Jos. Horner, D.D. The Chronology of Israel and Assyria in the reign of Shalmaneser II. 8vo.

From the Methodist Review, Sept.–Oct., 1889.

From the Author :—Rev. Joseph Horner, D.D. Hezekiah, Sargon, and Sennacherib, a chronological study. 8vo.

From the Methodist Review. Jan., 1893.

From the Author :—Prof. W. D. Whitney. On Delbrück's Vedic Syntax.

From the American Journ. of Philology. Vol. XIII.

From the Author :—Dr. A. Wiedemann. Der Tanz im alten Aegypten. Am Ur-Quell. IV. Band. I. Heft. 8vo. 1893.

From the Author :—T. Hunter Boyd. A Crisis in Egypt (?), or what happened on the day of the Exodus. 8vo. London. 1893.

From Rev. R. Gwynne (Sec. For. Corresp.) :—Clementis Romani Epistulae. Ad ipsius Codicis Alexandrini fidem ac modum repetitis curis edidit Constantinus de Tischendorf. Lipsiae. 4to. 1873.

From T. Hunter Boyd :—Versuch über die Religion der alten Aegypter und Griechen von Paul Joachim Siegmund Vogel. Nürnberg. 4to. 1793.



The following Candidates were submitted for election, having been nominated at the last Meeting, 7th March, 1893, and elected Members of the Society :—

Miss Nash, Cranham, Kents Road, Torquay, Devon.

Mrs. A. Heymanson, 13, Abbey Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.

Prof. Lewis B. Paton, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn., U.S.A.

Rev. James Davidson, B.D., Free Church Manse, North Berwick, Scotland.

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next Meeting, 6th June, 1893 :—

J. H. Barber, B.A., (Lond.), The Accacias, Grange Road, Sutton,  
W. E. Crum, Savile Club, Piccadilly, W. [Surrey.

Henry A. Harper, Cliff House, Milford on Sea, Lymington, Hants.

Miss S. C. Rucker, 4, Vanbrugh Terrace, Blackheath.

---

Mr. P. le Page Renouf (*President*) read his translations of Chapters 76–88 of the Book of the Dead.

These chapters have reference to the transformations after death. It was pointed out, in the first place, that every one of the transformations assumed by the deceased is a well-known mythical form of the Sun god; and secondly, that no identity or connection can be established between the Egyptian doctrines and those of Hindus or Greeks on the subject of Metempsychosis. The Egyptian transformations are expressly stated to be entirely voluntary, and the nature of them to depend upon the will and pleasure of the glorified personage himself, whereas both in India and in Greece transmigration is a penalty incurred for sin in a previous life. There is no trace in the Rig-Veda of any doctrine of transmigration, so that it cannot be considered as Indo-European. The ignorance of Herodotos may be excused, when he ascribes to the Egyptians a doctrine which he had heard of among the Pythagoreans or other Greeks, but it is simple quackery when those who pretend to understand Egyptian texts talk of “the belief that the soul, having passed through various transformations, would reinhabit the body, after undefined ages.” No such belief is known to any one worthy of the name of a scholar.

Remarks were added by Walter Morison; Rev. A. Löwy; Rev. James Marshall; Joseph Pollard; E. Towry Whyte.

Thanks were returned for this communication.

## BOOK OF THE DEAD.

BY P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

## CHAPTER XLII.

*Chapter whereby one hindereth the slaughter which is wrought at Sutenhonen (1).*

Land of the Rod, of the White Crown of the Image, and the Pedestal of the gods.

I am the Babe (2). (*Said Four Times.*)

O Serpent Abur! (3) Thou sayest this day, "The Block of Execution is furnished with what thou knowest," and thou art come to soil (4) the Mighty One.

But I am he whose honours are abiding.

I am the Link (5), the god within the Tamarisk (6), who connecteth (7) the Solar orb with Yesterday. (*Four Times.*)

I am Râ, whose honours are abiding.

I am the Link, the god within the Tamarisk.

My course is the course of Râ, and the course of Râ is my course.

My hair is that of Nu, (8)

My two eyes are those of Hathor,

My two ears those of Apuat,

My nose that of Chenti-chas,

My two lips those of Anubis,

My teeth those of Selkit,

My neck that of Isis, the Mighty,

My two hands those of the Soul most Mighty, Lord of Tattu,

My shoulders those of Neith, Mistress of Sais,

My back is that of Sut,

My phallus that of Osiris,

My liver is that of the Lords of Cher-âbat,

My knees those of the most Mighty one,

My belly and my back are those of Sechit,

My hinder parts are those of the Eye of Horus,

My legs and thighs those of Nut,

My feet those of Ptah,

My nails and bones those of the Living Uraei.

There is not a limb in me which is without a god. And Thoth is a protection to my flesh.

I shall not be grasped by my arms or seized by my hands.

Not men or gods, or the glorified ones or the damned; not generations past, present, or future, shall inflict any injury upon me.

I am he who cometh forth and proceedeth, and whose name is unknown to man.

I am Yesterday, "Witness of Eternity" is my Name: the persistent traveller upon the heavenly highways which I survey. I am the Everlasting one.

I am felt and thought of as Chepera. I am the Crowned one.

I am the Dweller in the Eye and in the Egg.

It is an attribute of mine that I live within them.

I am the Dweller in the Eye, even in its closing.

I am that by which it is supported.

I come forth and I rise up: I enter and I have life.

I am the Dweller in the Eye; my seat is upon my throne, and I sit conspicuously upon it.

I am Horus, who steppeth onwards through Eternity.

I have instituted the throne of which I am the master.

As regards my mouth: whether in speech or in silence, I am right and fair.

As regards my attributes: I hasten headlong, I the god Unen,\* with all that pertaineth to me, hour proceeding from hour, the One proceeding from the One, in my course.

I am the Dweller in the Eye; no evil or calamitous things befall me.

It is I who open the gates of Heaven; it is I who am master of the throne, and who open the series of births upon this day.

I am the Babe, who treadeth his path of Yesterday.

I am "This Day" to generation of men after generation.

I am he who giveth you stableness for eternity, whether ye be in heaven or upon earth; in the South or in the North, in the West or in the East—and the fear of me is upon you.

I am he who fashioneth with his eye, and who dieth not a second time.

\* Another reading is Unneferu.

A moment of mine belongeth to you, but my attributes belong to my own domain.

I am the Unknown one, but the gods of Ruddy Countenance belong to me.

I am the Gladsome one, and no time hath been found, but served to create for me the Heaven and the increase of Earth, and the increase of their offspring.

They sever and join not—they sever my name from all evil things, according to the words which I say unto you.

It is I who rise up and shine forth ; strength proceeding from strength (9), the One proceeding from the One.

There is not a day devoid of that which belongeth to it ; for ever and for ever (10).

I am Unbu,\* who proceedeth from Nu, and my mother is Nut.

O thou who hast set me in motion (11) ! for I was motionless, a mighty link within the close of Yesterday ; my present activity is a link within the close of my hand.

I am not known, but I am one who knoweth thee.

I am not to be grasped, but I am one who graspeth thee.

[Oh Dweller in the Egg ! Oh Dweller in the Egg !]

I am Horus, Prince of Eternity, a fire before your faces, which inflameth your hearts towards me.

I am master of my throne and I pass onwards. The present time is the path which I have opened, and I have set myself free from all things evil.

I am the golden Cynocephalus, three palms in height, without legs or arms in the Temple of Ptah (12) ; and my course is the course of the golden Cynocephalus, three palms in height, without legs or arms in the Temple of Ptah.

*Let these words be said—Ábabak țer-ek (13).*

#### NOTES.

This chapter is in itself most interesting, and it is one of the most important as illustrative of Egyptian mythology. It is impossible at present to explain every detail, but the general drift of the chapter is not to be mistaken. And the same drift is to be recognised in the whole course of Egyptian religious literature from the beginning.

\* See note 1 on chapter 28.

The speaker throughout identifies himself with the divinity whose manifestation is the Sun ; he is not the Sun of this or that moment but of Yesterday, To-day and of all eternity, the "One proceeding from the One."

1. *Sutenhenen*. The later texts say the "Netherworld."

2. The *Babe* , an appellative applied to the rising Sun.

See Brugsch, *Rev.* II, pl. 71, 3, where this babe is compared to the Lotus coming forth from the great stream

The word signifies that which is "lifted up," "un élève,"



3. *Serpent Ab-ur* . The two important

MSS. *Ca* and *Pb* seem to imply a female personage, but as the verb in connection with the name is masculine the final  $\Delta$  cannot be meant for a feminine ending, and it is peculiar to those two MSS. *Ab-ur* "the very thirsty," as the appellative of a viper, recalls that of the *εἰψάς*, whose bite caused intense thirst. But it may have originated in the fact that these reptiles are in the habit of lying in wait by the water side for the sake of the animals who come there to drink.

4. *To soil:* is the type of the word in the earlier

texts. The late ones have the well known

5. *The Link* . Another appellative of the Sun god,



applied to Tmu and Horus in the oldest texts. The notion of is that of *concatenation, connecting, combining, fastening, binding, setting in order together, σύνταγμα, σύνταξις*, as in

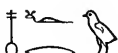

*nectere coronam*. Hence its occurrence in words signifying 'the vertebral column,' 'a row of teeth,' 'a chain of hills,' 'a body of troops' (*σύνταγμα ἰππέων* or *πέζων*), or their 'captains,' literary 'composition'


(Pap. Prisse V, 6), and the seven divine *οἱ συντάσσοντες*, the first authors of artistic composition. See note to Chapter 71.

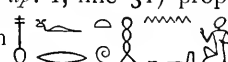
6 *The god within the Tamarisk*. The rising sun under his various names is frequently represented as being in a tree or bush,



which partly conceals him. This is a mythological way of treating the light cloud or mist which so commonly accompanies the sun's first appearance. *Tamarisk* is only a provisional translation of


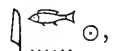





. The god Apuat, who is identical with Osiris, is said in the Pyramid Texts (*Unas* 107, *Teta* 66) to come forth from the .

7. *Who connecteth.* This I believe to be the sense of  if the next word is . But the text is quite uncertain.

 is a *rope* or *cable* (Bonomi, *Sarc.* II, c, 34), and like the Latin *copula* or the Semitic *חבל*, *حبل* has the sense of *tie*, *bond*, *connection*.\*



When the prince of Tenu (*Berlin Pap.* 1, line 31) proposed a family alliance to Senchat, he said to him  *lie-toi avec moi!* And he gave him his daughter to wife.


In the expression , *nefrit* signifies *continuously*, *connectedly*, and the sense of *until* is only completed by the addition of the preposition .


Instead of  'the Solar orb,' some MSS. read , , , or , and in each of these cases  must be understood as an adjective raised to the comparative degree by the preposition : "More beautiful [my] splendour (colour, hair or veil) than Yesterday." None of these readings seem very attractive.


8. Here follows the identification of the limbs of the deceased person with those of various gods. There are many similar texts belonging to all the periods of the Egyptian religion. For the Pyramid Texts, see e.g. *Unas*, line 218 &c., *ib.* line 570, &c., *Pepi I*, line 565, &c. Compare the *Coffin of Amamu*, pl. XXIV, line 11, &c., Naville, *Litanie de Râ*, p. 96, and Golenischeff, *Metternichstele*, lines 9-35.

\* "חבל non modo *funem*, sed et in Alcorano saepe *foedus* significat." Gesenius, *Thesaur in voc.* חבל.

9. *Strength* , literally a *wall* or *tower*, like the  of Ps. XI, 4.

10.  'continuously, continuously.'

11. The interjection  seems to imply that a second person is addressed. The passage would otherwise be translated, "I have set myself in motion," which would be more consistent with the doctrine contained in this chapter.

12. All the more recent copies have , the Sanctuary of Ptah at Memphis.

13. *Ábaba-k ter-ek.* This is only one of the readings of a formula which had soon become utterly unintelligible to the copyists. Hieratic copies like *Louvre* 3079, published by M. de Rougé, B.M. 10,257 (Rollin) and Leyden, T. 16, record several conjectural emendations, to which modern scholars might add others, were they so disposed.

#### CHAPTER XLIII.

*Chapter whereby the head of a person is not severed from him in the Netherworld.*

I am a Prince, the son of a Prince; a Flame, the Son of a Flame, whose head is restored to him after it hath been cut off.

The head of Osiris is not taken from him, and my head shall not be taken from me.

I raise myself up, I renew myself, and I grow young again.

I am Osiris.

#### NOTE.

An early recension of this chapter is found in the tomb of Horhotep (*Miss. Arch. II*, p. 159), and an apparent reference on the *Coffin of Amamu*.

#### CHAPTER XLIV.

*Chapter whereby one dieth not a second time.*

Let the Cavern of Putrata (1) be opened for me, where the dead fall into the darkness, but the Eye of Horus supporteth me, and Apuat reareth me up. I hide myself among you, O ye Stars that





said "men of the next century." Before their appearance upon the earth they circle round the Sun, and the glorified dead hold converse with them (Chapter 124, 6).

The Egyptians, like many other ancient nations, held the doctrine of the preexistence of souls. They held it not like philosophers or poets, but as an article of their popular and traditional creed.

### CHAPTER XLVII.

*Chapter whereby the Seat of a person is not taken from him in the Netherworld.*


Chair and Throne of mine, which are coming to me and circling round to me ; divine ones !

I am a noble Sāhu (1), grant that I may become one of those who follow the great god.

I am the Son of Maāt, and wrong is what I execrate.

I am the Victorious one.

#### NOTE.

1. *Sāhu*  is not a mummy, as it is sometimes rendered, but a living personality in mummied form.

### CHAPTERS XLVIII AND XLIX

are identical with X and XI respectively.

### CHAPTER L.

*Chapter whereby one cometh not to the divine Block of Execution.*

The four (1) fastenings of the hinder part of my head are fastened.

He who is in heaven it was who made firm the fastening for him who was fainting upon his two haunches on that day when the fleece was shorn.

The fastenings of the hinder part of my head were fastened by Sutū and the company of gods in his first triumph. Let there be no disaster. Preserve me safe from him who slew my father.



I am seized of the 'Two Earths.'

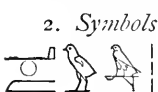

The fastenings of the hinder part of my head were fastened by Nu, on the first time of my beholding the Law in virtue of which the gods and their symbols (2) come into existence.



I am the Heedful one, and become the executioner for you, ye great gods (3).

#### NOTES.

The antiquity of the chapter is proved by its occurrence on the second coffin of Mentuhotep; but its condition there is such that no one can read it who is not already familiar with it from other sources. It begins, *Alteste Texte*, p. 22, line 34, and goes on till the red letters at line 50. The text, in spite of its importance, is very inaccurate.

1. *The four fastenings.* The number *four* is only found in the oldest copies. The later copies have a different text. It is impossible to say *what* kind of fastening is meant.  might be a ligament or a vertebra—though more probably the latter. But it might be a combination of several pieces.  is the occiput, and this suggests the hypothesis of cervical vertebrae. But the number of these is not four but seven. Of these *three* are peculiar; the Atlas which supports the head, the Axis upon which the head turns, and the Vertebra prominens with its long spinal process. But see the Vignette of Chap. 42 from *Pd* where four vertebrae are figured.

2. *Symbols, or symbolical representations,*  or 

3. *The Heedful one* , perhaps , Unas 584, Pepi I, 199 and 667.

#### CHAPTER LI.


*Chapter whereby one goeth not headlong in the Netherworld.*


I execrate, I execrate, I do not eat it.


That which I execrate is dirt. I eat it not, that I may appease my Genius.

Let me not fall into it; let me not approach it with my hands, let me not tread upon it with my sandals.

## NOTE.

The Chapters numbered 51 and 52 are not found in the most ancient papyri, but the substance of them and their formulas are met with on the ancient coffins\* and in the Pyramid texts. See, for instance, Unas 189, Teta 68, with M. Maspero's note on the latter text. I do not, however, believe, as M. Maspero does, that these texts convey the idea "so frequent[!] among half-civilised peoples, of another life in which the deceased will have nothing to eat and drink but excremental matter." That the  which I translate

'dirt' and  'lye' are of this nature is quite certain, but they are objects of abhorrence to the Sun-god, like the dead rat and the putrid cat in chapter 33, because he is a consuming fire, and "whatsoever he findeth upon his path he devoureth it,"

 Unas 515. It is only natural then that the deceased who is identified with the Sun-god in these texts should express his execration of such offensive matter. He is not afraid of being limited to this food, his fear springs from the opposite extreme.

## CHAPTER LII.

*Chapter whereby one eateth not dirt in the Netherworld.*

I execrate, I execrate, I do not eat it.

That which I execrate is dirt. I eat it not, that I may appease my Genius (1).

Let it not fall upon me; let me not approach it with my hands, let me not tread upon it with my sandals.

Henceforth let me live upon corn (2) in your presence, ye gods, and let there come one who bringeth to me that I may feed from those seven loaves which he hath brought for Horus and upon the loaves for Thoth.

"What wilt thou eat?" say the gods to him.

Let me eat under the Sycamore of Hathor the Sovereign, and let my turn be given to me among those who rest there.

\* There is a chapter in Lepsius, *Älteste Texte*, p. 34, with the same title as chapter 51, but the contents are different.


And let me manage the fields in Tattu and prosper in Heliopolis.







And let me feed upon the bread of the white corn and upon the beer of the red barley.







And let the forms (3) of my father and of my mother be granted to me; the gate-keepers of the stream.



Let room be thrown open for me, let the path be made, and let me sit in any place that I desire.



#### NOTES.



(1) Here, as in the corresponding passage in the preceding chapter and in several other places, the later texts often read , which is a serious error.



(2) The unintelligible    of the later texts should be corrected to   (Älteste Texte 42, lines 50, 54 and 67). The error may be traced to a form of the word with the prothetic . There are several words varying in their applications which may be traced to the same origin.









  šeser 'spica' a point, hence an ear of corn, and  ,   'spiculum,' an arrow, a javelin, are very clearly connected, and the notion in both is, as in the Hebrew אָבִיב, that of 'shooting forth,' *proferre, protendere*.




  a term applied to horned animals, has surely nothing to do with the Coptic  $\alpha\pi\sigma\omega$  of Leviticus xv, 19. It refers to the *pointed* weapons presented by the beasts.

  is 'put forward' in the way of speech, and may be command or prayer, or simple statement.

  the builder's line is something 'stretched out' *prolatum, protensum*.

And with reference to walls, buildings, and the like,   may always be translated by *proferre, protendere*.

(3) *The forms*,     not    , as in the Turin Todtenbuch. There is a most interesting text but unfortunately

imperfect on the Leyden Coffin M. 3 (M. Pl. 13). The deceased is told that on arriving at the mysterious gate he will find his father and his mother, . This is followed by  and then apparently by  but the middle sign is almost entirely effaced. This would mean 'at the resurrection of thy body.'

## CHAPTER LIII A.

*Chapter whereby one is not made to eat dirt or to drink lye.*

I am the sharp-horned Bull, who regulateth the sky, the Lord of the risings in heaven; the great Giver of Light, who issueth from Flame; the Bond of Time, richly supplied with years; the god in Lion form, to whom is given a march of Glory.

I execrate, I execrate, I do not eat that which my Genius execrateth.

Let it not enter into my stomach, let it not approach to my hands, let me not tread upon it with my sandals.

Let me not drink lye, let me not advance headlong in the Netherworld.

I am the possessor of bread in Heliopolis, who hath bread in Heaven with Râ, and bread upon earth with Seb.

It is the Sektit boat which hath brought it from the house of the great god in Heliopolis.

I am gladdened in my very entrails, and am associated with the divine mariners, who circle round to the East of Heaven. I eat as they eat, and I feed upon what they feed. I eat bread from the house of the Lord of offerings.

## CHAPTER LIII B.

*Whereby one eateth not dirt.*

I execrate, I execrate! I do not eat it.

Dirt is what I execrate; I do not eat it.

I execrate lye, I do not drink it.

Let me not approach it with my fingers, let me not tread upon it with my sandals.

Seb, the father of Osiris, hath ordained that I should not eat dirt or drink lye, but my father hath four times said that I should eat of the red corn.

There are seven loaves in Heaven at Heliopolis with Râ, and there are seven loaves upon earth with Seb, and there are seven loaves with Osiris.

It is the god of the Sektit galley, and of the Mââtit galley, who hath brought them to me at Heliopolis.

I shout with joy, and my Genius shouteth with joy, because I am in Heliopolis, and I live in excellent condition before Râ, on the day when bread is presented in Heliopolis.

#### NOTE.

Chapter 53<sup>A</sup> is taken from the papyri of the older period, 53<sup>B</sup> is a still older text from the Coffin of Horhotep.

#### CHAPTER LIV.

##### *Chapter whereby air is given in the Netherworld.*

I am the god in Lion-form (1), the Egg in the Great Cackler, and I watch over that great Egg which Seb hath parted from the earth (2); my Life is the Life thereof, and the same is true of my advance in life and of my breathing of the air.


I am the god who keepeth opposition in equipoise (3) as his Egg circleth round. For me dawneth (4) the moment of the most mighty one, Sut.


O ye gods who are pleasant through the alternate successions of the Earth, who preside over sustenance and who live in the Blue (5), do ye keep watch over him who abideth in his Nest; the Infant god who cometh forth towards you.

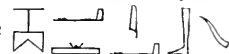
#### NOTES.


The text here followed is that of *Pa* which is much preferable to that of *Ani*. There is a far older text, that of Horhotep, line 344 and *sqq.*, but it is too inaccurate to serve as the basis of a translation. It is however very valuable for other purposes.


(1) *The god in Lion form.* These words are not in Horhotep, the chapter beginning as in later texts "Oh Tmu let there come to

me the air which is in thy nostrils." The word for air is written  (lines 344 and 346) as in other places.

(2) It is a mistake to speak of a *mundane* egg, of which there is no trace in Egyptian mythology. Seb, the great cackling goose, lays the golden egg, which is the Sun; but  does not mean 'lay upon the earth,' but 'divide, separate from the earth.' The egg springs from the back of Seb.

(3) *Who keepeth opposition in equipoise.* This sense may be inferred from *Pa*, but is made very clear by the  of Horhotep. The equilibrium of forces is maintained by the revolution of the Sun.

(4) *Dawneth,* , Horhotep; whose text breaks off without a word on Sutu.

(5) *The Blue,*  'lapis lazuli.' The French *l'azur* exactly corresponds to the Egyptian, for the word *azure* is derived from *lazulum*.

Ancients and modern differ greatly, as is well known, from each other as to the impressions derived from colour. It seems strange to read in the tale of the *Destruction of Mankind* that the 'hair of Râ was of real *chesbet*,' that is 'dark blue.' But we have an exact parallel to this in Greek. *Κράνος* is *lapis lazuli* in Theophrastus, who even mentions the artificial lapis made in Egypt. But in the Homeric poems the hair of Hector (*Il.*, 22, 401), and the hair and beard of Odysseus (*Od.*, 16, 176), as well as the eyebrows of Zeus (*Il.*, 1, 528; 17, 209) are described as *κράναι*.





## CHAPTER LV.

### *Another chapter whereby air is given.*

I am the Jackal of jackals, I am Shu, who convey breezes, in presence of the Glorious one (1), to the ends of the sky, to the ends of the earth, to the ends of the filaments of Cloud (2).

I give air to those Younglings as I open my mouth and gaze with my two eyes.

## NOTES.

1. *The Glorious one.* This is the most usual reading. *Pa* has Râ.
2. *Filaments of Cloud.* *Cloud* is the sense, not the translation of , or, as it is also written, , which is the name of some tree or shrub which has not been identified. The *filaments*  or , which are among its characteristics, point in this context to the long fibrous forms presented by the cirrus cloud.

## CHAPTER LVI.

*Another chapter of breathing.*

Oh Tmu! give me that delicious air which is in thine own nostrils.

It is I who cherish that great station which is in the heart of Heracleopolis.

I watch over that egg of the Great Cackler, my strength is the strength thereof, my life is the life thereof, and my breath is the breath thereof.













nearest prototype in this *Namrûdu*. The well-known *Uddu-shu-namir* of Istar's descent to Hades is only a variant of this Semitic translation of Gishdubarra.

These new results and discoveries are the best answer to Prof. Jensen's inconsiderate and hasty assertion (*Kosmologie der Babylonier*, p. 105): "Gegen die Hommel'sche Ansicht, dass in Namrašit der famose Nimrod zu suchen sei, ist eine Polemik überflüssig; dagegen spricht eben alles, Grammatik, Lexikon, Zusammenhang, etc."


Ad. 1. We have in Gudea E. 5, 22 : 7, 13 ; G. 4, 16 ; 6, 11, amongst the offerings to the goddess Ba'u :

forty   
 seven   
 one 

which I translate: forty receptacles for writing-utensils (*dib-sar*), seven boxes (or jars) for fire-lighting (*gù gibil-bar*,  being here the sign  *bar*, not  *mash*!) and one vessel for wooden staffs.


Since  (*gish-gù-billa*) = *uturtu* is a synonym of *kis-kibirru* (for *gish-gibil*), "wood for lighting," and of *ḫuddu* (حُدُّو; comp. Arab. *ḫaddāḥ*, "fire-steel"), and *ḫuddu* is also the Semitic translation of the ideograph  (see below, sub. No. 4), it is clear, that *gibil-bar* is a formation quite parallel with *gish-du-bar*, the element  having in both cases the same meaning.

Ad. 2. In 5 Rawl. 30, 6*ef*, we read :

lag-ga VII		
lag-ga VII		muḫ-tab-lu
lag-ga VII		a-lik pa-na

This passage shows that we have also in K. 4359 (Jensen, *Kosmol.*, p. 386) to restore

*Gish-du-bar-ra* = *Gi-bil* (not *ne*!)-[*ga-mish*]

and that Mr. Pinches' *Gi-il-ga-mish* (with  for *mish*) was originally *Gibil-gamish*; *lagga VII* is *asharid sibitti*, i.e., the chief of the seven evil demons. The latter was probably the motive for Gudea to offer in four cases *seven* fire-utensils to the goddess Ba'u.

In a hymn to Nindar in Neo-Babylonian writing (Berlin Museum, V.A., Th., 251, published by Hugo Winckler in his *Keilschrifttexte*, p. 60*f.*), it is said of this god (obv. 18-9) :

*ur-sag tag* (stone) *ud-𐎶-kab ba-gub*  
*ḫarradu ana al-ga-mi-shi iz-ziz-ma*

*i.e.*, "the valiant hero (Nindar) entered upon the rock-crystal" (comp. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 "hailstone," Ezekiel, xiii, 11, 13; xxxviii, 22). And in the same hymn obv. 28-9 :

*tak* (stone) *ud-gal-kab sa-dug-ud-da nin-gurru*  
*al-ga-mi-shu sattuk ūmi ina nashi*

*i.e.*, "if he takes the *algamishu* as a daily offering (in his hands)." The ideograph, in which 𐎶 is evidently spoken *gal*, shows that the original form was *gal-gamish*, 𐎶 corresponding to the syllable *al*, and *kab* to the second part of the word, *gamishu* (Sumerian root *gab* or *gam*). The same ideograph occurs in K. 4378, IV, 6-16 (Brünnow, p. 336) with the Semitic translation *kutū*, "vessel;" but the original meaning is probably "daily fire-lighting," *ud-gal-gab* (var. *gal-gamish* or *gal-gabish*, in which the ending *-ish* is either like Sumerian *amash*, "hurdle," from *am*, "bull," or perhaps an Elamitic case-ending as in Kassitic names of Babylonian kings).

No doubt that we here have the same word as in *Gil-gamish*, because all these names (*Gish-dubarra*, *Gibil-gamish*, comp. *gibil-barra*, in the Gudea inscription) meant originally the instrument for striking fire with the rock-crystal or flint; the second element *kab* (*gab*) occurs again in another synonym of "wood for lighting" (or perhaps better "wooden handle of the fire-stone"). *uturtu*, viz., 𐎶 | 𐎶𐎶 𐎶 | 𐎶𐎶, *gish-gab-gibir* (Brünnow, 2685; comp. Brünnow, No. 1179: 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 | 𐎶 | 𐎶, where 𐎶𐎶𐎶 | is a mere gloss to 𐎶 | 𐎶𐎶), and probably too in 𐎶 | 𐎶𐎶𐎶 | 𐎶𐎶, *Gibil-gab*, the great "door-keeper" of Hades (4 Rawl. I, 49, 50*b*). But also the well-known word *ilmishu* "rock-crystal" (Guyard and Delitzsch: "diamond"), Hebr. 𐤍𐤊𐤍 (Zimmern, *Bussfs.*, p. 104), whose ideograph *sud-agga*, "light-making," is also translated by *nūru*, "light," suggests a meaning like "fire-stone," of course a very precious kind of it, even the rock-crystal, and is therefore only a shortening of our *algamishu*. The corresponding old Hebrew word is *ḫallamish* (for *ghalgamish*), whilst *elgabish* of Ezekiel is a later Babylonian loan-word.







the wife of the Moon god, and in the following lines the seven Igigi and Anunnaki are named; the god and leader of these seven gods was, indeed, Gibil-gamish (see above) or the god Gibil (4 R. 15, No. 1)! Comp. also 49, 51 *a* of the same hymn to Sin (4 R. 9):—

Sumer.: 𒀭 𒀭 (rain) 𒀭 𒀭 *Mu-bar-ra* (fire-god) *shu mundab-ḡa-za*.

Semit.: *tāmīḡ* 𒀭 𒀭 *Gir-ri* (god of lightning) *u mē* (water).\*

with 3 R. 66, 21 *b* obv. (𒀭 𒀭 *Gibil-nim-gir*, 10 *f*, rev. 𒀭 𒀭 *Gibil-bir-ḡu*), where we find Sin again connected with the god of fire or lightning, whilst the other, the rain, is not personified, which is remarkable in this case.

By all these facts I think it is proved that the servant of Sin, the god 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 *-ra*, is not only readable *Gish-du-bar-ra*, but *must* be read so, because he is really no other deity than the Gish-dubar of the epic, the Gibil-gamish, Gibil-gab, Du-gab (*Atu-gabshu*), of the lists, the old fire hero of the Babylonians.

Ad. 4. Also that 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 in the name *Gish-du-bar* is a synonym of *gish-bar*, “fire,” can be proved by the lexicographical lists. In Brünnow, No. 11,909, we have for it the translation *ḡuddu*, in No. 11,908 for 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 alone *ḡūdu*, for 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 *iḡzu* (setting, of jewels; handle, see above, sub 2); another translation of it is *pāshu*, which seems to mean something like torch or firebrand in 4 R. 50 (57), 41 *b*, *Sin . . . liḡattā pāsha-ki*, “may Sin extinguish thy torch.” Now we have an ideograph 𒀭 𒀭, *gish-kur*, which is translated (Br. 10,186 and 10,189) by *kis-kibirru* (see above) and by *ḡuddu*; the same *kis-kibirru* (wood for making fire, or perhaps better, wooden handle of the fire-stone) is a synonym of the words *uturtu*, *misū*, *misirru* and *mirditu* (Ethiopic *beltit*, “fire-stone,” as a Babylonian loan-word?), all these corresponding to the Sum. 𒀭 𒀭 (comp. the Gudea-words above) *-sī-ki-ir*. With the first of these synonyms, *uturtu*, is translated too the Sumerian 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭, *gish-gibilla* (lit., “wood for fire”), 5 R. 26, 46! Further variants of 𒀭 𒀭 *gū-sī-ki-ir* are 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 (*gab*)-*gibir* (see above) and 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 (*gish-gū-bil*), both being translated with the same *uturtu*, whilst another synonym of firestone-handle seems to be 𒀭 𒀭 *a-tu-gab-shu* (Semiticised from *adun-gabish*), translated by *ṣarbatu* (comp. Hebr. 𒀭 𒀭, “to burn”). In K. 2866, 13 (Strassmaier, No. 8381) we have the following order of gods: *Nergal*, *Ishum* (i.e., *Sig-sagga*, in the Sagittarius), *Shu-sil-la*

\* *I.e.*, holding in his hands rain and lightning.

(𒂗 𒀭𒀭 𒀭), his wife (comp. K. 2096, *Ishum* and *Shu-sil-la* as the two gods of Tigris and Euphrates on the sky, *i.e.*, the stars Anunit and Sinuntu of 5 R. 46, between Antares and Sagittarius), *Lugal-gish-a-tu-gab-shu* and (his wife) *Mâmitu* ("ban"), which would be in the common nomenclature *Nergal* (or his twin brother *Sin*), *Sig-sagga* and *Gish-dubarra* (or *Gibil-gamish*).

By these instances it is clear that 𒂗 𒀭𒀭 means nothing else than *uturtu*, and that *ḫuddu* or *ḫûdu* comes from the root *ḫdḫ* (comp. Arabic *ḫaddāḫ*, "fire-stone"). As for *iḫzu*, it is not impossible that the Ethiopic *ēzāḫ*, "fire-stone," is only a Babylonian loan-word from it, like *beltit* from *mirditu*.

Ad. 5. In No. 3 we saw that 𒂗 𒀭𒀭 *Gish-du-bar-ra* (here written 𒂗 𒀭𒀭 𒀭 -ra) was translated by the Semitic *namra-ṣît* (*i.e.*, *ṣîtu-shu namir*), "whose rising is shining or brilliant" (comp. the Uddu, shu-namir of Ishtar's descent into Hades, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 394, note 4). Here we have two possibilities: *bar-ra* can be *namâru* (comp. 𒀭-ra, 𒀭-ga, 𒀭-du, *i.e.*, *barra*, *lagga* and *uddu* or *ghuddu*, all three being translated in the lists by *namâru*), but also *ṣîtu* (comp. 𒀭-ra, *i.e.*, *barra* or redupl. *babbarra* = *aṣû*, "to rise," and *ud-du* = *aṣû*, whose infin. is *ṣîtu*). The most probable is, to see the element *namra* in *barra*, and then of course *ṣîtu* in *gish-du*. This *ṣîtu* may also mean, "coming out of the fire-stone," said of the sparkle. As we learn by the name *Uddu-shu-namir* (to which Dr. Jeremias compared *uddu*, "light," in *Sen. Kuy.* 4, 6, *kîma ûmî uddî*, "like the bright day"), *uddû* (Sum. loan-word from *ud-du*, "to come out," "to rise") must have been a synonym of *ṣîtu* in *Namra-ṣît*; so we would get a hypothetical *Namra-uddû*.

In 5 R. 46, 43, the star *Ud-ka-gab-a*, "beast opening the mouth," is translated by *ûmu na'ri*, elsewhere by *nimru*, "leopard" (out of *namiru*, *nimru*; another shortening is *namru*); here we see that in the vulgar language *namru* was spoken nearly like *na'ru*, *nâru*. Now we have really a deity, called *Nârûdu*, occupying the same place in the sky as the star of the fire-hero Gish-dubar! That the name is Semitic, not Sumerian, we see by the fact that the genitive is *Nârûdi* (so 4 R. 21, 23) and the Accusative *Nârûda* (K. 2866, ii). The form of this word is masculine, not feminine (otherwise we would expect *Naruttu*), and so we find the name in K. 2866, ii (S. A. Smith, *Miscell. Texts*): *Gi-bil*, 𒂗 𒀭𒀭 (*Nergal*), *Tutu* (Marduk), 𒂗 𒀭𒀭 VII-bi, 𒂗 𒀭𒀭 *Na-ru-da*, 𒂗 𒀭𒀭 -ra-gal (*Urra-gal* or *Gir-ra-gal*,



i.e., *Nergal* again),  $\rightarrow\uparrow$  *A-ri-a*, *Nindar*, *Nin-girsu*, *Ba-u u Gu-la*  $\langle$   $\text{𒀭𒀭}$  (= *lù tàmáta nis-sunu*, or something similar), because the names of the goddesses follow, as it is clear, at the end. But in another place, viz., 4 R. 21, No. 1, 23, we read:—

*alan*  $\rightarrow\uparrow$  *Lugal-girra gab-ri nu tug-a i-sar-da gub-ba-zu*  
*šalam*  $\rightarrow\uparrow$   $\text{𒀭𒀭}$  *sha maḥira la ishú ina rikis biti ulziz*  
*alan*  $\rightarrow\uparrow$  *Na-ru-di nin dingir-gal-gal-í-ni*  
*šalam*  $\rightarrow\uparrow$  *Na-ru-di aḥat ilàni rabùti*  
*ki-ta gish-nd-ta gub-ba-zu = ina shaḫlàn irshi ulziz*

i.e., “the image of the god *Lugal-girra* (comp. the variant in line 22 : *Shid-lamta-uđdu*, i.e., *Nergal*) who has no rival, he (may) fasten it on the framework of the house ; the image of the god *Nin-dingir-gal-gal-íní* (Lord of the seven great gods), he (may) fasten it on the foot of the bed (of the sick);” for the original ran probably thus:—





(Sum.) *alan*  $\rightarrow\uparrow$  *Nin-dingir-gal-gal-í-ni*  
 (Sem.) *šalam*  $\rightarrow\uparrow$  *Na-ru-di*

as we can still suggest from the commentary to a parallel text, which runs (5 R. 21, 28–30):—

<i>gullu</i> $\rightarrow\uparrow$ <i>Zal-ba-tu</i>	<i>ishshipá</i> (priest of <i>Nergal</i> )
<i>gish-sar-da</i>	<i>riksu</i> (framework)
$\rightarrow\uparrow$ <i>Dam-nun-gal-í-ni</i>	$\rightarrow\uparrow$ <i>Na-ru-du</i>

where we have of course to read *Nin* ( $\text{𒀭𒀭}$ ) for *Dam* ( $\text{𒀭𒀭}$ ). A later copyist of 4 R. 21 transposed falsely the Semitic translation  $\rightarrow\uparrow$  *Na-ru-di* into the Sumerian line, and consequently added the false translation, “sister of the great gods” (*aḥat ilàni rabùti*), *nin* being in god-names Lord or Lady, but as a separate noun, also “sister” instead of “lady.” This is the origin of *Nārúdu* as a name for a goddess,\* to which we have some analogies in the Babylonian texts, e.g., *Nin*  $\text{𒀭𒀭}$  (*Nergal*) and *Nin-dár-anna* (*Venus*, comp.  $\rightarrow\uparrow$   $\langle$   $\text{𒀭𒀭}$ ),  $\rightarrow\uparrow$  *Da-mu*, mase., 4 R. 19, 5*b* (elsewhere fem.), or  $\rightarrow\uparrow$  *Ul-sharra*,  $\rightarrow\uparrow$   $\text{𒀭𒀭}$  (*Siris*),  $\rightarrow\uparrow$   $\text{𒀭𒀭}$   $\text{𒀭𒀭}$  (see below) etc. So too in 3 R. 66, 39*f* (*ilu VII-bi*,  $\rightarrow\uparrow$  *Na-ru-du*; *ilu Nabú*, *ilat Tashmētu*; *ilu Nergal*, *ilat Laz*; *ilu*  $\text{𒀭𒀭}$ , *ilat Nin-lil*) *Nārúdu* seems to be meant as feminine (wife of *ilu VII-bi*), whilst in the same tablet, 12*d* (*ilu VII-bi*; *ilu Du-miz-zi*; *ilu Na-ru-du*,

\* Instead of a god.

*ilu Ishtar . . . . . ilâni sha bit ilu VII-bi*) or 2 f (*ilu VII-bi, ilu Na-ru-du ; ilu Nergal sha alu Tarbisu*) or 14b (*ilu Na-ru-du, ilu*  in one line ; *ilu* , elsewhere  $\rightarrow$  |  |||, *Ku-sirra*, being a synonym of  $\rightarrow$  | *Sig-sagga*, and in the later pronunciation *Shu-silla*,  $\rightarrow$  |  |, the name of the wife of the same *Sig-sagga* or *Ishum*, see above) *Nârûdu* is in all likelihood a god, closely connected with  $\rightarrow$  | VII-bi and *Nergal*, like them and like *Gish-dubarra*, the lord of the seven hostile gods (Igigi or Anunnaki), and not the sister (which never occurs elsewhere!) of the seven. If we add 4 R. 52 (59) col. 4, line 12 (a list of stars): *kakkab ḫashti* (Sirius), *k. MUL* (Pleiades), *k. kak-mishri* (Procyon),  $\rightarrow$  | . . . , *ilu Na-ru-du lipturu, ilu Sig-sagga, k. Sib-zi-anna* (Orion) *lipturû*, where *Nârûdu* is named before *Sig-sagga*, like *Namrašit* before *Sig-sagga* (or *Ishum*) in 4 R. 2, 21 ; then it becomes clear that this *Nârûdu* is no other deity than the long sought *Namra-uddu* or Nimrod.



## NOTES ON EGYPTIAN WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.\*

BY F. L. GRIFFITH, F.S.A.

Fully one half of this supplement is due to the author of "Inductive Metrology," and of "The Pyramids of Gizeh," for he has given me permission to use the metrological material which he discovered at Tell el-Amarna, and has added to this a sheet of brief but valuable criticisms upon my previous essay.

## SECTION I.—MEASURES OF LENGTH.



*Quasi-subdivisions of the cubit.*

The *remen* is the side of a square of which the royal cubit is the diagonal, and

The standard digit is  $\frac{1}{28}$  of this *remen*.

"The cubit and digit have no integral relation one to the other: the equation of 28 digits with the cubit being certainly inexact, and merely adopted to avoid fractions: the digit when used independently is not  $= \frac{1}{28}$  of the cubit, but is shorter, 28 making only 20·3 inches. But a *square cubit* of 20·62 inches would have a *diagonal* of 20 digits of ·729 inch (such being the mean values of the best monumental instances of digits and cubits respectively in the Ancient Empire), and this perhaps indicates their true relationship since the mathematical relations that exist between squares and their diagonals were intentionally introduced by the architect into the dimensions of the Great Pyramid."

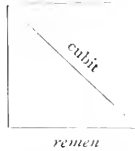
Such is the substance of Mr. Petrie's argument on the subject in his "Pyramids of Gizeh."†

Now, Lepsius placed the *remen*  on the cubit rods at 20 digits. The position of the sign  on the various examples is terribly vague; but, so far as I am aware, no one has since ventured to dispute the identity of the *remen* with the Greek  $\pi\omicron\gamma\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon$  of 20 digits, however much they may have desired further proof.

\* Continued from Vol. XIV, p. 450.

† First edition, pp. 180-1; compare "Inductive Metrology," p. 47 ff.

Therefore, when Mr. Petrie's formula is applied, Lepsius' *remen* of 20 digits, squared, should have the cubit for its diagonal.



Further, in measures of area, *remen* is the name of the half *arura* of 100 square cubits. If we assume, as I think we fairly may,\* that the word *remen* was given to this superficial measure because it was the square of 100 of the linear *remen* of the cubit rods, the whole argument is at once clinched by the mathematically correct agreement of the results, as follows:—

$$\begin{aligned} arura & : remen & :: 2 : 1 \\ i.e. (100 \text{ cubits})^2 & : (100 \text{ remen})^2 & :: 2 : 1 \\ \therefore \text{cubit}^2 & : remen^2 & :: 2 : 1 \end{aligned}$$

$\therefore$  The cubit is the diagonal of the square *remen*.

This coincidence of results from three probable hypotheses, two of which are absolutely independent of each other, shows that the assumptions are correct:—

- (1) That the standard digit is to be fixed at .729 inch when the cubit is at 20.62 inches.
- (2) That the *remen* of the cubit rods is to be fixed at 20 of these real digits, or at 14.58 inches.
- (3) That the half *arura* is named *remen* owing to its being a square of 100 *remen* of the cubit rods (while the *arura* itself is a square of 100 cubits).

Also, it is clear from the relation of cubit to *remen* that the *arura* is a square of 100 *royal* cubits, and that it is the *royal cubit and no other that forms the basis of the system of land measurement*.

It will be well to remind the reader that the word *remen* in metrology is capable of three meanings:—

- (1) Linear measure of 20 digits = 5 palms.
- (2) Superficial measure of a square of 100 *remen* (No. 1) or rather a rectangle of half the *arura*, derived from the last.
- (3) Linear measure of 50 cubits, derived from the last, being the length of the oblong *remen* (No. 2) in the side of the *arura*.

\* And as I have already done, *Proceedings*, XIV, p. 417.

ITINERARY MEASURES.—*The atru, the ar, and the schoenus.*

In the XVIIIth dynasty the *atru* is found as a multiple of the *khet*, etc. Its value has not yet been ascertained; it appears to lie between 3,300 and 3,600 cubits.

The Ptolemaic and Roman *ar*, called by the Greeks *schoenus*, is of uncertain value. It was probably not less than three times as long as the *atru*,\* although its name is but a later form of the same word.

The standard (?) *schoenus* of 12,000 cubits, mentioned by an Alexandrine metrologist, is found marked upon a road of unknown date † (Ptolemaic or Roman?).

With regard to the *ar* and the *schoenus*, the above statements are sufficient, but the new material for the *atru* must be published and discussed.

The stelæ of Tell el-Amarna record that, as fixed by Akhuenaten



“Akhut-aten, from the south stela to the north stela, when measured from stela to stela on the eastern hill of Akhut-aten, amounts to 6 *atru*, [1 *khet* (?)], 1 *remen*,  $\frac{1}{4}$  *khet*, 4 cubits.”

and further that :

“likewise on the western hill from stela to stela it is 6 *atru* [1 *khet* (?)], 1 *remen*,  $\frac{1}{4}$  *khet*, 4 cubits.”

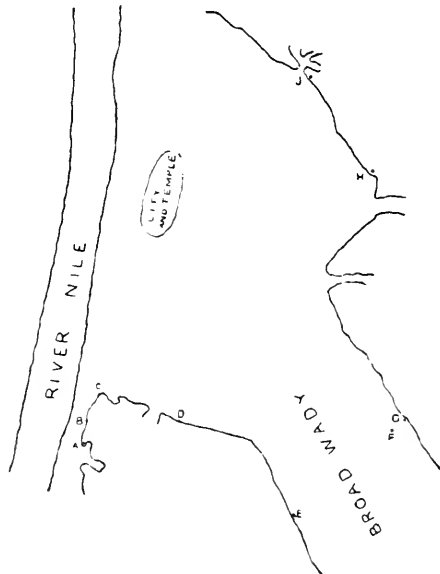
\* The evidence of the classical authors for the *schoenus* (see Hultsch), as well as that of the Ptolemaic texts for the *ar* (see *Proceedings*, XIV, p. 409), indicate a highly variable measure, from 30 to 120 stades in length; it is possible that the differences may be due to mistakes of ancients and moderns; but compare the vague league called *malakēh* 𓏏𓏏𓏏 in modern Egypt and Nubia, and the explanation by St. Jerome quoted in Hultsch, of *σχοινος funiculum* as a stage in towing vessels on the Nile.

† From Memphis to the Fayûm, see Petrie, “Season in Egypt,” Pl. XXVI.

This text, dating from the end of the XVIIIth dynasty, apart from its historical importance, is of great value for Egyptian metrology. For the first time it gives an early hieroglyphic notation of the *khet* measures: for the first time it associates the *atru* with the *khet*, etc., treating it as one of a series and as a measure of fixed length: and further it affords a hope of determining the value of this standard *atru*.

On the Eastern and Western hills of Akhutaten exist a large number of stelæ\* nearly all of which show fragments of one and the same text.†

The Eastern hill is the one that was most closely examined by Mr. Petrie, who detected upon it remains of no less than nine rock tablets. On his map‡ the northernmost J is exactly  $6\frac{3}{4}$  miles from



\* From Mr. Petrie's notes of these, the vague copies published by Prisse, and a MS. copy by Wilkinson of the Tûneh stela, I have been able to complete the text of the cast that was exhibited by Mr. Petrie at Oxford Mansion, almost to the last word. The short extract above is from this restored text.

† According to the inscription, Akhutaten extended from cliff to cliff across the Nile valley, and it mentions only three boundary stelæ, South, Central, and North, on each side; but supplementary stelæ were rendered necessary by the Wadys which interrupt the Eastern and Western cliffs.

‡ The sketch published herewith is intended only to show in a general way the positions of the stelæ and city on the East bank.

each of two at the extreme south, A and E, which owing to a deep bay in the hills are at equal distances from the first in spite of being themselves  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles apart. Doubtless these three tablets fix the north and south limits of Akhutaten on the East side\*: hence  $6\frac{3}{4}$  miles must be (approximately) the equivalent of


$$\begin{aligned} & 6 \text{ atru [1 khet}^\dagger \text{ (?)] 1 remen } \frac{1}{4} \text{ khet 4 cubits} \\ & = 6 \text{ atrus} + 179 \text{ (or 79) cubits.} \end{aligned}$$


Since  $6\frac{3}{4}$  miles = 20760 cubits, the *atru* would according to this be about 3460 cubits.

It is not likely that the distances between the stelæ were measured by the Egyptians with any great amount of accuracy; the ground is none too level even across the plain, so that the specification of "4 cubits" seems an over-refinement if the measurement was the distance between two points fixed by the king. If on the other hand, the points were fixed to agree with a previously determined plan, it must be admitted that  $6 \text{ atrus} + 179$  (or 79) cubits is a very extraordinary measure for a person to select in laying out a new city.

Mr. Petrie has made a happy conjecture with regard to this. 20,760 cubits, the actual length of Akhutaten, suggests a connection with the Babylonian measure *kaspu*, which appears to be 21,600 Babylonian cubits. A Babylonian architect may have been employed by Akhuenaten (whose dealings with western Asia have lately been revealed in so surprising a fashion), and have settled the length at 1 *kaspu*. The *atru* may have been fixed at 3,600 cubits (as it were 10 Babylonian *sos*) and the six *atru* would then be practically the *kaspu*. The odd 179 (or 79) cubits would be the amount, carefully calculated, resulting from the difference between the Egyptian cubit and the Babylonian.

However this may be, and I do not at present see that any other plausible explanation can be found—the *atru* at Tell el-Amarna cannot be very far from 3,600 Egyptian cubits, about  $1\frac{1}{6}$  English miles. It is worth adding that the stela of Kûm el-Ahmar,‡

\* A (with E) is the South limit and J the Northern: also G, lying Eastward and about halfway between A and J, must be the "central"  stela.

† I do not know whether the signs  form merely a heading for the fractions that follow, or are to be read as a distinct member of the group.

‡ *Proceedings*, XIV, p. 407.

mentioning 21 *hhet*, implies that the *atru* was not yet reached at 2,100 cubits.

#### SECTION II.—MEASURES OF AREA.




Page 410, line 21, after "in breadth," add as a note, "thus the land system was in strips of  $1 \times 100$  cubits, the latter no doubt the length of the plough-cut or furrow length, which was the basis of field measuring in Egypt as in the West."—W.M.F.P.


For evidence that the royal cubit was the cubit used in the land measures, see above, p. 302.


#### SECTION III.—MEASURES OF CAPACITY.

Page 421, line 10, for  $\frac{1}{16}$  read  $\frac{1}{10}$ .

The *hekt*, Dynasty XVIII, p. 430.

The double *hekt*  and the quadruple *hekt*  are found on fragments of a stela, recording offerings with *pefsu*  entries, from the temple of Akhutaten (Tell el-Amarna), exhibited by Mr. Petrie, and now in Lord Amherst's collection.

The *re*, p. 426. Some accounts written on the *verso* of the fragmentary papyrus 10,371 of the British Museum (Proverbs of Ptahhotep, XII–XIIIth dynasty) include a few clear groups in which , etc., are followed by a series of peculiar symbols, undoubtedly indicating fractions of the *re*. I had already been puzzled by some obscurer traces of the same in the Kahûn papyri, and now that the nature of them is known, identification may perhaps follow. In any case the existence of these special symbols, which must have gone out of use at an early date, is worth noting.



The *medimnus*, p. 433. The "Ptolemaic medimnus,"\* equal to the  of the New Kingdom, was probably not used in the accounts of the Greeks. I have not been able to find any reference to it, and according to information kindly given by Professor Mahaffy and Mr. Kenyon, it has not yet been met with in the large collections of Greek papyri under their care. This circumstance need not diminish its *theoretical* importance as the root of the new system in the old.




\* The reference to Hultsch should be 1st ed., p. 284, or better 2nd ed., p. 624.









## SECTION IV.—WEIGHTS.

Page 438, values of gold, silver, and lead?

“  can hardly be lead, as lead was common enough in the XVIIIth dynasty for nails and strainers, and would hardly be worth  $\frac{1}{4}$  of gold just before.




“If we suppose that  was gold,  was electrum, and  was silver in the early time before the XVIIIth dynasty, then as electrum was paled down by competition, the name might come to mean only silver; and as lead came into common use it might be dignified by the older name for silver? We must never assume that names continue to mean the same things in different ages. I quite distrust all arguments about names of materials—only see the utter confusion of materials in Pliny and classical authors, whom we cannot safely clear up.







“  may have some connection with  (  ) or with the moon, the *silvery* light.”—W.M.F.P.\*

Page 439, l. 13, “abounds” is quite the wrong word. The published papyri, unfortunately, offer but few instances of the copper unit, for which see p. 104, 109 of Chabas' excellent *Recherches sur les poids mesures et monnaies*.†

The *ox unit*, pp. 438–439.


In writing these two pages, I drew attention by a typographical device to sundry facts bearing on the question of an “ox-unit” in Egypt, while I intentionally abstained from using the word itself until I had studied Professor Ridgeway's valuable work,‡ of which I had already heard the principle.

To show that an ox unit existed from the Hyksos period to the time of Amenhotep III, 1700–1450 B.C., it is only necessary to put together three facts already mentioned in two consecutive paragraphs. In the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus    *khetem* (?) means “heads of oxen,” and the same word *khetem*? with a different determi-

\* Professor Brugsch has since published evidence, A.Z., XXX, p. 110 ff., which makes it almost certain that this    is “iron.” Another word resembling    may mean “lead.”

† Académie des Inscriptions, Mém. des Savants Etrangers, IX.

‡ “Origin of Currency and Weight Standards,” by William Ridgeway.

native  $\text{Q} \mid \overline{\text{TTTT}}$  is a unit of value for metals, while in the XVIIIth dynasty an ox  is valued at one  $\text{Q} \mid \overline{\text{TTTT}}$  *khetem* (?).

The word  $\text{Q} \mid \overline{\text{TTTT}}$  at Edfû is perhaps different, and I was wrong in thinking that I had found  $\text{Q} \mid$  used of land in the Kahûn papyri. But I believe I have found the word  $\text{Q} \mid \overline{\text{TTTT}}$  used of oxen in another of those documents, which unfortunately has long been at the photographer's, and not available for study. This would put back its use to nearly 2500 B.C.

The name *khetem* may on the one hand mean a "seal," or "seal ring,"\* and so perhaps a "ring" of metal; or, on the other perhaps a "sealing" *i.e.*, "branding of an ox."

The weight of the metals in the ox-unit is uncertain,† and its value in the Hyksos period, as well as in the XVIIIth dynasty, varied with the metal; the latter fact is an anomaly probably due to changes in the relative values of the metals compared to gold after the weight or proportional weights of the *khetem* of various metals had become fixed.

#### *Inscribed Weights.*

*Notes to the previous catalogue*, Vol. XIV, pp. 442-449.

No. 2. Gold standard. Professor Wiedemann informs me that this weight, now in the Louvre, is identical with that mentioned on p. 261 of his *Geschichte*: it was formerly in his own collection and came from Kûs (near Coptos).

No. 6a. 5 kiti. Herr Borchardt has pointed out to me that the strange inscription on the top *can* be interpreted as a hieroglyphic spelling of the German words 1 *uns*, "one ounce"! yet it can hardly be the work of a forger.

No. 10. Translate "Uahabra (Apries),  $\frac{1}{2}$  (uten), 10 khepen (-kiti)" (or "khenp-kiti").

units,      uten = [1460 (?) grains]  
*khenp*-kiti = [73 (?) grains] (half kiti).‡

*Additional specimens.* A reference in Hultsch's great *Metrologie* has directed me to a publication in 1875, by Bergmann, of two


\* In this connection Mr. Petrie points out that gold seal rings in Egypt are of fairly uniform weight, about 140 grains, and may have been adjusted to a standard equal to the value of an ox: some heavy ones probably reach 210 grains. Accurate weighings might give interesting results.

† Probably 200 grains; see p. 313.      ‡ See the *khenp* weights (p. 310).

inscribed weights in the Vienna Museum.\* It will be seen that one of these (No. 39 below) is of the highest importance. The particulars of his five new weights (Nos. 31-35) are furnished by Mr. Petrie. Mr. Hilton Price kindly lent me the fine Saite specimen (No. 36) to describe.

31. Oblong steatite  322·8 grains, ÷ 3.  
Unit 107·6.

107·6 must be half of the ordinary gold standard (heavy variety), forming a second gold unit:† an important weight.

32. Oblong steatite  1507·3 grains, ÷ 8, from Egypt.  
Unit 188·4.

The gold standard (light variety).

33. Square basalt, archaic  1276·6 grains, ÷ 6, from Kōft (Coptos).  
Unit 212·6.


Gold standard (heavy variety).



34. Broad oblong limestone  13563·0 grains, ÷ 50, from Kōft.  
Unit 271·26 grains.




Double kiti: a new and interesting standard for an inscribed weight.

35. Oblong limestone, 2 cuts in edge 841·9 grains, ÷ 2, from Kōft.  
Unit 421·0.

The copper (?) standard, see Nos. 20-23.

36.  Domed basalt. "The *seḫ* of Uahabramernet,"  
weight 14,840 grains, from Cairo. Collection of  
F. G. Hilton Price, F.S.A.



  
 (10 utens of 1484 grains).




  
  
 Probably *seḫ* is the name of this weight, which  
belonged to a personage called after one of the  
kings of the XXVIth dynasty.

\* These were again published, with No. 37, by the same scholar in the *Recueil de Travaux*. I have to thank Dr. Kenner, Director of the Vienna Museum, and Dr. Dedekind, Assistant-curator of the Egyptian Collection, for full information respecting the objects themselves and references to the works in which they have appeared.

† Most of the Assyrian weights existed in two forms, single and double, the corresponding members of each series none the less having the same names. Mr. Petrie has long since recognised double forms amongst the uninscribed weights in Egypt.



be correctly translated until the nature of the group  was made clear by its occurrence as  on the parallel example, which I had overlooked.

Now these difficulties are practically overcome. No. 38 weighs 1460 grains, and is therefore, as the signs  imply, an ordinary uten. No. 10 in its mutilated condition weighs 570.7 grains: "it has been broken off below and ground down again to a flat bottom, rather roughly, and apparently adjusted to 4 kats": this process has injured the inscription, which must therefore refer to its original condition, not to the readjustment. As probably more than one fifth of its bulk has been lost in the fracture and subsequent grinding, we cannot be wrong in adding 160 grains to its present weight, and so making it  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the uten No. 38. In this way we satisfactorily explain the sign , which has here the same value as on No. 7, where  means " $\frac{1}{2}$  (uten or) 5 (kiti)."

Having thus ascertained these primary standards, we can proceed to consider the other indications of weight in the two inscriptions. No. 38 is "5 *khenp*-utens,"\* No. 10 "10 *khepen*(-kitis)." *Khenp* and *khepen* being evidently the same word, we can deduce from them the following values for a "khenp" series:—

$$\text{khenp-uten} = \frac{1}{3} \text{ uten (2 kiti)} = 292 \text{ grains.}$$

$$\text{khenp-(kiti)} = \frac{1}{20} \text{ uten } (\frac{1}{2} \text{ kiti}) = 73 \text{ grains.}$$

$$\text{and khenp-uten} = 4 \text{ khenp-(kiti).}$$

It is not easy to identify these by absolute weight with any known units: Mr. Petrie has indeed long suspected the existence of a double uten and double kiti standard (No. 34 in the catalogue seems to be an example of a standard equal to the double of a light kiti), so that the *khenp*-uten might be the name of the supposed double kiti; but there are two important considerations that I think tend to place these equation-weights in a definite historical position.

These weights evidently belong to a series issued under the XXVIth dynasty. The locality from which No. 38 came is un-




\* The inscription on the Vienna weight has, however, been read, "1 uten (fixed) by the standard of the 5-uten (weight)." See Bergmann, *Recueil de Travaux*, &c. The Naucratis specimen could likewise be read (though with difficulty) as " $\frac{1}{2}$  uten (fixed by the) standard of the 10-uten (weight)." As an alternative rendering of the inscriptions which, if proved to be correct, would annihilate the *khenp* theory, it must be here recorded in spite of some orthographic and linguistic improbability.

fortunately not known; but No. 10 was obtained at Naucratis, the Greek trading colony established in the Western Delta by the kings of the XXVIth dynasty.

The *khenp-kiti* is  $\frac{1}{2}$  *kiti*, the *khenp uten*  $\frac{1}{5}$  *uten*. Now the Ptolemaic and Roman papyri render in demotic the drachm by " $\frac{1}{2}$  *kiti*," or  $\frac{1}{20}$  *uten*, while the tetradrachm is the "stater," equated with 2 *kiti*, or  $\frac{1}{5}$  *uten*. There is certainly here an analogy.

Apries however must have lived under the XXVIth dynasty, and most probably under his namesake Psammetichus I, or Apries the predecessor of Amasis. At any rate these weights cannot be later than the first few years following the Persian conquest, *i.e.*, about 520 B.C. Even at that date Athenian coinage alone could not have seriously affected commerce in Egypt so as to induce the Egyptians to divide their ancient standard on a new system.

But the exigencies of commerce with all quarters may have introduced a change about the time of the foundation of Naucratis. Amongst the Phœnicians the heavy shekel of 260 grains was probably the standard for gold; while, as Professor Ridgeway has shown, the ox-unit of 130-138 grains was the ancient gold standard throughout Greece, where also the half-unit or drachma was prevalent at a very early time. It is not unlikely that the traders had already combined the Phœnician shekel with the Greek drachma, producing drachma and tetradrachm, when our Apries and the Egyptians adapted the system to their native standard,\* and gave to its chief elements the names of *khenp-uten* and *khenp-(kiti?)*; the original *kiti* at the same time corresponded to the didrachm or "ox-unit" of 130 grains.

The word  , var.  , *khenp*, *khepen*, is not known in the Egyptian dictionaries. Its double orthography (and perhaps the absence of a determinative) is in favour of a foreign origin. I do not know of any Greek word or proper name to suit it, but in Hebrew there is a root , "profane," which seems to fit the requirements admirably. According to this, the Greek standard would be designated by the somewhat contemptuous word "profane," the Semitic term having perhaps already been in use amongst Phœnician traders with Greece and Egypt, since the system was not purely native in any of the countries concerned.

\* The ancient Egyptians seem to have had a kind of drachma and tetradrachm in their early system of the 200-grain standard; but the *khenp*-weights should be foreign by their names.

*Principal Standards of Weight in Egypt.*

The variation of the standards shown by the weights in the catalogue makes the task of classification very difficult; two standards emerge from the chaos, being marked out by the specific information contained in their inscriptions.

*Gold standard, 200 grains:—*

The first of these is the gold standard of about 200 grains. We now know three units that may be referred to it: No. 37 shows a "gold" unit of 107 grains; this may for convenience be termed "gold drachma." The didrachm is far commoner: Nos. 2, 3, 4, and 38 have a "gold" unit varying from 196 to 212 grains, and there are evidently other specimens without the name "gold." A tetradrachm also appears frequently; although there is no specimen naming "gold"; on the other hand No. 20 appears to name it "copper unit."

Multiples of the didrachm belonging to this standard are dated by cartouches extending from Chufu of the IVth dynasty to Thothmes I of the XVIIIth, the date of the latter being about the beginning of the 16th century B.C. The evidence of excavation, however, shows that the standard existed to a much later date, and a lighter variety reappears in the Greek monetary standard named the Aeginetan.

The gold drachma varies certainly from 98 to 106 grains, and probably No. 13 (the didrachm apparently named uten) should be placed in this class with a drachma of 109 grains.

The didrachm is probably the ancient ox-unit, named khetem and khetem-uten in the *papyri* of the XVIIIth dynasty and earlier.

*Uten-kiti, 1400-140 grains:—*

Probably this is the standard of the *inscriptions* of the XVIIIth dynasty as well as of the later inscriptions and *papyri*. The examples of it \* inscribed with personal names and royal cartouches are all of the XXVIth dynasty or later. The standard of those on which "kiti" and "uten" are specified varies only from 140 to 146 grains for the kiti, but there is evidently a much wider range of variation amongst other specimens. The kiti nearly corresponds to the average ox-unit † (of Professor Ridgeway), as found in the shekels and

\* Nos. 10, 39; also 9, 30, 36, 38.

† I need hardly explain that "ox-unit" means the nominal weight-equivalent of an ox in gold, or in any other metal if it be specified.

talents of Greece and Western Asia. The old Egyptian gold drachma \* is about  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the kiti, and the kiti is about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the gold didrachm, *i.e.*, the old Egyptian ox-unit. Gold was abundant in Egypt in early times, but conquest and commerce tended to bring it to a uniform value throughout the ancient world.

It would appear that in the XXVIth dynasty the kiti was halved to form a drachma of 73 grains, and doubled to form a tetradrachm or heavy shekel of 292 grains; these new units are named on the weights "khenp [kiti?]" and "khenp-uten" respectively, in which names *khenp* appears to mean "profane." Tetradrachms soon afterwards, namely in the 5th century B.C., took the leading place in coinage of various standards, those of Athens especially being found abundantly throughout the Greek world †; and in Egypt the demotic papyri render the tetradrachm (probably meaning thereby the coins of the contemporary Ptolemaic standards) by the name "stater," nominally equated to  $\frac{1}{3}$  uten of silver, so that the stater corresponds apparently to an earlier "profane (?) uten," while the drachma in the same documents is  $\frac{1}{2}$  kiti of silver, like the earlier "profane (?) [kiti?]."

The *pek*,  $\frac{1}{12}$ s of the uten, is found once as a unit for gold in an inscription of an *Ethiopian* king, perhaps of the 5th century B.C. (See Vol. XIV, p. 441.)

#### ADDENDA.

In the divisions of the cubit the "span" should be read *šat* (?), not *št*. ‡

For the *airu* and *ar* see some further instances quoted by Brugsch, *Die sieben jahre der hungersnoth*, p. 70 ff. The form is especially interesting, as intermediate both in age and orthography between (XVIIIth dynasty) and (late Ptolemaic). This completing link in the chain of forms of the word is found in an inscription of Darius, and on the stela of the seven years of famine at Schêl.


The full text of the Tell el Amarna stela has just been published by Daressy in the *Recueil de Travaux*, XV, pp. 50-62. The passage printed above (p. 303) is not quite correct in the French edition.

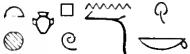
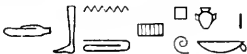
\* This word is a convenient term for what is probably by origin not a unit but a half-unit.

† They were common at Naucratis. ‡ Brugsch, *H7b.*, Suppl., p. 1228.





## POSTSCRIPT.


Es wird sie interessieren, dass ich im Augenblick daran bin, die bislang übliche—so viel ich weiss—auf sehr schwachen Füssen stehende Lesung *wt̄n* für  umzustossen, und—freilich nicht mit unbedingter Sicherheit\*—durch *dbn* zu ersetzen. Ich stütze mich dabei auf den Passus der *Bauerngeschichte* Z. 165/6—







 "deine Zunge ist das *th̄* gewicht,"  
 par.  "dein Herz ist das *dbn* gewicht."

W. SPIEGELBERG.


Charlottenburg, 18 April, 1893.

The word *uten* (*ut̄n*) has been so long current in metrology as the principal weight-name in Egypt, that one has been content to leave it undisturbed until a new variant of  should show it to be wrong or right. Besides *ut̄n*† it might read *th̄bn*, and now Dr. Spiegelberg's happy decipherment of an obscurely written group in the story of the Sekhti gives unmistakably the latter reading for . Consequently throughout metrological literature, including the above "Notes," UTEN, wherever it occurs, must be changed to TEBEN, or, in the Berlin style, *deben*.


It is remarkable that *teben* and *kiti* can both be connected etymologically with the idea of "circle," "ring." *Teben* is well known in the sense of "circular," etc., and has no other root-meaning. Moreover, the sign  properly represents only such ideas as *circulate*, *encircle*, etc.

We are now in a position to explain the sign , which represents the unit on many inscribed weights (viz., 1, 4, 14, 18, 22, 31), by the following series:— ,  (No. 13), , . It is, in fact, simply a picture, used for extreme brevity in writing, of the ring *teben*, and it is actually to be read *teben*, "ring."  is of course a picture of the rectangular stone weight.

\* I venture to think that doubt is impossible.

† *ut̄n* would more correctly be .

*Teben*, "a ring," is a generic term. The standard of the rings might vary, and we know two standards, namely, the old gold and the teben-kiti standards.

I beg to congratulate Dr. Spiegelberg on his interesting discovery, and to thank him most cordially for permitting me to publish it here without delay. An article on the values of the sign  may shortly be looked for from his pen.



EUPHRATEAN STELLAR RESEARCHES.

BY ROBERT BROWN, JUNR., F.S.A.

PART II.

*The Tablet K*, 2894.—*Obverse*. And

*The Tablet K*, 2310.—*Reverse*.

I.

THE *Tablet K*, 2894, *Ob.*, a copy of which was given in the *Proceedings*, March, 1888, and which in many respects is closely connected with the *Tablet K*, 2310, *Ob.*, translated by me in the *Proceedings*, April, 1892, reads as follows:—

I.  $\Upsilon$   $\Sigma\Sigma\Sigma$   $\rightarrow$   $\Upsilon$   $\rightarrow$  III ( =  $\rightarrow$  III,  $\rightarrow$  IIII )  $\langle$   $\Sigma$   $\rightarrow$  [ ]  $\Sigma$  ( =  $\rightarrow$   $\Sigma\Sigma$  )  
 Kakkab Nun- ki, Nabu . . . . .  
*The-star Prince-of-the-Earth, the-Proclamation*

. . . . . [  $\Sigma$  ]  
 . . . . . [va]  
 . . . . . [and]

In the *Tablet of the Thirty Stars*, Star No. XXIX, “The Star of the Proclamation of the Sea” = “the Star *Prince of the Earth*.”\* *Nunki* =  $\sigma$  *Sagittarii*,† and the Sea, whose coming is proclaimed, is the celestial space occupied by the *Dolphin*, *Sea-goat*, *Water-pourer*, and the three *Fishes*, etc.‡ In *W.A.I.*, III, lvii, No. 1, we read:—

VIII.  $\Upsilon$   $\Sigma\Sigma\Sigma$   $\rightarrow$   $\Upsilon$   $\rightarrow$  IIII  $\langle$   $\Sigma$   $\rightarrow$   $\rightarrow$   $\Sigma\Sigma$   $\Delta$   $\rightarrow$   $\Sigma$   $\Sigma$   
 Kakkab Nun - ki mes - xa im - sax.  
*The-star Prince-of-the-Earth a measure measured (=rosi)*

$\Sigma\Sigma\Sigma\Sigma$   $\Sigma\Sigma$   $\rightarrow$   $\Sigma\Sigma$   $\Sigma$   $\Sigma$   $\Sigma$   $\langle$   $\Sigma$   $\rightarrow$   $\Sigma$   
 Sibirri (û) GAN - ZI mati esiri.  
*The-crops (and) herbage (?) of-the-land prosperous (a. v.)*

\* Vide *Proceedings*, January, 1890, p. 148.  
 † Vide *Ibid.*, April, 1892, p. 298.  
 ‡ Vide *Ibid.*, January, 1890, p. 149.

According to the astrologers, who have preserved so much that is ancient, *Sagittarius* "inclines to fruitfulness." In *W.A.I.*, III, lii, No. 2, we read :—

XII.	𐎠𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎠𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎠𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎠𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎠𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎠𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎠𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶
	Kakkab	U - ra <sub>χ</sub> - ga		χu	ana		kakkab
	<i>The-star</i>	<i>Ura<sub>χ</sub>ga</i>		<i>the-Bird</i>	<i>to</i>		<i>the-star</i>
	𐎠𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎠𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎠𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎠𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎠𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎠𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎠𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶
	Nun - ki	di <sub>χ</sub> u	GAN - zi	ina	mata		kal - a
	<i>Prince-of-the-earth</i>	<i>(is) opposite.</i>	<i>Herbage (?)</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>land</i>		<i>all</i>
	𐎠𐎵	𐎠𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶					
	su'āta	ibassi.					
	<i>the (this)</i>	<i>is.</i>					

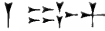



The term *di<sub>χ</sub>u*, 'faces,' appears to denote what astrologers call the 'aspect,' and therefore permits two stars or planets to be at various distances from each other, and does not necessarily imply that they are on opposite sides of the heaven. *Ganzi* is probably, like *sibirri*, 'crops,' an Akkadian loan-word, connected in meaning with the Akkadian *gan*, 'field,' 'garden.'






2.	𐎠𐎵	𐎠𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎠𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎠𐎵	𐎠𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶
		kakkab	Girtab - tab		innamiru,
		<i>The-constellation</i>	<i>of-the-Scorpion</i>		<i>is-seen,</i>
	𐎠𐎵	𐎠𐎵	𐎠𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 . . . .		
	sa	ana	isitta . . . .		
	<i>which portends a-foundation . . . .</i>				

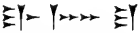
*Scorpio* and *Sagittarius* are adjoining constellations. For further comment on this line, vide *Proceedings*, February, 1889, p. 145.

3.	𐎠𐎵	𐎠𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎠𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎠𐎵	𐎠𐎵	. . . .
	kakkab	Sak - vi - sa . . . .	(= Σχέσι τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ἀστήρ.			
	<i>The-star</i>	<i>the-Summoner . . . .</i>	<i>Βαβυλώνιοι. Hēsychios)</i>			

*Mercury*, "the dog of the Sun," is so styled from its heliacal rising, and is also called *Nabu* ("the Proclaimer"), and *Sulpauddu* (vide *inf.* l. 9). After the *lacuna* the line ends 𐎠𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶, perhaps to be read *satti itik* ". . . year crosses."

4.      
 kakkab      Gir - tab D.P.      Iz - ši      yub - bu - ur ;  
*The-constellation of-the-Scorpion the-Fiery-one crossed ;*

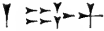
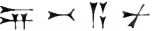


      
 kakkabi      sa      risi      kakkab      Gir - tab  
*stars of beginning (form) the constellation of-the-Scorpion*



  
 rabi - va  
*great ; and*





*Izši*, As. *Ušši*, = "the red planet" *Mars*. As to the expression 'beginning,' vide note on l. 8. Oriōn was a giant, but the *Scorpion* was "huger still."\* So Ovid (*Metam.* i, 195-7):—

"Est locus, in geminos ubi brachia concavat arcus  
 Scorpions ; et cauda flexisque utrinque lacertis,  
 Porrigit in spatium signorum membra duorum." †

There is a special connexion in the Tablets between *Mars* and *Scorpio*, which, in astrology, "is the House of *Mars* and also his Joy," as there is between the red *Ἄρης*, known in Greek astronomy as *Pyrois*, and the star *Cor Scorpionis*, *ἰπρόκιρρος* [= "saffron-yellow"] *καλούμενος Ἀντάρης* (Ptolemy), a term meaning at once "Equal-to" and "Opposite-to-Arēs." Thus, in *W.A.I.* III, liii, No. 1, we read :—

XX.      
 kakkab      Ni - bat - a - nu      ana      kakkab  
*The-star Death-in-heaven (Mars) to the-constellation-of-the-*

   
 Gir - tab      diχu  
*Scorpion (is) opposite ;*

XXI.      
 Zu      ina      saplit - si      itsab - bat  
*The-Zodiacal-sign by its-lower-part it-seizes.*


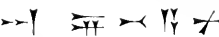


\* Aratos, *Phainomena*, 643.

† As to the *Scorpion*, vide *Proceedings*, February, 1890, pp. 196-201 ; March, 1891, pp. 263-5.

This is a conjunction, as mentioned in our Tablet, l. 4; and the statement is of rather special interest, inasmuch as in Hindu astronomy we find "the term for planet [is] *graha*, 'the seizer,' [which] is evidently of astrological origin."\* Hence planetary seizing = entering a Sign.



XXVIII.     
D.P. Iz - ši kakkab Gir-tab


*The-Fiery-one the-constellation of-the-Scorpion*

     
ka - bi; D.P. Ni - bat - a - nu ina libbi izzaz.  
*addresses; Death-in-heaven in the-midst is-fixed.*

Here *Izši* is identified with *Nibatenu* (vide Fig. 1), and its position is *ina libbi absi*, "in the midst of the abyss" (*Tablet of the Thirty Stars*, l. 25), which is deemed to be somewhere in or near *Scorpio*.† With *Izši* cf. the Magyar *izzo*, 'fervens.'

'Addresses.'—A technical term, which frequently occurs. It indicates a special connexion between two heavenly bodies, and reappears in Classical astrology. Thus, according to Manilius (*Astron.*, ii, 486 *et seq.*), the *Ram* hears himself, the *Bull* the *Fishes*, the *Twins* the *Water-pourer*, the *Crab* the *Goat*, the *Lion* the *Archer*, the *Virgin* the *Scorpion*, and the *Balance* "suos sequitur sensus."

5.    
D.P. Iz - ši yu - ta - ma - al - va  
*The-Fiery-one goes-slowly. And*

*Mars* "goes slowly" across *Scorpio*, as *Jupiter* "lingers" (*yudanat*) in the constellation of *Gula* (*W.A.I.* III, lvii, No. 1, Sec. i, l. 2: vide *inf* p. 337). Mr. Pinches connects *yutammal* with *emelu*, "to toil wearily." Cf. Heb. .

The doctrine of the planetary Houses is certainly Euphratean in origin, witness the following Fragment from Dôrotheos, who appears

\* Weber, *Hist. Indian Literature*, 1878, p. 250.

† Vide *Proceedings*, February, 1890, p. 197.

to have been a native of Sidon, and who is called by Plutarch\* *ὁ Χαλδαῖος*†:—

Αἶρετοὶ ἐκ τούτων μάλλον Κρόνος εἰν Ὑδροχῆτι,  
 Ζεὺς δ' ἐνὶ Τοξευτῆ, καὶ Σκορπίω ἦέται Ἄρης·  
 Κούρις δ' ἐν Ταύρω γάνυται νόον, ἐν δέ νυ Κούρη  
 Ἑρμείας· εἰς δ' ἔστι ὄμος φωστήρος ἐκύστου.

Here the poet uses the technical term “House” (*ὄμος*), assigning the *Water-pourer* to *Saturn*, the *Archer* to *Jupiter*, the *Scorpion* to *Mars* (vide *sup.* l. 4), the *Bull* to *Venus*, and the *Virgin* to *Mercury*.

6.      |    ≡≡≡→|                      →≡≡≡≡    ≡                      ≡≡≡≡ | →→→    ▽  
           Kakkab                              Gir - tab                      karni - sa  
           *The-constellation*                      *of-the-Scorpion,*                      *its horns*  
 →≡≡≡ ▽→| ≡≡≡≡≡    ≡≡≡≡    ▽ ≡≡≡≡ ≡≡≡≡    →|                      ▽    ≡≡  
           zu - h - u    ra                      sa - ru - ru                      sami                      isakkin-a.  
           *Splendour*                      (and)                      *brightness*                      *of-heaven*                      *they-cause.*

*Tsuru, zuru*, Heb. *זור*. As to *saruru*, cf. *Tab. K.* 2310 Rev. l. 6.

The explanation of this difficult passage seems to be as follows;— We have seen‡ that *Antares* “is identified with *Lugal-tudda* . . . the god of the lightning,” and that the ideograph →≡≡≡, *gir*, “pictorially representing ‘blade,’ ‘sting,’ or ‘pointed tail,’ means ‘to strike,’ ‘scorpion,’ ‘plough’ and ‘lightning.’” Hence, the constellation of the *Scorpion* is connected with the Storm-King and his thunderbolt, and its stars are grouped to the eye of the scribe somewhat like a thunderbolt.

7. →| ≡≡≡≡    <    <    ≡≡≡≡    ≡≡≡→|    →≡≡≡    →≡≡≡    ≡≡≡    →|<  
           D.P. Lu - bat    ina    libbi    kakkabi    Zi - ba - ni - ti  
           *Jupiter*    *in the-place*    *of-the-star*    *Boundary-of-heaven*  
           ≡≡≡    ≡≡  
           izzaz - va  
           *is-fixed. And*

\* *Peri Fotomôn*, xxiii.  
 † It is not probable that Plutarch used the term ‘Chaldaean’ in the sense of an astronomico-astrological professor, which is its meaning in Juvenal, Tacitus, and Suetonius.  
 ‡ *Proceedings*, February, 1890, p. 199.







The star-name  $\text{𒀭𒌷𒍪}$  is read by Jensen and others, *As-kar*, but, as the name of the planet *Venus*,  $\text{𒀭𒌷}$   $\text{𒍪}$   $\text{𒀭}$  = Gk.  $\Delta\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\phi\acute{\alpha}\tau$ ,  $\acute{o}$   $\tau\eta\varsigma$   $\text{Ἡ}\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\chi\iota\omicron\varsigma$   $\text{ἄ}\sigma\tau\eta\rho$ ,  $\text{ὑ}\pi\omicron$   $\text{Χ}\alpha\lambda\delta\alpha\iota\omega\nu$  (*Hêsychios*, in *voc.*), we need not hesitate to transliterate the first syllable by *dil*, as Prof. Sayce has done. *Kar* is a secondary value of  $\text{𒀭𒌷}$ , but the value *gan* (= *As. nabadhu*, 'light'), is far more appropriate. "In Akkadian times," says Prof. Sayce, "the commencement of the year was determined by the position of the star . . . Dilgan . . . in relation to the new moon at the vernal equinox."\* So we read in the *W.A.I.* III, lii, No. 3, Rev. l. 8 : *Mit*  $\chi$ arti ris satti sa kakkabi Dilgan, tamurti D.P. Sini, etc., "the appearance at the beginning of the year of the star *Dilgan*, the sight of the Moon," etc. Messrs Sayce and Bosanquet† have ably shown that *Dilgan*, in *As. Iku*, "the Leader" (*i.e.*, of the year),‡ and called  $\text{𒀭𒌷}$   $\text{𒍪}$   $\text{𒀭}$   $\text{𒍪}$   $\text{𒀭}$ , *Dil-gan Bab-ili*, being the patron star of Babylon, = *Câpella* (*a Aurigæ*).§ In the *Tablet of the Thirty Stars* we read :—

L. $\text{𒀭𒌷𒍪}$	$\text{𒀭𒌷}$		$\text{𒀭𒌷𒍪}$	$\text{𒀭}$	$\text{𒍪}$	$\text{𒀭}$	$\text{𒀭}$
Kakkab	Dil-gan	=	Kakkab	Ma	- a -	tu :	
<i>The-Star Messenger-of-light</i>			=	<i>the-Star</i>		<i>Tempest (i.e.)</i>	
$\text{𒀭}$	$\text{𒍪}$	$\text{𒀭}$	$\text{𒀭}$	$\text{𒍪}$	$\text{𒀭}$	$\text{𒀭}$	$\text{𒀭}$
Ma	- a -	tu	Tin	- tir -	ki.		
<i>the-Tempest of the-Abode-of-life.</i>							

li, 17-19 : "During the period when the Moon is Anu,"  $\text{𒀭}$   $\text{𒍪}$   $\text{𒀭}$ , *ina gaggar*, "in the region [vide Sayce and Bosanquet, *The Babylonian Astron.*, No. 2, p. 121] of the star *Sibzianna* it is seen." *Ina gaggar* might also be rendered "over the orbit" (vide *Proceedings*, April, 1892, p. 296). For *gaggar* Jensen reads "*kakkar* (*kakkabu*)." And (2) on a misunderstanding of the passage *W.A.I.* III, liii, No. 1, Rev., l. 28 : *Sin tarbatsa ipaxxir-va kakkab Sibzianna ina libbi-su izzaz*, which means that the star *Sibzianna* is fixed in its own place, not in that of the Moon (cf. *W.A.I.* III, lix, No. 12, lines 4, 5, *inf.*; and *W.A.I.* III, lix, No. 15, Rev., l. 5 : *Samas erib-va ina manzazi Sin izzaz*, "the Sun sets, and the Moon in its (own) fortress [= place] is fixed"). Hommel (*Die Astronomie der alten Chaldäer*, iii, 10, 11), who renders *Sibzianna* by "treue Hüter des Himmels," holds that it may be some stars in the *Twins*, or *Betelgeuse* ( $\alpha$  *Orionis*), or *Sirius*; so that, according to him, it may or may not be an ecliptic star.

\* *Herodotus*, 402.

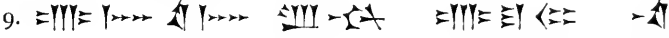
† *The Babylonian Astronomy*, No. 2, in the *Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society*, Vol. XL, No. 3.

‡ Vide *Proceedings*, March, 1891, p. 249.


§ Vide *Ibid.*, April, 1892, pps. 301-4.

Mātu, the Tempest-god, had been the agent of vengeance against mankind at the Flood; a *Capella*, the Tempest-star,\* of Tintirki (*i.e.*, Babylon) is sacred to him.

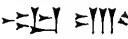
*Ki mati.* Cf. *Ki libbi* (*inf.* p. 334).

9.  Yu - me sub - tim yu-ma - mi; sama

*For-days in-its-place it (Dilgan)-is-obscured; the-heaven*

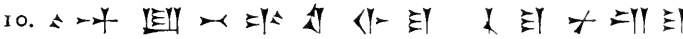
 utala - a D.P. Sul - pa - ud-du ûl ibassi.

*an-eclipse (possesses). The-Messenger-of-the Rising-Sun is not (seen).*


 Kibitta

*At-last*

*Sulpauddu = Mercury* (vide *Proceedings*, March, 1891, pps. 247-8).


10.  D.P. Lu-bat-gut-tav innamar-va erib-va ûl ibassi-va


*Jupiter is-seen, and it-sets, and is not (visible); and*

 ina sanni nahidi yu - mi ûl innamar.


*on the-second clear day it is not seen.*

*Lubatguttav* ("the-old-Sheep-of-the-furrow-of-heaven") = *Jupiter* (vide *Proceedings*, March, 1891, p. 248).

11.  Innamar-va yumi-su yulabbaru-va ina tsit-samsi  
*It-is-seen, and its-days are-established, and at sunrise*

 kibitta erib, sa sanni nahidi arçi ûl innamar.

*at-last it-sets, when on-the-second clear (day) of-the-month it is not seen.*

12.  Kakkab Nu - tsir - da za - mar i - lav - va

*The-constellation Image-of-the-Serpent at-the-same time it-rises and*

\* Cf. *Proceedings*, March, 1891, pps. 300-303.

𐎆 𐎆 𐎆 𐎆	𐎆 𐎆 𐎆 𐎆	𐎆 𐎆 𐎆 𐎆	𐎆 𐎆 𐎆 𐎆	𐎆 𐎆 𐎆 𐎆
za - mar	it - pal ;	enuva	kakkabi - su	kima
<i>at the-same-time</i>	<i>it-sets ;</i>	<i>then</i>	<i>its-stars</i>	<i>like</i>

𐎆 𐎆 𐎆 𐎆	𐎆 𐎆 𐎆 𐎆	𐎆 𐎆 𐎆 𐎆
ka - ra - ri - e	ibassu.	
<i>circles</i>	<i>are.</i>	

This constellation, which is mentioned in the *Tablet of the Thirty Stars* (l. 44), may be in As. *Tsalamu-tsiri* or *Rubu-tsiri* ("Prince-of-the-Serpent"). Star No. XXV of the Thirty is *Kakkab Tsir* ("the Star of the Snake"), which appears to be  $\eta$  *Serpentarii*.\* *Nutsirda* is probably *Serpentarius* and *Serpens*, or a part of them. I am indebted to Prof. Sayce for the translation of *zamar*.

13. 𐎆 𐎆 𐎆 𐎆	𐎆 𐎆 𐎆 𐎆	𐎆 𐎆 𐎆 𐎆	𐎆 𐎆 𐎆 𐎆	𐎆 𐎆 𐎆 𐎆
D.P. Lu-bat-gut-tav	innamar-va	itpal-va	ûl innamar	
	<i>Jupiter</i>	<i>is-seen, and</i>	<i>it-sets and</i>	<i>is not seen ;</i>

𐎆 𐎆 𐎆 𐎆	𐎆 𐎆 𐎆 𐎆	𐎆 𐎆 𐎆 𐎆	𐎆 𐎆 𐎆 𐎆	𐎆 𐎆 𐎆 𐎆
ki-ma ina yu-mi	innamar:	itpal-va	ûl innamar.	
<i>thus at daybreak</i>	<i>it-is-seen :</i>	<i>it-sets and</i>	<i>is not seen.</i>	

14. 𐎆 𐎆 𐎆 𐎆	𐎆 𐎆 𐎆 𐎆	𐎆 𐎆 𐎆 𐎆	𐎆 𐎆 𐎆 𐎆	𐎆 𐎆 𐎆 𐎆
Kakkab-su kima	ka - ra - ri - e	ka - ga	sak-nu-si.	
<i>Its-star like</i>	<i>circles</i>	<i>an-appearance</i>	<i>makes.</i>	






In *W.A.I.* III, lii, No. 1, lines 1-2, *Jupiter*, when rising brightly is said to form a tail ; on which Prof. Sayce observes, "This would refer to the streak of light thrown by the rising planet upon a misty atmosphere."† The stars of a constellation may of course be so regarded as to form circles (vide l. 12), like e.g., those of *Libra*‡ or *Corona*.






15. 𐎆 𐎆 𐎆 𐎆	𐎆 𐎆 𐎆 𐎆	𐎆 𐎆 𐎆 𐎆	𐎆 𐎆 𐎆 𐎆
Kakkab	Su - gi	tarbatsa,	kakkabi
<i>The-constellation of-the-Chariot-yoke sets,</i>			<i>the-stars</i>

\* Vide *Proceedings*, February, 1890, p. 200.








† *Transactions*, IV, p. 37.








‡ Vide *Proceedings*, March, 1891, p. 261.



				
ipaχχiru.	Sin	ina	libbi	kakkabi
<i>collect (= set).</i>	<i>The-Moon in the-midst</i>			<i>of-the-constellation</i>







				
Su - gi	tarbatsa	ipaχχir,		- va
<i>of-the-Chariot-yoke</i>	<i>sets (lit. disappearance makes), and</i>			

Hence, Hommel's identification of *Sugi* with *Orion* falls to the ground.

16. 						
Kakkab	Su - gi,	kakkabi - su	min - ma			
<i>The-constellation of-the-Chariot-yoke, its-stars during-whatever</i>						

						
satti	nazuzu	sibirri	ina	satti	suati	imakaru.
<i>year</i>	<i>they-are conspicuous,</i>	<i>the-crops</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>year</i>	<i>this</i>	<i>(men) sell.</i>

	
Yumi	ibassi
<i>At-daybreak it-appears (lit. is).</i>	







17. 					
Kakkabi	- su	ba - ah - lu			
<i>Its-stars are-produced.</i>					






As to *Sugi*, vide *Proceedings*, April, 1892, pps. 280-1; *inf.* p. 328.

18. *The-star the-Leader (Kakšiša) for a north wind its appearance makes:*

19. *At daybreak it-is-seen; a north wind blows.*

Translated by me in *Proceedings*, April, 1892, p. 281.

20. 					
Kakkab	Kak - ši - ša	χalabu	mati		
<i>The-star</i>	<i>the-Leader (is)</i>	<i>misty:</i>	<i>in-the-land</i>		

				
χa - ru - bi - e	ikkalu			
<i>locusts</i>	<i>devour.</i>			

= K. 2310, Ob. l. 6.

21. *In the-month Tammuz the-star the-Leader (and) the-star the-Eagle are-in-the-ascendant: the sesame will be flourishing.*

= K. 2310, Ob. l. 7 (vide *Proceedings*, April, 1892, p. 282).

22. *The-star the-Leader and the-star the-Eagle together are-seen; and,*

= K. 2310, Ob. l. 8 (vide *Ibid.*, p. 283).

23. *The-constellation the Yoke (Capricorn) at sunrise its-appearance makes: at daybreak (it is) bright. An east wind.*

= K. 2310, Ob. lines 9-10. For comment on lines 18-23, vide *Proceedings*, April, 1892, p. 281, *et seq.*

24 . . . .  $\Sigma\Upsilon$   $\Xi$ , *illak-va*, "blows and" . . . .

## II.

The constellation *Sugi*. In *W.A.I.* III, lvii, No. 6, we read:—

LIII. *Kakkab Sugi, kakkab Ud-ka-gab-a* (vide *inf.* p. 332),

LIV. *Kakkab Sib-si-an-na, (Arcturus, vide sup. p. 323), kakkab Kak-si-sa (Sirius),*

LV. *Kakkab En-te-mas-mur* (vide *inf.* p. 330), *kakkab Id- $\chi$ u (Altair, vide Proceedings, April, 1892, pps. 284-6),*

LVI. *Kakkab Pa-pil-sak* (vide *Ibid.*, March, 1891, pps. 265-6), *7 Lun-ma-si."*

The Ak. *mas*, As. *mâsu*, means 'hero,' the original ouranic 'Hero' being the Sun,\* an admirable instance of the application of the constant principle of reduplication;† and the Ak. *lu-mas* = "sheep (*i.e.*, stars) of the hero." But *mas* ( $\Upsilon$ ) also = "to divide," 'half,' "a second," 'brother,' etc. Hence, *lu-masi* = (lit.) "sheep (or in As. 'oxen')-two," = 'Twins' (of some kind). Hence, therefore, *Sibzianna*, considered as one of the 7 pairs of Twins, will =  $\alpha$  and  $\eta$  *Boötis*; *Sirius* =  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  *Canis*, or  $\alpha$  *Canis* and  $\alpha$  *Canis Minoris (Procyon)*;‡ and *Altair* =  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  *Aquile*. We therefore require a pair of stars in the ecliptic (vide l. 15) for *Sugi*.

Jensen and Hommel hold that the Ak. name *Sugi* = As. *Sibu*, "Old-man," 'Sheik,' Heb.  $\text{שִׁיבָה}$ , and quote *W.A.I.* III, liii, No. 1, Rev. l. 30, in illustration. But all that is there stated is that

\* Vide Sayce, *Rel. Ancient Babs.*, p. 49.

† Vide *Proceedings*, January, 1890, p. 145.

‡ Vide *Ibid.*, April, 1892, p. 297.

“the constellation of the *Pregnant-woman* (*Kakkab Eratu*) with the constellation *Sibi* (𐎠𐎶𐎵, “Double-eye”) and the constellation of Anu [*i.e.*, *Lullim*, “the *Ram*] is fixed.” *Sibi* may be identical with *Sugi*, though this passage does not show that it is; and, if so, its name is exactly suitable for one of the *Lumasi*. In l. 32 “the constellation of the *Pregnant-woman*” is said to ‘speak’ (vide *sup.* p. 320) to *Sugi*. M. Oppert, Prof. Sayce agreeing, “since 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 is translated ‘the front part of a chariot,’”<sup>\*</sup> renders *Sugi*, “Of-the-helm,” meaning, I presume, “Helm-star,” but Mr. Pinches translates *Sugi* by ‘Chariot-yoke,’ which appears to me to be, on the whole, much the better rendering, and which I have followed accordingly. The idea of a sky-yoke is a very natural one; we find the ecliptic itself styled “the Yoke of the sky,”<sup>†</sup> and, as we have seen,<sup>‡</sup> the *Yoke* was a name for the *Goat-fish* (vide l. 23), for, be it remembered, the same star or constellation may have, and frequently has, many different names.§ In *W.A.I.* III, lvii, No. 4, we read:—

XI. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 D.P. Dil - bat      ina pan      D.P. Su - gi      illak.  
*Venus      from before      the Chariot-yoke      goes.*

This passage further illustrates the position of *Sugi* as an ecliptic-constellation. In *W.A.I.*, III, lix, No. 11, we read:—

XII. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 Sin tarbatsa      ipaxxir - va      kakkabi      ina  
*The-Moon      sets      and      the-stars      in*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 libbi      nazuzu.  
*(their) place      are-fixed.*

<sup>\*</sup> *Transactions*, III, p. 173, note 2.

<sup>†</sup> Vide Sayce, *Babylonian Literature*, 55.

<sup>‡</sup> *Proceedings*, April, 1892, p. 299.

§ Popular names of constellations are, naturally enough, frequently based upon the shapes of their star-combinations, *e.g.*, the two *Wains*. So *Orion* was called ‘*Ἀλεκτροπόδιον* (= ‘*Ἀλεκτροπόδιον*), ‘Cock’s-foot’ (vide Hésych. in voc. ‘*Ὠρίων*. Ideler, *Sternnamen*, p. 220).

XIV.	𐎶 𐎶	𐎶	𐎶-𐎶-𐎶	𐎶 - 𐎶-𐎶	𐎶
	Sanu :- va		kakkab	Su - gi	ina
	<i>Ditto : and</i>		<i>the-constellation</i>	<i>of-the-Chariot-yoke</i>	<i>in</i>
	𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶	𐎶-𐎶			
libbi - su		izzaz.			
<i>its-place</i>		<i>is-fixed.</i>			

To be 'fixed' = "to wax" (as the moon), "to appear," "shine bright" (as of stars).

I give these lines in further illustration of the meaning of "its place" (vide *sup.* p. 324 note). *Sugi* is fixed in its own place, not in that of the Moon, although, as an ecliptic-constellation, it might have occupied the place where the Moon had set; so, when the Moon sets, the stars are not all fixed in its place, but in their own places.

In *W.A.I.* III, li, No. 9, lines 26-8, the Moon is represented as being near 𐎶-𐎶-𐎶 𐎶 𐎶, *kakkab Rukubi*, Heb. רֻקְבָּ, "the constellation of the *Chariot*;" and Prof. Sayce renders the line *Ana kakkab Rukubi* [Ak. *Su-gar*] *luikrim*, "Round the star of the Chariot it [*i.e.*, the Moon] circled." It seems clear, however, from the late Greeco-Babylonian astronomy, that "the constellation of the *Chariot*" was where, indeed, we should expect to find it, *i.e.*, between, or forming part of, *Auriga* and *Taurus*.\* The description in the Tablet well applies to stars slightly north of the Moon. "The constellation of the *Chariot*" is thus quite distinct from "the constellation of the *Chariot-yoke*."

In *W.A.I.* III, liii, No. 1, Rev. l. 33, the *kakkab Entenamastuv* (= *Entemasmur*, *sup.*, p. 328) is said to be "fixed behind" (*Kakkab sa arki-su izu-zu*) *Eratu* ("the *Pregnant-woman*"), or else behind *Sugi*, I think behind *Eratu*. Now, *Entenamastuv* is Star No. XXI, in the *Tablet of the Thirty Stars*, and this Akkadian name was rendered (not translated) in Assyrian by *Etsen-tsiri*† ("the-Tip-of-the-Tail"); and, as I have shown,‡ it will be certain, stars near the tip of the tail of *Hydra*, including the star 20 *Librae*, the  $\gamma$  of the 'unformed' stars around the *Claws* of Ptolemy. Hommel regards

\* Vide Epping, *Astron. aus Bab.*, pp. 121-2.

† The Akkadian equivalent for *Etsen-tsiri* is *Gis-kun* ("Heaven-tail"), a name which would be perfectly applicable to the constellation.

‡ Vide *Proceedings*, February, 1890, pp. 195-6.



*Entemasmur*, which he reads as *In-tinnina-bar-shigga*, as meaning at times *Denebola* ("the Lion's Tail," *Dzeneb-al-ased*,  $\beta$  *Leonis*), and at other times *Deneb* (i.e., *Dzeneb*, "the Tail,"  $\alpha$  *Cygni*). But, we are not entitled thus to divide *Entemasmur*; nor, if *Sugi* = *Orion* (as Hommel supposes, vide *sup.* p. 327) does it appear how either *Denebola* or *Deneb* could be said to be 'behind' *Orion*, or behind any star near *Orion*. In any case *Deneb*, a star far north of the ecliptic, is out of the question.

From the combination of the foregoing considerations I think it will follow that the constellation of the *Chariot-yoke* =  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  *Librae*, *Zuben-el-genubi* ("the Southern-claw") and *Zuben-el-chemali* ("the Northern-claw"). Nor can there be much doubt that, on account of *SUGI*, "the (*Chariot*) *Yoke*," the constellation was called in the West  $\Sigma\upsilon\gamma\acute{o}\nu$ ,\* "the *Yoke*," the Lat. *Jugum*,† for both sound and sense agree in the identification.  $\Sigma\upsilon\gamma\acute{o}\nu$ , a secondary meaning of which is "the beam of the balance," as that which *joins* the scales, thus became the sire of the constellation *Libra*. I have noticed‡ that Achilleus Tatios, in a Fragment preserved by Petavius,§ speaks of τὰς Χηλὰς, τὰς καλουμένας ὀπ' Αἰγυπτίων  $\Sigma\upsilon\gamma\acute{o}\nu$ . That the Egyptians borrowed much star-lore from Euphratean regions is certain. Bertin thought that they devised a Zodiac of 12 signs out of the 30 stars, and Prof. Hommel has recently given much attention to this subject,|| but it is one into which I cannot enter here. There is no suggestion that the *Sugi*-stars were very bright, but, when they were clear the crops were good (l. 16); and, similarly, the astrologers describe *Libra* as "rather a fruitful Sign."

\* Of course I do not mean that the Greek word  $\Sigma\upsilon\gamma\acute{o}\nu$  is *derived* from the Akkadian *sugi*.

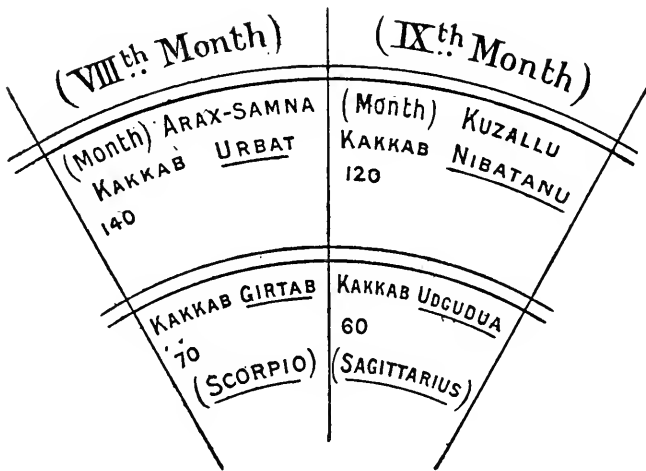
† So Cicero: "In *Jugo* cum esset Luna," or, as our Tablet says, *Sin ina libbi kakkabi Sugi* (l. 15). The Sign reappears in the borrowed astronomy of India as *Juka*, and "in an Irish hand of the 9th century on fol. 16b of the Karlsruhe codex of Beda's *De Temporum Ratione*, as *zichos*" (Ap. Whitley Stokes, in the *Academy*, January 5, 1884). Geminus, cir. B.C. 77, uses the form  $\Sigma\upsilon\gamma\acute{o}\varsigma$ .

‡ *Proceedings*, January, 1890, p. 145.

§ *Uranologion*, edit. 1630, p. 168.

|| Vide his *Die Astronomie der alten Chaldäer*, iii, 10, and his paper at the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists (September, 1892), *Der babylonische Ursprung der ägyptischen Kultur*.

Hommel places the constellation *Udkagaba* (*sup.* p. 328), which he renders "Throat-opening-beast," either in the region of *Lepus*, or in the comparatively starless space occupied by the modern constellation the *Unicorn*, between the two *Dogs*. I will merely observe that, in the abstract, this view appears to me to be in the highest degree improbable for a variety of reasons; but the question is decided by *Tablet S.* 162, Ob. (Fig. 1) which gives this constellation as next *Girtab* ("the Scorpion"), and as specially connected with the 9th month and the Sign *Sagittarius*.



*Fig. I. Fragment of Euphratean Planisphere.*

The name 𐎠 𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐏁 𐎶 is transliterated *Utucagaba* by Prof. Sayce, who translates it "the Light-of-the-white-face," whilst Mr. Pinches reads *Ud-gu-du-a*, "the Flowing(?) -day." In the *Tablet of the Thirty Stars* we find *Nibatenu* placed next to *Udgudua* (Rev. l. 42), as in *Tablet S.* 162, and we read:—






















XLI. 𐎠𐏁 𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐏁 𐎶 | 𐎠 𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐏁 𐎶  
 Kakkab Ud - gu - du - a = Yu - mu na - ah - ri.

*The-constellation of-the-Smiting-sun-face = The-day of-dawn.*

The phrase *yumu nahri* must = *nahru sa yumi* (𐎠𐎶), "the dawn of day." The constellation-name, however read, appears to be formed of words meaning 'Sun' + 'face' + 'smite' + the participle-form *a*, and the rendering I suggest is also exactly suitable to stars




reduplicated. Further, we may observe from the Tablets as well as from actual representations, that many of the constellation-forms were like our own, e.g., *Sagittarius* and *Capricorn* had 'heads' (vide l. 5), as with us; and, again, if the *Bow* were a single star, e.g., *Sirius*, as several writers suppose, what would be the sense or meaning of the expression "head of the god," as applied to it?\*

*Ina libbi*: This phrase (vide *sup.* p. 324) has probably one or more astronomical meanings; the word *libbu*, Heb. , signifies primarily 'heart,' and hence is used in the sense of "the midst," but, when applied to a star or constellation, it frequently signifies "in its (own) place" (*ina lib-su*; cf., l. 14), i.e., its proper place in the heavenly array, in accordance with kosmic harmony and order. Here, however, we have to decide what is meant by "the midst." In *W.A.I.* III, liii, No. 1, l. 18, we read, *Guttar ina libbi izzaz*, "Jupiter in the midst is fixed;" and in *W.A.I.* III, lii, No. 3, Ob. l. 58, we read, "the star *Tiranna*" (vide *sup.* p. )                       

by Aratos ; and in this instance we shall at once find a solution of the difficulty. Speaking of the *Ram*, Aratos says :—

“In midst\* of the vast heaven he moves, just where  
The *Claw-tips* and *Orion's* head† revolve.”‡

“Just where” means in the same division of the heaven. *i.e.*, the ecliptic ; hence, “in the midst”=(1) in the ecliptic, and (2) in some special part of the ecliptic, *e.g.*, that point connected with the beginning of the year. “The *Claw-tips*” = *Sugi* (vide *sup.* p. 331). The statement “*Jupiter* to the midst (is) opposite” (l. 4) being repeated, implies at least two distinct observations of the same phenomenon, and refers to the apparently stationary position of *Jupiter* (vide l. 8).

5.    
Kakkab            Enzu            diχu - va    ina    libbi    . . . .  
*The constellation of-the-Goat (is) opposite, and in the-midst . . . .*

It will be remembered that “the constellation of the *Goat*” (Ak. *Uz*)=“the top of the head of the constellation of the *Goat-fish*,”§=those stars of *Capricorn* which Ptolemy calls

- a. “The northern-one of the 3 in the hindmost horn.”
- v. “The centre-one of them.”
- β. “The southern-one of the 3.”

It will now be observed that the Tablet is specially concerned with the planet *Jupiter*, and with certain (*i.e.*, “the head”) stars in *Sagittarius* and *Capricornus*. The head of *Sagittarius* is “in the midst,” and *Jupiter* is “opposite to the midst ;” the *Goat* is opposite to something, and (apparently) “in the midst,” although, the line being broken off, the reading may possibly be “in its place.” Taking the *Bow* (l. 1) as the starting point of these astronomical observations, and the particular quarter of the heavens upon which the scribe’s attention is fixed, we see that “the midst”=the portion of the ecliptic occupied by the adjoining constellations *Kastu* and

\* Μεσσοῦτι = *ina libbi*.

† For the reading κεφαλή instead of ζώρη, vide R. Brown, Jr., *The Heavenly Display*, p. 82.

‡ *Phainomena*, 231-2.

§ Vide *Proceedings*, January, 1890, p. 145.

*Ensu.* Having observed the *Bow*-stars, the scribe's eye is naturally (on astrological principles) directed to the opposite side of the heaven, where, apparently in the dark constellation of the *Ram*, he sees the brilliant *Jupiter*, "opposite to the midst," *i.e.*, to the part of the heavens occupied by the *Bow*-stars. His eye, returning from E. to S.W., falls on the *Goat* next to *Sagittarius*, and so he continues that "the *Goat* is opposite," *i.e.*, to *Jupiter*, and, being next to *Sagittarius*, is "in the midst."

6. 𐎶 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠 < 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎠 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠  
 Padani û saruri ina bar-qu ;

*The-plains and the-heavens-bright with lightning (are) ;*

𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎠 . . . .

Sin nazuz . . . .

*the-Moon waves . . . .*

*Saruru* = "the bright firmament" (vide *Trans.*, iii, 297). As to *barqu*, vide *Proceedings*, March, 1891, p. 257. So, in Classical Calendars, such as the *Eisagôgê* of Geminus,\* there are occasional notices of thunder and lightning in connexion with certain stars and constellations. Thus, on the 16th day of *Sol* in *Sagittarius*, Geminus says (Lat. version);—"Aquila oritur simul cum *Sole*, et insuper significare solet tonitru et fulgur."† In the Tablet, lightning is connected with the stormy *Goat*.

7. 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎠 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎠 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎠 𐎶𐎠  
 Ultu Sina agu ûl ab - ru.

*From the-Moon a-halo does not pass away.*

The Ak. *ega*, in As. *agu*, means primarily "a crown." *Abru*, Heb. עבר.

So, in *W.A.I.* III, lvii, No. 3, we read:—

I. 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎠 < 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎠 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠  
 Sin] ina namuri-su aga ippir.  
*The-Moon] at its-appearance a-halo put-on.*

\* Vide *Proceedings*, April, 1892, p. 293.

† Vide *Ibid.*, p. 294.

8. 𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠

Kakkab

*The-star (Jupiter)*

𐎠𐎠 𐎠

izarriχ-va

*rises, and*

𐎠𐎠 𐎠

tsiriur su

*at-its-rising*

𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠

ne - iχ ina

*rests in*

𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠

gabli

*the-midst*

𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠 𐎠 𐎠

sam - e - su - va

*of-its-heaven ; and*

9. 𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠

Kakkab

*The-star (Jupiter)*

𐎠𐎠 𐎠

izarriχ - va

*rises, and*

𐎠𐎠 𐎠

tsiriur-su

*at-its-rising*

𐎠𐎠 - 𐎠𐎠𐎠

χa - mut

*moves*

𐎠 𐎠

in - a

*in*

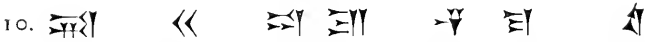
𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠


zar - rak - ki - su . . .


*its-rising . . .**Neiχ*, Heb. נִיחַ. *Xamut*, cf. Heb. חָמַט.

Here we have two very interesting astronomical observations of the planet, and which record the actual fact that its rate of progress appears to be different at different times (vide *sup.* p. 320). The Tablet apparently contains observations made on the nocturnal sky of July, and from it I came to the conclusion that *Jupiter* was then in *Aries* (vide *sup.* p. 336). I have since come across the following passage in Landseer's *Sabæan Researches*, p. 239, which admirably illustrates the Tablet generally, and the scribe's remarks upon *Jupiter*. Landseer is attempting to expound a passage in Hérodotos (ii, 42), and observes:—"Jupiter's fabled reluctance is aptly explained by the occasional seeming retrogradations of that planet, even in the course of its actual advancement. Of this we had, not very long ago, in the heavens themselves an ocular instance, and which took place in this very sign *Aries*." It would, therefore, seem that the "ocular instance" to which he refers, was an almost exact repetition of the circumstances described in the Tablet. Smyth\* gives a very curious instance, in which to himself and to two other observers, all three being at different stations, and "the moon being nearly full [cf. l. 6, 7], and the evening extremely fine," *Jupiter* "seemed to jump back."

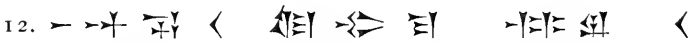
\* *Cycle of Celestial Objects*, 1844, Vol. I, p. 184.


10.   
 Ulu Samsi nazu - zu ; izarrich - va yumi  
*From the-Sun it-is-fixed ; it-rises, and at-day-break*

  
 pidhna - su ana asri . . . .  
*its-path to the-station . . . .*

Supposing we take the same date for the observations recorded in the Reverse of this Tablet as for those of the Obverse, *i.e.* July 10, B.C. 2000,\* at midnight we shall obtain stellar conditions exactly suitable. *Jupiter* is stationary ('fixed') in *Aries* in the eastern sky, "in the midst of its sky" (l. 8) *Aries* being *messôti* (*sup.* p. 335) and "from the Sun," *i.e.*, on the opposite side to the setting Sun. The *lacuna* renders the meaning of the latter part of the line somewhat uncertain. *Jupiter* is called *Guttav* ("Bull-of-the-Sun," vide *sup.* p. 325), which "is explained by the As. *pidhnu-sa-same*, 'the furrow of heaven,' *i.e.*, the ecliptic, to which *Jupiter* is near;"† and here *pidhnu*, the 'yoke' or 'furrow,' of heaven = the ecliptic-path, on which *Jupiter* proceeds to some 'station,'‡ a technical term. This connexion between *Guttav* and *pidhnu*, explains why in Greeko-Babylonian astronomy, *Aldebaran*, "the Bull's Eye," part of the , *Gut-an-na* (*W.A.I.* III, liii, No. 1, Rev. l. 15), or "Bull-of-heaven," is technically known as *Pidhnu*.§

The text of l. 11 appears to be doubtful in part, so I omit it.

12.   
 Ina sam - e û irts - tiv - va nabu - u û  
*In heaven and earth also it-is-propitious, and*

 . . . .  
 Gut-tav (?) . . . .  
*Jupiter (?) . . . .*





\* Vide *Proceedings*, April, 1892, p. 292.


† Sayce, in *Transactions*, III, p. 170.

‡ *Asru*. Vide *Proceedings*, February, 1890, p. 204, and cf. *W.A.I.* III, li, No. 3, Rev., l. 18: *Asri miki*, "the Places of setting."



§ Vide Epping, *Astron. aus Babylon*, 121.









13. . . .   (ú)   adannu  
 . . . . Kakkab Xa-dis (ú) kakkab Ma-dis adannu  
 . . . . *The-star 'Gladly' (and) the-star 'Greatly' at-eventide*

 . . . .  
 innamaru . . . .  
*are-seen* . . . .



Mr. Pinches has suggested this reading of these two star-names, which perhaps were conventional names for *Venus* and *Jupiter*. The passage is very interesting, as an extremely early instance of that name-jingle “in which Orientals, more especially Arabs [and therefore their Semitic kinsmen of the Euphrates Valley] delight, *e.g.*, Abil and Kabil for Cain and Abel.”\* We are, of course, at once reminded of the *Kp̄w̄phi* and *M̄w̄phi* of Hêrodotos (ii, 38), with respect to which Prof. Sayce makes the above remark. On the passage in Hêrodotos, Sir J. G. Wilkinson observes, “The names Crophî and Mophî are like the unmeaning words used in joke, or in the nursery, by Orientals, at the present day; the second repeating the sound of the first, and *always beginning with m*, as ‘fersh mersh,’ ‘salta Malta.’” On the same passage Canon Rawlinson remarks, “The formation of unmeaning words by means of a rhyming repetition, together with a change of the initial letter, is common in our own language. With us the second word begins ordinarily not with *m*, but with the labial nearest to *m*, viz., *b*, or with its cognate tenuis, *p* . . . In *hugger-mugger*, and *pell-mell*,† we keep to the Oriental usage and employ the *m*.‡ Some such formations may be ‘unmeaning,’ but these two examples are not more unmeaning than the words *χadis* and *madis*.








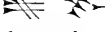


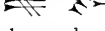

, Ak. *bara*, =  *a-dan-nu* (vide *H.A.I.* III, li, No. VII. 3), “a season,” “more especially ‘the season of evening.’”§

14. . . .    . . . .  
 . . . . - u ina lib - su izzaz - va . . . .  
*in its-place is-fixed, and . . . .*

15. . . .    . . . .  
 . . . . asli *χamsa* illak (?) . . . .  
 . . . . *double-hours five goes (?) . . . .*

\* Sayce, *Herod.*, 138.  
 † *I.e.*, “stirred up with a shovel” (vide Skeat, *Etymol. Dict.* in voc.).  
 ‡ *Hist. of Herod.*, ii, 31. § Sayce, in *Transactions*, III, p. 227, note.

The Ak. , *kas-bu* ("double-hour") = As. , *as-li* (vide *W.A.I.* III, xxix, E, l. 20), originally a measure of 60 cubits; as a time-measure it = 2 hours or 60°. Thus, in *W.A.I.* III, li, No. 2, we read of the nycthemeron at the vernal equinox:—

- I.       
 Yumu 15 sa archi Nisanni  
*Day the-fifteenth of the-month Nisan:*
- II.     
 Yu - mu vâ mu - si  
*The-day and the-night*
- III.   
 Sit - ku - lu  
*Were-balanced;*
- IV.     
 6 kas - bu yu - mu  
*Six double-hours (was) the-day,*
- V.     
 6 kas - bu mu - si  
*Six double-hours of-night.*

I have thus endeavoured to give an explanation as well as a translation of the Tablet, for the latter alone, even if correct, would be altogether insufficient to enable the reader to understand the real purport of the observations recorded.

*Remarks on Fig. 2.*—As to *Hamal* (*a Arietis*), vide *Proceedings*, March, 1891, p. 249.

The vernal equinox fell at  $\beta$  *Arietis* tem. Hipparchos, B.C. 145.

*Riksu.*—The Ak. *Dur-χames* ("Cord-of-the-Fishes"), *Okda* ("the Knot." Vide *Proceedings*, Feb. 1890, pp. 180-1). The *Northern Fish* Χαλιῆοι καλοῦσαν Ἰχθὸν χαλιῆοίαν (Schol. in Aratos, *Phai.* 241). The Sign *Nuni* ("the Fishes") is called *Zib* in the Greeco-Babylonian astronomy (vide *Proceedings*, March, 1891, pp. 269-70).

*Gu.*—The Sign *Aquarius* (vide *Ibid.* p. 268). Prof. Lacouperie, as I noticed, compares the Ak. *gu* with the old Chinese *yu*, "a vase-full"; but a nearer allied form is found in the Yenissei *kú*, "a











vessel," and probably other allied forms are the Turkic *qa-b*, Tcha-gatai *ka-b*, Kottic *ha-m*, whilst the As. is *kâ*, and the Heb. *ka-d*, all meaning a 'pitcher' or 'jar,' and here, of course, *Gu* = the 'Urn' of *Aquarius*.

*Sah, sahu*, = "the Ibex," and is the Sign *Capricorn*, also called *Niru* ("the Yoke"), in Ak. *Munaḫa* ("the Goat-fish." Vide *Proceedings*, Jan., 1890, p. 145). *Enzu* ("the Goat") = the Ak. *Uz*. As to *Nunki* ("Prince-of-the-Earth") vide *sup.* p. 317; as to *Kastu*, vide *sup.* p. 333.

#### IV.

*The star Sibzianna*.—The importance of this star, which I have already had occasion to mention (vide *sup.* p. 323), makes every reference to it worthy of careful notice. The tutelary divinity of the 10th month, Dhabitu (Tebet), is the obscure Papsukal, "attendant of Anu and Istar," "lord of bliss," "lord of the earth," and husband of "the queen of copper."\* In the famous story of the Descent of Istar to the Underworld, it is Papsukal, "the messenger of the mighty gods," who informs the Sun-god of the woe wrought upon earth by the departure of the goddess, he being evidently in some special way a guardian of the earth. As *pap* = 'male,' 'youth,' "to defend," and *sukal*, 'messenger,' we may render the name Papsukal by "Guardian-messenger." Now whatever Papsukal may have primarily represented, it is clear that in a stellar aspect he is identical with *Sibzianna-Arcturus*, the heavenly shepherd-guardian, 4th in magnitude of the stellar host and brightest star N. of the ecliptic; for, in *W.A.I.* III, liii, No. 1, Rev. ll. 26-8, we read:—*Kakkab Sibzianna* >>|    , "the star *Shepherd-of-the-life-of-heaven*, i.e., the god Pap-sukal," and *Sibzianna*, as I understand the passage, is stated to be "fixed after" the *kakkab*  , or "star of Merôdax, i.e., *Dilgan-Capella*."† And this is perfectly true; for, if we take the heaven-circle and treat it circularly, there is no special star between the brilliant *Capella*, 6th in magnitude of the starry host, and *Arcturus*. The *Lynx*, *Little Lion*, *Hunting-dog*, and *Tresses* cover a comparatively dark portion of the heavens. Now, in one place Papsukal is called Ugur ["the Falchion"]‡, the usual name of Nergal; §

\* Vide *Transactions*, III, p. 170.

† Vide *Transactions*. III, p. 171.

‡ Vide Sayce, *Rel. Ancient Babs.*, p. 196.


§ Sayce, in *Transactions*, III, p. 170.




## THE STORY OF THE PEASANT.



BY W. MAX MÜLLER.

The tendency of the Egyptian "Story of the Peasant," lately treated by Mr. Griffith, is perceptible in the names of its two principal acting persons.

The first one is mentioned always as "that *sh̄ti* (pronounce *seh̄iti*), i.e., peasant" . \* *Sh̄ti* is not the hero's name (which, evidently, has been lost with the first lines of the story). Berlin II, (45) 75, 81 he is called "one of the *sh̄ti* (*seh̄ati*)," and no proper name would be connected with *pn*, "this, that," at least not in this literary style.

These reasons prove also the alleged name of the second man to be a designation according to his occupation. He is called  "that *hm̄w̄ti*" † i.e., "τέκτων, artisan, sculptor, carpenter, joiner," or generally "mechanic." He represents a class of the common people who, being townsmen in most cases, and proud of their skill, claimed intellectual superiority over the peasants.

The contempt of the townsmen for the rude and ignorant peasants has been the same in almost every country and every age, but it is especially remarkable in ancient Egypt. The Memphitic artists of the earliest period caricature the poor peasants and shepherds so exaggeratedly that some modern scholars could not believe



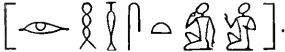
\* The pronunciation *seh̄iti* (not *seh̄ti* and still less *soh̄ti*) is based upon Stern, *Copt. Gramm.*, § 150. The Coptic form would be \*. Is Butler, verso 2,  to be read *sh̄yti*, or is it a mere mistake for the plural *sh̄tiy*? *Sohet* is "meadow, field," furthermore the open and thinly populated "country;" see the note in my book *Asien und Europa*, p. 30.

† See the collection of hieratic forms of the sign *hm̄*, *Rec. trav.*, 9, 164. Butler, 22, 27, 31 and Berlin III, 4, 14, 16 prove best the correct reading, while Berlin II has reduced *hm̄* to three or four strokes. Berlin III, 4, 14 seems to give the more usual orthography *hm̄-w̄*, instead of *hm̄-ti*.

the victims of their sarcastic humour to be Egyptians.\* Our story tells us how a mechanic tried to swindle a peasant coming to market from the most remote and uncivilized part of the country. He expected that the stupid rustic would be unable to obtain justice in the court. But the wronged peasant showed not only courage and perseverance in his complaints before the magistrates, but also an unexpected eloquence by which he conquered his wicked adversary. The magistrates were even so delighted with the originality of his pleading, that they reported the miracle of a peasant "excellent of speech" (75) to the king.

The typical part of "that peasant" and "that mechanic" † has many parallels in other literatures, especially in those of mediæval Europe.

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Mr. MAX MULLER has communicated to me by letter two additional improvements in the text of the Butler Papyrus: viz., line 29, , "girdle," for , and line 37 restore .

F. L. G.

\* See further references in the book quoted above.

† Butler, 20-21, seems to misunderstand these designations, but the passage is corrupted. One *mf* seems incorrect, and the words *s* "son" and *s* "man" are to be separated.





## LETTRES DE TELL EL-AMARNA.

(7<sup>e</sup> Série).

PAR A. J. DELATTRE, S.J.

## I.

RIB-ADDOU A KHAYAPAZI . . .

*(Berlin, 72).*

Le destinataire dont le nom ne se lit plus qu'en partie, est un adorateur d'Ammon, et par conséquent un égyptien. C'est de plus, à en juger par l'humble début de la lettre et par l'influence qu'on prête à Khayapazi . . . , un haut officier du Pharaon. Rib-Addou espère obtenir par son entremise un secours en hommes et en chevaux, contre les empiétements d'Arad-Asirta, père d'Azirou, qui menace la ville de Zoumour. En attendant l'arrivée du secours sollicité, il défendra la ville de Sigata et tiendra ainsi en échec son ennemi, homme méprisable, qui s'appuie sur des brigands.

Cette lettre est une des premières en date parmi celles de Rib-Addou. Celui-ci n'y paraît pas encore réduit à l'extrémité comme dans la plupart de ses autres messages.

## TRANSCRIPTION.

1. (A-na) *Ḥa-ia-pa-zi(?)* . . .
2. (um)-ma : † *Ri-ib* → † *Addu* . . . .
3. *A-na šipá-ka am-ku-(ud)*.
4. → † *A-ma-na ilu ša* . . . .
5. *ti-di-nu ur(?)ka i-na*
6. *pa-ni šarri bi-iti-ka*.
7. *A-mur, at-ta amil* . . . . *-ku*.
8. *I-di šarru, u i-na im(?)ti-ka*
9. *iš-ta-par-ka šar-ru*
10. *i-na amil ḥazanu. A-na mi-nim*
11. *ka-la-ta u la-a*
12. *ti-ik-bu a-na šar-ri*
13. *u u-ma-ši-ru-na*
14. *šabi bi-ta-ti u*

15. *ti-il-ti-ku-na*  
 16.  $\text{𐤔𐤌𐤎}$  *Šu-mu-ra ? Mi-nu*  
 17.  $\text{𐤀𐤓𐤁𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓}$  *Arad-A-ši-ir-ta ? Ardu,*  
 18. *kalbu. U i-il-ku*  
 19. *mat šarri a-na ša-a-šu.*  
 20. *Mi-nu ti-la-at-šu*  
 21. *u dannut ? I-na amil daik dannut*  
 22. *til-la-at-šu. U*  
 23. *uš-ši-ru-na ni-ši-ta-pal*  
 24. *sišu u II C šabi imuki,*  
 25. *u i-zi-za i-na 𐤔𐤌𐤎 Ši-ga-ta*  
 26. *i-dī pa-ni-šu a-dī*  
 27. *a-zi šabi bi-ta-ti :*  
 28. *u-ul i-pa-ḥi-ra ka-li*  
 29. *amiluti daikani u*  
 30. *i-il-ka 𐤔𐤌𐤎 Ši-ga-ta.*

## TRADUCTION.

(1) A Khayapazi . . . , (2) en ces termes: [Moi] Rib-Addou . . . , (3) a tes pieds je me prosterne. (4) Qu'Ammon le dieu de . . . . . (5) te donne *favor* (?) en (6) présence du roi ton maître. (7) Voici tu es un homme de . . . . , (8) le roi le sait, et en . . . (9) le roi t'a envoyé (10) comme gouverneur. Pourquoi (11) te tais-tu, et ne (12) parles-tu pas au roi, (13) afin qu'il m'envoie (14) des soldats auxiliaires et (15) qu'ils prennent (16) la ville de Zoumour? Qu'est-ce (17) qu'Arad-Asirta? Un esclave, (18) un chien. Et cependant il prend (19) le pays du roi pour lui-même. (20) Qu'est-ce que sa grandeur (21) et puissance? (21, 22) Sa puissance et sa grandeur [résident] en des assassins [soudoyés par lui]. Et (23) qu'on envoie, nous le *demandons humblement* (?), (24) des chevaux et deux cents soldats. (25) Et je me tiendrai à Sigata, (26) en face de lui, jusqu'à (27) l'apparition des soldats auxiliaires, (28) pour qu'il ne rassemble pas tous (29) ses brigands, et (30) ne prenne pas Sigata . . . . .

## REMARQUES.

Ligne 10.—*Ina* semble avoir ici le sens du Beth essential.

Ibid.—On peut hésiter entre la lecture *ḥazanu* qui transcrit l'idéogramme, Berlin, 129, l. 21, et *rabīšu* (v. Brünnow, 5569) expliqué dans nos textes par le chananéen *zukinu*, hébreu biblique  $\text{רָבִישׁוּ}$ ,

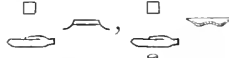

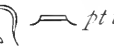
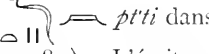
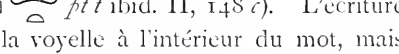
gouverneur, inspecteur. Voir Bezold et Budge, *The Tell el-Amarna tablets*, p. XIII.


Ligne 11.—*Kalata*, d'après le contexte, pourrait signifier aussi *tu hésites, tu refuses*.

Ligne 21.—*Amil daïk*, collectif. Pour la lecture et la signification, comparez *Brit. Mus.* 9, l. 19. Voir dans la précédente livraison, notre 6<sup>e</sup> série, N<sup>o</sup> II.

Ligne 27.—*Azi*, pour *aši* de *ašu*, ici *prodire*, sens que le même verbe a souvent en hébreu.

Ibid.—Les soldats *bi-ta-ti* (et non *kaštati*, à cause des variantes *pi-da-ti*, Berlin, 102, verso l. 59, et *bi-it-ta-ti*, *Brit. Mus.* 37, l. 47), doivent être des archers, ou plus probablement des auxiliaires étrangers à la solde des Pharaons. Ce sens, comme l'origine égyptienne du mot, que je soupçonnais, est confirmé à mes yeux par la note suivante que M. A. Wiedmann a bien voulu rédiger pour moi, en vue des lecteurs étrangers à l'égyptologie:

“L'égyptien possède, pour dire *arc*, un mot , *p'tt*, dans les monuments de l'ancien empire  *p'tt* (Pyramide de Mer-en-rā, l. 349, de Pepi I<sup>er</sup>, l. 607)  *p'tt* (Pyramide de Mer-en-rā, l. 338, Unas, l. 497;  *p'tti* dans Lepsius *Denkm.* II, 147 *b*, et  *p'tt* ibid. II, 148 *c*). L'écriture hiéroglyphique n'exprime pas la voyelle à l'intérieur du mot, mais comme le nom copte correspondant, signifiant arc, ΠΥΤΕ (masc.), ΦΙΤ (fém.), ΦΗΤΥΕ (fem.), a un *i*, (le Η de ΦΗΤΥΕ devant aussi se prononcer *i* comme le η grec à la période alexandrine), le mot égyptien se sera également prononcé *p'it*, au féminin quelque chose comme *p'itit*, ou *p'iti*, car la terminaison féminine *it* a perdu de bonne heure son *t* final dans beaucoup de mots.—La dernière consonne de la racine est *t'* (θ, dans les transcriptions du sémitique θ) plus tard *t* (τ), en copte *t*.

“De ce mot dérive  *p'tt*, qui désigne une troupe particulière dans l'armée égyptienne, d'abord sans doute les archers, et ensuite, semble-t-il, les auxiliaires étrangers en général. Ces *p'tt*, et notamment leurs chefs, sont souvent mentionnés, principalement dans les textes de la XIX<sup>e</sup> et de la XX<sup>e</sup> dynastie. Nous les voyons dans les forteresses de la frontière orientale du Delta (Pap. Anastasi, III,



## II.

## RIB-ADDOU AU ROI D'EGYPTE.

(British Museum, 12.)

Rib-Addou gouvernait dans le principe, comme nous l'apprend cette lettre, outre Goubla ou Byblos, plusieurs villes et localités dans le Liban et la plaine maritime. Malgré la fidélité héréditaire de Goubla envers les rois d'Égypte, son chef, animé des mêmes sentiments, a été dépouillé de tout par Arad-Asirta ; il vient de perdre les deux dernières villes qu'il possédait encore avec Goubla, et il s'estimerait heureux de garder, avec le secours de son maître, cette place, menacée elle-même par Arad-Asirta et ses alliés, volontaires ou forcés. Bien que les habitants de Goubla aient transporté leurs enfants dans le pays de Yarimouta, sans doute par mer et hors de la portée d'Arad-Asirta, les vivres leur font défaut, parce que leur terres sont en friche depuis trois ans. Les inspecteurs égyptiens se sont dérobés ; un chef de brigands se verra bientôt maître d'une foule de territoires qui appartenaient au roi d'Égypte. Rib-Addou prend à témoin de la vérité de ses rapports, dont on s'est peu soucié jusqu'à présent, Abanappa, un fonctionnaire égyptien qui se trouve actuellement auprès du Pharaon.

La fin du document, assez mutilée, présente un sens trop peu suivi.

Pour cette pièce et les suivantes, comme pour celles qui forment notre série précédente (à l'exception du numéro V), on peut comparer nos versions avec les sommaires et les traductions partielles de Bezold et Budge dans l'introduction du recueil publié par le British Museum. Nous avons profité de ces indications et nous nous en sommes écarté suivant les cas.

## TRANSCRIPTION.

1. † *Ri-ib-Ad-da ik-bi a-na bil matâti,*
2. *šar matâti, šarru rabu. šar ta-am-ḥa-ar :* ➤† *bilit*
3. *ša* ➤‡¶ *Gub-la ti-di-in dannuta a-na šarri*
4. *bil-ia. A-na šipâ bil-li-ia,* ➤†- *Šamaš-ia,*
5. *VII-šu VII-a-an am-ku-ut. Lu-u i-di šarru*
6. *bilu i-nu-ma šal-ma-at* ➤‡¶ *Gub-la, amat*
7. *ki-it-ti ša šar-ri iš-tu umi*
8. *ša ab-bu-ti-šu ; u an-nu-uš i-na-an-na*

9. *i-ti-zi-ib šar-ra maḥaz ki-it-ti-šu*  
 10. *iš-tu ḫa-ti-šu. Li-da-gal šarru bil matāti*  
 11. *ša bit a-bi-šu i-nu-ma u-ul arad ki-ti*  
 12. *niš-ši ša i-ba-aš-ši i-na 𐎶𐎵 Gub-la :*  
 13. *u-ul ta-ka-al-mi a-na arad-ka šum-ma*  
 14. *dammāt nu-kur-tum ša šabi dīktu ʾīli, u*  
 15. *ilani 𐎶𐎵 . . . . . , ga-am-ru marani-nu marāti*  
 16. *ḫa-ab-nu i-(na) na-da-nim i-na mat Ia-ri-mu-ta ;*  
 17. *i-na ba-(la)-ta napšati-nu, iḫil-ia ina ša-ta*  
 18. *ša-(la)-aš-ta is-ši-il aš-šum ba-li*  
 19. *i-ri-ši : kab maḥazi-ia ša i-na*  
 20. *šadi 𐎶 ḫa-ar-ri u i-na a-ḫi tamti*  
 21. *i-ba-aš-šu, in-ni-ip-šu a-na šabi dīktu.*  
 22. *𐎶𐎵 Gub-(la) ḫa-du II maḥazani ir-ti-ḫu a-na ia-ši.*  
 23. *U an-nu-uš i-na-an-na il-ti-ki*  
 24. *𐎶 Arad-a-ši-ir-ta 𐎶𐎵 Ši-ga-ta a-na ša-a-šu,*  
 25. *u ik-bi a-na niši 𐎶𐎵 Am-mi-ia : du-ku-mi*  
 26. *id-la-ku-nu, u i-ba-ša-tu-nu ki-ma ia-ti-nu*  
 27. *u pa-aš-ḫa-tu-nu ; u ti-ni-ip-šu ki-ma*  
 28. *a-ma-ti-šu u i-ba-aš-šu ki-ma*
- 
29. *amilut dīkti. U an-nu-uš i-na-an-na*  
 30. *iš-tap-pa-ar 𐎶 Arad-a-ši-ir-ta a-na šabi*  
 31. *ina pit-ru-ka ; ip-pu-ḫu-ru-nim-mi, u*
- 
32. *ni-ma-ku-ma ʾīli 𐎶𐎵 Gub-la šum-ma i-n(a-an-na)*  
 33. *niš-ši-ša u-ši-zi-bu-ni iš-tu ḫa-ti-(šu-nu).*  
 34. *U nu-da-nam amiluti ḫa-za-nu-ta iš-tu*  
 35. *lib-bi matāti u ti-ni-bu-uš ka-li matāti*  
 36. *a-na amilut dīkti. U ki-tu ti-in-ma*  
 37. *a-na ka-li matāti u pa-aš-ḫu marani*  
 38. *u marāti-a da-ri-ti umi.*  
 39. *U šum-ma ap-pu-na-ma i-za-na šar-ru,*  
 40. *u ka-li matāti nu-kur-tum a-na ša-šu,*  
 41. *u mi-nu i-bu-šu a-na ia-ši-nu ?*  
 42. *Ki na-na ti-iš-ku-nu nam-ru a-na bi-ri-šu-nu.*  
 43. *U ki-na-na pa-al-ḫa-ti rabiš rabiš, i-nu-ma*  
 44. *(a)-nu-ma ia-nu amīlu ša u-ši-zi-ba-an-ni*  
 45. *(iṣ)-tu ḫa-ti-šu-nu. Kī-ma iššuri ša*

46. *i-na lib-bi hu-ḥa-ri* † *ki-lu-bi*  
 47. *ša-ak-na-at šubat-šu-ma a-na-ku i-na*  
 48. 𐎠𐎡𐎢 *Gub-la. Am-mi-ni ta-ḫa-al-mi a-na mat-ka?*  
 49. *A-nu-ma ki-a-ma as-ta-pa-ar a-na ikal,*  
 50. *u u-ul ti-iš-mu-na a-ma-tu-ia.*  
 51. *A-nu-ma* † *A-ba-an-ap-pa it-it-ka, sa-al-šu ;*  
 52. *šu-ut i-di u ia-ta-mar bu-uš- . . .*  
 53. *ša lli-ia ; li-iš-mi šar-ru a-ma-ti ardi-šu,*  
 54. *u ia-di-na ba-la-ta ardi-šu,*  
 55. *u i-ba-li-it ardu-šu, u*  
 56. *a-na-za-ra . . . . . it-ti-šu a-di ni- . . . . . nu*  
 57. *ilani-nu a . . . . . u i-da . . . . .*

- 
58. . . . . *šu u . . . . . ur a-na . . . . .*  
 59. *u na . . . . . ba-li-it ri . . . . .*  
 60. *i-na pa-ni šarri bil-ia i-ma-ši-ra*

- 
61. . . . . *šu u i-zi-iš i-na-an-na u ak-šu-(ud)*  
 62. *a-na-ku a-na ma-ḥar šar-ri bili da-mi-ik it-ti-ka.*  
 63. *A-na ia-ši mi-na i-bu-šu-na? A-na-ku i-na*  
 64. . . . . *di-ni-ia ; a-nu-ma ki-a-ma u-ba-u ur-ra*  
 65. *mu-ša.*

## TRADUCTION.

(1) Rib-Adda dit au Seigneur des pays, (2) au roi des pays, au grand roi, au roi du combat : Que la maîtresse (3) de Goubla donne puissance au roi (4) mon maître. Aux pieds de mon maître, de mon dieu Soleil, (5) sept fois, sept fois, je me prosterne. (5, 6) Le roi mon seigneur sait bien qu'elle [lui] est dévouée la ville de Goubla, la servante (7) fidèle du roi, depuis les jours (8) de ses pères ; et voilà que maintenant (9, 10) le roi a abandonné sa ville fidèle. Qu'il ne croie pas, le roi seigneur des pays (11) de la maison de son père, qu'ils ne sont pas fidèles (12) les gens qui se trouvent dans Goubla. (13) N'aie point d'hésitation à l'endroit de ton serviteur (14) quand une force ennemie, formée de brigands, s'avance, et que (15) les dieux . . . . . tous nos fils (15, 16) et toutes nos filles sont déposés [ont dû être déposés] au pays de Yarimouta. (17) Quant à l'entretien de notre vic, mes champs (17, 18) durant trois ans *ont été stériles*(?) faute (19) de culture ; toutes mes places, dans (20) la montagne et au bord de la mer, (21) se sont soumises aux brigands ; (22) Goubla, avec deux [autres] places, me restaient. (23, 24) Et

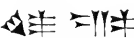
voilà que maintenant Arad-Asirta s'est approprié la ville de Sigata, (25) et qu'il a dit aux habitants d'Amnia : Tuez (26) votre maître, vous serez comme nous, (27) et vous vivrez en paix. Et ils se sont soumis suivant (28) sa parole, et ils sont comme (29) les brigands. Et voilà (30) qu'Arad-Asirta a envoyé message à ses hommes, (31) en se révoltant contre toi. Ils se sont réunis, et (32) je serai bien content de la ville de Goubla, si maintenant (33) ses habitants me sauvent de (leurs) mains. (34) Les gardiens [fonctionnaires du roi d'Egypte] se sont mis hors (35) de [nos] cantons, et tous les cantons se sont soumis (36) aux brigands. Prends donc de justes mesures (37) envers tous les cantons; (37, 38) que [mes] fils et mes filles soient tranquilles à jamais. (39) Si le roi attend encore, (40) lorsque tous les cantons sont soulevés contre lui, (41) que nous fera-t-on à nous? (42) C'est maintenant que tu dois mettre la frayeur parmi eux. (43) Maintenant je crains très fort, car (44) voilà qu'il n'y a point d'homme qui puisse me délivrer (45) de leurs mains. (45-47) Comme des oiseaux dont la demeure est dans une cage, [ainsi suis-je] moi dans (48) Goubla. Pourquoi restes-tu inactif à l'égard d'un pays qui t'appartient? (49) Déjà j'ai envoyé pareil message au palais, (50) et tu n'as pas écouté mes paroles. (51) Voilà qu'Abanappa est chez toi, interroge-le; (52) Il connaît la vérité, et il a vu le . . . . (53) qui me presse. Que le roi entende le message de son serviteur, (54) qu'il accorde la vie à son serviteur, (55) et son serviteur vivra, et (56) je garderai (le pays du roi) (57-59) . . . . . (60) On [l']admettra en présence du roi, (61) on le . . . . et il demeurera maintenant, et j'obtiendrai (62) faveur devant le roi mon maître, chez toi. (63) A moi que feront-ils [alors]? Je suis dans (64) mon . . . . . Voilà que j'attends ainsi jour (65) et nuit.

## REMARQUES.

Lignes 9, 10.—L'expression que je traduis *a abandonné*, signifie à la lettre *a lâché de sa main*.

Ligne 10.—Nous voyons dans *li-da-gal* le précatif d'un verbe à sens négatif, d'après le contexte. Le *d* appartient-il à la racine, ou bien *li-da-kal* est-il écrit pour le *t* formatif après une première radicale gutturale devenue insensible dans l'assyrien?

Ligne 12.—*Niš-ši*, à lire *niši*, *ši* étant un simple complément phonétique.

Ligne 20.— constamment transcrit *šadu* dans les textes dits bilingues, n'est peut-être qu'un mot assyrien *ḫar-riš*, mon-



tagne, de la même racine que *haršan*, que l'hébreu **הָרַשׁ**, arabe **حَرَشَ**, forêt.—L'assyrien est suivi dans notre passage d'une glose, *harri*, en dialecte chananéen.

Lignes 25, 26.—*Idla*, maître, chef. Il est question, semble-t-il, d'un chef qui gouvernait la ville d'Ammia au nom de Rib-Addou.

Ligne 26.—A remarquer *ia-ti-nu*, signifiant *nous*, qui ne s'est pas, à notre connaissance du moins, rencontré jusqu'ici.

Ligne 32.—*Nimaku*, permansif kal de la racine **נעם**.

Ligne 33.—*Niš-ši* = *nīši*, voir la note sur la ligne 12.

Ligne 33.—*Ka-ti-(šu-nu)*, voir ligne 45.

Ligne 36.—*Kītu tin* (pour *din*), littéralement, juge justice.

Ligne 39.—*Izana*, d'après le contexte, doit signifier attend, hésite, ou impliquer ces idées.

Ligne 42.—*Namru*, frayer, épouvante, comme le féminin *namur-rat*, qui se rencontre fréquemment dans les inscriptions de Ninive.

Ligne 43.—*Huhari*, cage, avec la glose chananéenne *kiloubi*, hébreu biblique **קְלוּבִי**.

Ligne 55.—Que le roi accorde la vie à son serviteur, c'est-à-dire, qu'il lui accorde le secours nécessaire pour s'en tirer la vie sauve.

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### III.

#### RIB-ADDOU A ABANAPPA.

(*British Museum*, 15.)

Cette lettre écrite par Rib-Addou à un grand personnage égyptien qu'il appelle son père, c'est-à-dire son protecteur, a visiblement été écrite peu de temps après la précédente. Dans sa lettre au roi, Rib-Addou signale Abanappa comme un homme capable de le renseigner sur l'état des affaires en Palestine, qu'il a constaté par lui-même sur les lieux ; dans sa lettre à Abanappa, il engage celui-ci à se présenter au roi et à lui demander des troupes pour venir avec elles rétablir l'ordre dans les parages de Byblos. Pour le décider plus sûrement, il l'instruit de changements survenus en Phénicie après son retour en Egypte, et après l'envoi de la lettre précédente, où il en aurait certainement parlé dans la supposition contraire. Les gens du pays d'Amouri se détachent d'Arad-Asirta, ils n'attendent que l'arrivée des troupes égyptiennes pour s'échapper de leurs villes, où ils sont

probablement maintenues par les bandes d'Arad-Asirta, et à se mettre à couvert dans une retraite sûre déjà occupée par une partie d'entre eux. Les gouverneurs ou inspecteurs au service du roi d'Égypte en Phénicie ont enfin reconnu les mauvaises intentions d'Arad-Asirta à leur égard et ses visées ambitieuses ; ils ne désirent pas moins que Rib-Addou l'arrivée des auxiliaires égyptiens.

## TRANSCRIPTION.

1. *A-na* † *A-ba-an-ap-pa a-bi-ia*
  2. *um-ma:* † *Ri-ib-Ad-da i-ka-ba :*
  3. *A-na šipâ a-bi-ia am-ku-ut.*
  4. † *Bilit ša* † *Gub-la ti-dîn*
  5. *ma-aš-ta-ka i-na pa-ni*
  6. *šar-rí bil-ka. A-na mi-nim*
  7. *ka-la-ta u la-a tak-bu*
  8. *a-na šar-ri bil-li-ka*
  9. *u tu-ša-na ka-du šabi*
  10. *bi-ta-ti u ti-ma-ku-tu*
  11. *ili mat A-mur-ri? Šum-ma*
  12. *ti-iš-mu-na a-zi-mi šabi*
  13. *bi-ta-ti u i-zi-bu maḥazani-šu-nu,*
  14. *u pa-at-ru. At-ta u-ul*
  15. *ti-i-di mat A-mur-ri i-nu-ma*
  16. *a-šar da-an-ni ti-la-ku-na,*
  17. *u an-nu-uš i-na-an-na*
  18. *ul i-ra-a-mu a-na* † *Arad-A-ši-ir-ta*
  19. *i-na-na aš-bu-na a-na ša-šu-nu*
- 
20. *u tu-ba-u-na ur-ra*
- 
21. *u mu-ša-am a-zi šabi*
  22. *bi-ta-ti, u ni-ti-bu-uš-(mi)*
  23. *a-na ša-a-ši ; u ka-li*
  24. *amiluti ḥa-za-nu-ti tu-ba-u-na*
  25. *i-bi-iš an-nu-tum a-na Arad-a-ši-ir-ta,*
  26. *i-nu-ma i-iš-ta-par a-na amilut*
  27. † *Am-mi-ia : du-ku-mi bil-ku-nu,*
  28. *u in-ni-ip-šu a-na*
  29. *amilut diktū. Ki-na-na ti-ik-bu-na*
  30. *amiluti ḥa-za-nu-tum : ki-na-na*
  31. *i-bu-šu a-na ia-ši-nu,*

32. *u ti-ni-bu-šu ka-li matàti*  
 33. *a-na amilut dīktu. U ki-ba-mu*  
 34. *a-ma-tam an-ni-ta a-na pa-ni*  
 35. *šar-ri bil-li-ka, i-nu-ma*  
 36. *a-bu u bi-lu at-ta-ma*  
 37. *a-na ia-ši, u a-na ka-tam*  
 38. *pa-ni-ia na-ad-na-ti.*  
 39. *Ti-i-di pa-ar-za-ia*  
 40. *i-nu-ma i-ba-ša-ta i na*

- 
41.  $\text{𐎶𐎵𐎠}$  *Šu-mu-ra, i-nu-ma*  
 42. . . . . . *it-ti-ka a-na-ku.*  
 43. *U ki-bi a-na šarri bi-li . . . . .*  
 44. *u tu-pi-da bi-la-tu . . . . .*  
 45. . . *ia-ši ki-ma ar-ḥi-iš . . . . .*

## TRADUCTION.

(1) A Abanappa mon père, (2) en ces termes: Rib-Adda dit: (3) Aux pieds de mon père je me prosterne. (4) Que la déesse de Goubla assure (5) ta faveur devant (6) le roi ton maître. Pourquoi (7) t'abstiens-tu et ne parles-tu pas (8) au roi ton maître, (9) afin que tu partes avec des hommes (10) de secours (?) et que tu tombes (?) (11) sur le pays d'Amouri? Quand (12) ils [les gens d'Amouri] apprendront la marche des soldats (13) auxiliaires, ils abandonneront leurs villes [les villes qu'ils occupent] (14) et se révolteront. (14, 15) Tu ignores, toi, que le peuple d'Amouri (16) a fait choix d'un lieu sûr; (17) et voilà que maintenant (18) ils ne s'attachent plus à Arad-Asirta; (19) actuellement ils se tiennent entre eux (20) et ils attendent jour (21) et nuit qu'apparaissent les soldats (22) auxiliaires, et que nous agissions (23) de cette sorte. Tous les gouverneurs [ou inspecteurs égyptiens] désirent (25) qu'on en agisse ainsi à l'égard d'Arad-Asirta, (26) depuis qu'il a mandé aux habitants (27) d'Ammyia: "Tuez votre maître," (28) et qu'ils se sont soumis (29) aux brigands. Dans ces circonstances, (29, 30) les gouverneurs ont dit: Ainsi (31) nous traitera-t-on, (32) et tous les cantons se soumettront (33) aux brigands. Dis donc (34) ces choses devant (35) le roi ton maître, puisque (36) tu es un père et un maître (37) pour moi, et que vers toi (38) je tourne mes regards. (39) Tu as connu mes sentiments (40) lorsque tu t'es trouvé à (41) Zoumour, lorsque (42) . . . . . avec toi . . . . . moi. (43) Dis au roi ton maître . . . (44, 45) et assure-moi la vie le plus tôt possible.

## REMARKS.

Lignes 4, 5.—*Mašta*, faveur. Ce sens est pour ainsi dire imposé par le contexte. La phrase entière, qu'on traduirait littéralement : *Que la déesse de Goubla donne ta faveur en présence du roi ton maître*, correspond exactement à la formule hébraïque : **וַיִּתֵּן חֲנוּ בְּעֵינַי שָׂר** **בֵּית־הַפֶּהָר**.

Ligne 7.—*Ḳalata*. Voir la note à la ligne 1 de la première lettre de cette série.

Ligne 12.—*Tišmuna*, 3<sup>e</sup> p. du fém. plur., au lieu du masculin. De même, l. 16, *tilakuna* ; l. 20, *tubäina* ; l. 29, *tikbuna* ; l. 29, *tinibušu*.

Ligne 20.—*Attendent jour et nuit*, formule qui se rencontre fréquemment dans nos lettres pour dire attendre avec anxiété.

## IV.

## RIB-ADDOU AU ROI D'ÉGYPTE.

(*British Museum*, 13.)

Lettre postérieure, peut-être de beaucoup, aux précédentes. Azirou, et non plus son père Arad-Asirta ou Arad-Asratou, est le grand adversaire du gouverneur de Byblos ; il lui a enlevé des hommes, il le cerne par terre et par mer. Tous les vaisseaux de Zoumour, de Beyrouth et de Sidon sont réunis au pays d'Amouri, la principauté d'Azirou, laquelle d'après cela confine à la mer. Un allié d'Azirou, Yapa-Addou, capture sur mer les vaisseaux de Byblos. Yapa-Addou est peut-être chef du pays de Yarimouta, (l. 54-59), où Rib-Addou avait jadis rencontré de meilleures dispositions, comme on le voit par la seconde pièce de cette série (l. 15, 16). Rib-Addou est dans une situation si désespérée que les gens de sa famille, à moins d'un prompt secours du roi d'Égypte, veulent faire défection, c'est-à-dire se rendre à Azirou, qui de son côté vante toujours sa fidélité envers le Pharaon. Rib-Addou s'en prend aussi aux inspecteurs égyptiens qui n'ont rien fait pour lui. Dans un passage très incomplet, il semble dire qu'il s'est rendu précédemment à Zoumour, et qu'il l'a quittée sans avoir rien obtenu. Il dit plus certainement ensuite qu'il a essayé en vain d'y faire parvenir un messenger égyptien. Ce dernier est resté chez lui, et il le traite fort bien. Il semble qu'on l'ait accusé Rib-Addou de n'avoir

pas aidé, sans doute en lui fournissant vivres et escorte, un autre envoyé égyptien à parvenir au pays d'Alasiya. Puisque l'envoyé est de retour en Egypte, le roi n'a qu'à l'interroger.—Les dernières lignes de la lettre n'offrent plus assez de mots pour justifier un essai d'interprétation suivie.

On voit que les vaisseaux de Sidon, de Beyrouth, de Byblos, de Zoumour, sillonnaient déjà la Méditerranée à une époque si reculée. Il en était de même des vaisseaux d'Aradus qui se joignent à ceux d'Azirou pour assiéger Tyr (*British Museum*, 28, l. 58-63). Précédemment le roi d'Alasiya nous a appris qu'il commerçait par mer avec l'Egypte (*Berlin*, 12, l. 17; cf. notre 3<sup>e</sup> série, No. III); nous verrons que les vaisseaux d'Aradus poussaient aussi jusque-là, et l'on peut bien croire que les marins des autres villes de la côte phénicienne en faisaient autant.

## TRANSCRIPTION.

1. (¶ *Ri-ib-Ad-da ik-bi a-na bil matâti,*
2. *šar matâti, sarri rabi,)* *šar ta-am-ḥa-ar :*
3. ➤✠ *bilit ša* ➤✠¶¶ *Gub-la ti-di-in*
4. *dannuta a-na šarri bil-ia. A-na ši-pâ*
5. *bil-ia, ➤✠ Šamaš-ia, VII-šu VII-ta-an*
6. *am-ku-ut. Lu-u i-di šarru bil-ia*
7. *i-nu-ma nu-kur ¶ A-zi-ru amiluti-ia,*
8. *u ša-bat XII amiluti-ia u ša-ka-an*
9. *ip-ti-ra bi-ri-nu L kaspi, u*
10. *amiluti ša-a uš-ši-ir-ti a-na*
11. ➤✠¶¶ *Šu-mu-ra ša-ab-bat i-na*
12. ➤✠¶¶ *Tam-bu-li-ia. Ilapi amiluti*
13. ➤✠¶¶ *Šu-mu-ri, ➤✠¶¶ Bi-ru-ta, ➤✠¶¶ Zi-du-na,*
14. *kab-bu i-na mat A-mur-ri mim-mu-šu-nu.*
15. *A-na-ku-mi nu-kur. U an-nu-u i-na-na*
16. *nu-kur ¶ Ia-pa-Addu it-ti ¶ A-zi-ri*
17. *a-na ia-ši. U al-lu-u ša-bat ilapi-ia ?*
18. *U al-lu-u ki-na-na-ma i-ti-lu*
19. *i-na lib-bi tamti aš-šum ša-ba-at*
20. *ilapi-ia ? U i-am-lik šarru*
21. *a-na maḥazi-šu u ardi-šu. U amilut*
22. *ḥu-ši-ia pa-ta-ra-ma tu-ba-u-na,*
23. *šum-ma la ti-li-u la-ka-am (?)*

24. *iš-tu ға-at na-ak-ri-ia. U*  
 25. *ti-ra-ni a-ma-tam, u i-di*  
 26. *ip-ša ša i-bu-šu. A-nu-ma,*  
 27. *ki-ma aš (?) -pu-ru a-na ka-tam, ili*  
 28.  $\text{𐎶𐎵}$  *Šu-mu-ra a-nu-ma i-ti-lik,*  
 29. *u. . . . . ta-ni šabi (?) a-na*  
 30. *. . . . . u a-nu i-ti-zi-ib (?) -ši.*
- 
31. *. . . . . du u*  
 32. *. . . . . ru a-nu-ma*
- 
33. *. . . . . mar ši-ip-ri*  
 34. *(uš) -ši-ir-ti-šu u aš-ta-ni*  
 35. *an (?) -ni-ta matâti u-ma-ši-ru-na,*  
 36. *u la-a i-li-u*  
 37. *i-ri-ba a-na 𐎶𐎵 Šu-mu-ra. Ša-ab-tu*  
 38. *ka-li harrani a-na ša-a-šu,*  
 39. *a-na nu-kur ša ili-ia, u ili*  
 40.  $\text{𐎶𐎵}$  *Šu-mu-ra šu-pur i-da-gal.*  
 41. *II arhi a-ši-ib it-ti-ia, ili*  
 42. *ša-la (?) -an-ni i-pa-na. Ki-a-ma*  
 43. *arad ki-ti-ka ili a-ra-di-ka.*  
 44. *Šum-ma la-a ti-li-u la-ki arad-ka,*  
 45. *u uš-ši-ra šabi bi-ta-ti,*  
 46. *ti-it-ki-ni da-mi-ik-it-ta-ka.*  
 47. *A-ia-bu šarri nu-kur it-ia u amiluti*  
 48. *ha-za-nu na-ša-a i-ma-li-a*  
 49. *a-na ša-a-šu-nu. Ki-na-na-ma*  
 50. *ma-ri-iš rabiš a-na ia-ši.*  
 51. *Al-lu 𐎶 A-ma-an-ma ša ša-nu?*  
 52. *Ša-al-šu šum-ma la-a mat A-la-ši-ia*  
 53. *uš-ši-ir-ti-šu a-na mu-hi-ka.*  
 54. *Mi-lik a-na arad ki-ti-ka aš-šu-u*  
 55. *iš-tu mat Ia-ri-mu-ta . . .*  
 56. *tu-ba-li-tu-na amiluti*  
 57. *hu-bi-ši-ia. U an-nu-u*  
 58. *an-nu-u la-a ia-di-nu-šu*  
 59.  $\text{𐎶}$  *Ia-pa-Addu ; a-la-ši-a . . .*  
 60. *. . . . . na amilut ma-ša-ar-(ti)*  
 61. *. . . . . i-ši-ru-na . . . .*  
 62. *. . . . . ti . . . .*

63. . . . . *ḥa* (?) . . . . .  
 64. . . . .  
 -----  
 65. . . . . *za-ia* . . . . . *u ti-da-lu-na* . . . . .  
 66. . . . . *ki-ti ša-ni-tum mi-lik a-na ia-ši*  
 67. . . . . *ḥa-za-na ša a-ra-du-ka i-na*  
 68. . . . . *ia i-ra-mu u a-mu* . . . . .  
 69. . . . . *al-lu* ¶ *Ia-ḫa-Ad-du it-ti* ¶ *A-zi-ri*. . . . .

## TRADUCTION.

(1) (Rib-Adda dit au seigneur des pays, (2) au roi des pays, au grand roi), au roi du combat : (3) Que la déesse de Goubla donne (4) puissance au roi mon maître. Aux pieds (5) de mon maître, de mon dieu Soleil, sept fois, sept fois (6), je me prosterne. Le roi mon maître sait bien (7) qu'Azirou se livre à des actes d'hostilité contre mes gens. (8) Il a pris douze de mes hommes et fixé (9) entre nous, comme rançon, cinquante [sicles] d'argent, et (10-12) il a pris dans la ville de Tambuliya des hommes que j'avais envoyés à Zoumour. Les vaisseaux des gens (13) de Zoumour, Birouta [Beyrouth], Ziduna [Sidon], (14) tous ces vaisseaux, autant qu'il y en a, sont au pays d'Amouri. (15) Et moi, je suis l'ennemi. Et voilà que maintenant (16) Yapa-Addou, avec Aziru, se livre à des hostilités (17) contre moi. N'a-t-il pas [Yapa-Addou] pris mes vaisseaux? (18) Et maintenant [encore] ne monte-t-il pas (19) dans la mer pour prendre (20) mes vaisseaux? Que le roi pourvoie (21) à sa ville et à son serviteur. Les gens (22) de ma famille veulent faire défection, (23) si tu ne viens pas [nous] délivrer (24) de la main de mes ennemis. Donc (25) rends-moi réponse, pour que je sache (26) la conduite que j'aurai à tenir. Voilà que, (27) comme je te l'ai mandé, (27, 28) je me suis rendu à Zoumour, (29) et . . . . . des hommes vers (30) . . . . . et ainsi je l'ai quittée. (31) . . . . . (32) . . . . . (33) . . . . . le messenger. (34) Je l'envoyai de nouveau. (35) Je le fis partir en ces jours-là, (36) et il ne s'avança point (37) jusqu'à entrer dans Zoumour. (37, 38) Tous les chemins étaient interceptés pour lui, (39) à cause des ennemis qui [tenaient la campagne] contre moi, (39, 40) et il renonça à la mission [reçue] pour Zoumour. (41) Il reste depuis deux mois chez moi, (41, 42) *et prend place à notre table* (?). Ainsi se montre (43) ton serviteur fidèle envers tes serviteurs. (44) Si tu ne viens pas délivrer ton serviteur, (45) envoie des soldats auxiliaires, (46) et sauve-moi

dans ta bonté. (47) C'est l'ennemi du roi qui me fait la guerre, et les hommes (48, 49) gouverneurs [royaux] sont responsables de ma détresse. Maintenant (50) il y a grande angoisse pour moi. (51) Amanma n'aurait-il pas fait son rapport (?) Demande-lui si (52, 53) je ne l'ai pas fait aller pour toi au pays d'Alasiya. (54) Pourvois à ton serviteur fidèle, pour que (55) du pays de Yarimouta . . . . . (56) on nourrisse les gens (57) de mon peuple ; car (58, 59) cette faveur, Yapa-Addou ne l'accordera pas. (59-69) . . . . .

## REMARQUES.

Ligne 17.—*Al-lu-u*, si fréquent dans nos textes, me semble correspondre à l'hébreu אֱלִיל. Serait-ce un emprunt au dialecte chananéen ?

Ligne 19.—Le mot *tamtu*, mer, est exprimé par le groupe idéographique 𐎧 𐎠𐎢𐎣𐎧 𐎧, dans la copie idéographique, au lieu de 𐎧 𐎠𐎢𐎣 𐎧 employé ailleurs. Cette variante, *a-ia-ba*, à lire les caractères avec leur valeur phonétique, au lieu de *a-ab-ba*, sera notée avec plaisir par les anti-suméristes.

Ligne 23.—Le verbe *lakam* = *lakâ* est employé ici au figuré comme l'hébreu לָקַח et le latin *eripere*, qui ont le même sens fondamental.

Ligne 27.—Le texte autographié donne *išpuru*, avec un signe de doute pour *iš*. *Išpuru* pourrait aussi signifier *j'envoyai*, car nous avons signalé de nombreux cas de 1<sup>ère</sup> personne de forme *iškun(u)* dans nos textes.

Ligne 40.—*Idagal*, il omit, il abandonna. Sur ce mot voir n<sup>o</sup>. II, note à la ligne 10.

Ligne 42.—*Šalan* = 𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎣𐎧 ?—*Ipana*, de *panû* = 𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎣 ?

Ligne 46.—*Da-mi-ik-it-ta-ka* pour *da-mi-ik-ta*. Ou bien *da-mi-ik-it-ta-ka*, pour *it-ti-ka*. Dans le dernier cas on pourrait traduire : "Prends-moi en faveur auprès de toi."—Nous traduisons *tilki* par l'impératif parce qu'il est coordonné, par *u*, à un impératif précédent, *uššira*.

Ligne 48.—*Našû* = porter, charger sur soi.

Ligne 48.—*Imali* = 𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎣.



Ligne 50.—*Mariš rabiš ana iaši*, pour le tour et pour le sens comparez צִר לִי מְאוֹד.

Ligne 51.—*Šanu*, permansif conditionnel? *Šanu* serait-il employé dans le sens de raconter, répéter? Il est certain du moins que cette signification ne répugne pas au mot.

Ligne 57.—Le mot *hubiši* peut signifier famille, peuple, sujets, à ne considérer que ce passage.

## V.

## RIB-ADDOU AU ROI D'EGYPTE.

(*British Museum*, 16.)

La lettre roule sur le même sujet que les précédentes, mais donne quelques détails particulièrement intéressants. Les gens de Byblos, les parents de Rid-Addou, et notamment sa femme, c'est-à-dire, son épouse principale, d'après les derniers mots de la lettre, le poussent à se ranger derrière Azirou. Rib-Addou souffre de la disette. Mû par cette nécessité, il s'est rendu chez un certain Ammounira pour faire provision de blé. Cet Ammounira, on va le voir par ses propres lettres, est gouverneur ou cheik de Beyrouth. De retour à Byblos, Rib-Addou, si je ne me trompe, n'y retrouve plus sa famille, qui aura cherché un refuge ailleurs. Cette fuite expliquerait ce que dit Rib-Addou en terminant, savoir que deux de ses fils et deux de ses femmes sont tombés aux mains des ennemis du roi.

## TRANSCRIPTION.

1. *A-na šarri bil-ia,*
2. *um-ma : Ri-ib-Addu arad-ka*
3. *ibiri \ i-bi-ri ša II šipi ka.*
4. *A-na šipâ šarri bil-ia*
5. *VII u VII-ta-an am-ku-ut.*
6. *U lu-u i-iš-mi šarru bil-ia*
7. *a-ma-ti ardi-šu.*
8. *Amilut ≡|| Gub-la u bit-ia*
9. *u ⚡ aššat-ia*
10. *ti-ik-bu-na a-na ia-ši-ia :*
11. *a-li-ik-mi arki*
12. *¶ mar Arad-a-ši-ir-ta,*

13. *u ni-bu-uš šal-ma bi-ri-nu.*

14. *U í-ma-i a-na-ku*

15. *la-a iš-mi a-na ša-šu-nu.*

16. *Šu-ni-tum sap-ra-ti a-na šarri bil-ia,*

17. *u iš-ta-ni: uš-ši-ra-am-mi*

18. *amilut mašarta \ ma-ša-ar-ta,*

19. *a-na ardi-ka, u lu-u*

20. *ti-na-ša-ru maḥaza*

21. *a-na šarri bili. U la-a*

22. *ka-ši-id a-ma-tu*

23. *šarri bil-ia a-na ardi-šu.*

24. *ša-ni-tum, u in-tu-um*

25. *i-za-ḥi-ra-am a-na ia-ši-ia (?),*

26. *u im-lu-uk iš-tu*

27. *lib-ia: a-li-ik-mi a-na-ku*

28. *i-bu-ba(?) -am tuka \ tu-ka*

29. *it-ti-šu ša \ Am-mu-ni-ra.*

30. *U al-ka-ti*

31. *a-na biti-šu aš-šum*

32. *i-bu-uš šad-ga bi-ri.*

33. *U a-na-ku a-tu-ur a-na biti-ia,*

34. *u id-du-ul bitu iš-tu*

35. *pa-ni-ia. U šarru bil-ia*

36. *i-im-lu-uk a-na ardi-šu.*

37. *A-nu-im-ma um u mu-ša*

38. *u-ḫa-mu šabi bi-ta-at*

39. *šarri bil-ia. U šarru bil-ia*

40. *i-im-lu-uk a-na ardi-šu.*

41. *Šum-ma i-ia-nu libbu ša-na-am*

42. *ili šarri bil-ia, mit a-na-ku.*

43. *U šarru bil-ia balat ardi-šu.*

44. *Ša-ni-tum II marani-ia u II ✠ aššat*

45. *na-ad-nu a-na aṃul ar-ni*

46. *ša šarru.*

#### TRADUCTION.

(1) Au roi mon maître, (2) en ces termes: Rib-Adda, ton serviteur, (3) la poussière de tes deux pieds. (4) Aux pieds du roi mon maître, (5) sept fois et sept fois je me prosterne.

(6) Que le roi mon maître entende (7) les communications de son serviteur. (8) Les hommes de Goubla et de ma maison, (9) et ma femme (10) m'ont dit: (11) Marche à la suite (12) du fils d'Arad-Asirta, (13) et faisons la paix entre nous. (14) Je m'y opposai, moi, (15) et je ne les écoutai point.

(16) De plus, j'ai envoyé un messager au roi mon maître, (17) et j'ai réitéré, [en ces termes]: Envoie (18) des hommes de garde (19) à ton serviteur, et que (20) il garde la ville [de Goubla] (21) pour le roi seigneur. (21-23) Et aucune réponse du roi mon maître n'est parvenue à son serviteur. (24) Le blé aussi (25) diminuait chez moi, (26) et j'ai pris conseil de (27) moi-même, [je me dis]: J'irai moi, (28) je parlerai de mon mieux (29) avec Ammounira. (30) Et j'allai (31) chez lui pour (32) faire provision de blé. (33) Je retournai chez moi, (34) et la maison [ma famille] avait *fui*(?) de (35) devant moi. Que le roi (36) prenne des mesures en faveur de son serviteur.

(37) Voilà que, jour et nuit, (38) j'attends les soldats auxiliaires (39) du roi mon maître. Que le roi mon maître (40) prenne des mesures en faveur de son serviteur. (41) S'il ne se produit pas d'autres dispositions (42) chez le roi mon maître, je suis mort, (43) car le roi mon maître est la vie de son serviteur.

(44) Deux de mes fils et deux de mes femmes (45) ont été livrés aux sujets rebelles (46) du roi.

## REMARQUES.

Ligne 14.—*I-ma-i*, j'empêchai. Comparez le chaldéen  $\text{𐤏𐤓𐤁𐤀}$ , Daniel, iv, 32.

Ligne 28.—Le groupe  $\text{𐤏𐤓𐤁𐤀}$  qui exprime d'ordinaire le mot *tabu*, bon, est transcrit ici *tuka* = *ṭumka* ou *tunka*, synonyme de *tabu*.

Ligne 32.—*Šadga* = *šadka*, forme shapel du verbe *daku*, rassembler.

Ligne 32.—*Biri*, hebr.  $\text{בִּירִי}$ , blé


Ligne 38.—*Uḫamu* ou bien *uḫavu*, hebr.  $\text{וְחָמֵן}$ .

## VI.

## AMMOUNIRA AU ROI D'EGYPTE.

(British Museum, 26.)

Ammounira, gouverneur de Beyrouth, était pour le moment allié, volontaire ou forcé, de Rib-Addou et adversaire d'Azirou, comme il ressort de la lettre suivante, et même déjà de la pièce précédente qui reflète les mêmes circonstances. Le roi d'Égypte s'est enfin décidé à secourir Rib-Addou, car c'est Rib-Addou, et non Ammounira, qui est le serviteur opprimé dont il s'agit à la ligne 38, car Ammounira est à l'aise chez lui. Le roi d'Égypte envoie un corps d'auxiliaires étrangers pour dégager Rib-Addou et il ordonne à Ammounira d'y joindre ses propres forces. Celui-ci accuse réception de l'ordre à lui adressé; il fait des vœux pour le succès du roi. Il s'anéantit, dans chaque phrase, aux pieds du roi. En fait d'humble obséquiosité, la présente lettre l'emporte sur la plupart des autres.

Beyrouth, comme l'a déjà fait observer M. Zimmern, est figuré par un groupe idéographique , qui signifie la ville des puits, ce qui est censé expliquer le nom lui-même. Aujourd'hui encore, cette étymologie est en faveur à Beyrouth et en Syrie; elle est aussi donnée par Stéphane de Byzance au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Elle semble donc avoir cours depuis plus de 3,000 ans. Mais on la regarde généralement comme invraisemblable, parce que Beyrouth n'a qu'une eau peu abondante et de mauvaise qualité, et qu'on a été forcé d'y amener celle des fleuves voisins, celle du Magoras (Nahr-Beyrouth) à l'époque romaine, et celle du Lycus (Nahr-el-kelb) de nos jours. Toutefois le mot *bir*, ou *beër*, pluriel *beërôt*, peut signifier puits, citerne, fosse quelconque, et nous ne savons pas assez ce que Beyrouth possédait en ce genre du temps d'Ammounira et des rois de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie égyptienne pour rejeter l'étymologie.

## TRANSCRIPTION.

1. *A-na ša šarri bil-ia, >𓆎 Šamaš-ia,*
  2. *ilani-ia, ša-ri balati-ia*
  3. *ki tim-ma, um-ma : Am-mu-ni-ra*
  4. *bil >𓆎 Biruta, ardu-ka u ibir-rà \ a-ḫa-ru*
  5. *ša šipā-ka.*
- 
6. *A-na šipā šarri bil-ia, >𓆎 Šamaš-ia, ilani-ia,*
  7. *ša-ri balati-ia, VII u VI-ta-an*

8. *am-ku-ut. Ša-ni-tum iš-ti-mi*  
 9. *a-ma-ti . . . . . ša šar-ri bil-ia*  
 10.  $\rightarrow$ † *Šamaš-ia, ilani-ia, ša-ri ba-la-ti-ia ;*  
 11. *u ha-di lib ardi-ka u*  
 12. *i-bi-ri ša šipa šarri bil-ia,*  
 13.  $\rightarrow$ † *Šamaš-ia u ilani-ia, sa-ri balati*  
 14. *rabiš rabiš, i-nu-ma a-ša-at*  
 15. *ša-ru-ta šarri bil-ia,*  
 16.  $\rightarrow$ † *Šamaš-ia, ilani-ia*  
 17. *a-na ardi-šu u i-bi-ri ša šipá-su.*

18. *Ša-ni-tum i-nu-ma ša-pa-ar šar-ru,*  
 19. *bil-ia,  $\rightarrow$ † Šamaš-ia, a-na ardi-šu,*  
 20. *u i-bi-ri ša šipá-su :*  
 21. *Šu-ši-ir-mi a-na pa-ni*  
 22. *šabi bi-ta-at ša sarru bil-ka ;*  
 23. *iš-ti-mi rabiš rabiš.*

24. *U a-na-nu-um-ma šu-ši-ra-ku*  
 25. *ka-du sisi-ia, u*

26. *ka-du narkabāti-ia, u ka-du*  
 27. *kab-bi mi-im-mi-ia*  $\blacktriangle$ ††  
 28. *ša i-ba-aš-ša it-ti*  
 29. *ardi ša šarru bil-ia, a-na*  
 30. *pani šabi bi-ta-at ša šarru bilu,*  
 31. *u lu-u ti-ra-ħa-aš sab ħi-bi-ta-šu*  
 32. *ša sarru bil-ia,  $\rightarrow$ † Šamaš-ia, ilani-ia*  
 33. *šir-ta-du amiluti a-ia-bi-šu,*  
 34. *u lu-u ti-mu-ru II ina ardi-ka*  
 35. *i-na balati ša šarri bil-ia.*

36. *Ša-ni-tum u a-mur, ša šarru bilu,*  
 37.  $\rightarrow$ † *Šamaš-ia, ilani-ia ša-ri balati-ia*  
 38. *tu-ti-ru gi-mi-li ardi-šu,*  
 39. *a-nu-um-ma a-na-ku, ardu ša šarru bilu,*  
 40. *u  $\rightarrow$ † kabasu ša šipa-šu*  
 41. *a-nu-um-ma li-zu-ru*  
 42. *maħaza ša šarru bil-ia  $\rightarrow$ † Šamaš-ia*  
 43. *ša-ri ba-la-ti-ia,*  
 44. *u ħar-ši  $\searrow$  ri-mi-tu*  
 45. *a-di i-mu-ru II ina*



J'ai mal lu et par conséquent mal traduit cette expression au commencement de la lettre de Zimridi (*Berlin*, 90), dans les *Proceedings*, t. XII, p. 317.

Ligne 4.—𐤁𐤀𐤀𐤀 = *bilu, bil*, chef, Brünnow, 6401.

Ligne 4.—*Ibira* est accompagné de la glose chananéenne *afaru*, hébreu עָפַר.

Ligne 21.—*Šušir*, impér. shaphel de la racine יָשַׁר.

Ligne 33.—*Širtadu*, comparez l'hébreu רֶטַח, terreur.

Ligne 35.—*Balaṭi*, vie, est employé ici dans un sens figuré à peu près de la même manière que יְשׁוּעָה, victoire. La racine assyrienne *blt*, synonyme de la racine hébraïque בָּלַט, doit signifier proprement *échapper de*.

Ligne 40.—𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤁𐤀 𐤁𐤀. Le groupe des deux derniers signes expriment l'idée de fouler aux pieds, *kabasu* (Brünnow, 9206), et précédé du déterminatif 𐤁𐤀 il doit désigner l'instrument *kabasu, makbasu*, ou quelque autre dérivé.

## VII.

### AMMOUNIRA AU ROI D'EGYPTE.

(*British Museum*, 27.)

Sur le même sujet que la lettre traduite ci-dessus. Ammounira éprouve la joie la plus vive d'avoir reçu une lettre, ou, comme il dit une tablette du roi d'Egypte. Sans négliger la défense de Beyrouth contre les surprises d'Azirou, il va se joindre avec les forces dont il dispose aux troupes du roi d'Egypte. Il nous apprend que Rib-Addou s'est réfugié à Beyrouth sous sa protection; et que les fils de Rib-Addou ont été livrés aux rebelles du pays d'Amouri par son propre frère qui l'a supplanté à Byblos. Ammounira confirme de la sorte les faits rapportés par Rib-Addou dans la lettre traduite au n°. V de cette série.

### TRANSCRIPTION.

1. (*A-na šarri . . . . . ša-ri*) *balati-ia*
2. (*um-ma : Am-mu-ni*)-*ra ardu-ka*,
3. *ibiri* \ *i-bi-ri ša II šipi-ka*.
4. *A-na šipa šarri bil-ia VII u VII-ta-a-an*
5. *am-ku-ut. Ša(?)-ni-ta*

6. (*iš-ti-mi*) *a-ma-ti duppi ša uš-ti-šir-šu*  
 7. (*a-na ia-ši*) *šarru bil-ia; u in kinu-ta*  
 8. *iš-ti-mi a-ma-ti dup šarri bil-ia,*  
 9. *u i-ḥu-dī lib-ia u*  
 10. *in-nam-mu-ru II inī-ia rabiš.*

- 
11. *Ša-ni-tum a-nu-um-ma na-aš-ra-ku rabiš*  
 12. *u us-zu-ru* 𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎺 *Biruta*  
 13. *a-na šarri bil-ia a-di ka-ša-di*  
 14. *šabi bi-ta-ti šarri bil-ia*

- 
15. *Ša-ni-tum a-na bili* 𐎶𐎵 *Gub-la ša i-ba-aš-ša*  
 16. *it-ti-ia a-nu-um-ma i-na-za-ru-šu,*  
 17. *a-di i-im-lu-ku šarru a-na ardī-šu.*  
 18. *Ša-ni-tum i-il-ma-ad šarru bil-ia*  
 19. *i-bi-iš ahi-šu ša i-ba-aš-ša*  
 20. *i-na* 𐎶𐎵 *Gub-la, i-nu-ma na-du-(an)*  
 21. *marani sa* 𐎠 *Rib-Addu*

- 
22. *ša i-ba-aš-šu it-ti-ia(?)*  
 23. *a-na amiluti ar-nu-ti ša (?)*  
 24. *šar-ri ša i-na mat A-mur(?)-ri(?)*

- 
25. *Ša-ni-tum a-nu-um-ma šu-ši-ra-ku*  
 26. *ka-du sisi-ia, u . . . . .*  
 27. *u ka-du narkabâti-ia, u ka-du*  
 28. *kab-bi mi-im-mi* 𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎺  
 29. *ša i-ba-aš-ša it-ti-ia,*  
 30. *a-na pa-ni šabi bi-ta-at*  
 31. *šarri bil-ia.*

- 
32. *Ša-ni tum a-na šipâ šarri bil-ia*  
 33. *VII u VII-ta-an am-ku-ut.*

## TRANSLATION.

(1) (Au roi . . . . . l'arbitre) de ma vie, (2) (en ces termes : Am-mu-ni)-ra, ton serviteur, (3) (la poussière) de tes deux pieds. (4) Aux pieds du roi mon maître, sept fois et sept fois, (5) je me prosterne.

(6, 7) (J'ai entendu) les paroles de la tablette que m'a envoyée le roi mon maître. (7, 8) J'ai entendu avec fidélité les paroles de la tablette du roi mon maître. (9) Et mon cœur s'est réjoui et (10) mes deux yeux ont grandement brillé.



(11) Maintenant je garde avec soin, (12) et je garderai la ville de Birouta (13) pour le roi mon maître, jusqu'à l'arrivée (14) des soldats auxiliaires du roi mon maître.

(15) Quant au chef de Goubla qui se trouve (16) chez moi, maintenant je le garderai [veillerai à sa sûreté] (17) jusqu'à ce que le roi ait pris des mesures en faveur de son serviteur [Rib-Addou]. (18) Que le roi mon maître apprenne (19) la conduite de son frère [du frère de Rib-Addou] qui est (20) dans la ville de Goubla, [à savoir], qu'il a livré (21) les fils de Rib-Addou, (22) qui est chez moi, (23) aux sujets rebelles du (24) roi mon maître, au pays d'Amouri.

(25) Maintenant je me dirige (26) avec mes chars, et . . . (27) et avec mes chevaux, et avec (28) absolument tout (29) ce qui m'appartient [en fait d'hommes, etc.] (30) à la rencontre des soldats auxiliaires (31) du roi mon maître.

(32) Aux pieds du roi mon maître, (33) sept fois et sept fois, je me prosterne.

## REMARQUES.

Ligne 15.—*Bili*. Sur cette lecture, voir n° VI, note à la ligne 4

## VIII.

## AZIROU AU ROI D'EGYPTE.

(*British Museum*, 35.)

Voici une des pièces les plus intéressantes du dépôt de Tell el-Amarna.

Azirou, se trouvant naguère en Egypte, s'est parfaitement lavé, devant le roi, des accusations qui pesaient sur lui; il continue néanmoins d'être en butte à la calomnie, et il prie le roi de ne point prêter l'oreille aux délateurs. Le roi reproche à Azirou de n'avoir pas reçu Khani, son messenger, alors qu'il en usait tout autrement envers un messenger du roi de Khatti; Azirou répond par trois fois à cette plainte de son suzerain, et toujours faiblement.

D'abord, lorsque arriva Khani, Azirou était à Tunip, au sud d'Alep, ainsi loin de chez lui, car le pays d'Amouri, son pays, confinait à la Méditerranée, dans les parages de Batroun ou de Tripoli; il avait quitté Tunip à la nouvelle de la venue du messenger, et ne l'ayant plus trouvé chez lui, il avait marché sur ses traces, sans pouvoir l'atteindre. Au reste les frères d'Azirou et un per-

sonnage du nom de Bitil ou de Bitian avaient parfaitement reçu Khani; ils l'avaient pourvu de vivres, au nom d'Azirou, pour la route, c'est-à-dire, à en juger par l'ensemble de la lettre, pour le retour en Egypte.

En second lieu, Azirou n'aurait jamais à ce point manqué d'égards pour Khani, qui l'avait reçu lui-même en Egypte avec la bonté d'un père et d'une mère. L'absence d'Azirou n'a donc pas été préméditée comme le prétend le roi.



Enfin, comment celui-ci peut-il croire qu'Azirou, gouverneur d'un pays soumis à l'Egypte, eût moins bien reçu le mandataire du Pharaon que l'agent du roi de Khatti. Que le messenger du roi d'Egypte revienne, et Azirou lui fournira vaisseaux, armes, et autres objets, suivant la promesse qu'il en a faite au roi lors de son voyage en Egypte.


D'après cela, la messenger égyptien avait été chargé d'une œuvre pour laquelle Azirou promettait son concours. Azirou avait dû l'attendre, et son absence paraissait justement équivoque.





Chemin faisant, Azirou se justifie d'un autre reproche. Malgré l'ordre reçu, il n'avait point rebâti la ville de Zoumour, ruinée sans doute par lui-même dans une de ces guerres qui armaient constamment les cantons syro-palestiniens les uns contre les autres à cette époque. Mais Azirou a été occupé à la défense de son territoire contre les rois du pays de Noukhassi, instigués par Khatib, que nous voyons ailleurs marcher la main dans la main avec Azirou (Berlin, 38, cf. notre *Azirou, Proceedings*, t. XIII, p. 227). Azirou promet de s'exécuter sans délai et de rebâtir Zoumour, tout en montrant, semble-t-il, la difficulté de l'œuvre. Khatib, dit-il, s'est emparé de la moitié des ustensiles, ainsi que de tout l'or et de tout l'argent envoyé, à cet effet probablement, par le roi d'Egypte.

Au total, Azirou n'a pas la conscience nette aux yeux de son suzerain; il cherche évidemment à le tromper.


#### TRANSCRIPTION.






1. *A-na šarri rab-bi bil-ia ilu-ia* >✠ *Šamaš-ia.*
  2. *Um-ma*; ✠ *A-zi-ru*  *ardu-ka-ma.*
  3. VII-š<sub>n</sub> u VII-š<sub>n</sub> *a-na šipi bil-ia ilu-ia* >✠ *Šamaš-ia am-kut.*
- 
4. *Bil-ia a-na-ku*  *ardu-ka u i-na-ga ga-ti-ia*
  5. *a-na pa-ni šarri bil-ia, u ak-ta-bi*
  6. *kab-bi a-ma-ti*-✠>>>-*ia a-na pa-ni bil-ia.*




7. *Bil-li-mi, a-na amiluti sa-ar-ru-ti*  
 8. *ša-i-ga-lu-u-nim ḫar-ši-ia*  
 9. *a-na pa-ni šarri bil-ia la-a ti-ši-im-mi-í:*  
 10. *a-na-ku-mi*  *ardu-ka a-di ta-ru-ti.*


11. *U aš-šum*  *Ha-an-i šarru bil-ia ik-ta-bi,*  
 12. *bil-ia i-na*  *Tu-ni-ip aš-pa-ku,*  
 13. *u la i-ti-i i-nu-ma ga-ši-id ;*  
 14. *im-ma-ti-i-mi-í i-ši-im-mi*  
 15. *u i-ti-il-li i-na ar-ki-šu*  
 16. *u la-a a-ga-ša-ad-šu.*  
 17. *U li-ik-šu-u-ud*  *Ha-an-i*  
 18. *i-na šul-mi, u li-iš-al-šu*  
 19. *šarru bil-ia ki-i-mi-í u-ta-na-pal-šu*  
 20. *aḫi-ia u*  *Bi-ti-il : iš-za-zu-nim*  
 21. *a-na pa-ni-šu ; alpi, karani (?) u iššuri*  
 22. *akala-šu šikari-šu i-din-nu-num.*

23. *sisi imiri a-ta-din*  
 24. *a-na ḫarran-ni-šu. U šarru bil-ia*

25. *a-ma-ti-*  *ia li-iš-mi :*  
 26. *i-na a-la-ak-ia a-na muḫ-ḫi šarri bil-ia*

27.  *Ha-an-i i-la-ak a-na pa-ni-ia,*  
 28. *U-ut-ta-na-ab-bal-ni ki-i-ma*  
 29.  *um-mi ki-i-ma a-bi*  
 30. *u i-na-an i-ga-ab-bi bil-ia :*  
 31. *iš-tu-mi pa-ni*  *Ha-an-i*  
 32. *ti-ir-ta, ki-i-mi ilan-nu-ka*  
 33. *u*  *Šamaš lu-u i-du-u-nim*  
 34. *šum-ma la i-na*  *Tu-ni-ip aš-pa-ku.*

35. *Ša-ni-tum aš-šum pa-na-i-šu ša*  *Su-mur*  
 36. *šarru bil-ia ik-ta-bi, šarrani mat Nu-ḫa-aš-ši*  
 37. *na-ak-ru it-ti-a u maḫazani-ia*  
 38. *i-li-ik-ku-num i-na*  *bi-i*  *Ha-ti-ib ;*  
 39. *u la u-pa-an-ni-ši ; i-na-an-na*  
 40. *i-na ḫa-mut-iš u-pa-an-ni-ši.*

41. *U bil-ia lu i-ti-i i-nu-ma*  
 42. *mišlu-šu-nu ša u-nu-ti*  *ša id-din*

43. *šarru bil-ia* ¶ *Ha-ti-ib i-li-ig-gi*,  
 44. *u ħuraša u kašpa ša šarru*  
 45. *bil-ia id-din-an-ni kaš-ša i-li-ig-gi*  
 46. ¶ *Ha-ti-ib*; *u bil-ia lu-u i-ti*.

- 
47. *Sa-ni-tum ab-bu-na-ma šarru bil-ia*  
 48. *ik-bi*: *am-mi-i-ni-mi tu-ta-na-bal*  
 49.  $\Xi\Xi\Xi\Xi$  *mar sipri-ri šarri mat Ha-at-ti*  
 50. *u*  $\Xi\Xi\Xi\Xi$  *mar sipri-ia la tu-ta-na-bal?*  
 51. *U an-nu-u mat bil-ia u šar-ru*  
 52. *bil-ia iš-ku-na-an-ni*

---

53. *i-na amiluti ħa-sa-nu-ti*.

- 
54. *Li-il-li-ga-am*  $\Xi\Xi\Xi\Xi$  *mar sipri-ri bi-li-ia*  
 55. *u kab-bi ša ak-ta-bi a-na pa-ni bi-li-ia lu-u-din*,  
 56. *lašši (?)*  $\Xi$ ¶ *i-lapi*, *šamni*,  $\Xi$ ¶ *kakki*, *u . . . li-din*.

#### TRADUCTION.

(1) Au grand roi, mon maître, mon dieu, mon dieu soleil, (2) en ces termes : Azirou ton serviteur. 3) Sept fois, encore sept fois, aux pieds de mon maître, mon dieu, mon dieu soleil, je me prosterne.

(2) Ô mon maître, je suis ton serviteur, et ma main est pure (5) devant le roi mon maître, et je dis [avec sincérité] (6) toutes mes affaires en présence de mon maître. (7) Ô mon maître, aux hommes de calomnie (8) qui me décrient (9) devant le roi mon maître, ne prête point attention : (10) je suis ton serviteur à jamais.

(11) Puisque le roi mon maître a parlé de Khani, (12) ô mon maître, je me trouvais à Tunip (13) et je ne savais pas qu'il était arrivé. (14) Dès que je l'appris je le suivis, (16) mais je ne l'atteignis point. (17) Que Khani arrive [en Egypte] (18) en bon état, et qu'il lui demande, (19) le roi mon maître, comment le reçurent (20) mes frères et Bitil. Ils se tinrent (21) devant lui [à son service]; (21, 22) ils donnèrent des bœufs, différents vins (?), de la volaille pour sa nourriture et sa boisson. (23) Je lui donnai des chevaux et des ânes (24) pour son voyage [son retour].

Que le roi mon maître, (25) entende mes paroles : (26) lorsque je me rendis chez le roi mon maître, (27) Khani vint au-devant de moi ; (28) il me reçut comme (29) une mère, comme un père ; (30) et maintenant mon maître dit : (31, 32) " tu t'es détourné de devant

Khani," alors que tes dieux (33) et le dieu Soleil savent (34) si je n'étais pas à Tunip.

(35, 36) Puisque le roi mon maître m'a parlé de la reconstruction de Zoumour, [je réponds:] les rois du pays de Noukhassi (37) étaient en guerre avec moi, (37, 38) et prenaient mes villes à l'instigation de Khatib, (39) et je ne l'ai pas rebâtie. Maintenant (40) je la rebâtirai en hâte.

(41) Et que mon maître sache bien que (42, 43) Khatib a pris la moitié des ustensiles que le roi mon maître m'avait donnés; (44) et que l'or et l'argent que le roi (45) mon maître m'avait donnés, (45, 46) Khatib l'a tout pris. Que mon maître le sache bien.

(47) Le roi mon maître de plus (48) a dit: Pourquoi as-tu accueilli (49) le messenger du roi de Khatti, (50) et n'as-tu pas accueilli mon messenger? (51) Et cependant c'est ici le pays de mon maître, (52) et mon maître m'a rangé (53) parmi les gouverneurs. (54) [Mais] que le messenger de mon maître vienne, (55) et tout ce que j'ai promis devant mon maître, je le [lui] donnerai; (56) je veux lui donner des . . . des bateaux, des huiles, des armes des . . .

#### REMARQUES.

Ligne 4.—*I-na-ga=i-na-ka*. *Naķu*, être pur, innocent, déjà signalé dans Berlin, 11, l. 12; voir notre 6<sup>e</sup> série, V.

Lignes 21, 22. Le signe lu dubitativement *karani*, vins, désigne vraisemblablement une boisson, et doit correspondre à *šikari* dans la ligne 22, qui ne continue pas l'énumération, mais renferme une apposition aux objets énumérés l. 21.

Ligne 23.—*Attadin*, je donnai, bien qu'Azirou n'ait pas donné en personne; on a donné en son nom et suivant son intention présumée.

Ligne 35.—*Pa-na-i=ba-na-i*, comme *u-pa-an-ni* (l. 39, 40)=*u-ba-an-ni*.

Ligne 38.—*Bi-i = pi-i*, bouche.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Tuesday, 6th June, 1893, at 8 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

P. LE PAGE RENOUF (*President*). “The Book of the Dead.”—  
Translation and Commentary (*continuation*).



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- BRUGSCH-BEY, Geographische Inschriften Altaegyptische Denkmäler. Vols. I-III (Brugsch).  
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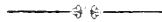
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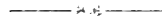
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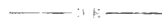
VOL. XV. TWENTY-THIRD SESSION.

*Seventh Meeting, June 6th, 1893.*



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— 3636 —

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

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From the Author:—Studien zu den Babylonische Texten, Heft VI B. Von K. L. Tallqvist. 8vo. Helsingfors, 1892.

Babylonische Schenkungsbriefe, Transscribiert, übersetzt und Commentiert. Von K. L. Tallqvist. 8vo. Helsingfors, 1891.

From the Author :—Degli Hittim e Hethi e delle loro migrazioni, Ricerche di Archeologia Biblico-Italica. . . . . Chap. I. 8vo. Rev. C. A. de Cara, S.J.

Estratto dalla *Civiltà Cattolica*, Serie xv. Vol. VI. 1893.

From the Author :—Graven in the Rock ; or, the Historical Accuracy of the Bible Confirmed, etc., etc. Rev. Samuel Kinns, Ph.D., Jena. London. 8vo. 1893.

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The following Candidates were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated at the last Meeting, 2nd May :—

James Henry Barber, B.A. (Lond.), The Acacias, Grange Road, Sutton, Surrey.

W. E. Crum, Savile Club, Piccadilly, W.

Henry A. Harper, Cliff House, Milford on Sea, Lymington, Hants.

Miss S. C. Rucker, 4, Vanbrugh Terrace, Blackheath.

The Rev. J. Calhoun Newton, M.A., Dean and Professor of The Biblical Department, Kwansei Gatuin, Kobe, Japan, was nominated for election, and this being the last meeting of the present session, was, by special order of the Council, submitted to the meeting, and elected a Member of the Society.

---

A Paper was read by P. le Page Renouf (*President*) in continuation of his former Papers on the Egyptian Book of the Dead.

Remarks were added by Jos. Pollard, Rev. R. Gwynne, Rev. A. Löwy, Rev. J. S. Moxly, F. D. Mocatta (*Vice-President*), Rev. Jas. Marshall, and Rev. D. Kinns.

A Paper was read by Theo. G. Pinches, on a Babylonian Decree that a certain Rite should be performed.

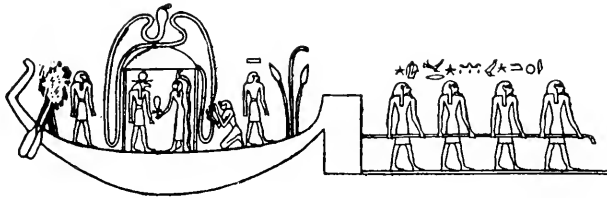
Remarks were added by Rev. A. Löwy, Rev. Jas. Marshall, Rev. Dr. Kinns, and Mr. T. G. Pinches.

Thanks were returned for these communications.

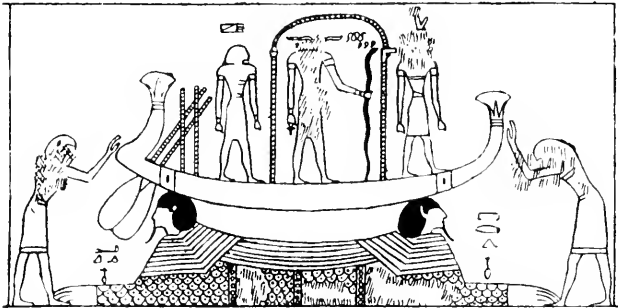


PLATE XIV.

BOOK OF THE DEAD.



**Tomb of Rameses IV.** (Musée Guimet, Vol. XV, Plate 27.)  
CHAPTER XV. Notes 3 and 9.



**Tomb of Rameses IV.** (Musée Guimet, Vol. XV, Plate 40.)



**Tomb of Rameses IX.** (Musée Guimet, Vol. XVI, Plate 6.)

CHAPTER XLI. Note 1.



**Tombeau de Seti I.**  
(Musée Guimet, Vol. IX, Plate 34.)

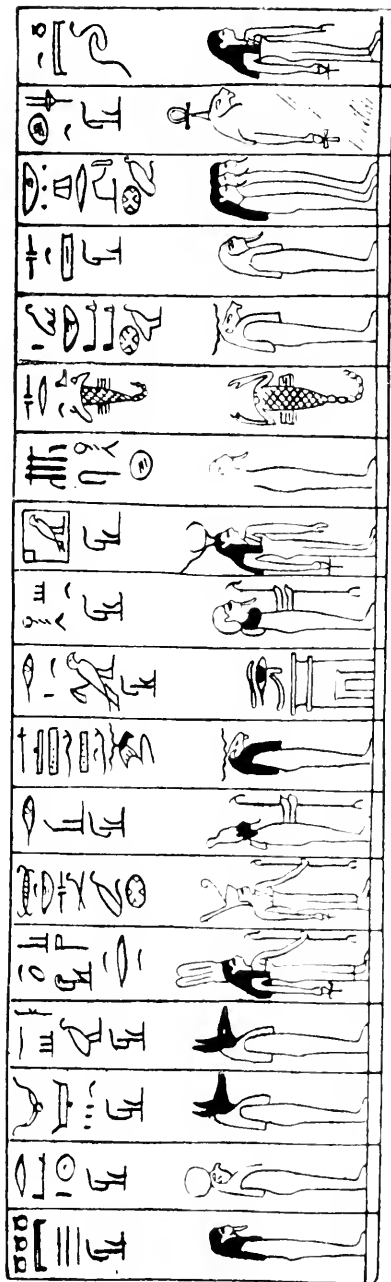
CHAPTER XLVII.



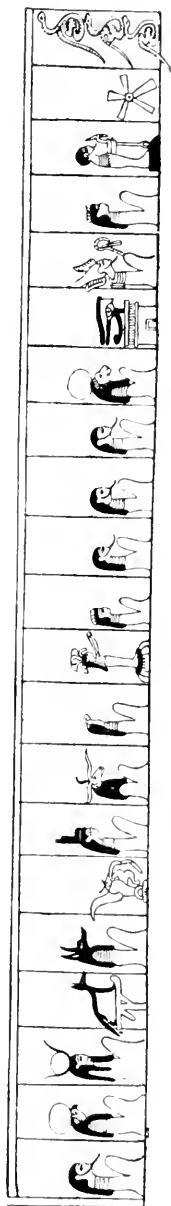
**Leyden Papyrus, No. 16.**



BOOK OF THE DEAD. CHAPTER XLII.



Papyrus du Boulaq, 21. (Mariette Papyrus, Bd. III.)



Papyrus of Ani.

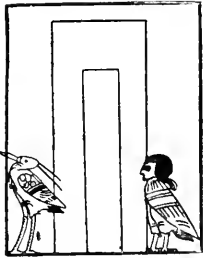




PLATE XVI.

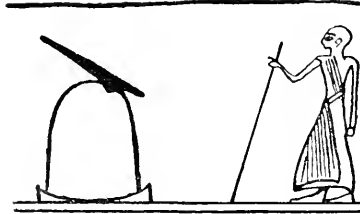
BOOK OF THE DEAD.

CHAPTER XLVII.



Papyrus of Ani.

CHAPTER L.



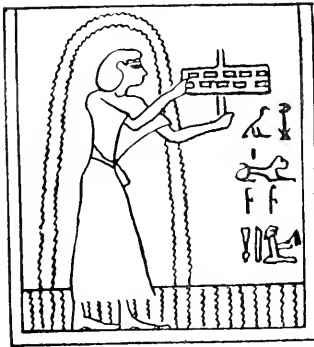
Nicholson Papyrus.  
(.Egyptiaca, Plate 5).

CHAPTER L.



Papyrus of Ani.

CHAPTER LVII.



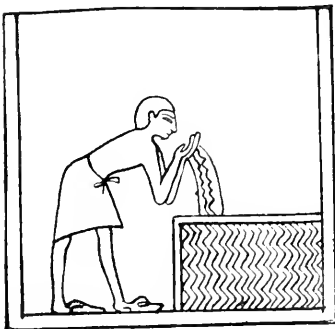
Papyrus, British Museum, No. 9949

CHAPTER LVIII.



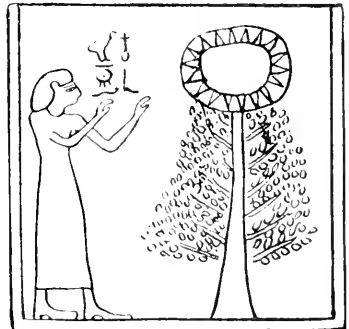
Papyrus of Ani.

CHAPTER LXI.



Papyrus du Louvre, III, 93.

CHAPTER LXIV.



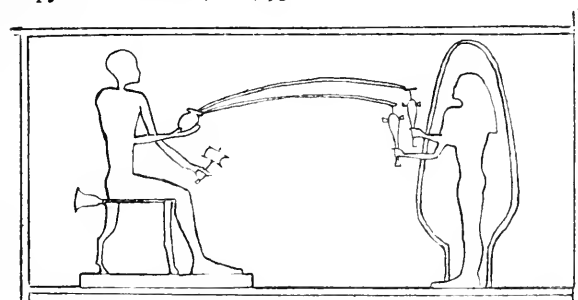
Papyrus du Louvre, III, 93.



Papyrus du Louvre, 111, 93.



LANZONE (Diz. Egiz.).



Saquara. LEPSIUS (Denkm., Abth. III, Bl. 264).



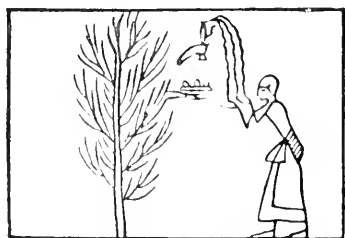
LANZONE (Diz. Egiz.).



Leyden Sarcophagus.



WILKINSON (Mat. Hierog., Plate 23).



LEPSIUS (Todt., Plate 21).



LEPSIUS (Todt., Plate 23).



## BOOK OF THE DEAD.

BY P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

## CHAPTER LVII.

*Chapter for breathing air and command of water in the Nether world.*

Let the Great One (1) be opened to Osiris; let the two folding doors of Kabhu (2) be thrown wide to Râ.

O thou great Coverer (3) of Heaven, in thy name of Stretcher (4) [of Heaven], grant that I may have the command of water, even as Sut hath command of force (5) on the night of the Great Disaster: grant that I may prevail over those who preside at the Inundation, even as that venerable god prevaieth over them, whose name they know not. May I prevail over them.

My nostril is opened in Tattu, and I go to rest in Heliopolis, my dwelling, which the goddess Seshait (6) built, and which Chnum raised on its foundation.

If the Sky is at the North I sit at the South; if the Sky is at the South I sit at the North; if the Sky is at the West I sit at the East; and if the Sky is at the East I sit at the West.

And drawing up my eyebrows (7) I pierce through into every place that I desire.


## NOTES.

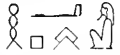
This chapter and the following are recensions and combinations of extremely ancient texts.






The first portion of the present chapter follows the ancient text of Horhotep. Even at that early period two recensions were in existence, and are copied one after the other. The translation here given is the nearest possible approach to the original text.

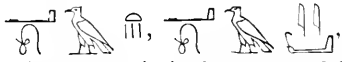

The second portion (beginning with *My nostril*) dates from the papyri of the Theban period, though we must depend upon later authorities for the entire Section.




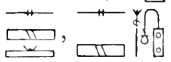
1. *The Great One*  *urit*—Heaven.


2. *Kabhu* , literally the *Cool* (water) is another name for the Sky,\* and is here in parallelism with the Great One.


3. *Coverer* , a name applied both to the Nile, as covering the land during the inundation, and to the Sky as the covering above us. Cf. my paper on *Nile Mythology*, P.S.B.A., November, 1890.

4. *Stretcher* , which I consider as a nasalised (perhaps the original) form of  *stretch*. The papyri read  *āt pet* 'Cleaver of the Sky,' but the word *āt*, without the determinative , may also mean *stretch*, as in the expression .

5. *Force* , like the Latin *vis*, may, but need not, be of a criminal nature. The name of the goddess  in this place is a manifest blunder of the more recent scribes.

6. The goddess *Seshait*  commonly but erroneously called *Safch*, through an error against which Lepsius (*Aelt. Texte*, p. 3) and Brugsch (*Zeitschr.*, 1872, p. 9) have both spoken. The real name of the goddess, as I have elsewhere† shown by actual variants, is  *Seshait* (Teta, l. 268) or  (Louvre, A. 97). She is so called from the root , *writing*, that being one of her occupations.

7. *Drawing up my eyebrows* , in scornful pride, superciliously, like the Greek *τὰς ὀφρῦς ἀνασπᾶν*.

\* The name occurs repeatedly in the Pyramid Texts, and even the very expression  e.g. Unas, 375, and the Litany at Pepi I, 631.

† *On some Religious Texts of the Early Egyptian Period in Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, Vol. IX, p. 303.



## CHAPTER LVIII.

*Chapter for breathing air and command of water.*

Let the door be opened to me !  
 Who art thou ? What is thy name ?  
 I am One of You !  
 Who is with thee ?  
 It is the Merta.

Turn away then (1) front to front, on entering the Meskat. (2)

He grants that I may sail to the Abode of those who have found their faces.

*Collector of Souls* is the name of my Bark, *Bristler of Hair* is the name of the Oars, *Point\** is the name of its Hatch, *Right and Straight* the name of the Rudder.



The picture of it is the representation of my glorious journey upon the Canal.

Give me jars of milk and cakes and flesh meat at the House of Anubis.

*If this chapter is known he entereth after having gone out.*

## NOTES.

The 58th and 122nd chapters are reproductions of the same text, the earliest copy known being that of Ani.

1. *Turn away then.* Merta as we have seen is the name given to the goddess pair Isis and Nephthys. It is therefore not possible to account for the masculine pronoun  as having reference to Merta.  must be taken in the sense of *ideo, idcirco, tho.*, *therefore.*

2. *Meskat*, or according to another reading *Meschenit*.

## CHAPTER LIX.

*Chapter for breathing air and command of water.*

Oh thou Sycomore of Nut, give me of the water and of the wind which are within thee.

It is I who cherish that abode which is in Heracleopolis. I watch over that Egg of the Great Cackler. My strength is the strength thereof, my life the life thereof, and my breath the breath thereof.

\* All this part is corrupt.

## NOTES.

On the mythological *tree* in heaven which produces both *wind* and *water*, that is the *rain-cloud*, see my *Egyptian Mythology*, particularly with reference to *Mist and Cloud*, in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, Vol. VIII.

The same kind of imagery is still current in Europe. German authorities tell us about the 'Wetterbaum,' which in some places is called 'Abraham's Tree,' in others, 'Adam's Tree.' The Yggdrasil myth is supposed to have the same origin. The Rainbow is the heavenly Mountain Ash of a well known Swedish and Esthonian riddle. The water from heaven was supposed in Egypt to be especially refreshing for the dead.

## CHAPTER LX.

*Another Chapter.*

Let the doors of Heaven be open to me, let the doors of Kabhu be thrown wide to me; by Thoth and by Hapu, the great Coverer of Heaven, at daybreak.

Grant ye that I may have the command of water even as the mighty Sut had the command of his enemies on the Day of Disaster to the Earth. May I prevail over the Long-armed ones in their corners,\* even as that glorious and ready god prevaieth over them, whose name they know not. May I prevail over the Long-armed ones.





## CHAPTER LXI.


*Another Chapter.*

I, even I, am he who proceedeth from the Weeper (1), and whose attribute is Overflowing. (2) I (3) have the command of it as Hâpu.

## NOTES.

1. The great Weeper is primarily Heaven, and it is so in this place. The Nile god who proceeds from it also bears the same name.

\* The four cardinal points; the Eastern and the Western  , and the Southern and the Northern  .

2. *Overflowing*: 

3. *I*. The original is in the third person; in reference to "he who proceedeth," &c.

CHAPTER LXII.

*Chapter whereby water is drank in the Netherworld.*

Let the Great One be opened to Osiris; let the Kabhu be thrown wide to Thoth, the Coverer, Lord of the Horizon in his name of the Divider of the Earth.

May I have command of the water even as the might of Sutū had over his enemies.

It is I who traverse the Heaven :

I am Râ :

I am the god in Lion form :

I am the Steer ; (1)




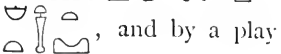

I eat the haunch, and pierce through the joint.\*


I go round the Sechit-Aarru.

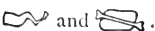
There hath been assigned to me Eternity, without end.

And lo ! I am the Heir of Endless Time, and my attribute is Eternity.

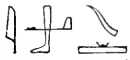

NOTE.

1. *The Steer*,  *smau*, a solar title frequent in the Pyramid texts. His mother, Heaven, is called , or (as the name is written Teta 359) . She is called the Spouse on the Mountain , and by a play upon words  Unas, 493.


The usual meaning of , like that of the Greek *χλόη*, or the Hebrew **חֲצִיטָּה**, is the light green shoot of plants in spring, and this is the key to the sense of the proper name. The goddess Demeter had a temple at Athens under the name of *Chloe*, and it is in allusion to this that Sophocles calls her *εὐχλοῦς* (*Oed. Col.* 1600).

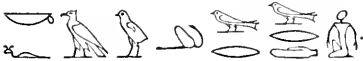
\* The sacrificial offerings .






2. *Who striketh the eye,* . The peaceful determinative may perhaps be intended to diminish the force of the very expressive  in the verb of striking. But I believe that this passage may fairly be illustrated by the words of Lucretius IV, 324 and following :—


Splendida porro oculi fugitant vitantque tueri,  
Sol etiam caecat, contra si tendere pergas.  
Praeterea splendor quicumque est acer adurit  
Saepe oculos ideo quod semina possidet ignis  
Multa, dolorem oculis quae gignunt insinuando.


3. *The primary power of motion and of rest.* These words have a modern sound, but they express the sense of the original, 



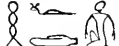

4. *Effluxes,* , the *ιχώρ*, the vital *sap*, as it were, of the body of Osiris, which is the source of life both to men and to gods,\* and in default of which his own heart (Unas 12) would cease to beat. It is celebrated in all the mythological texts extant from the time of the Pyramids down to the latest inscriptions of Denderah and Edfu, and even in Demotic documents.† All moisture was supposed to proceed from it, and the Nile was naturally identified with it.


In the Pyramid texts (Pepi 66)  is put in parallelism with 

5. *A wrecked one.* So I understand  from Chapter 125, 38, but the whole context here is so doubtful that no translator who respects himself would warrant the sense.

\* In one of the ancient chapters preserved in the tomb of Horhotep, the deceased, speaking in the person of Horus, talks (319) of quenching his thirst with the  of his father O-iris.

† See a very interesting passage in *Pap. Rhind* 4, 4, with Brugsch's translation.


6. *I lie helpless like a dead person.* , *heft* is the condition of an infant on the knees of its nurse. And I understand  in its well known euphemistic application to the dead.





7.  is the most probable reading here, but it is a *hapax legomenon* with nothing in the context to explain it.



THE GODS AKAR AND SEB.

BY P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

In order to understand the nature of the god  *Akar*, we have to imagine a *tunnel* starting from the spot where the sun sets, and *extending through the earth* as far as where the sun rises. Each end of the tunnel has a sphinx-like form. A human-headed lion stands at the entrance and also at the terminus. It is through the paws of this double sphinx that the galley of the Sungod enters on the Western horizon and comes out on the Eastern.


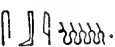
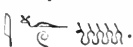
In the picture Plate XIV, taken from the tomb of Rameses IV, , *Fair Entrance*, is written at one end of the tunnel; , *Fair Exit*, at the other. As the solar bark could not be represented inside the dark tunnel, it is placed above.\* The Sungod in the lower world is represented with the head of a ram. He generally grasps in his hand a serpent called  (var. ) *asfu*, his enemy, † who in several pictures has, like the serpent of Moses (Ex. iv, 4), grown into "a rod in his hand." But, if the texts are to be trusted, the god himself has the same name with another signification.







Now the Pyramid texts of Pepi I (line 72) mention "the two gates of Akar" as synonymous with "the two gates of Seb."



The picture taken from the tomb of Rameses IX has an inscription which also identifies Akar with Seb as keeping guard over those whom the Earth covers.

Although Akar is specially connected with the two opposite ends the Earth and the dark passage between them, whilst Seb is most frequently mentioned with reference to cheerful phenomena, there is nevertheless a very striking conception of the Earth which is common to both.


\* The same picture occurs in the Tombs of Rameses VI and Tauser. In the picture belonging to the Tomb of Rameses IX the god is in the form of a Scarab enclosed in a ring, and represented over the tunnel.

† See Bonomi, *Sarc.* 2, D. 35, where  appears in parallelism with . See also lines 42 and 43, and note the form .

The hieroglyphic sign  for the Earth is a hollow *tube*, a *reed*, *flute* or *pipe*. It is already used as a determinative of the divine name Seb,  , in the Pyramid texts (*e.g.*, Unas, 417, Teta, 237), because   $\rightarrow$  *sbw* is the name of the *reed* or *pipe*. The sign  has evidently the same significance in the names of the Goose called  , *the Piper*,\* and of the god  Seb, as written in the tomb of Seti I. The corresponding Coptic is  $\text{CH}\delta\text{I}$  (in the Memphitic dialect), which has the double value of *tibia*, first as *κάλαμος, αὐλός, reed, pipe*; and secondly as *leg-bone, κνήμη, σκέλος*.

This fully explains the equation of  $\text{---} = \text{---}$  and of the group  so frequent in the Ptolemaic inscriptions. It is because  is a *tibia* that  $\text{---}$  is used as its equivalent.

The Greek word *σῶριξ* is used not only in the sense of a pipe, but of any covered passage, such as the galleries of the royal tombs at Thebes.

It is worth remarking that the wedge  $\nabla$ , which so commonly accompanies  $\text{---}$  as a determinative, is also found as a determinative of the divine name  . Is this the *tooth* by which the subterranean passages, mines, caverns and the like have been created?

The subterranean journey of the Sungod through the twelve hours of the night forms the subject of a book, considerable portions of which are inscribed on the walls of the royal tombs and upon coffins, as well as upon papyri; the text being in great part an explanation of the pictures. The most complete account of it is contained in M. Maspero's *Hypogées royales de Thèbes*, published in the *Revue de l'histoire des Religions*, in the year 1888.

M. Maspero, however, does not consider the journey as subterranean but as made round the horizon.

\* Perhaps *Whistler* or *Hisser*.





LA LUMIÈRE ZODIACALE ET SA REPRÉSENTATION  
SUR LES MONUMENTS ÉGYPTIENS.

PAR H. BRUGSCH.

(*Note Supplémentaire.*)

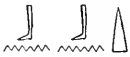
Lorsque je rédigeai la note relative au mot et au signe hiéroglyphique pour désigner la lumière zodiacale et reproduite dans le dernier numéro des *Proceedings*, c'était les textes eux-mêmes qui me guidaient dans mes recherches et dont le langage clair et net, à ce qu'il paraît, ne laisse rien à désirer. J'ai gagné, grâce à eux, la pleine conviction que la lumière en question a été parfaitement connue aux Égyptiens, qui l'ont observée déjà à l'époque de la construction des pyramides, et qui l'ont désignée par un mot et par un signe en correspondance avec sa forme particulière d'un triangle. C'est avec le plus grand plaisir que j'ai vu Mr. LE PAGE RENOUF se ranger de mon opinion, et le jugement flatteur que ce savant si distingué a prononcé au sujet de la valeur scientifique de mon observation, a corroboré grandement ma propre conviction à ce sujet.

Il y a un autre point à mettre en profit quant à l'exactitude de mon opinion. Il regarde la question si les monuments égyptiens ont conservé quelque part de véritables représentations de la lumière zodiacale dans sa forme triangulaire? Nous connaissons, sous ce rapport, un nombre très considérable de représentations du lever du soleil et de son coucher qui se trouvent ainsi figurées :



L'image est tellement intelligible que je n'ai rien à y ajouter, peut-être encore la remarque qu'il est entré comme signe particulier dans le système hiéroglyphique pour marquer la clarté et la splendeur du soleil.

Je me suis rappelé que j'ai trouvé dans le temps des représentations, quoique bien rares, du même genre, cependant avec la différence que le rond du soleil y est remplacé par *un triangle*. J'attribuais si peu de valeur à cette observation que j'oubliais parfaitement d'en prendre note. Etant assuré plus tard par mes études que le triangle avait parfois la valeur astronomique de la lumière zodiacale, j'ai repris de nouvelles recherches aux fins de rencontrer un beau jour les pistes perdues.

J'ai été assez heureux de découvrir le premier exemple dans une publication de notre collègue, Mr. ERNEST SCHIAPARELLI. Dans son travail qui porte le titre : *Il Significato Simbolico delle Pyramidi Egiziane* (Roma, 1884), l'auteur s'occupe, à la page 7 suiv., des petites pyramides funéraires, les soi-disant  *benben*, qu'on découvre parfois dans les tombeaux près du sarcophage d'un mort. Il fait la juste remarque que les scènes sculptées sur ces monuments et illustrées de textes hiéroglyphiques font reconnaître, en général, le soleil à son lever et à son coucher auquel le défunt adresse des louanges. "Finalement," continue-t-il, "nella faccia orientale di una piccola piramide del museo di Torino, vedesi rappresentata nell'alto una piramide che sorge fra due monte (fig. A), e sotto ad essa il

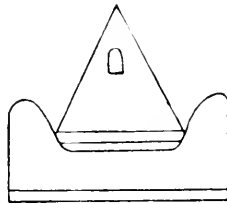

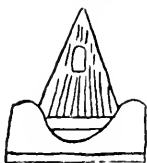



Fig. A.






defunto *Consu*, che la sta adorando insieme ad altre persone della sua famiglia, rappresentazione parallela a quella del sole nascente () , che vedesi ripetuta sulla maggior parte degli altri *benben*."


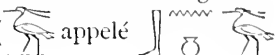

J'ai rencontré une autre copie de la même composition dans le *Dictionnaire Mythologique* de Mr. LANZONE. Sur la planche CLXXX (No. 2) le même dessin est reproduit, mais avec une remarquable addition qui ne touche, il est vrai, qu'un détail, mais un détail d'une certaine importance par la raison que des lignes verticales, imitant

les rayons de la lumière, remplissent la partie intérieure du triangle de la pyramide (voir la figure ci-dessous).



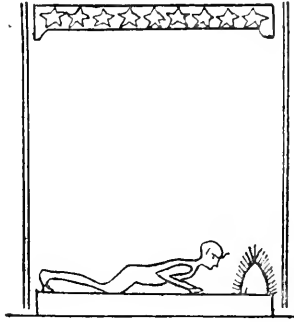
Dans tous les cas il est sûr que la représentation en question se rapporte à la lueur pyramidale qui précède le lever du soleil ou qui apparaît après son coucher, en d'autres termes à la lumière appelée zodiacale par nos savants modernes. Les Egyptiens des temps passés l'adoraient comme ils adoraient le soleil (☉) et on comprendra ainsi ce sacrifice offert  "au lever de la lumière zodiacale" dont j'ai parlé en haut (voir la page 204).

Depuis les temps les plus anciens le culte de la lumière zodiacale possédait un centre au milieu de la province de l'Arabie, située du côté oriental du Delta. C'était dans la métropole  *Gosem* ("la ville du crépuscule," cf. le mot copte Π-ΓΟCΕE, ΓΩCΕE, *turbo*, γρόφος, *caligo*), le *Goshen* biblique, qu'un sanctuaire splendide fut consacré au dieu  *sopdou*, le représentant solaire de la lumière zodiacale. C'est lui qui donna à la ville même son nom sacré de  ou  *Pe-sopdou*, comme elle est appelée sur la stèle d'*El-Arish*. Les nombreuses représentations du dieu ainsi que celles de ses parèdres et des objets de son culte, sculptées sur la chapelle de *Saft el-Henneh* et publiées par les soins de Mr. le professeur NAVILLE, nous fournissent l'occasion de composer un tableau extrêmement complet et curieux du service de cette divinité, comme je l'ai amplement démontré dans mon travail sous presse. Pour à présent, je me permets de fixer l'attention du lecteur sur un fait incontestable qui n'est pas sans valeur pour juger les rapports existant entre la lumière zodiacale, sous sa forme divine de dieu , et les phénomènes célestes au temps du crépuscule.











C'est ainsi que le dieu en question se trouve combiné avec la figure de la déesse Sothis,  avec le phénix ( appelé 



J'observe encore que la chapelle de *Saft el-Henneh* sur le même plan, nous présente deux scènes très remarquables, dont le sujet me paraît être mis en rapport avec le culte de la lumière zodiacale. On n'a qu'à regarder le dessin reproduit ci-après :



pour se convaincre que le Pharaon s'est prosterné par terre, et à la belle étoile, pour adorer la lumière zodiacale. La matière resplendissante de la lueur est indiquée par des lignes rayonnantes qui sortent des deux côtés de la lumière pyramidale. La double représentation du même dessin est tout naturellement en rapport avec les deux lumières zodiacales, celle du matin et celle du soir.

Dans les inscriptions des pyramides, le crépuscule du matin est indiquée parfois par les signes   (*Mirini* I, 679)   (*Teti*, 276),   (*Pepi* I, 29). Ce sont des combinaisons composées du triangle , du soleil , du phénix accroupi sur le triangle , ou du phénix seul , mal dessiné dans lesdits textes.



## THE ORIGIN OF THE PHŒNICIAN ALPHABET.

BY THE REV. C. J. BALL.

It is not so likely that the great monumental systems of hieroglyphic writing originated independently, as that they are offshoots from one original stock. In all branches of research, science looks for ultimate unity in the apparent multiplicity of actual phenomena, and the present case is not to be assumed without reason as an exception to the general rule. If, however, people want *a priori* grounds for a provisional theory of connexion, such may be found at once in the contiguity of Babylonia, Syria, Egypt, and their immemorial intercourse with each other. But, further, this theory is strongly corroborated by two considerations. The first is that of the still accumulating evidence for the Babylonian origin of the vast system of the Chinese characters; the second, that of the probable derivation of the Egyptian writing and even language from the same ultimate source.

So much, by way of starting *ab ovo*. Levy indeed denies the hieroglyphic origin of the Phœnician alphabet. And Von Gutschmid affirms "That the Semitic alphabet did not come from cuneiform writing may be taken as certain; but also it is not probable that it came from the hieratic character of the Egyptians." (*Encycl. Brit.* s.v. Phœnicia). Against such opinions it may be urged *in limine* (1) that the hieroglyphic or pictorial origin of writing in general is now almost universally recognized by those who have given special attention to the subject; (2) that the old Persian cuneiform writing supplies an actual instance of alphabetic development from the Assyrio-Babylonian syllabic system; (3) that the ancient Egyptian system, which probably started from a Babylonian basis, has already developed a set of some twenty-five strictly alphabetic signs, which it uses in combination with pictorial syllabic symbols and determinatives; (4) that the Cypriote syllabary obviously represents an intermediate stage between the pictorial or ideographic indication of entire words, and the alphabetic indication of elementary sounds; and (5) that the Japanese alphabet or syllabary of seventy-two open



HEBREW MODERN	HEBREW AN MODERN	HEBREW AN ARCHAIC	PHENICIAN	SYRIAC NAMES	SYRIAC MODERN	HEBREW MODERN
א	א	𐤀	𐤀	al-p	אלפ	א
ב	ב	𐤁	𐤁	bet.	בֵּת.	ב
ג	ג	𐤂	𐤂	gimel	גִּמְלֵל	ג
ד	ד	𐤃	𐤃	dalt	דַּלְתַּ	ד
ה	ה	𐤄	𐤄	he.	הֵה.	ה
ו	ו	𐤅	𐤅	waw	וָוָו	ו
ז	ז	𐤆	𐤆	zazania	זַזַּזַּנְיָא	ז
ח	ח	𐤇	𐤇	het	חֵת	ח
ט	ט	𐤈	𐤈	te, letters	תֵּ, לֵּטֵר	ט
י	י	𐤉	𐤉	to, ti, tip (see tau)	תּוֹ, תִּי, תִּיפ (סֵעַ תַּו)	י
כ	כ	𐤊	𐤊	id(ad)yd, hand	יַד(אד)יַד, הַנְּד	כ
ל	ל	𐤋	𐤋	kap left hand, kavav	כַּפּ לְיַמִּין, כַּבְּבִיב	ל
מ	מ	𐤌	𐤌	kapp) a measure, cab	כַּפּ) אֵימָרָה, קַב	מ
נ	נ	𐤍	𐤍	larn, to plant, plough?	לַרְנ, לְפָלֵחַ, פְּלוּגָה?	נ
ס	ס	𐤎	𐤎	la, laq (laag-sam)al	לַא, לַאק (לַאג-סַמ)אַל	ס
ע	ע	𐤏	𐤏	me, to grow	מַע, לְרַבֵּי	ע
פ	פ	𐤐	𐤐	me(bu,pe) ears	מַע(בּוּ,פַּע) אָזְנוֹת	פ
צ	צ	𐤑	𐤑	zufu) man	זוּפּוּ) מַנְּשֵׂא	צ
ק	ק	𐤒	𐤒	sam, herbage	סַמ, הֶרְבַּגֵּה	ק
ר	ר	𐤓	𐤓	sif-sen-sar)tal, great	סִיפ-סַנ-סַר)תַּל, גְּדוֹל	ר
ש	ש	𐤔	𐤔	sif, watercourse, ditch	סִיף, מַלְוֵה-מַרְסֵּה, דִּישׁ	ש
ת	ת	𐤕	𐤕	en (en, en) eye	עַן (עַנ, עַנ) עֵינַי	ת
י	י	𐤖	𐤖	gra, gr.	גְּרַא, גְּר.	י
כ	כ	𐤗	𐤗	gaq, fish.	גַּאק, פִּשְׁתִּי	כ
ל	ל	𐤘	𐤘	pe, ear)out)ron)ia	פַּע, עַרְוַת)רֹנ)יָא	ל
מ	מ	𐤙	𐤙	pur, pu, pad)	פּוּר, פּוּ, פַּד)	מ
נ	נ	𐤚	𐤚	si, (zi) ziru, see zaru	סִי, (זִי) זִירוּ, סֵעַ זַרּוּ	נ
ס	ס	𐤛	𐤛	kuph)ga)ly)ka, kau	כּוּפּ)גַּא)לְיָא, כַּאוּ	ס
ע	ע	𐤜	𐤜	ri, ra, (re)di)le)ti	רִי, רַא, (רַע)דִּי)לַע)תִּי	ע
פ	פ	𐤝	𐤝	ra, head.	רַא, רֵאשִׁית	פ
צ	צ	𐤞	𐤞	ria, ra, cup liquor	רִיא, רַא, כַּפּ לְיַמִּין	צ
ק	ק	𐤟	𐤟	sug)ear)ber)ge	סוּג)אָזְנוֹת)הֶרְבַּגֵּה	ק
ר	ר	𐤠	𐤠	ziru	זִירוּ	ר
ש	ש	𐤡	𐤡	ete, shag)ber)ge)arn	עֵת, שַׁג)הֶרְבַּגֵּה)אָרְנַיִם	ש
ת	ת	𐤢	𐤢	dal)tal)l, total)l, dal, dal)dal)da	דַּל)תַּל)ל, תּוֹתַל)ל, דַּל, דַּל)דַּל)דַּל	ת
י	י	𐤣	𐤣	le, living	לַע, לִיבַיִת	י













comparatively modern Chinese method which spells a word by writing two characters together, and taking the initial sound of the first with the final sound of the second, is similar in principle, if clumsier in effect. Thus the native lexicographers spell 心 *sim*, heart, 昔林 *sik-lim*, *s-in*, the middle letters being disregarded (Edkins).<sup>\*</sup> The Accadian and the Chinese modes have this in common, that both combine *words* to suggest the sound of another word. To return to one of our instances, the 𐤱𐤫 *si*, originally *sig*, and 𐤳𐤫𐤬 *in*, by which we spell 𐤳𐤫𐤬 *sin*, are by themselves as much significant words as the 昔 *sik*, *si*, and 林 *lim*, *lin*, of the Chinese example. And in both languages, when two monosyllables are thus combined to spell another word, they are absolutely as non-significant individually as alphabetic signs. The meanings of *si(g)* and *in*, *si(k)* and *lim*, have no bearing whatever on the meaning of *sin*, *sim*. This is surely a decided step in the direction of alphabetic writing, consisting as it does in the use of written symbols to suggest only sounds, not sense. The Chinese, it is true, got no further; but a quick-witted people like the Japanese could find out how to utilize simple open syllables for the purpose of constructing a scientific syllabary analogous to the ancient Cypriote.





The ordinary progress of phonetic change and of dialectic variation, by which the vowel of a syllable might fluctuate between *a*, *i*, *u*, would further tend to emphasize the consonantal sound as the constant element in a syllable. When it was observed that 𐤱𐤫 *ba* had also the value *bi*, that 𐤫𐤬 was *la*, and *li*, that 𐤫𐤬𐤫 was both *na* and *nu*, the possibility of using a written symbol to suggest the constant sound directly and to *imply* the vowel required by the sense, may have presented itself to the unknown authors of so-called alphabetic writing. I say so-called, for it is evident that the Semitic alphabet and all its ancient offshoots are essentially syllabic. This is probably the true explanation of the fact that the Phœnician alphabet is destitute of any special symbols for vowel sounds. They were not necessary while the language was still a living one, because each of the twenty-two symbols was itself of syllabic origin and thus implied the presence of a vowel, which was *a*, *i*, *u*, according to circumstances.

\* The Accadian ideogram 𐤱𐤫𐤬 *sib*, shepherd, looks like an instance of the same mode of spelling, being composed of 𐤱𐤫 *sig* + 𐤬𐤫 *dib* (crook + flock).

It would seem, then, that when a sufficient number of open syllabic sounds, like *ba*, *ga*, *da*, already find appropriate symbols in the script of a language, an alphabet virtually exists. The practical obstacle to the immediate perception or utilization of the fact will lie in the number of symbols, greater or less, with identical values. This and other difficulties in the way of alphabetic origination would not be overcome in a day. We have not to imagine a deliberate invention of the Semitic alphabet by some reflective scribe. A hieroglyphic system like that of Babylonia, Egypt, or China, presenting a great number of homophonous symbols, is naturally an *embarras de richesses* to the first simplifiers of writing. The choice, therefore, does not immediately fall on a single sign as the fittest representative of a particular sound. Each simple sound will at first have several allowable symbols. For instance, the Japanese adapters of the enormously complex system of Chinese writing, bewildered by the multitude of available symbols, at the outset naturally adopted too many characters for each of the sounds of their own language. This in turn caused much uncertainty and embarrassment to Japanese writers and readers, until things were reduced to order and uniformity by the introduction of printing from metal blocks, when the number of possible forms was greatly diminished, and fixity was given to the elements of writing (Hepburn). Such difficulties are natural in the attempt to pass from a vast pictorial system to the simpler methods of a syllabary. We may therefore suppose that analogous perplexities beset the primary adaptation of the Babylonian symbols to the purposes of alphabetic writing.

Since De Rougé, it has, no doubt, been a widely circulated opinion that the Phœnician characters were originally borrowed from the hieratic Egyptian. But almost every scholar who has given any particular attention to the subject has expressed himself dissatisfied with the comparisons suggested by De Rougé and his followers. In some instances the supposed resemblances are remote, in others altogether invisible. No one, surely, who is not pledged to the theory, will see much likeness between  aleph and  or ; between  beth and  or ; between  gimel and .

How little even those scholars who were disposed to favour the Egyptian theory were satisfied with the details of it, may be inferred from the fact that Dr. Land thought

that only ten or eleven of the Canaanite symbols were easily identifiable with their supposed Egyptian prototypes ; and in the table of alphabets appended to his Hebrew Grammar (English ed., London, 1876) the six letters ב, ג, ז, ט, י, ת, are left unprovided with Egyptian counterparts. Nor can it be said that any of these characters, with the doubtful exception of ט, finds a good parallel in the Egyptian columns supplied by Ebers to Euting's table of Semitic characters in Bickell's Hebrew Grammar. It is not, however, necessary to review here the controversy on the subject, in which Lagarde and others took part. My purpose is not so much to write a criticism of previous speculations on the origin of the alphabet, as to set forth and justify the conclusion which has forced itself upon my own mind in the course of a prolonged study of the primitive forms of Babylonian writing. Some years have passed since I first began to suspect that Egyptian civilization had its beginnings in the valley of the Euphrates (see *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, June, 1890). I had noticed several remarkable ideograms common to the Babylonian and Egyptian systems of writing, among them that of Merodach-Osiris, Babylonian  Egyptian , and that of the nether abyss, Babylonian  Egyptian . I showed these and other things to Mr. Le Page Renouf, who by no means discouraged further research, and even remarked that the Egyptains traditionally came from the east. My main interest at the time was absorbed by other enquiries, but I continued to note fresh material as it occurred, especially facts which seemed to indicate that the Egyptian alphabetic signs might be of Babylonian origin. All the world now knows that at the last Oriental Congress Professor Hommel advocated a similar theory, illustrating it with much learning and ingenuity in a paper which is the basis of a work published at the time (*Der Babylonische Ursprung der Aegyptischen Cultur*: Munich, 1892) ; so that one may now hope that the question will be thoroughly sifted. I hold it, then, to be highly probable that the same old Turanian people which gave writing to the founders of Chinese civilization on the east, gave it also to the Semites and Egyptians on the west. I will not now attempt to discuss the hieroglyphs of northern Syria and Anatolia ; but it may be mentioned that in June, 1888 (*Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*), I maintained that points of contact were apparent between the Cypriote and old Babylonian characters. Some of the instances then adduced must be given up ; others appear to be valid,

and the withdrawal of the former may be partially compensated by the addition of Babylonian  $\nabla$  ra, ru = Cypriote  $\nabla$ ,  $\Omega$ , ra ; Babylonian  $\mathbf{T}$  we, ve = Cypriote  $\mathbf{I}$  ve : Babylonian  $\begin{array}{|c|} \hline \square \\ \hline \end{array}$  la = Cypriote  $\begin{array}{|c|} \hline \text{—} \\ \hline \end{array}$  la, Babylonian  $\begin{array}{|c|} \hline \text{—} \\ \hline \end{array}$  ku = Cypriote  $\wedge$ ,  $\wedge$ , ku ; Babylonian  $\begin{array}{|c|} \hline \square \\ \hline \end{array}$  ma,  $\nabla$  mu, = Cypriote,  $\bigcirc$ ,  $\text{—}$ ,  $\bigcirc$ , mo ; Babylonian  $\begin{array}{|c|} \hline \text{—} \\ \hline \end{array}$  tu, ty = Cypriote  $\nabla$  te ;\* Babylonian  $\begin{array}{|c|} \hline \text{—} \\ \hline \end{array}$  lig = Cypriote  $\text{8}$ ,  $\text{8}$ ,  $\text{8}$ , le ; Babylonian  $\begin{array}{|c|} \hline \text{—} \\ \hline \end{array}$  ne = Cypriote  $\text{||}$  ne ; Babylonian  $\begin{array}{|c|} \hline \text{—} \\ \hline \end{array}$  e = Cypriote  $\text{||}$  e ; Babylonian  $\times$  hal (= 'al) = Cypriote  $\times$  a.

It has often been objected that the great number of the cuneiform symbols renders it almost a hopeless task to identify among them the prototypes of the twenty-two signs of the Phœnician alphabet. Something has already been said by way of meeting this objection beforehand. If the old Egyptians could develop a true alphabet out of the multitude of syllabic symbols at their command ; if the Japanese could arrive at a syllabary of seventy-two characters by subjecting the unwieldy mass of Chinese ideograms to a sort of process of elimination, this difficulty cannot be justly regarded as insuperable. But further, let us look steadily at this fact: *The six letters beth, gimel, teth, samech, ain, tau, which we saw could not be satisfactorily derived from the hieratic Egyptian, may be identified with great verisimilitude in the Babylonian syllabary.* It will, I think, be generally recognized that  $\text{A}$  bêt is sufficiently like  $\begin{array}{|c|} \hline \text{—} \\ \hline \end{array}$  ha, bi, to split (Accadian *bad, bid*, = Chinese *pít*). The Babylonian character for the eye is very similar, viz.,  $\begin{array}{|c|} \hline \text{—} \\ \hline \end{array}$ , bad (baġ, mad, and other values), because the eye is a slit or opening ( $\rightarrow$  bad, to open) in the face. The difference of shape between the Babylonian sign and the Phœnician  $\text{A}$  is merely a variation for convenience of writing. The latter may be called a one-stroke adaptation of the former. As to the name, beth, b-t (Semitic














\* This Cypriote character should perhaps be compared with the linear forms of the Babylonian  $\begin{array}{|c|} \hline \text{—} \\ \hline \end{array}$  te : see p. 8. Since this paper was written, I have succeeded in identifying many more of the Cypriote symbols with Accadian prototypes.

Babylonian *bīt*, *bēt*) is the common Semitic term for house. The original sound of the symbol becomes its name in the Phœnician alphabet; the original meaning is naturally exchanged for a familiar Semitic one which happens to be that of the corresponding Semitic sound.

The complete sacrifice of the old traditional names of the letters has been felt to be a difficulty in the way of the Egyptian theory. Canon Isaac Taylor indeed very fairly meets the objection by instancing the modern Russian alphabet, in which the original Greek names are displaced by Slavonian designations. But it is plainly in favour of our own view that it for the most part retains and accounts for the names of the letters. We shall show for the other letters, as for the one just considered, that what happened was the retention of the Accadian sounds, so far as that was possible, with the substitution of Semitic meanings. The principle of attaching a native sense to sounds of foreign origin is too universal to require illustration.


Gimel, ג, א, א, Arabic gim, Greek gamma, resembles γ, the linear equivalent of the Babylonian γ gam, gamma, to bow, bend, curve (Assyrian *gadādu*). This root occurs in γ גמל gam-mal, "camel," strictly, "the humped"; a term which passed into Assyrian and the other Semitic languages, and of which the Sanskrit *kramēla*, *kramēlaka*, is probably an adaptation, *ushta* being the true Aryan term for camel. Gam, as the name of the third letter, was Semitized into gimel, naturally enough in view of these facts. But besides gimel, only three or four of the twenty-two letters can be called perfect triliterals (lamed, samech, aleph, tzaddi ??). The monosyllabic form of almost all the names agrees with our theory that they are partially Semitized (imperfectly triliteralized) Accadian terms. As for the conventional vocalization of the names, too much stress must not be laid upon it, as it is, at least in part, demonstrably modern, *e.g.*, *zayin*, *ayin*, זַיִן, עַיִן; and again, אֶלֶף, דָּלַת, לָמֶד, סָמְךָ (*cp.* the Syriac 'ālah, gāmal, dālath with a variant dālad, semkath). These curious forms look like pausal pronunciations of 'alp(u), dalt(u), lamd(u), samk(u).








Teth, unfortunately wanting on the Moabite Stone, appears in Phœnician as (𐤏), (𐤐), (𐤑), and under similar forms in Greek, as










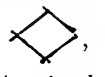



⊕, Θ, θῆτα. The old Babylonian writing supplies several good analogues for this letter. There is  te, marks, ornaments, characters, the Assyrian . The linear figure looks like a modification of  te (newer sound of de, di, from dug, dyg); a symbol which was originally rounded, as it represented the knee (dug, birku). Phœnician forms of Teth without the cross line, eg. , curiously resemble the second symbol. Further  tu, tu-r (= ty, ty-t), modern ,  tu-l, pit, well, modern ,  dib, ṭib, enclosure, may have had something to do with the origin of Teth; and comparing the Athenian , , we may perhaps even say the same of  de, te, the fire-symbol ().










Looking at these facts, one might be inclined to think that the Phœnician characters represent the common element of Accadian signs acrophonically similar in sound. Perhaps, however, we should rather say that for an indefinite period the various related Babylonian symbols were used indifferently as alphabetic representatives of the Semitic sounds indicated by the corresponding letters. This would be the first step; and it seems to account for the varying forms of the Phœnician signs, which need not all be deduced from a single ancestor, but may preserve traces of several. One locality, even one individual scribe, might prefer one form of a letter, another another, until at last by the intercourse of commerce and diplomacy a form would result exhibiting a likeness to all, but not exactly identical with any of the prototypes.

As to the name טית, *Teth*, which is obscure if regarded as a term of Semitic origin, Gesenius derived it from Arabic طيطا *ṭait*, serpent. In our view, te has been made te-th, to rhyme with the preceding letter, heth, by way of *memoria technica*; cf. the Ethiopic succession ṭait, pait.

Samech, ס, in the oldest Phœnician form , might be supposed to resemble the vertebral axis of a fish; cf. the Semitized names סמך, *Semkath*, with the Arabic سمك *samak*, fish (Kāmūs). The meaning, as a Semitic sound, of the name of the preceding








letter, Nun (Assyrian *nūnu*, Aramaic *nūn*, fish), may have determined the Canaanite form of the name, and the position of the letter in the alphabet. Moreover, as we shall see, the Babylonian symbol for fish is one of the archetypes of the following letter Ain. The Accadian ideograms out of which Samech was evolved were probably  sam, šam, Assyrian =, herbs, greens (*cp.* Egyptian  sam, greens), and  sil (from sin; *cp.* the other value, *nun*), great, high; a figure possibly representing a tall plant or reed. *cp.* also  sit, and even  sa,  saġ (sang). In the case of the first and last of these symbols, the perpendicular lines are reduced to one in the adaptation to alphabetical purposes.


The letter Ain, *ע*, anciently , , , agrees with  en, in, originally  or , *cp.* the Egyptian , to which it corresponds in the equation  $\text{𐤀} = \text{𐤀} = \text{𐤀}$ . This old Babylonian symbol for the eye is the source of the Canaanite name. But, further, it is now generally recognized that the Accadian *ġ* had a certain correspondence to the sound of the Semitic *ע* (*ġ*); and we actually find Canaanite proper names like *עזה*, Gaza, transcribed in Assyrian by help of , *ha*, which, in the old writing was , , and originally represented the outline of a fish (Accadian *ġa*, *ku*). The open forms of ain, such as , , suggest comparison with  *ha*, *he* (also dug: *vid. supr.* Hence the similarity between Teth and Ain).

Tau, *ת*, Phœnician , the last letter of the alphabet, which, as it were, sums up the total of the symbols, is probably the Babylonian  tab (tav), "total," Assyrian  *napharu*. The , *napharu*, of the Contract Tablets appears to be only a variant mode of writing  tab, *napharu* (S<sup>c</sup> 155; *cp.* *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, IV, 113). The pronunciation *tav* suggested identification with , from , . Other old forms of this letter somewhat resemble the Babylonian  ti.












In not restricting myself to the comparison of a single Babylonian character with each letter, I have followed the precedent of Ebers-





















Euting, as well as the apparent probabilities of each case. The truth would seem to be that, while in a few instances the authors of the alphabet transferred a symbol, practically unaltered, to its new uses, in others they had to perform a sort of generalization, abstracting the finally adopted form from a number of forms more or less akin to each other. As the Babylonian syllabary presents, in many cases, a series of symbols which have come, through a process of gradual assimilation, to reflect their relationship of sound in the likeness of their forms, the symbol ultimately adopted by the authors of the Semitic alphabet may be regarded as the element of likeness in each related group. The letter ש, shin, sin, שׁ, שׂ, for instance, looks like a sort of abstraction from various Babylonian characters denoting growth and vegetation, viz.:  syn, sim, sing, "garlick" (Assyrian, *šhūmu*);  sar, shar (and shag? *cp.* the name ni-sigū, and sig, "green"), greens, to come out, grow up, etc.;  she, sheg, corn;  esh, sin (from san; *cp.* San-herib. The moon *waxes* and wanes);  shin, lord (5 R 30. 38 a). The old Chinese 𦰇 sak, tsāk, now *ts'au*, grass, is from shar (sar, sag, sig); and the Egyptian  she, a bed of water plants, hieratic , may be ultimately of the same origin. It is not denied that the hieratic Egyptian may have had some, though not the originating, influence in determining a few of the forms of the Canaanite alphabet. We may also compare the Cypriote פ, פ', se.













The facts suggest an ultimate kinship of the symbols for ש and שׁ, such as we should expect from the ambiguity of Accadian characters with initial s. Indeed, some of the old forms of Samech approach the form of shin, *e.g.*, ; but this is really due to the attempt to write Samech without lifting the reed, that is, with a single stroke.











In the Phœnician alphabet—even in the oldest known form of it—certain letters bear a really striking likeness to each other. It is probable that the similarities in question go back to the original symbols which were the prototypes of these letters. At all events it will be a point in our favour if we can show the existence of the same feature in the corresponding Babylonian characters. Now the


Phœnician Shin resembles a letter of a different origin, viz., Mem. Mem looks like Shin with a tail, which indeed Shin sometimes has, though rarely. The Egyptian m (𓄎) and š do not account for the fact. But a reason for the unquestionable similarity of the letters may be seen in the two values of the Babylonian , which was read ma, mu, as well as shar, sar. Ma and mu were naturally synonymous with shar. They denoted the *coming forth* of stalks and reeds (*ašū sâ iši u qanē*). It is at least curious, if not confirmatory, that the symbol  shin was more usually read min, and that  was mad and shad, among other sounds. The Babylonian symbol, however, which perhaps exercised as much influence as any upon the final form of Mem was  me, "ears," of which  might be considered a one-stroke adaptation; *cp.* the Cypriote  mi. The Greek *Mê* has been compared with Phœnician , "water" (Gesén.); but its vowel was probably determined by the following *Nê*. The Semitic name , *i.e.*, , "waters," was suggested by the fact that the sound *mê* has that meaning as an Assyrio-Babylonian word (*cp.* Hebrew ). The Egyptian  mā, "water," may also have had something to do with it.



The lower part of the character , which is the character  me, we, used as a phonetic, appears to be one of the prototypes of the Phœnician  Waw (written , with one stroke). The curving upwards of the horizontal stroke is nothing anomalous, as any one acquainted with the old forms of the Chinese characters will readily admit; and the change of vowel might be due to the fact that *ma*, *wa*, was an older sound of *me* (*cp.*  ma, to call,  to speak). But the chief model for , , , Waw, was the Babylonian  mu, wu, tree, stalk, rod, etc., which in Chinese was simplified to , , and in Cypriote to  vo. The South Semitic forms of the letter, Himyarite , Ethiopic , wa, may be compared with  mu, wu, and Cypriote  mo.

The old Babylonian  ma, me, most commonly represents the sounds pe, pi, in Semitic cuneiform texts. These sounds doubtless

sprang from an earlier bi, be, which in Accadian would be dialectic equivalents of me. Written with one stroke of the pen, the character as we have seen becomes  me(m). To distinguish its other function pe, this was simply abridged to , , , that is, the letter Pe, by the authors of the Semitic alphabet. Pe finds no satisfactory counterpart in Egyptian. There is, moreover, a certain resemblance between Pe and Gimel; but none whatever between  k and  p the hieratic symbols which have been fancifully compared with them. But in Accadian the character  is both ge ["ear"; *cp.* me, properly "the (two) ears," Japanese mi-mi!] and bur, pur, pu (phonetic in  *pu* that is, ). Pe, which originally meant ear, has been identified by Gesenius and others with the Semitic , mouth. But in the alphabet *ear* follows *eye*, the two Babylonian symbols being somewhat similar:  eye,  ear, as Gudea writes them.



The reciprocal similarity of the letters beth, daleth, resh, is also better accounted for by reference to the Babylonian script than is any other way. With  or , we may fairly compare  da, ra, or du, ru, and  dal, ri(š). The character  ba(t), bi(t), involves a triangle, and so far resembles both of the latter ideograms. But there is another Babylonian symbol, , including the values bi (= bir, or bis) and ras, ris,\* which, when reversed thus  may be compared with both  be-t and  resh, which may be considered as one-stroke modifications of it. With resh, "head," *cp.* also the Babylonian  riš, applying the same principle.

The name Daleth is simply the non-significant dal Semitized by assimilation to the common , Assyrian *daltu*, Arabic *dalt<sup>u</sup>*, Hebrew *däleth*, "door."









\* That  *ras* is not merely "an Assyrian value," is evident from the analysis of  si-ris, written ris-si or ras-si, because originally pronounced so.






Another pair of letters ultimately traceable to the same origin is Zain and Tzaddi, צַדִּי (*Ṣādē*). The Accadian symbols for sounds with initial z have, as is well known, to do duty also for sounds with initial tz (s, ss, ç, ts) in Semitic Babylonian writing; 𒄠 is za or ʒa, according to context; 𒄡 is zi used also for ʒi, and so on. That being the case, it is not surprising to find that the Phœnician 𐤆 zain and 𐤇 tzaddi may both be referred to the one Babylonian symbol 𒄢 zi, zidda (=zida). The name Tzaddi or rather Ṣādē is apparently a transformation of the Accadian *zida*; and the Phœnician letter might possibly have been reached by omission of two cross lines at the top and bottom of the Accadian figure. On the other hand, Tzaddi looks like the common Phœnician 𐤆 zain with an added side stroke; but this is only a later one-stroke adaptation of the form of Zain given above. Zain, in fact, appears to preserve the upper half of the archetypal character, while tzaddi is a simplification of the lower half of it. As for the name Zain (צַיִן, *záyin*), it is probably modern; for in Syriac we find ܙܝܢ and ܙܝܢܐ, *zai* (*vid.* Payne Smith's *Thes.*), and Gesenius refers to the Mishna *Shabbath* 12.5 for צַיִן as a plural of צַי. Cf. also the Greek name *Zḗta*, which Gesenius explains as equivalent to an Aramaic ܙܝܬܐ, but which undoubtedly agrees as well with the Accadian *zida*, called by the Assyrians *Zitu*, as Beth does with bid, bit. Perhaps the best way of accounting for the appended n of the Hebrew name is to suppose that *zida*, *zi*, *zai*, have been assimilated to the Semitic ܙܝܢܐ, ܙܝܢܐ, *zeyān*, *zainā*, *zain*, arms, ornament, equipment.

It would be interesting to detect some principle of order at the basis of the present arrangement of the letters. The juxtaposition of the three surds b, g, d, at the outset, has often been noticed, as also that of the three so-called liquids l, m, n, in the middle; but no particular order is observed continuously throughout the alphabet. Some of the symbols are arranged according to the real or apparent meaning of their names, the object being no doubt the practical one of an aid to memory. This is the case with yod, caph; mem, nun, samech; ain, pe; and, as we shall now see, with heth, teth. The letter heth, 𐤇, 𐤈, appears to be derived from the Babylonian 𒄣. ḡad, ḡat, ḡud, ḡut (pronounced nearly ḡyd,

hyt, hit, whence het, heth), meaning the stylus or writing-reed. The Babylonian scribes called the character Giš-tar or Geš-dar<sup>u</sup>, names which imply that it was formed from  giš, stick, stalk, and tar (dar), to cut. The primary form may therefore have been . The hopeless obscurity of the name חֵת Heth, if regarded as a word of Semitic origin, may be judged of by reference to Gesenius (*The*s., p. 436).

From the Accadian term ḡad, the Semitic Babylonians derived their ḥattu; and it seems probable, considering the affinity of ḡ, ḥ, and ḡ mentioned above (p. 400), that the Hebrew עֵט, stylus, Jer. viii, 8; Ps. xlv, 1, is a variant form of the same word (from ḡyd ḡit); חָרָט (*hart*, dissimilated from ḥatt) may be another offshoot of ḡad.

The Semitic names Yod and Caph, יוֹד, יָד, *yōd, yūd*, כַּף, *kaf*, mean hand and palm. The latter is an ordinary Hebrew term; the vocalization of the former is peculiar, and suggestive of foreign origin. Now the Phœnician  may very well be the Babylonian  id, i, the hand (and fore-arm?), looked at sideways instead of full front, so that only the thumb and forefinger are visible, instead of all the five fingers, as in the archetype. Some of the Phœnician variants show three fingers, as , , like the old Chinese characters, and indeed like the modern Babylonian and Assyrian equivalents  and . The figure may originally have represented the right hand, the hand *par excellence*; *cp.* the name of the corresponding Ethiopic letter, Yaman. The vocalization of Yōd may perhaps be accounted for thus: the Accadian id = ud, from yud, ḡud, gud, a byform of  gad, hand. The other values of  id, *viz.*, ia, a, are distinctly traces of ya, ḡa, ga(d).

The letter Caph, *κάππα*, Phœnician , old Hebrew , may possibly preserve the form and sound of the Babylonian character which denoted the left hand, *viz.*, , variant , the linear form of which is unhappily not yet found, but which was doubtless originally an outline of a hand facing to the right, like the old Chinese . The sounds were gub and kab (= kap).



We must not however ignore the fact that in the instance of Caph and Koph, as in that of Zain and Tsaddi, the non-Semitic



language of the inventors of the Babylonian script did not distinguish **k**, **ḵ**, (**q**); the "emphatic consonants" were unknown in Accadian. Consequently the symbol **𐤀** *ka*, which in Semitic writing constantly represents **ḵ**, was an indeterminate **k** (from **g**) in the old language. Now the archaic form of this sign **𐤀**, as we see it in Gudea's inscriptions, greatly resembles the old Phœnician Caph, especially when turned to the left thus, **𐤀**, as in the old Babylonian cuneiform. When it is added that the symbol represented a measure, which was probably the original of the Hebrew **כֶּבֶד**, *káβos* (2 Kings, vi, 25), as Oppert has shown, we can hardly doubt that this character had some bearing on the name and form of the Phœnician Caph.





For Koph, **𐤀**, **𐤀**, *κόππα* **𐤀**, we may with some probability refer to **𐤀**, an archaic form of **𐤀** *ku*(*p*). I infer *kup* from the known values *ub* and *tub* (*ub*, as in other cases, being worn down from *sub*; whence also *kup*, *ku*, along another line of differentiation). The prolongation of the middle stroke is parallel to that observed in **𐤀**, **𐤀**, *ba*, and other known instances, e.g. **𐤀**, which becomes **𐤀** in the old Babylonian writing. Another analogue for Koph




may be recognized in **𐤀** *qam* (*qav*), modified similarly to **𐤀** Phœnician variants like **𐤀** are due to the attempt to write the letter without raising the reed, that is, with a single stroke or movement of the pen. The name **קֹפֶה** *qōf* has naturally been connected with the Semitic **קֹפֶה** *qūfā*, needle's eye, **מִקְרֹף** *māqōf*, hole of an axe, because of the axe-like appearance of the character. The Accadian *ku*(*p*) denoted a weapon of some kind, but also many other things.


The letter Lamed, Arabic lam, Greek *λάμβη*, is one of the symbols for which several clear prototypés can be specified in the old Babylonian. The Moabite **𐤀** perhaps agrees best with **𐤀** lam, the antique form of **𐤀**. The Moabite character looks like the outer line of this ideogram somewhat rounded. The meaning of lam is to grow, and to cause to grow, to plant (*cf.* Tigl. Pil. prism vii, 27); and Prof. Hommel thinks that the figure represents a plough (*Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, Jan., 1893, p. 112). However that may be, the term lam, having no significance as a Semitic root, has been trilateralized into lamd, a familiar stem in Assyrian, Hebrew



and Arabic, in the senses of beating and teaching. Gesenius says of the ox-goad, "apud Phœnices hoc instrumentum [Heb. מַלְבֵּד] לְמִדָּה (לְמִדָּה) dictum est" (*Theol.*, p. 757), but I have not been able to verify this statement. Other Babylonian analogues for lamed are  la, an Accadian term meaning abundance, joy, and  laḡ, luḡ, liḡ (=lang, etc.), servant, to wash.











Nun, נ, נ, the Greek ν̄, seems to correspond with the Babylonian  nu, image, likeness, etc. (= old Chinese *nuk*, like). The Phœnician sign, which presents no marked variants, retains two sides of the reversed character . As for the name, *Nūn* denotes fish in Aramaic, Assyrian, and Arabic; and if, as Hommel supposes, ḡan was the older sound of the Accadian ḡa, fish, *nun* (from *ngun*) may be ultimately a term of Accadian origin.

As to He, ה, the ordinary Phœnician forms of Heth, e.g.  might suggest that it was formed from that letter by omission of the left side. But this will not hold for the Moabite forms. The cuneiform , which sometimes represents He in transcriptions of Canaanite names, never occurs in old Accadian texts, and is perhaps of Semitic origin (Lehmann). It is often confused with  ah, ih, uh, archaic , in Babylonian inscriptions. Has the Canaanite He any relation to the inner element of this character?

The old Greek uses of the two Phœnician letters may throw some light on our problem. In Greek He represents E, ε; Heth is used both for initial h (ἥ) and for H, η. These facts seem to point us to the archaic Babylonian  e, house, strictly *he*, from ḡe (=  eš = gaš, house; cf.  ga, house). If the four vertical lines be regarded as one, this Accadian symbol will be seen to resemble the Phœnician derivative.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The Babylonian writing does not formally indicate the implied initial h, which is only inferred from etymology. Cf. the Hebrew, חֲדָקָה, Hiddēqel, implying ḥid, ḡid, river (though the name is written I-digna, I-diglat, in the cuneiform), and  id, river.

For Aleph,  we may refer to the old Babylonian  ox, Assyrian *alpu*, and the related symbols. The character is slanted and written with two strokes of the reed, instead of three or four.

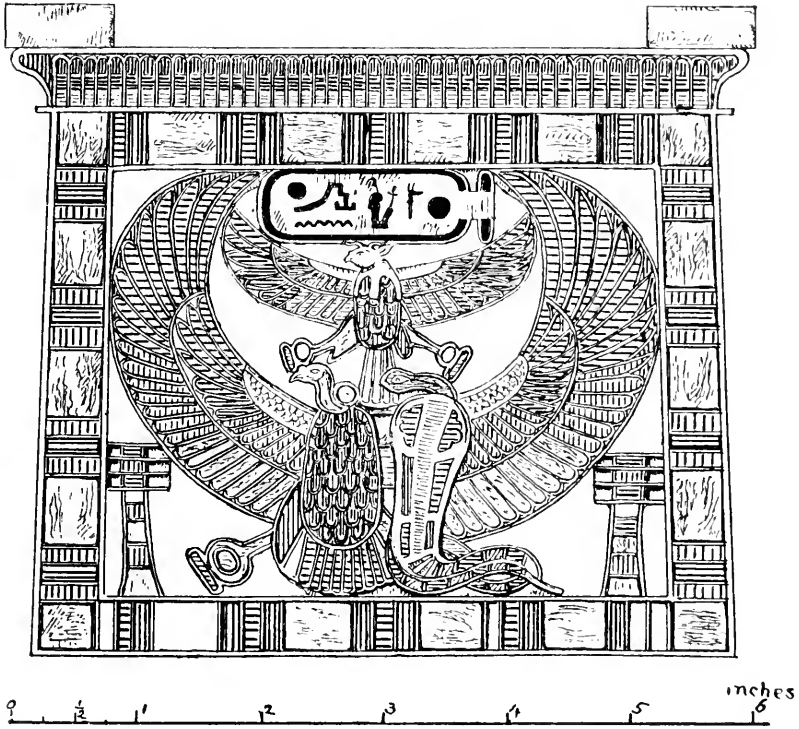
The Accadian sound of the character was *gud*, *gu*, strictly *ngud*, *ngu*; so that in this case the Canaanites have chosen the Semitic reading of the ideogram for their name of the derived letter, much as  was called *kalbu* by the Assyrians. *Cp.* also the derivative  *ama*, from *ana* (=  *na*, bullock), wild ox, which implies initial **א**. The ideogram  *ulu* (*u-lu*?), another derivative, suggests that *ala* (= *ana* = *ama*) was also a value of the original symbol for oxen; as dialectically it might have been. Another possible archetype of the letter was the character  *a*, water, which is used in Semitic Babylonian writing to indicate **א**. The old form  may have been modified first to  and then to . The figure might then be called *Alp*, *Aleph*, from a fancied resemblance to the horned head of an ox. It is at least curious to find  and  among the old Chinese forms of the symbol for water; figures which might almost be mistaken for a modern Hebrew **א** (see *Luh shu tung*, 酒 and 泣).

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These notes embody the substance of a paper which was read before the Royal Asiatic Society, Dec. 13, 1892. The writer is greatly indebted to Mr. W. H. Rylands for material assistance in dealing with typographical difficulties, which were considerable. The archaic forms of the Babylonian characters should be verified by reference to M. Léon Heuzey's work *Découvertes en Chaldée par Ernest de Sarzec*, etc. (Paris, 1891), and to MM. Amiaud and Méchineau's *Tableau comparé des écritures*, etc. (Paris, 1887).



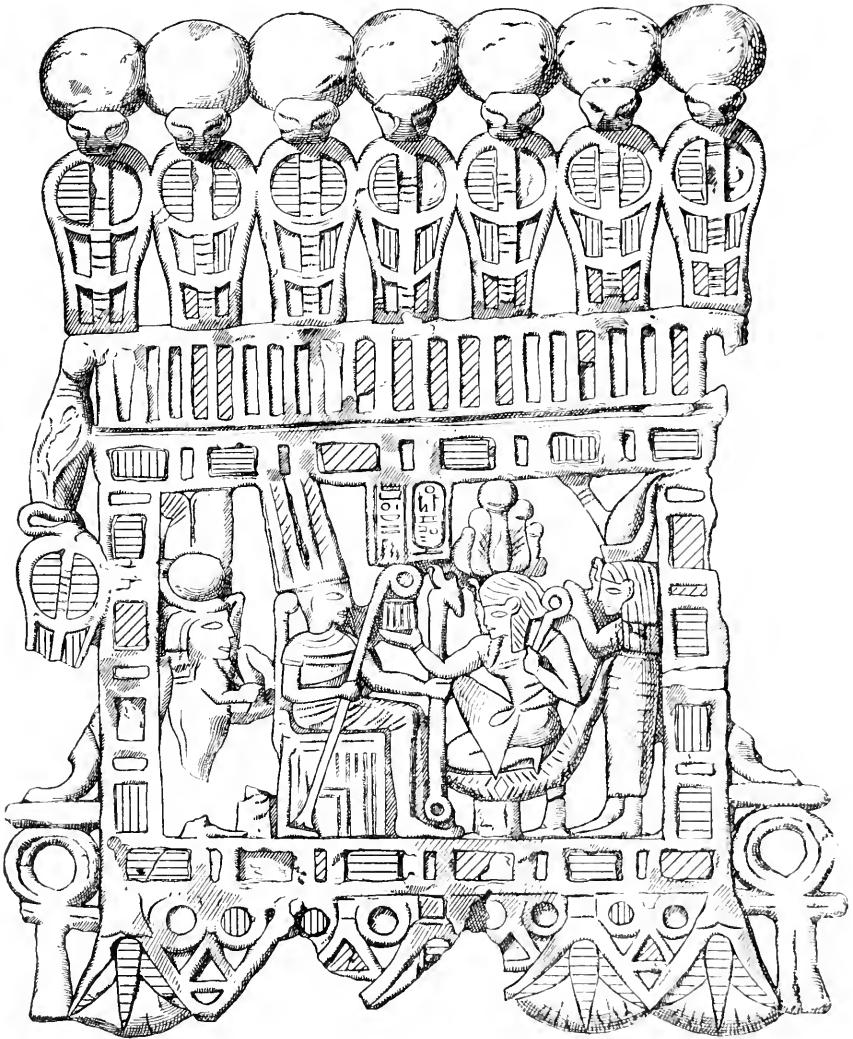
PLATE I



Pectoral of Chā-em-uas, son of Rameses II.



PLATE II.



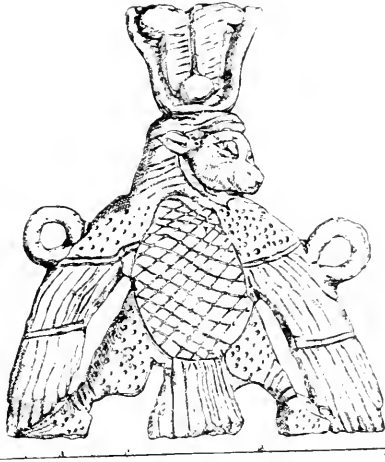
||| red jasper    ≡ lapis lazuli    // plasma & glazed steatite

Egyptian Pectoral.

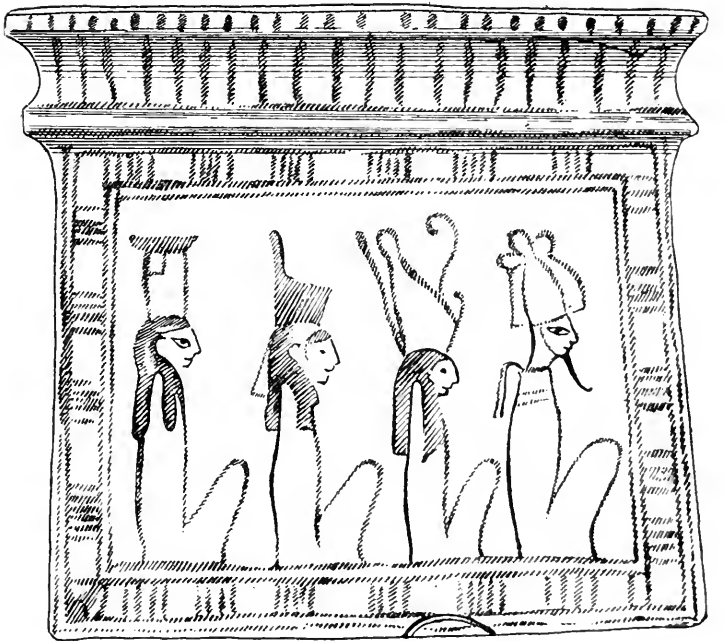
IN THE POSSESSION OF F. G. HILTON PRICE, ESQ



PLATE III.



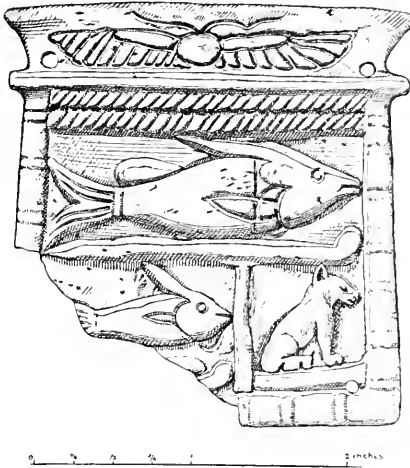
IN THE POSSESSION OF E. TOWRY WHYTE, Esq.



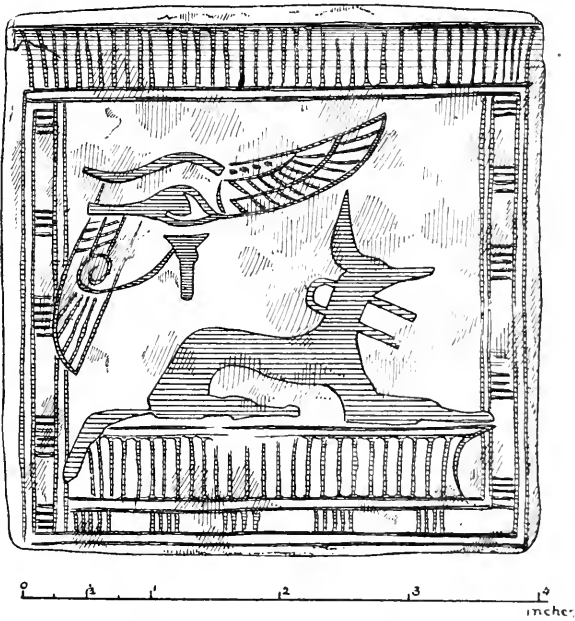
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PLATE IV.



From Tel Basta, in the possession of F. G. Hilton Price, Esq.



British Museum, No. 7853.





PLATE V.

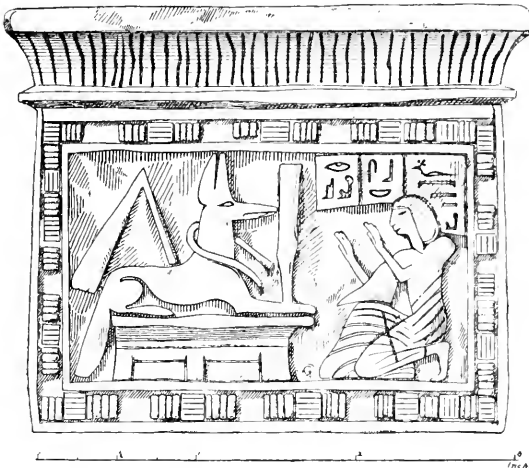


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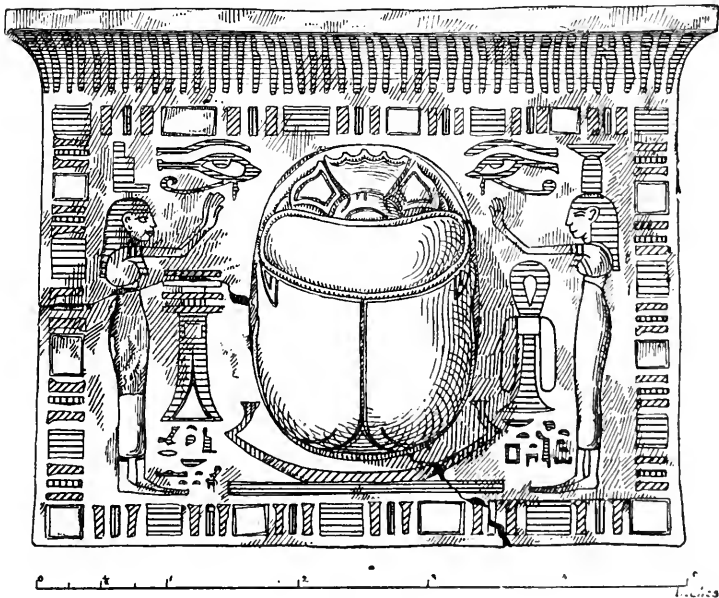
British Museum, No. 7849.



PLATE VI.



British Museum, No. 7852.



British Museum, No. 7865.



## NOTES ON PECTORALS.

BY E. TOWRY WHYTE, M.A.

In the following few notes on pectorals, I do not propose to include the large number of scarabs, commonly called the heart scarab, which are generally found in place of the pectoral; they are found both as painted ornaments on the mummy case or cartonnage wrapping, and as carved or moulded objects made in various materials. Of course they are in one sense pectorals, but I shall restrict myself to the pectoral plate, or ornament, an object much less frequently found. Dr. Petrie told me that in the course of his excavations he has discovered very few indeed, only two or three I think he said, and those in a very bad state of preservation. As I have failed to find any description other than the mere catalogue ones, I fear that I shall not be able to throw much light on the subject, but hope that by drawing attention to it, someone else may be able to make something more out of it, and that by this means we may get the history of these objects worked out; for I think there must be a history. Pectorals or pectoral plates are funeral objects, being, as the name indicates, flat plates laid on the breast of the mummy; they were held in position by cords fastened to loops or holes in the top of the pectoral, sometimes they have holes in the bottom as well; and were hung round the neck of the mummy or tied on to the collar.

They are usually in the form of a naos or shrine, but are also found of an oval shape; they are called in Egyptian *ut'a*, which name was also given to the symbolical eye of the sun.

They were made of various materials, being found in gold, silver, bronze, lead, stone, porcelain, wood and composition. The gold ones are generally inlaid with either coloured stones, glass or composition. No enamel in the proper sense of the term has yet been discovered. The pattern on the gold is formed by walls of gold being soldered on the ground in the same manner as cloisonné enamel, and the stones or glass cut to shape and fixed in with cement. Where composition is employed in place of stone or glass, it appears to be a very hard gum, which is capable of being coloured as desired.

This gum seems almost indestructible, as it retains its polished surface in many cases to the present day. The bronze pectorals were inlaid in a similar manner and heavily gilt; possibly in some cases they are undertakers' substitutions for gold; they seem to be very rare, the best I have seen being that of Rameses III, now in the possession of Mr. Hilton Price. There is but one example in bronze in the British Museum, No. 22,840 being a hawk with very large wings spread out, and holding in its claws two feathers. This is probably of late times, Ptolemaic, or perhaps Roman; it and the one I mention later on as belonging to myself are perhaps hardly to be regarded as pectorals at all. The catalogues of most of the museums make no mention of them either. Silver and lead are of excessive rarity, the porcelain ones are the commonest.

#### *Age.*

The earliest pectoral I have been able to find out is that of King Aahmes, first king of the XVIIIth dynasty, now in the Gizeh Museum. It was found in the tomb of Aahotep with other objects, and is of gold inlaid with lapis lazuli and other stones; they seem to have been used from that period down to the late Roman times.

The gold inlaid pectorals seem to be the earliest; porcelain ones date mostly from the XXIst to the XXVth dynasty, which of course is the great pottery era in Egypt.

I have seen a very fine grained limestone one of Thothmes III. but whether of that date I am unable to say. Some of the stone and steatite ones in the British Museum are probably of the XIXth and XXth dynasties, judging by the style of workmanship.

#### *General Description.*

There seems to be a marked difference between the few of the gold pectorals known and many of the stone and porcelain ones in design and subject: for instance, in that of King Aahmes, a remarkably fine and elaborate specimen of gold inlay, the king is represented as standing on a boat between two gods, who are pouring the water of purification over his head; in the top corners are cartouches with his name on them; surrounding this subject is the naos or shrine; it is described and illustrated by M. Ernest Desjardins, in a sequel to the "Histoire d'Égypte" and in colours, beautifully drawn by T. Kiddle; it is the most beautiful piece of Egyptian


jewelry known. In that of Cha-em-uas, the son of Rameses II, the shrine encloses a uræus and vulture side by side ; the latter holds a seal in its right claw ; over their heads is a hawk with ram's horns, holding a seal in each claw, above the hawk and under the frieze of the naos is a cartouche with the prenomem of Rameses II, User ma rā sotep en rā. A tat is placed at each of the lower angles of the frame ; this pectoral is made of gold, inlaid with lapis and other stones and glass. The reverse is a flat sheet of gold engraved with a similar design, except that in place of the hawk's head with ram's horns a female head is substituted ; it is well illustrated in colours in Mariette's " Le Serapeum," 1857, part 3.

In the same book are two other gold pectorals of the XIXth dynasty; in these cases the design is more like those of the later times, that is if they are as early as the XIXth dynasty. They have the usual shrine, inside which is one case is a large blue glass scarab on a gold plate of the same size, and standing in the act of adoration are Isis and Nephthys, one on either side ; this pectoral is open work and uninscribed. The other is a gold plate with a greenstone scarab let in, with Isis and Nephthys on either side, and above a band of grey-green with white hieroglyphics.



Inscription above green stone scarab.


The reverse is a sheet of the same colour bound round with gold, with the heart chapter in an oval in the centre, and a long inscription. Both pectorals have the sides of the shrines inlaid in colours similar to Cha-em-uas.

The bronze pectoral belonging to Mr. Hilton Price has been very heavily gilded, and inlaid with lapis lazuli and red and green glass or root of emerald; it is of the usual shrine form, but above the cornice are seven large uræi inlaid and crowned with disks, and on either side is an inlaid uræus crowned with the hêt and resting upon an ānch  The fringe at the bottom is the usual lotus; the subject in the centre is of pierced work : Āmen Rā is seated holding the user sceptre and a crook ; behind him Chonsu is seated ; in front of Āmen Rā is the king kneeling on a footstool and making an offering ; above his hand are two cartouches inscribed : the one has User mat Rā mer Āmen, and the other Āmen Rā Lord of Uast

(that is Thebes). Behind the king stands Mut. This very rare object is a pectoral of Rameses III of the XXth dynasty. I would suggest that it may have been an undertaker's substitution for a gold one which had been ordered; the uræi in this pectoral have been cast and then rivetted on to a wrought plate with three rivets behind; the wrought work shows great carelessness in setting out, as the top line has not been made anything like parallel to the bottom.


A very late form of bronze pectoral is in my own possession; it is a cow-headed hawk or vulture with drooping wings and cows' legs; the head is crowned with the plumes and disk; this is probably not earlier than Roman times.

There is a fragment of a wooden one in the British Museum, No. 14,655, which has been heavily gilded and inlaid with blue and red glass in a somewhat similar style to the metal ones above described, but it can only have been imitative, as the weight would at once betray it, also the much greater coarseness of the gold lines. It is probably an early specimen.

In many of the glazed steatite pectorals the subjects are somewhat similar to the bronze one described above, and are probably mostly of that date, that is XXth dynasty, for instance, No. 7852 in the British Museum is of glazed steatite in the usual shrine form, colour turquoise-blue glaze, with the border of the shrine inlaid with red jasper and lapis; the inlays are cemented in with a composition of the colour of red lead. The centre subject is a kneeling figure adoring Anpu, with sceptre and flail, who is seated on the top of a shrine. There is an inscription in the top right hand corner; on the reverse are two knots or loops with a tat between in a shrine, very roughly done, all in incised lines . No. 7850 is also a blue glazed one; the subject in this case is the deceased, a priest, adoring Osiris, who is seated before a table of offerings; above is an inscription. Some steatite ones have scarabs let into the centre, as in No. 7859, which has probably had a yellow glaze, and is inlaid with coloured stones and composition; it is of the shrine form, the cornice being decorated with a winged disk of the sun incised; in the centre is a boat with a rudder, which has held a raised scarab, now lost. On either side stand Isis and Nephthys in the act of adoration; the ground surrounding the subject has been filled up with inlay. No. 7860 is glazed green, and is of the shrine form. It is very beautifully decorated with inlay; the centre has a boat with



a lotus flower on the bow and stern, with Isis and Nephthys standing adoring, and in the middle the matrix of a double scarab (?) on a stand. Above is the winged disk ; the figures, boat, winged sun, &c., are in low relief with a bright blue ground, lapis ; the edge is inlaid with red and blue alternately, with bars of steatite between.

These I fancy are later work than the two first described, perhaps XXIInd Dynasty. I think that many of the very beautiful hard stone scarabs which are uninscribed and unpierced, but most carefully carved, have been at one time or were intended to be let into stone pectorals ; they are sometimes found let into porcelain, but not so frequently as those scarabs made of glass or porcelain. In most of the porcelain pectorals the scarabæus either with or without wings forms the central subject, and those without it have the subject generally painted in outline, usually representing the deceased standing or kneeling, worshipping Osiris, as in No. 7849 B.M., in which the deceased, a priest, is kneeling before Osiris, who is seated holding a sceptre, and in front of him a table of offerings ; above an inscription ; on the reverse Anpu with collar and flail is seated on the top of a shrine, and in the right hand corner his name . This pectoral is a rich blue, with the lines painted on in dark purple almost black. In others Anpu alone is shown seated on a shrine, and sometimes a whole row of gods and goddesses are given, as in No. 7847 B.M. ; the reverse of this one is very similar to the steatite one No. 7852 already described, except that instead of the flail and sceptre, there is a winged eye in the corner above the back of Anpu ; the front is a dull blue inclining to greenish shade, the reverse a good blue, the outlines are dark purple nearly black, the front is not very carefully done, the back much better.

The scarab is usually raised, having been moulded separately and planted on the plaque previous to firing, or let into the plate, a hole having been left to receive it. When the scarab is inscribed the thirtieth chapter of the Ritual, more or less complete, is that used, showing that there is some connection between the pectoral and the Heart scarab : as an example, No. 7854 B.M., which is a painted one of a dull green coloured ground with black lines, has the usual boat, and instead of the back of the scarab the base is shown, with the Heart chapter on it ; also in some later stone ones the thirtieth chapter is cut on the back of the whole plate, while the front shows the usual design of boat, scarab, Isis, and Nephthys.

The colours of these pectorals are very various, being blue, green, yellow, and sometimes white. As specimens I may quote No. 14,654, which is in the usual shrine form, and is a very bright blue with darker blue enrichments to the cornice and base. There are also squares and triangles of virteous paste of red, dark blue, and turquoise-blue let in; the centre has held a scarab without the usual boat, with a figure done in incised lines filled in with blue kneeling in adoration on either side; above are two eyes.

Another, No. 14,653, is very heavily glazed and coloured, the ground being gamboge-yellow, with red and blue decorations. The usual shrine form, but the sides batter in, much more than usual; the centre subject is Anpu holding a staff, seated on a shrine; above is an eye, in front a kneeling figure adoring and holding an object in his left hand; the ground of the subject is blue, the figures yellow.

No. 7853 is another of the usual shrine form, it is a sort of pale lemon-yellow ground, with lines incised slightly, and blue painted in; the central subject is Anpu, with a collar, seated on the top of a shrine, and above on the left hand side a winged right eye; the eyebrow, eye, eyelash and also Anpu are filled in with blue composition previous to firing.

No. 7865 is another very fine inlaid porcelain one of the usual shape, with the sides of the shrine inlaid with red glass strips and squares of light cream coloured paste (or stone); the dark blue squares and light blue strips are painted and fired on; the light blue is now mostly green, probably the blue and yellow mixed somewhat in firing. In the centre is a very fine large blue porcelain scarab and the usual boat, on the left side a tat, on the right a knot, and standing behind on the left Isis, and on the right Nephthys in the act of adoration; above are two eyes; below both the tat and knot are inscriptions; the ground is a rich gamboge-yellow; the face, arms, and feet green, the wigs and crowns blue, the body from the waist downwards inlaid with cream coloured stone or glass.

Many pectorals of course are much plainer in their decoration, and evidently not so expensively got up. Some are pierced, so as to make the centre subject without a background. Some have had the subject printed on, as in a blue porcelain one from Ahmîm, belonging to Mr. Hilton Price. In this specimen the central subject, which is Anubis or Anpu seated with a flail, is black, and has apparently been printed on the clay from a stamp. An unusual

type also belongs to Mr. Price, and comes from Bubastes; it was formerly blue, the cornice to the shrine being decorated with a winged disk incised. The space within the shrine is divided into three compartments; the upper one has a lepidotus fish with the nose to the right. In the lower left hand compartment is another lepidotus, and in a separate square a seated cat to right; the fish and cat are moulded in low relief.

Another unusual form was sold at the Vize sale at Messrs. Sothebys; it was a black or very dark blue glazed porcelain scarab undercut right through, and cemented on to a light blue porcelain plaque about  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch larger than the scarab all round; at the top a loop for suspension; the edge of the plaque was slightly raised, and on the back the thirtieth chapter of the Ritual. This object might be taken as a sort of transition from the scarab to the pectoral plate. As far as I remember it was, judging by the colour, &c., a XIXth dynasty one, the blue being very similar to the blue glaze on the ushabtis of Seti.

The wooden pectorals are also of the shrine form usually: a well preserved one is in the British Museum on a mummy, No. 6665, from Thebes, dated about B.C. 800, being the mummy of a lady of the college of Amen Rā, by name Katebet; it is in the usual shrine form; the cornice is silver, the frame gold; the centre subject is Anpu with flail and collar, seated, in gold, on a silver shrine; the ground is dark green. Another, No. 7855, is of sycamore wood, and has been covered with tempera on fine cloth; a porcelain scarab is inserted into an oval hole in the centre, and the whole coated with bitumen; it is of very coarse work.

In the same case as the pectoral of Katebet is a composition one in the usual form, with silver cornice and gold frame; the centre has a gold boat, large black porcelain scarab with gold eyes; the ground is black; above the shrine is a winged kneeling figure of Mut, in gold, hair in silver; the outer feathers of her wings are gold, the next row silver, the top black; on either side of the shrine, on a red ground, stands a figure adoring, with face, arms and feet gold, wig black, clothes silver; this mummy is very elaborately decorated with jewelry, necklaces, earrings and rings, bracelets, &c.

The painted pectorals found on the coverings of the mummies are similar to the real ones in design and colour, sometimes imitating jewelry, as in No. 15,659, of the XVIIIth dynasty, about B.C. 1600,

and in late specimens being moulded in low relief on the cartonnage, and coloured or gilded, as No. 6679, being the mummy case of Heru nēt atef, of the Ptolemaic period.

*Symbolism.*

There seems to have been no special symbolism attached to the pectoral, by this I mean no fixed ritual form. The subjects all have a meaning, as would be expected from general objects, but they are very diverse, although most have allusions to Rā in some form or other, or to the resurrection, and by far the largest number to the Heart chapter of the Ritual. I almost think they were pure ornaments, perhaps at first copies of pendants worn on the collars of high officials as badges of office, somewhat similar to the breastplate that was worn by the Jewish high priest; or the earliest specimens, in gold inlay, may have been the actual pendants themselves, though I am bound to admit I have failed to find a trace of this idea in any of the various books showing sculpture or paintings from Egypt, unless it is to be found in the limestone figure of Piaai, a royal scribe under Rameses II, No. 46 in the British Museum: there he is represented as a squatting figure wearing a chain composed of long and round beads, with some plaited material, perhaps leather, between, and attached to this chain a large pectoral with the cartouches of Rameses II, and a figure of Osiris (?) in the middle; also the colossus of Rameses II at Memphis, which was raised up from the mud and turned over by Major A. H. Bagnold, shows that king wearing a pectoral suspended by a chain or band with a row of beads in the middle, *vide* the *Proceedings* of this Society for June, 1888, and the plaster cast No. 1670 in the British Museum, of the cow of Hathor and of Psammetichus, an officer of high rank in the XXVIth dynasty, shows that officer wearing a chain with a pectoral attached; the original is at Gizeh. Unfortunately but little is known of Egyptian jewelry other than funereal, which is of course always of very thin gold, but undoubtedly imitated, to a great extent, the real articles as worn. In all cases where coloured inlay has been used the heraldic system is adopted as far as possible to indicate the same.

A BABYLONIAN DECREE THAT A CERTAIN RITE SHOULD BE PERFORMED.

BY THEO. G. PINCHES.

The text which I here transcribe and translate is inscribed on a fragment of a tablet (about half) in the possession of W. Harding Smith, Esq., by whose kindness I am allowed to publish it. It is the lower portion (looking on the obverse) of a tablet of baked clay, inscribed on the obverse (3 lines), edge (2 lines), and reverse (5 lines), with a total of 10 lines of writing in the late-Babylonian style. Above the text on the obverse is a blank space, on the broken edge of which traces of another line of writing are visible; and below the text on the reverse, in an uninscribed place, are the remains of an impression of a cylinder-seal in the style of the period when the tablet was written. The fragment is  $1\frac{3}{8}$  in. high, 3 in. long, and  $\frac{7}{8}$  in. thick. The colour is a red grey.

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TRANSCRIPTION.

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A-na ↓ Bêl-âhê-iddina, ≧ rês šarri,  
 ki-a-am iḫ-bu-u um-ma : ↓ Nabû-balaṭ-su-iḫ-bi,  
 3. mâri-šu ša ↓ Bu-na-nu, mâr ↓ E-gi-bi ; .  
 ↓ Nabû-êṭir abli-šu ša ↓ Bêl-šum-išk-un, abil ≧ rabû ša  
 parzilli ;  
 ↓ Iddina-a, mâri-šu sa ↓ Nabû-êṭ-ir, âbil ≧ nappaḫi ;  
 6. ↓ Nergal-iddina, mâri-šu ša ↓ Gin-na-a, âbil ↓ E-gi-bi,  
 ina pan >+ [𐎠𐎢𐏁] >+ [𐎠𐎢𐏁] a-na gul-lu-bu ṭa-a-bi

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lu - gal - li - bi

9. Kunuk >+ Marduk-šapik-zêri ; kunuk >+ Sin-îlu ; kunuk  
 ↓ Bêl-uballit  
 . . . . . Ê-sag-ila ; [kunuk] ↓ Ina-Ê-ku-a ≧ za-zak-ku.  
 [Here, the remains of an impression of a cylinder-seal.]

TRANSLATION.

.....

*To Bêl-âhê-iddina, the captain of the king  
 thus they said that " Nabû-balaṭ-su-iḫbi,  
 3. son of Bunanu, son of Egibi ;  
 Nabû-êṭir, son of Bêl-šum-iškun, son of the ironmaster ;  
 Iddinâ, son of Nabû-êṭir, son of the smith ;  
 6. (and) Nergal-iddina, son of Ginnâ, son of Egibi,  
 before Nin\* to be marked is good.*

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*Let them be marked.*

9. *Seal of Marduk-šapik-zêri ; seal of Sin-îlu ; seal of Bêl-uballit ;  
 . . . . Ê-sagila ; [seal of] Ina-Ê-ku-a, the zazakku.*  
 [Here, the remains of a cylinder-seal impression, showing a shaven priest before  
 the figures of the moon and a star, mounted upon two round-ended objects.]

As it is possible that the names of the signatories were given at the beginning (with the addition of their fathers' and remote ancestors' names, as in the case of the people mentioned in lines 2—6), the text may be restored as follows :—

“Marduk-šapik-zērī, Sin-īlu, Bēl-uballit, [Ina]-Ē-sagila (?), and Ina-Ē-kua the *zazakku*, said as follows to Bēl-âhe-iddina, the king's captain (or head-man): ‘It is good that Nabû-balat-su-ikbī, son of Bunanu, descendant of Ēgibi; Nabû-êtir, son of Bēl-šum-iškun, descendant of the ironmaster; Iddinā, son of Nabû-êtir, descendant of the smith; and Nergal-iddina, son of Ginnā, descendant of Ēgibi, be marked before the god Nin-<sup>\*</sup>’.

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“Let them be marked.”

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The names of the men mentioned at the beginning are then repeated, with impressions of their seals, part of one of which (described above) remains. Below the seal-impressions probably came the date, unfortunately lost, but as the name of Iddinā, son of Nabû-êtir, descendant of the smith, occurs on the tablet S. +, 564\*, we know that the text now printed must have been drawn up about 543 B.C. (the 12th year of Nabonidus).

The text is a very simple one, but its nature is not altogether certain; the meaning of the key-words (*gullubu* in l. 7, and *lugallibi* in l. 8) being doubtful. The root *galūbu* was treated of by Haupt, in his *Sumerische Familiengesetze*, pp. 33—35 and 71, 72, in 1879, and at that time he was of opinion that it meant “to shave,” and compared the Heb. גַּלַּב, “barber,” and the Chald. גַּלְבָּ, “razor.”† Delitzsch, however, is of opinion that *gullubu* means “to cut,” and Meissner (*Beitrage zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, Leipzig, 1893, p. 152) follows him in this. The Akkadian equivalents of *gullubu*, namely, 𒄠 𒄡𒄢𒄣𒄤 𒄥𒄦𒄧𒄨 𒄩𒄪, *umbin-ša*, or 𒄠 𒄡𒄢𒄣𒄤 𒄥𒄦𒄧𒄨 𒄩𒄪, *D.P. umbin-kud*, “to cut a nailmark,” would agree with this latter view. 𒄠 𒄡𒄢𒄣𒄤 𒄥𒄦𒄧𒄨 𒄩𒄪, *gir-šui* = *naglabu*, seems to indicate the instrument (𒄠 𒄡𒄢𒄣𒄤, *gir*, is a short sword or dagger) with which the cutting was done. Meissner (l.c.) points out that slaves were marked,‡ but in the tablet here translated the people who had to submit to the act called *gullubu* were certainly not slaves. It is therefore clear that the meaning of the word is still doubtful, and when we recollect that shaving the head and face was a very ancient custom in Babylonia, and that certain classes of priests, to a very

\* Strassmaier's *Inschriften von Nabonidus*, no. 681.

† Also Syriac ܩܠܒܐ “razor.”

‡ Compare also my paper in the *Proceedings* of ten years ago (April 3, 1883, p. 106, also Feb. 5, 1884, p. 102 *et seq.*).

late date, shaved the head (the fragment of a cylinder-seal impression at the end of this text shows the head of a shaven priest), Prof. Haupt's first suggestion can hardly be regarded as set aside by later and fuller knowledge. Judging from the statue of Aššur-našir-apli, it would seem that that king used to wear a wig, and it is also not impossible that the beard was artificial. Whether this king had a shaven head in virtue of his priestly dignity, or not, is uncertain, as he wears both wig and beard when performing seemingly religious ceremonies.\* Of course there may have been different kinds of shaving—the head and not the face, the face and not the head, or a portion of the head (like a small monastic tonsure), as well as the whole head and face. Any of these could have been regarded as a special mark, and one of them may have been intended in the present case. It will be noted that one of the persons who were to be distinguished in this way was descendant of a "master of iron" (𒍪 𒍪- 𒍪 𒍪- 𒍪 𒍪, *rabû ša parzilli*), and another of a smith (𒍪 𒍪- 𒍪- 𒍪- 𒍪, *nappahu*)—perhaps a blacksmith—and that both therefore, probably had to do with the production of the implements used for marking, whether razors or otherwise.

The identification of the deity 𒍪- 𒍪- 𒍪- 𒍪- 𒍪 is unknown, except that, as a star, he (or she) was one of the "little twins" (*Bar-taba-turtur*), as they were called. The values of the second character (𒍪- 𒍪) are *nin*, *ni*, *é*, and *ereš*, but the pronunciation of the last (𒍪- 𒍪- 𒍪- 𒍪) is unknown. If the "great twins" (*Bar-taba-gala*) be, as is implied (W.A.I.V., pl. 46, l. 4, 5 *ab*), Sin and Nergal, it is not impossible that the "little twins" were Ištar (𒍪- 𒍪- 𒍪- 𒍪) † and 𒍪- 𒍪- 𒍪- 𒍪- 𒍪, *i.e.*, possibly two forms of Venus. As is well known, various ceremonies were performed in honour of this goddess.

The meaning of the name of the official called 𒍪 𒍪- 𒍪- 𒍪, D.P. *zazakku*, is unknown. The word also occurs in Strassmaier's *Inschriften von Nabonidus*, no. 1055, l. 11: "1 *gur* 2 *pi* 30 full, for the 17th year, Rêmut, the *zazakku* (𒍪 𒍪- 𒍪- 𒍪), has given to Bêl-kašir, his messenger" (𒍪 𒍪- 𒍪- 𒍪- 𒍪, D.P. *âbil-šipri-šu*).

\* A reproduction of a statuette of a female wearing a wig will be found in the *Transactions*, Vol. VIII. (plate illustrating Mr. Rassam's "Recent Discoveries," p. 174). This is apparently of the time of the Assyrian dominion (Sennacherib—Saracos. See my remarks on p. 354 of the same vol.).



† This apparently indicates Ištar as daughter of Sin (cf. *l.c.*, l. 22).












THE NAME OF PHARAOH.

DEAR MR. BALL,

I have for very many years been of opinion that the origin of the name of Pharaoh cannot be Egyptian. It is a purely Hebrew designation of the King of Egypt, just as our word *Mandarin* is applied to Chinese dignitaries, in whose language the word does not exist.

It is quite true that even in very ancient times , the great house,' was one of the many ways in which the king was spoken of. But there is no proof that this expression is to be read *per āa*, or rather *peru āau*. The sign  is polyphonous, and Brugsch in his great work, *die Geographie das alten Aegyptens*, I, pp. 23, 24, showed that in certain proper names it corresponded to the syllable *pa*, and sometimes to the Greek *βου*, as in *Bubastis*.

I have myself, in these *Proceedings*, 7th March, 1882, quoted a very remarkable variant in which the very frequent word  'the double house of flame' is written , and this renders it very probable that in divine and royal names  is   *bu*; in later orthography .

In the *Zeitschrift* of 1872 (pp. 77, 78) I derived the Coptic word king, *orpw*, from  *urà*. In the treaty between Rameses II and the King of the Chetta, the former is styled , and the latter  *pa urà āa*. The latter title, which was then given to *foreign* princes, was subsequently adopted by the Egyptian kings, especially by those of foreign origin, such as Darius, Cambyses, and the Ptolemies.\* I cannot believe that *Pharaoh* is derived from this title.

At our first meeting of this Session you threw out a suggestion upon which I have reflected a good deal, and I really think you have hit the nail upon the head.

\* See references in the article of the *Zeitschrift*.

You referred to the opening words of the Song of Deborah and Barak, **בְּפָרַעַ פְּרָעוֹת בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל**.

A hundred years ago it was rightly said,\* “Magna est virorum doctorum in explicandis his vocibus dissensio.” But this can hardly be said at the present day. There is a general consensus of authorities with the Septuagint (as represented by the Cod. Alex.) and Theodotion, *ἐν τῇ ἄρξασθαι ἀρχηγούς ἐν Ἰσραήλ, quod praeiverunt principes in Israel* (Gesenius, *Thes.*), “Sich behaupteten die Häupter in Israel” (Ewald, *Dichter das A.B.*, I, p. 125), “que les chefs se soient levés en Israel” (Reuss, *La Bible in loco*).

There are only two places where the word **פְּרָעוֹת** occurs, and both are poetical and archaic. In Deut. xxxii, 42, the word signifies *princes* as certainly as it does in Judges v, 2.

If we only look at an Arabic dictionary at the ramifications of the root **فَرَع**, we shall have reason to be astonished that anyone should have thought it necessary to search for the etymology of **פְּרָעָה**, when a Semitic root like **פָּרַע** is actually staring one in the face.

Were I writing for you alone it would not be necessary to add that the words *melek, king, emperor, czar, prince, rex, βασιλεύς* do not in themselves any more than Pharaoh involve the concept of sovereign rule.

I am only afraid now that people who read this will fancy that new evidence has turned up that the Pharaoh of Abraham was a Hyksos, and that the Hyksos were undoubtedly Semitic. Let us not anticipate evil! *Τὸ σήμερον μέλει μοι.*

Most truly yours,

P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

REV. C. J. BALL.

\* Schnurrer, *Diss. Philol.*, p. 40.



## NOTE ON THE PHARAOH OF THE EXODUS.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

As one of those who have endeavoured to show that the oppression of the Israelites probably occurred during the XVIIIth Dynasty, I have read with much interest the remarks of your President on the subject in the December number of your *Proceedings*, and I would ask leave to offer one suggestion concerning them. Is it not most likely that the words "in the land of Rameses," in Gen. xlvii, 11, and "Pithom and Raamses," in Exodus i, 11, are not part of the original text, but additions of a more or less conjectural nature, made by some archæologically-minded Jews of Alexandria, after the time of Josephus? The text in both places reads quite as well without these words as with them, and it is hardly conceivable that if they had been in the sacred books of the Temple at Jerusalem, to which Josephus had access, he, who has given us so many more details than our versions of those books contain, would have omitted those names.

It is, as the President has said, impossible to prove the truth of any theory on the subject from the Egyptian records hitherto brought before us, and it might therefore be deemed a waste of time to write about the subject at all, were it not so often stated as settled facts that Rameses II was the oppressor, and that his son Merenptah was the Pharaoh of the Exodus. The objections to this view are, firstly, that the time between Merenptah and Shishak is barely sufficient for the events narrated in Hebrew history between the Exodus and Rehoboam (without regard to the periods assigned to them), even on the supposition that Merenptah began to reign 1322 B.C., and utterly insufficient if, as some say, his reign did not commence till 1200 B.C., and, secondly, the extreme improbability that Rameses, who had several sons, would have countenanced the bringing up of an alien foundling as the heir to his throne. Neither of these objections applies to the theory which I was permitted to place before your Society in February, 1890, and which I would

take this opportunity of reviewing in the light of the recent discoveries by Professor Petrie at Tell el-Amarna.

It now appears that the reign of Khuenaten (who in my opinion was the first oppressor of the Israelites) lasted for 17 years only instead of 37. It would therefore have been his eldest daughter Meri Aten who adopted Moses, which agrees very well with the tradition mentioned by Dr. Wiedemann, that the princess in question was Merris, daughter of Palmanothis, king of Egypt, and wife of Chenephres, king of Egypt. Tia, the wife of Ai, whom I have suggested as the Thermuthis of Josephus, and who is said to have been the nurse of Khuenaten, was certainly a person of note at the court of the latter, and probably in attendance upon Meri Aten, and associated with her in bringing up the infant. The family life of Khuenaten, who is depicted with his wife and daughter sitting on his knee, is also more consistent with the account given by Josephus of the placing of the infant Moses in the arms of the oppressor by the princess than anything that we know of any other Egyptian king. If, as I have suggested, the flight of Moses took place shortly before the accession of Horemhebi and his return on the death of that sovereign, he would have been about thirty when he left Egypt, and about fifty-two when he returned, and if Rameses I were the king of the Exodus, the journey through the wilderness would have lasted through the reign of Seti I (which is not now thought to have extended over many years) and through the first few years of that of Rameses II; indeed, it may be doubted whether they had made much impression on the south of Palestine before the reign of Rameses III. These suggestions, while showing how the histories of Israel and Egypt may be most conveniently fitted together, do not, of course, comply literally with our text of the Old Testament, but neither does the Rameses and Merenptah theory, nor any other theory which has been or can be advanced and which can be harmonized with the contemporary Egyptian records.

Yours truly,

A. L. LEWIS.

54, *Highbury Hill, N.*

## THE ACHMETHAS OR ECBATANAS OF WESTERN ASIA.

BY WILLIAM F. AINSWORTH, F.S.A., F.R.G.S.

Treasuries, as also "treasure-houses," are frequently referred to in Holy Writ. So great is their antiquity, that they may be considered as coëval with the search for security to property. According to Exodus i, 2, the Israelites when dwelling in the land of Goshen built treasure cities (Pithom and Raamses), for Pharaoh.

With the progress of time, came cities with strong castles, citadels, or strongholds, as treasuries, and they constitute the Achmethas or Ecbatanas of Western Asia.

The first mention of such is met with in the Books of Ezra, when the captive Jews, desirous of proceeding with the rebuilding of the temple, sought for the decree of Cyrus enabling them to do so in "the house of rolls" in Babylon, and not finding it there, it was sought for and found at Achmetha "in the palace that is in the province of the Medes." (Ezra vii, 11.) The translators have put Ecbatana in the margin, and this, in the form of Ecbatana and Acbatana, as also Egbatana and Agbatana, were the Greek renderings of Achmetha.

## THE ECBATANA OF GREATER MEDIA.

The Achmetha here alluded to has been generally identified with Hamadan, the name of which has been looked upon as a modernised pronunciation of Achmetha. In the Syriac we find the word indeed in a transition state—Achmathana, and Hamadan is often written Amadan. Amadiya, the Ecbatana of Assyria, is another form of the same word.

Hamadan was a very strong place, built, according to Herodotus, by Dejoces, but according to Judith (1, xxiv) by Arphaxad, king of the Medes. Whether of Median or Persian origin, there seems to be little doubt as to its claim to represent the Achmetha of the captive Jews.

## THE ECBATANA OF LESSER MEDIA OR OF ATROPATENE.

Sir Henry Rawlinson, while admitting that Hamadan occupies the site of the Ecbatana of Greater Media, has an elaborate and exhaustive paper in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* (Vol. X) in which he endeavours to show that the present Takht-i-Sulāiman, or "Throne of Solomon," was the site of another—the Atropatenian Ecbatana; and that to it, rather than to the Ecbatana of Greater Media, the statements of Herodotus and most of the ancient accounts are to be understood to refer. Sir Henry Rawlinson seems also inclined to consider the Ecbatana of the Apocryphal Books as his Atropatenian Ecbatana, but is rather more doubtful in claiming it as the Achmetha of Ezra. If any doubts could be suggested as to the sites of the different Ecbatanas, the claims of the Babylonian Ecbatana (Kir-Kūk) and of the Persian Ecbatana (Pasagarda) would also have to be duly considered.

A contributor to the "Bible Dictionary" (Art. Media) says: "The principal city of Media for many centuries was Ecbatana, but it has been very much disputed where this stood. The Rev. J. Williams (*Essays on the Geography of Ancient Asia*) maintains it was at Ispahan. (This owing to the difficulty in explaining the movements of Alexander the Great, when the existence of a Babylonian Ecbatana was overlooked.) Sir William Jones thought it was at Tabriz, and d'Anville and others have placed it at Hamadan. The last opinion seems to be correct; but we must add that some writers, with Mr. Ainsworth, believe in two Median Ecbatanas, one at Hamadan and one at Takht-i-Sulāiman."

If we admit the two great divisions of Media as given by Strabo, and the exhaustive researches of Sir Henry Rawlinson in Azārbaijan (Atropatene), there is no getting over the fact that there were two Ecbatanas in Media.

I cannot help remarking here, however, that justice has scarcely been done to the vast additions to our knowledge of the comparative geography of Western Asia made by Sir Henry Rawlinson, but it will be done some day, when our intimacy with the countries in question increases.\*

\* Pliny applied the title of Ecbatana to the Arsacidan stronghold of Europus (VI, 19), but Sir Henry Rawlinson tells us that this Ecbatana, the Ragau of the Book of Tobit, and Rhagos of Alexander, is represented by the remarkable ruins of Kal'eh Erig, near Veramin. The ruins of Arsacia are to be seen at Shehri-Toghan, twelve miles south of Veramin. (*Journal R.G.S.*, X, 135.)

## THE ECBATANA OF BABYLONIA.

The fact that the Babylonians—at all events in later times—had a treasury or stronghold (Ecbatana) in the mountains, must depend a good deal upon the authority of Plutarch; but that authority happens, by the details that accompany it, to be alike clear and irrefutable.

The historian and biographer, in his life of Alexander the Great, describes the conqueror as proceeding, after the battle of Arbela, *through the province of Babylonia*, to Ecbatana, where he was particularly struck with a gulf of fire which streamed continually from an inexhaustible source. He was surprised also by the flood of naphtha, not far from the gulf, which flowed in such abundance that it formed a lake.

Now such a phenomenon as this is not to be met with at any of the known Ecbatanas, and only (excepting at Baku) at Kir-Kūk, in Babylonia or on its confines. The Arabs call the naphtha fires at this place, Abû Geger, and the Turks, Kurkur Baba, both signifying the same thing, “Father of Naphtha.” When the writer was there in 1837, the fires were burning, not in a gulf, but on a low hill or eminence. The flames issued from openings in a marly rock, and they burnt with intense ardour, but the light produced by them was most distinct at night. There were some twenty of these openings, but wherever a stick was thrust into the ground, it was followed by a jet of flame. As these fires were burning in the time of Alexander the Great, and in 1837, it may be presumed that they are doing so in the present day. Naphtha was collected by the natives at the same epoch from seven different springs, as usual of saline waters, at the foot of the hill. These may have accumulated into a small lake in the time of the Macedonian conqueror. It may be remarked of the *ater-gash*, *pyræa* or fire-altars of the Parsis or Fire-worshippers that they were frequently—more especially in Susiana—connected by a tube with naphtha springs, and the vapour being lighted, ensured a perpetual flame.

The mere existence of naphtha springs and perpetual fires, does not establish an Ecbatana; but close by there exists a town or city, in the midst of which rises a lofty rock, crowned by a castle of vast dimensions, only comparable to the castles of Arbela, Amadiya and Urfah. Arbela may also have been an Ecbatana, but we have no

historical reference to it as such. Unfortunately the interior of the castle at Kir-Kūk is a mass of ruin.

Kir-Kūk has been identified with the Kor-Kuk or Gorkuk of Ptolemy, but there seems to be no doubt, from the evidence of Plutarch, that it was also once an Ecbatana, and the confusion brought about by commentators of Arrian, Quintus Curtius, and other historians of Alexander's movements, as well as by geographers of old in seeking for an Ecbatana in Media or Persia, when the Macedonian hero was on his way to Susa, is most deserving of future correction.

#### THE ECBATANA OF ASSYRIA.

We are indebted to Mr. Rich, formerly Resident at Baghdad, and a well known writer on Babylon and Kurdistan, for first pointing out that the Castle of Amadiya—the strongest fortress in all Kurdistan—was an Assyrian Ecbatana.\* According to Mr. Rich, this castle retains the title of Ikbadan. But under either name its present appellation would indicate a modification of Achmetha. Sir Henry Rawlinson—who punctuates the word 'Amádíyáh—does not believe in an Assyrian Ecbatana, but neither he, nor Mr. Rich had actually visited Amadiya, and when we consider the vast dimensions of its castle, situated as it is on a lofty precipitous rock, approached only on one side, its ascent protected by strong portals, with colossal representations of Assyrian monarchs sculptured on the rock side, one cannot but feel that it was well worthy of being an Ecbatana of the Assyrians. Unlike the castles of Kirkúk, Arbela, and Urfah, it had not, however, a city around it or on the plain below. The habitations appear to have been confined from olden times, as they are in the present day, owing to its seclusion, and the insecurity of its position, to the castle itself. It was when the writer visited it garrisoned by Arnauts in the pay of the Pasha of Mosul.

#### THE ECBATANA OF PERSIA.

Pliny says: "*Ad orientem Magi obtinet Pasargardas castellum, in quo Cyri sepulchrum est: et horum Ecbatana oppidum translatum ab Dario rego ad montes.*" † The passage here quoted would seem to

\* *Narrative of a Journey in Kurdistan*, Vol. I, p. 153.

† *Plinius*, lib. VI, c. 29.



indicate that the Castle of Pasargada (written variously by the classical geographers, Pasargadis, Pasargada, and Pasargadæ) stood apart from Persepolis, and in the mountains, nigh the tomb of Cyrus, at Mūrgh-āb. The fact however that there was an Ecbatana—whether a castle or a city, as Pliny would intimate—is corroborated by numerous authorities. Sir Henry Rawlinson however says that the Persian Ecbatana of Pliny and Josephus (*Antiq.*, lib. X, c. 11, s. 7) can only be represented by the treasury citadel of Persepolis, and in a note he calls it the palace or castle of Persepolis. This is most likely the case, but the two statements are difficult to reconcile. Perhaps Pliny meant that Darius removed the Magi from the Median Ecbatana to Pasargada. One of the castellated rocks near Persopolis is called Takht-i-Kūr, or ‘Throne of Cyrus,’ according to Colonel Shee, a ripe Persian scholar, who accompanied the writer to Persepolis. There are however several castles on the rocky heights of the neighbourhood: the best known is that called Istakhar, with its twin sisters, Sheikusteh and Shemgan, with their respective strongholds. There is also the Castle of Shah Rik, on an isolated rock, whose governor is said to have been slain in defending the place against the Saracens in the seventh century.

It is not improbable that Mal-i-Mir—the Aidij of the Oriental geographers, and probably the city of Elymais, sacked by Antiochus and Mithridates on account of its wealth—may have been a treasure-stronghold of the Achæmenian kings of Susa. But we have no data to go upon until the inscriptions at the latter place are deciphered.

#### THE ECBATANAS OF SYRIA.

Gaza, by its name, its antiquity, and its historical renown, stands unquestionably at the head of the Ecbatanas of Syria. The Atropatenian Ecbatana having had the same name, Sir Henry Rawlinson said the Greeks uniformly asserted their adoption of the word Gaza, ‘a treasury,’ from the Persian. The root, however, he remarks, is of Semitic origin, so he only looks upon it as “very early naturalised in Persia.” But Gaza, in Syria, is described as early as Genesis (x, 19) as one of the border cities of the Canaanites. The name occurs also in Deut. ii, 28; and as Azzah in Josh. x, 41; xi, 42. Stephanus says, “*etiam Aza vocatur et usque hodie Syris Azam illam adpellant.*” Such names could scarcely have had a Persian origin, and they appear to have been corruptions of Achmetha, or, as

Sir Henry Rawlinson suggests in another place (*Journ. R.G.S.*, Vol. X, p. 157), "a translation of Ecbatana."

Gaza was held in succession by Avims, Caphtorims, Anakims, Philistines, Egyptians, and Israelites. Conquered by Cambyses, it is here also that the Persian monarch is said to have died, and Stephanus relates that the oracles having foretold that he would perish in an Ecbatana, he thought that the prediction attached itself to the Ecbatana of Media, while, as Herodotus remarks (III, LXIV), the oracle had reference to the Ecbatana of Syria. It seems then that the confusion ever existing between different Ecbatanas dates back to this remote period.

Pliny (V, xix) notices Carmelus or Carmel as a promontory, and he adds that on the mountain was a city of the same name, which was an Ecbatana. Some have associated the death of Cambyses with this Ecbatana, but it seems to have been but a secondary stronghold, occupying the site of what was once a temple, and now a monastery (*Tacitus*, lib. II, *Hist.*, cap. LXXVIII). Pomponius Mela (I, xi) describe Ecbatana, where Cambyses perished, as "ingens urbs et munita," and they add that the Persian king was attracted thither by its wealth and riches. This would scarcely apply to the lesser stronghold of Carmelus or Carmel.

#### THE TREASURIES OF PARTHIA.

According to Isidorus of Charax, the Parthians had a Gaza, or treasury, at Anatho, or Anatha (Anah on the Euphrates), known as Phraates Gaza. The same writer describes the stronghold as being situated on an island. Ammianus Marcellinus attributes the same position to it, "*Anathan munimentum quod Euphrates circumluebat*"; and Zozimus speaks of an island on which was a castle, which opened its gates to Julian. There are several islands on the Euphrates at Anah, and most have ruins of olden edifices, beautifully clad in verdure, but in the present day chiefly belonging to Muhammadam times. According to Ibn Hankal, the castle of Anatho was afterwards called Hisn Musalamah, from a Muhammadan of that name who restored it. Ptolemy makes mention of two fortresses, which he calls Addæa and Pacoria, the latter from Pacorus, a Parthian king, father to Phraates; so the stronghold appears to have been in existence before the time of the latter king.

The Persians, on their side, erected under Teridates an opposition stronghold, also on an island of the Euphrates, twelve schoeni below Anatho. This island is called Olabus by Isidorus, but by Ptolemy, Teridata. Ammianus Marcellinus called it, in the time of Julian, Thilutha. It is now known as Tilbes, or Telbes.

So strong was this place, that whilst Julian entered Anatho in triumph, to use the words of Gibbon, "the impregnable fortress of Thilutha could scorn the menace of a siege, and the Emperor was obliged to content himself with an insulting promise, that when he had subdued the interior provinces of Persia, Thilutha would no longer refuse to grace the triumph of a conqueror."

The two names, Pacoria and Teridates, Cellarius justly pointed out (*Not. Orbis. Antiq.*, Vol. II, p. 610), "have reference to a Parthian and Persian sovereign"; and hence it is that in the time of Julian the Parthians held Anah and the Persians Tilbes as a limit to their power.

A remarkable passage occurs in Tacitus (lib. XV, cap. xxxi); when writing of the movements of Tiridates, he says, "*Digressus Pacorum apud Medos, Vologesen Ecbatanis reperit.*" Cellarius quotes upon this Th. Ryckius, who remarks, "*Mirum, quod Pacorum apud Medos repertum, Vologesen Ecbatanis, quasi Ecbatana, quæ mediæ metropolis, in Mcdis non fuerint.*"

But the passage becomes quite clear when we find that Teridates had a stronghold near Pacorus, held by the Medes or Parthians, and that he repaired thence by the Euphrates to the Ecbatana of Vologeses. Vologeses was a king of the Parthians, who lived in the time of Nero, and he founded a city on the Maarsares, or Western Euphrates; according to the Peutingerian tables, xxiii *millibus*, from Babylon. Ptolemy calls it Vologesia, and Pliny Vologesscerta: cert, or kert, being a well known Parthian name for a stronghold, as in Tigrano-Certa.

Little however is known of this remote, and probably evanescent Ecbatana. As Cellarius remarks upon the better known Gaza:—" *Quod vero in Syria etiam hujus nominis oppidum fuit, uti ex Cambyses fato notum est; hæc urbs sæpius cum Mediæ cognomento vocitatur.*" (II, 669.)

The Vologesian Ecbatana is another example of the same kind; and owing to the Babylonian and Assyrian Ecbatanas having been so constantly overlooked, the confusion of Ecbatanas—the one with the other—is so great, that it would require a paper of

inordinate length to enumerate and elucidate them. Nor does the writer by any means assume that he has exhausted the possible number of Achmethas, or Ecbatanas—cities with strongholds and treasuries—or Gazas, or castellated treasuries, to be met with in Western Asia. He has merely attempted to enumerate and distinguish from one another such as are as yet known, and which possess an historical interest, so as, if possible, to prevent further confusion.




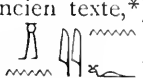
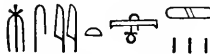
















ÉTUDE SUR ABYDOS.

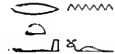


PAR E. LEFÉBURE.

L'OFFICE DES MORTS A ABYDOS.

I.

Il y a, au chapitre 17 du Livre des Morts, un passage qui s'explique presque entièrement par une cérémonie d'Abydos.

Voici le texte du *Todtenbuch*: *cet Osiris un tel est celui qui a traversé pur* (ou *sauf*, , d'après un ancien texte,\*) *la Mesek-t, et celui à qui l'on a donné* (ou *apporté*, , d'après un texte thébain,†) *le gâteau* (ou *les gâteaux*, variantes  et ) *du Tehen qui est dans Tanent*,    (sic)      . La glose ajoute: *celui qui a traversé, pur, la Mesekt, c'est Anubis, qui est derrière le coffre contenant les entrailles d'Osiris. Celui à qui l'on a donné*, , *le gâteau de Tehen dans Tanen, c'est Osiris; ou bien: le gâteau de Tehen dans Tanent, c'est le ciel et la terre; ou bien: c'est le châtement des deux terres par Shu*,     , *dans Héracléopolis; le Tehen, c'est l'Œil d'Horus, et Tanent, c'est le lit d'Osiris.‡*

L'expression  ou  ne signifie pas *celui qui donne*, mais *celui à qui l'on donne*, comme dans 

\* Lepsius, *Aelteste Texte*, pl. 19, l. 59 et 60.  
 † Naville, *Todtenbuch*, II, pl. 69.  
 ‡ Lepsius, *Todtenbuch*, ch. 17, l. 79-83; et Naville, *Todtenbuch*, II, pl. 69 et 70.


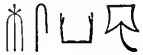
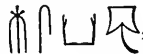

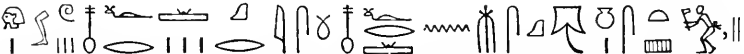










la pique d'Horus et le fer du prêtre fendent la peau de l'hippopotame, ,\* comme du taureau rouge,† et si les attaches de l'échelle céleste sont faites avec le  d'un dieu né de la vache Heset,‡ les cuirs de la barque infernale sont faits aussi, à ce qu'il semble, d'une peau, , de Mnévis marquée en rouge, ou marquée par Set.§ Le Rituel de l'Embaumement nous apprend même que le *meseh* des funérailles était la peau de Set:   
  
*on a célébré pour toi les bons rites et les bonnes funérailles de la peau de Set, ton ennemi, pour satisfaire ton cœur dans la tombe, et alors l'élu, pleuré par ses sœurs dans Mendès et Abydos, se lève le jour, comme le bel éclat du Soleil brillant sur tout pays, paraît la nuit en belle Lune, etc.*

Ce détail fait entrevoir qu' à l'origine on ensevelissait les morts dans des peaux de bêtes provenant ou non d'un sacrifice funéraire, pratique jadis employée par les Colchidiens,¶ qu' Hérodote croyait venus d'Égypte,\*\* et encore en usage de nos jours sur le Haut Nil.†† Une des momies de Deïr el-Bahari, celle d'un jeune prince thébain anonyme, était entourée d'une peau de mouton, en souvenir peut-être, bien que la laine fût impure dès le moyen Empire au moins,‡‡ de la coutume thébaine d'après laquelle on enveloppait la statue d'Ammon, une fois par an, avec la peau d'un bélier sacrifié.§§ Osiris, qui est représenté sur une peau de mouton dans un papyrus magique

\* Naville, *Textes relatifs au mythe d'Horus*, pl. 5, l. 2, et. pl. 11, l. 5.

† Dendérah, iv, pl. 85, b.

‡ Pepi II, l. 976.

§ Naville, *Todtenbuch*, ch. 99, pl. 224.

|| Maspero, *Sur quelques papyrus du Louvre*, p. 40.

¶ *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, ii, p. 380; Apollonius de Rhodes, *Argonautiques*, iii, 202; et Elien, *Varie Historie*, iv, 1.

\*\* Hérodote, II, 104.

†† Cf. Andrew Lang, *The Nineteenth Century*, September, 1886, *Egyptian Divine Myths*, p. 440.

‡‡ Maspero, *Mélanges d'archéologie*, X, Le Papyrus de Berlin No. 1, p. 158; cf. Plutarque, de *Isidè et Osiridè*, 4.

§§ Hérodote, II, 42.

du British Museum,\* avait été enseveli dans une vache de bois, d'après Diodore,† comme la fille de Mycérinus, d'après Hérodote.‡

Tombées en désuétude, ces pratiques furent remplacées par des équivalents, ainsi que le montrent différents indices : on transporta les momies à la nécropole sous un tapis de cuir,§ comme celui de la princesse Astemkheb, ou bien sous un ciel à charpente de bois, sorte de dais recouvert de cuir, et appelé *la peau* dans l'histoire de Sineh,



Être sous le cuir, c'était être mort, et métaphoriquement la tombe fut aussi la peau ; c'est pourquoi l'annonce que *les bœufs traînent* (la momie) *vers la demeure du corps*,

est exprimée ainsi au tombeau d'Anna (dix-huitième dynastie) : *les bœufs vigoureux traînent* (le prince) *vers le Mesek*,

quoique légèrement déformé par le graveur, ou par le temps, avec  $\triangle$  pour  $\nabla$  et  $\square$  pour  $\square$ , le mot Mesek est facilement reconnaissable ici.

Le mort mis dans une peau, ou sous une peau, semblait obtenir par là l'excellence ou tout au moins la protection de l'animal dont la dépouille l'entourait, comme ces anciens Ethiopiens qui s'étranglaient avec une queue de vache,†† ou ces modernes Hindous qui tiennent en expirant la queue d'une vache. S'afflubber d'une peau de victime, en effet, a toujours paru un des plus sûrs moyens de s'approprier la vertu du sacrifice, à preuve la peau de bélier qu'avait à ses pieds le futur myste se purifiant aux Eleusines,‡‡ les toisons de béliers dont se revêtaient les prêtres de Zeus allant conjurer la Canicule sur le Pélion,§§ la peau de brebis dont les visiteurs d'Hiérapolis, en Syrie, se couvraient avant de partir,||| et la peau de bœuf sur laquelle s'asseyaient les Scythes qui voulaient contracter une alliance.¶¶

\* Birch, *Revue Archéologique*, 1863, p. 438.

† I, 85.

‡ II, 132.

§ Cf. Champollion, *Notices*, I, p. 491 ; et Wilkinson, *The ancient Egyptians*, édition Birch, pl. 61.

|| Denkmäler, VI, pl. 106, l. 193-4.

¶ Rekhmara, pl. 21.

\*\* Champollion, *Notices*, I, p. 836.

†† Diodore, III, 32.


‡‡ Suidas, *Διὸς κώδιον*.


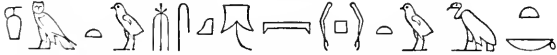
§§ Dicéarque, dans les *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, II, p. 262.

||| De Dea Syria, 55.

¶¶ Lucien, *Toxaris*, 47-8.

Mais les Egyptiens ne s'en tinrent pas à cette conception initiale. Comme toute chose a son bon et son mauvais côté, l'idée fâcheuse de la mort fit de la peau un emblème funeste et par conséquent typhonien, d'une part, d'autre part, comme le *processus* polythéiste assimile la nature à l'humanité, chaque défaillance divine devint une mort humaine, et les dieux passèrent aussi sous la peau.

Dans la représentation commémorative des obsèques d'Osiris, son Kher-heb divin, c'est-à-dire Anubis ou Horus, traversait pour lui le Mesek, comme le chapitre 17 du *Todtenbuch* l'a montré pour Anubis, et comme le montrera pour Horus un passage de la stèle Metternich, l. 74-76 : *me voici, me voici, mon fils Horus, dit Isis au jeune dieu (Kher-heb et Simeref de son père),\* sois sans crainte, sois sans crainte, fils de mon bonheur ! Il ne l'arrivera rien de mal ; tu as en toi l'essence du créateur des êtres, tu es le fils qui est au milieu du Pays de la peau, et qui sort du Nun ; tu ne périras pas par le feu du venin,* , etc.

L'hieroglyphe de la terre accompagnant là le mot, , indique bien que la peau avait pris avec les dieux un sens de plus en plus symbolique. Ce sens est précisé dans un hymne à la divinité solaire, reproduit au papyrus magique Harris et au temple d'El-Khargeh : † , *le Mesek te joint et ta mère l'étreint quand tu franchis l'horizon, l'Occident tend les bras pour te recevoir, et tous les êtres l'adorent quand tu te couches dans l'enfer à l'heure de la nuit : tu réveilles Osiris par tes rayons,* etc. Ici le Mesek a pour déterminatif, outre la peau, le firmament. C'est le ciel souterrain ou le pays infernal franchi la nuit par le soleil, et symbolisé dans les Livres qui décrivent l'enfer, notamment au début de la Litanie, ‡ par un crocodile, un serpent et un taureau (celui de la peau, sans doute). De là vinrent les serpents, les taureaux et les crocodiles à une ou à deux têtes, que traversait l'astre dans son voyage nocturne, semblable à celui de ce dieu de la Nouvelle Zélande qui descendit dans le corps de la nuit, son aïeule. On

\* *Todtenbuch*, ch. 145, l. 19.

† Chabas, *Le papyrus magique Harris*, pl. vi, l. 3-4 ; Birch, *Transactions*, v, part i, l. 18-9 ; et Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, iv, p. 633, l. 14.

‡ Denkmæler, iii, pl. 134, a.







D'après ce texte c'est le Hau, monstre ou reptile typhonien,\* variante du serpent (*Rerek*) et du taureau (*Ka*),† qu'on châtaït avec le Tehen. Quelque chose d'analogue avait lieu en Thébàide, d'après les textes magiques des papyrus du Louvre et du temple d'El-Khargeh, conjurant le reptile ennemi dont la gueule a une écume de feu,‡ et qui vient pour s'emparer du disque de l'Amenranef qui réside à Karnak, l'Osiris thébain (papyrus No. 3237)§ Recule, tourne la tête en arrière, Set, mauvais compagnon, méchant reptile dont la gueule a une écume de feu, n'approche pas des membres divins. C'est toi que désignent les quatre briques de Tehen qui sont dans le grand temple aux deux cités d'An (Héliopolis et Hermonthis). Brisées aujourd'hui, elles frapperont ta tête, elles casseront tes reins, elles détruiront ton âme en toutes tes places,||



La brique de Tehen équivalait au gâteau de Tehen ; elle était, en effet, mangée par le serpent, de même que des oies de calcaire et des pains d'argile (si ce sont des pains) en cônes ou en briques avec inscriptions nominatives,\*\* étaient censés servir de repas aux morts, *parva petunt Manes* ; dans la conjuration ou *shen* du reptile typhonien, *Rerek*, le dernier paragraphe débute par une interpellation ironique au monstre, à qui l'on faisait vomir ce qu'il avait mangé, d'après d'autres textes :†† vomissements du mur, expectorations de la brique!



*l'écume sortie de ta gueule soit contre toi! Le feu est éteint, on ne trouve plus la flamme, etc.‡‡*

\* Cf. Amtuat, deuxième hevre, grand texte.

† Cf. Pleyte, *Proceedings*, Novembre, 1890, p. 14-16.

‡ Cf. Job, 41, 9-12.

§ Chassinat, *Recueil de Travaux*, xiv, p. 11.

|| Id., p. 14, Papyrus No. 3239.

¶ Id., p. 14, Texte d'El-Khargeh.

\*\* Flinders Petrie, *A Season in Egypt*, p. 23.

†† *Todtenbuch*, ch. 108, l. 5.


‡‡ Unas, l. 333-5; cf. *Todtenbuch*, ch. 125, l. 52.





des pyramides royales qui mentionne à côté du rite de la peau celui du verre : *La grande Rosée* (la libation\*) est au Taureau de Nekhen (Horus),† et la flamme du feu de ce Teta est pour vous, qui êtes derrière le sarcophage divin (d'Osiris).‡ O dieu grand, dont le nom est ignoré, il y a des offrandes à la place du Seigneur unique. O Seigneur de l'horizon, fais une place à ce Teta ! Si tu ne fais pas une place à ce Teta, tu (en) feras une proie au sein du père Seb, la terre.§ Seb ne lui parlera pas, il ne le relèvera pas s'il trouve ce Teta sur son chemin, il le mangera,|| lui le dévot sacré du Lac ? Que paraisse le Lumineux, que se lève le Grand, que parlent les dix-huit dieux de la terre, que vente le vent, que se réunissent les deux enfers, que se rejoignent les deux sanctuaires, que se voilent les passages en faveur des Passants, que s'abaissent les montées en faveur des Sortants ! Apport de la corde, traversée de la Mesekt, bris du verre à l'entrée du canal du Nil !



On voit que la traversée de la Mesekt et le bris du verre, , en copte  $\text{ⲄⲁⲪⲬⲏⲏⲓ}$ ,\*\* correspondent ici au passage de la Mesekt et à l'apport du Tehen mentionnés par le chapitre 17 du *Todtenbuch* ; il suit de là que le Bedju n'est qu'une variante du Tehen, matière bien connue dès l'ancien Empire, †† comme le verre, †† et employée pour la confection des amulettes, des sistres, des cachets, des vases, etc.§§ Comme on distinguait le Tehen vrai, le faux ne pouvait être que le verre, dont les Arabes font aussi des amulettes, ||| et la faïence.

\* Horhotep, l. 71 ; et Abydos, I, p. 60.

† Unas, l. 433-4.

‡ Cf. *Todtenbuch*, ch. 17, l. 39.

§ Cf. Horhotep, l. 68.

|| Cf. Abydos, I, p. 38 ; et Unas, l. 515 et 555.

¶ Teta, l. 237-9, et Unas, l. 416-9.

\*\* Maspero, *Mélanges d'archéologie*, X, p. 150, et *Recueil de travaux*, IV, p. 47 ; cf. Pleyte, *Proceedings*, Novembre, 1890, p. 25.

†† De Rougé, *Mémoire sur les six premières dynasties*, p. 69.



‡‡ Schliemann, *Tirynthe*, édition française, p. 270.

§§ Lepsius, *Les métaux dans les inscriptions égyptiennes*, traduction W. Berend, p. 38 ; Naville, *Todtenbuch*, I, pl. 182, l. 10, et *Les quatre stèles orientées*, pl. 15 ; Dendérah, IV, pl. 87 ; Denkmäler, IV, pl. 46, l. 14 et 37 ; Brugsch, *Supplément au Dictionnaire*, p. 1349 ; etc.

||| Casanova, *Bulletin de l'Institut égyptien*, 1891, p. 113-121.

Si le texte des pyramides royales dit qu'on brisait le verre, le chapitre 125 du *Todtenbuch* fournit un renseignement de même nature sur le cristal. Toutefois ce dernier texte contient une description du symbolisme qui paraît fortement mélangée d'éléments héliopolitains, les idées d'Héliopolis ayant pénétré dans le culte Osirien par Mendès, comme celles d'Héracléopolis par Abydos.

D'après le chapitre 125, quand le mort va se présenter devant ses juges, il interpelle les dieux qui sont dans la salle de la Justice, *Ma-ti*, ainsi que les bourreaux et les messagers qu'il redoute, puis, il déclare qu'il s'est purifié dans les lacs voisins d'Héliopolis, et les dieux lui font alors subir un interrogatoire en règle :

*Faites-le venir, disent les dieux. Osiris un tel, qui es-tu? Quel est ton nom?—Je suis l'Osiris un tel. Celui qui prospère sous les papyrus, celui qui est dans son baumier,\* voilà mon nom.—Par où es-tu venu, lui disent-ils?—Je suis venu par la ville qui est au Nord du baumier (arbre sacré d'Héliopolis).—Qu'as-tu vu là?—Le pied et la jambe (d'Osiris; un texte thébain a la main et la jambe, ce qui est plus conforme aux traditions.†)—Qu'as-tu vu (encore)?—Des réjouissances en ce pays des Dévoilés (ou des Phéniciens, d'après presque tous les textes thébains).—Que t'a-t-on donné?—Une flamme de feu avec un sceptre-uadj de cristal,*  *—Qu'en as-tu fait?—Je les ai enterrés‡ sur les rives du bassin de Ma-ti, (à Abydos et sur la route de l'enfer,§ mais quelques textes nomment ici le bassin héracléopolitain de Maa), dans les cérémonies nocturnes,*  *, (peut-être le rite consistant à piocher sous deux obélisques qui rappellent ceux des tables d'offrandes, près du bassin de Kheper).—Qu'as-tu trouvé sur ces rives du bassin de Ma-ti?—Un sceptre-uas en pierre (celui d'Anubis,¶ dieu des morts et de la nuit, trouvé peut-être en piochant le champ d'Abydos, dans la visite à Anubis, rite figuré au tombeau de Rekhmara).\*\*—Tu l'as ramassé? Parle!—L'Osiris un tel l'a ramassé.—*

\* Cf. Pepi I, l. 180.

† Naville, *Todtenbuch*, I, ch. 102.

‡ Cf. Naville *Les quatre stèles orientées*, pl. 13 et 15.

§ *Todtenbuch*, ch. 17, l. 19.

|| Cf. Unas, l. 512; et Pepi II, l. 690.

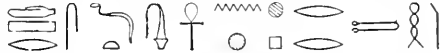
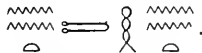
¶ Cf. *Todtenbuch*, ch. 97, l. 1.

\*\* Pl. 22; cf. *Todtenbuch*, ch. 97, l. 1.



## IV.

Le Tehen était offert en gâteau près de la Mesekt, et son substitut, le verre, était cassé près de la Mesekt ; de même la brique de Tehen, mangée, était aussi cassée ; de même encore le sceptre de Tehen était enterré et cassé. C'est Typhon ou un des siens qui avalait le Tehen, et c'est sur sa tête qu'on le brisait, mais Typhon personnifiait la terre ou tout au moins la terre de la nécropole, de sorte qu'enterrer le Tehen c'était toujours le faire avaler à ce dieu. Il y a là une suite d'analogies montrant que les formes du gâteau, de la brique et du sceptre peuvent se ramener à une seule, celle, par exemple, de l'amulette rectangulaire en faïence marqué d'un sceptre *uadj*,\* et de même les rites relatifs à ces talismans ou *khu* se réduisent à un seul rite, dont le sens le plus visible rentre dans le symbolisme solaire. Ce sens fut admis dès une haute antiquité par les Egyptiens, qui voyaient dans le Tehen l'image du châtement de Typhon par l'œil céleste,† ou du châtement des deux parties du monde par le dieu de l'air et de la lumière, Shu.‡ Si, en effet, le Tehen est proprement le cristal, les gloses du *Todtenbuch* montrent que le mot avait été pris aussi dans son acception dérivée.

Le cristal étant le corps brillant par excellence, le Tehen était la lumière : *la flamme rougit, le scarabée surgit, la splendeur respandit*, (au moment de l'offrande),  (au moment de l'offrande), . § Sekhet était *une face de Tehen dans la salle du feu*,|| et on offrait le Tehen à la déesse Maut le 6 du mois, *avec tous les rites d'allumer le feu*.¶ On comparait au Tehen le luisant des feuilles, le brillant de la peau, l'aurore, le clair de lune ou Thot-Tehen, etc. L'expression d'*aten tehen* ou *disque resplendissant*\*\* n'est pas rare, au moins sous le nouvel Empire. De plus, un des couples mâles et femelles représentant les Génies du Soleil était celui du Tehen,†† et l'astre lui-même était dit *tehen aru* ou *forme de lumière*.‡‡

\* Golénischeff, *Ermitage imperial*, p. 257 ; et Abydos, III, p. 566.

† Horhotep, l. 559 et 560.

‡ *Todtenbuch*, ch. 17, l. 82.

§ Teta, l. 89, Merenra, l. 240, et Pepi II, l. 619.

|| Dendérah, III, pl. 66.

¶ Recueil, XIII, p. 164 ; cf. p. 166.

\*\* Zeitschrift, 1877, p. 87, et 1881, p. 119 ; Stèle C, 207 du Louvre ; etc.

†† J. de Rougé, *Edfou*, pl. 8 et 126 ; Champollion, *Notices*, i, p. 279 ; etc.

‡‡ Papyrus No. 6 de Berlin, Denkmäler, VI, pl. 117, l. 3.





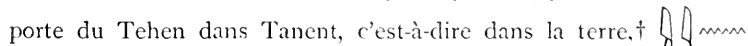





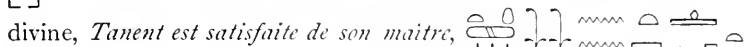
même. De là les gâteaux de Cerbère, et les gâteaux tenus par les visiteurs de l'ancre de Trophonius. De là aussi, très vraisemblablement, le gâteau de Tehen, remis au mort égyptien pour Typhon.



Le gâteau aurait figuré par substitution la vie humaine (avant de symboliser la clarté solaire), et on l'aurait rompu, suivant la vieille coutume de casser les amulettes des tombes, pour punir le monstre infernal comme pour représenter l'existence brisée. Il est même admissible qu'une intention de supercherie, comme par exemple dans la remise à Kronos d'une pierre pour un enfant, ait motivé en partie le choix du Tehen. Tandis qu'on offrait de vrais gâteaux *mesi* aux fidèles d'Osiris,\* les personnages typhoniens recevaient de faux gâteaux *mesi* faits de verre, et plus faciles par conséquent à engloutir qu'à digérer. C'est ainsi qu'Horus-ichneumon déchirait les entrailles du crocodile.

Les vieux rites du Tehen offert et rompu une fois établis, le symbolisme du cristal dut s'élargir peu à peu. Il y eut en enfer une

porte du Tehen dans Tanent, c'est-à-dire dans la terre.† 

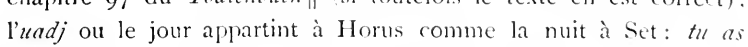
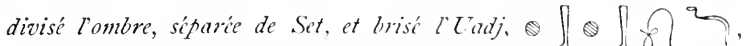
;‡ Thoth put dire au Soleil, pour faire entrer le mort dans la barque

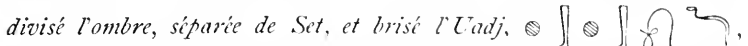
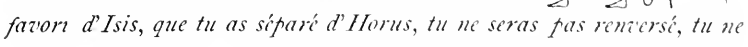
divine, *Tanent est satisfaite de son maître*, 

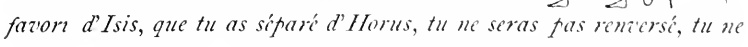
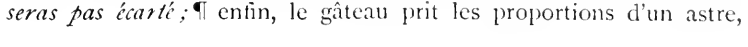
;§ le jour passa pour être caché dans le Tehen, 

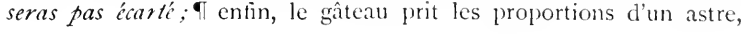
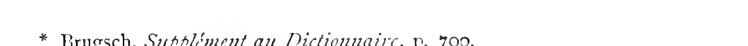
;§ le jour passa pour être caché dans le Tehen, 

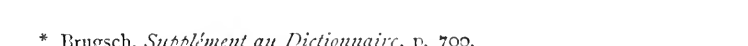
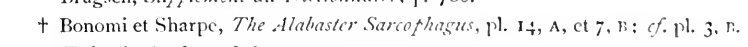
;§ le jour passa pour être caché dans le Tehen, 

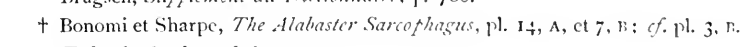

;§ le jour passa pour être caché dans le Tehen, 


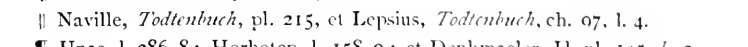
;§ le jour passa pour être caché dans le Tehen, 

;§ le jour passa pour être caché dans le Tehen, 

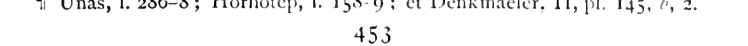

;§ le jour passa pour être caché dans le Tehen, 



;§ le jour passa pour être caché dans le Tehen, 

;§ le jour passa pour être caché dans le Tehen, 

;§ le jour passa pour être caché dans le Tehen, 

;§ le jour passa pour être caché dans le Tehen, 

;§ le jour passa pour être caché dans le Tehen, 

;§ le jour passa pour être caché dans le Tehen, 

;§ le jour passa pour être caché dans le Tehen, 

\* Brugsch, *Supplément au Dictionnaire*, p. 700.

† Bonomi et Sharpe, *The Alabaster Sarcophagus*, pl. 14, A, et 7, B; cf. pl. 3, B.

‡ *Todtenbuch*, ch. 146, l. 25.

§ *Todtenbuch*, ch. 129, l. 8 et 9.

|| Naville, *Todtenbuch*, pl. 215, et Lepsius, *Todtenbuch*, ch. 67, l. 4.

¶ Unas, l. 286-8; Horhotep, l. 158-9; et Denkmaeler, II, pl. 145, b, 2.

comme ce fromage d'Io dont parle La Fontaine dans ses fables :\* *La lune à l'horizon montait, hostie énorme*, a dit aussi V. Hugo.†

Ainsi le cristal eut le sort de la peau. Tous deux reçurent avec le temps une valeur plus relevée ou plus compréhensive, et comme tous deux concernent un même point du culte des morts, l'envoi de l'âme dans l'autre monde, il n'est pas étonnant qu'ils soient entrés et demeurés dans une relation étroite. Cette relation ressort de la formule des pyramides royales accolant les deux objets, ainsi que du chapitre 17 du *Todtenbuch*. Sur ce point la version que le sarcophage de Horhotep‡ donne du chapitre 17 est très instructive, puisqu'elle fait du Tehen le Castigateur,



Un lien pareil existait naturellement entre ces coutumes funéraires et la cité funéraire, Abydos. Bien que la conception du châtimement de la terre, origine du nom de ville *Kenkentani*, § ait pu naître à Héracléopolis où le châtimement avait lieu, Abydos n'en resta pas moins la ville par excellence des rites de la peau et du cristal, créés ou non par elle et pratiqués ou non par d'autres. On la trouve donc appelée Tanent et Aa-mesek, par exemple sur une statue du Louvre (nouvel Empire), dans une prière du dédicateur,

je suis le grand favori (si ¶ n'est pas pour ¶¶) dans Abydos, le très pur dans Tanent, et sur une stèle du Caire, dans une adoration à Osiris (époque saïte),

\*\*\* Aa-mesek est en joie, et Tanent entre en allègresse.

\* XI, 6.

† V. Hugo, *Les Contemplations*, Livre vi, 20, Relligio.

‡ L. 559-560.

§ Papyrus Anastasi IV, p. 12, l. 6.

¶ Statue A 65 du Louvre

¶¶ Cf. *Todtenbuch*, ch. 1, l. 9.

\*\* Mariette, *Abydos*, III, p. 481, No. 1276.

Voici maintenant l'idée générale que suggèrent les deux rites qui viennent d'être étudiés, et dont les développements ainsi que les rapports existaient sous l'ancien Empire, comme le montrent les pyramides royales :

Osiris étant la momie par excellence, ses funérailles furent l'image solennisée des obsèques humaines, de sorte que les gens de distinction participèrent aux avantages de cette cérémonie grandiose en la faisant célébrer pour leur compte à Abydos, dans le temple du dieu. L'office avait lieu la nuit, aux flambeaux, et l'une de ses parties essentielles consistait dans le passage de l'officiant sous une peau, puis dans le bris d'un morceau de cristal. La peau, souvenir des anciens linceuls en cuir, avait fini par symboliser le pays des morts qu'il fallait traverser en se purifiant pour renaître, de même que le cristal, sorte d'offrande fallacieuse aux mauvais esprits, était devenu la lumière disparue, et peut-être aussi la foudre dont le ciel frappait Typhon. L'ensemble de ces *vigilie mortuorum* n'est pas sans ressemblance extérieure avec les messes commémoratives, célébrées devant un catafalque, ou avec les prises de voile dans lesquelles la novice, comme une défunte, est couchée sous un drap mortuaire qui la sépare à jamais du monde.








EUPHRATEAN STELLAR RESEARCHES.

BY ROBERT BROWN, JUNR., F.S.A.





Part III. *The Tablet K*, 2894.—*Reverse*; etc.

I.











This Tablet, a copy of which is given in the *Proceedings*, March, 1888, reads as follows:—

1. . . .      . . .  
 . . . nam]-ru. Ruχ aχarri. Enu-va ruχ . . .  
 . . . (*it is*) *bright.*] *A west wind.* *When a-wind* . . .







f. K. 2310, Ob. l. 10 (*Proceedings*, April, 1892, p. 283).

2. . . .     . . .  
 . . . Kakkabi sa zumba . . .  
 . . . *the-stars* *which* *a-tail* . . .










The constellation last mentioned on the Obverse of the Tablet, and about which the scribe is still speaking, is *Capricorn* (*vide Proceedings*, May, 1893, p. 328); and its tail-forming stars are thus described in Ptolemy's List:—



- γ. "The foremost of the 2 beside the tail."
  - ζ. "The hindmost of them" (*Deneb Algedi*).
  - 42. "The foremost of the 4 at the northern part of the tail."
  - υ. "The southern-one of the 3 remaining."
  - λ. "The centre-one of them."
  - 46. "The northern-one of them and the one at the end of the tail."
3. . . .      . . .  
 . . . Kakkab Ni - bat - a - nu ina libbi . . .  
 . . . *the-star* *Mars* *in the-midst* . . .
4. . . .      . . .  
 . . . Kakkabi zumbi innamaru . . .  
 . . . *the-stars* *of-the-tails* *are-seen* . . .

I.e., the tails of *Capricorn* and *Piscis Australis* (vide *Proceedings*, January, 1890, p. 144).







5. . . .    <    . . .  
 . . . izarriχ. Nuni û itstsuri innamaru . . .  
 . . . *begins. Fishes and birds are-seen . . .*




So, when “*Mars* to the Star of the *Fish* [= *Fomalhaut*. Vide *Proceedings*, January, 1890, p. 147] is opposite, the presence of many fish in the land is reported.” (*W.A.I.* III, lvii, 2, l. 3).




6. . . .           
 . . . D.P. Lu - bat etik. D.P. Sak - vi - sa ina libbi  
 . . . *Jupiter crosses. Mercury in the-midst*

  . . .  
 kakkabi A - nu[-ni-tum . . .  
*of-the-constellation of-Anu[-nit . . .*

I.e., the *Bow*-stars of *Sagittarius* (vide *Proceedings*, February, 1890, p. 203 ; April, 1892, p. 298).

7. . . .  (= )      
 . . . Kakkab] Nam - maχ izzaz-va kakkab Nuni  
 . . . *the-star] of-Mighty-destiny is-fixed, and the-star of-the-Fish*

   . . .  
 ana kakkab A[-nu-ni-tum . . .  
*to the-constellation of-A[-nu-nit . . .*

8. . . . . . . . . .    . . .  
 . . . Kakkab Nam]-maχ i - zaz . . .  
 . . . *the-star of-Destiny]-mighty is-fixed . . .*

In *W.A.I.* III, lxiv, Rev. l. 2, we read :— *Tarbatsa kakkab Nam-maχ û kakkab A-nu-ni-. . .* “A setting the star of *Mighty-destiny* and the constellation of *Anunit*” . . . These two are therefore usually classed together, as in l. 7, and “the star of *Mighty-destiny*” will be *Sa’d el su’ûd* (*Sadalsund*, “Fortuna fortunarum”),  $\beta$ -*Aquarii*, a lucky star; the Arabic name seems to be a translation, or, at all events, an echo of the original Akkadian appellation. *Aquarius* in astrology “is deemed a fortunate sign,” and its stars, as we have seen (*Proceedings*, January, 1890, pp. 139-43), are connected with one

beginning of the year and calendar. Similarly, a *Aquarii* is *Sadal-meli*χ (“Faustum sidus regis”), “the Auspicious Star of the King,” being evidently dedicated to the god An-sar (= Assur), of whom Uras-Ramânu (vide *Proceedings*, April, 1892, p. 302), the presiding divinity of Sabatu, the month of *Aquarius*, is a phase.

9. . . . 𐎲𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠  
 . . . ḫalabu; lâ iššu nisi as-su yuma ûl  
 . . . *clouded; not strong (are) the-people, for the-day not*

𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 . . .  
 ti - du - u . . .  
*ye-know . . .*

10. . . . 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠  
 . . . kab - tuv ina mati ibas - si as-su kabta ûl  
 . . . *honour in the-country is, for honour not*

𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 . . .  
 ti - du - u . . .  
*ye-know . . .*

11. . . . 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 . . .  
 . . . nunu imat; kakkabu rabu sa - ru - ru . . .  
 . . . *the-prince dies; the-star great brightness . . .*

A *kakkab rabu*, perhaps a comet, is mentioned in *W.A.I.* III, lii, No. 1, l. 9.

12. . . . 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠 . . .  
 . . . kakkab tar - tsu - va mes-ḫu . . .  
 . . . *the-star is-fixed, and a-measure (measured, i.e., rose).*

13. At present this line appears to be untranslatable.

14. 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 . . . 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠  
 Kakkab . . . samsi-atsi izzaz-va dunku. D.P.  
*The-star . . . at-sunrise is-fixed, and (is) propitious.*

𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠 . . .  
 samsi-eribi izzaz-va . . .  
*At-sunset it-is-fixed, and . . .*



*Siχχirat*. From *saxaru*, "to surround." Heb. סַחַר.

This passage, perhaps a gloss, contains a difficult and important statement, the explanation of which is, I think, as follows:—The *kasbu* (As. *asli*) =  $60^\circ$  (vide *Proceedings*, May, 1893, p. 340), and "sixty was the unexpressed denominator of a fraction.\* Hence, the meaning of the passage appears to be that  $\frac{40}{60}$  ( $=\frac{2}{3}$ ) of  $60^\circ = 40^\circ =$  "the circuit of the sun." This "circuit of the sun" can hardly refer to anything other than the sum of the degrees of its greatest declination from the celestial equator during its annual revolution, *i.e.*,  $23\frac{1}{2}^\circ$  N. and S. at the Tropics of *Cancer* and *Capricorn* respectively, =  $47^\circ$ , not  $40^\circ$ , as estimated by the scribe. And this view is strengthened by the latter part of the line, which doubtless read,— " $60^\circ =$  the circuit of the moon." That is,  $\frac{60}{60} = 1$  (*kasbu*) =  $60^\circ$ . Now the actual sum of the moon's greatest declinations is  $(23\frac{1}{2}^\circ + 5^\circ) + (23\frac{1}{2}^\circ + 5^\circ) = 57^\circ$ , which is very near the round number of  $60^\circ$  given by the scribe. He evidently gives  $20^\circ$  as a round number for the solar tropic, and  $30^\circ$  as a round number for the lunar tropic, instead of  $23\frac{1}{2}^\circ$  and  $28\frac{1}{2}^\circ$  respectively. From these statements it follows, also, that the scribe was perfectly well acquainted with the obliquity of the ecliptic; an astronomical fact the discovery of which, on the Greek side, has been attributed to Pythagoras,† or to his follower Oinopidēs of Chios, cir. B.C. 480. Such statements by classical writers mean no more than that such and such a Greek was the introducer, not the inventor or discoverer, of this or that item of astronomical knowledge. Thus, according to Eudoxos of Rhodes,‡ Oinopidēs "first discovered the cincture of the Zodiac" (*εἶπε πρῶτος τὴν τοῦ ζωδιακοῦ εἰζοσιν*); in which, according to Pliny,§

\* Sayce, *Herodotos*, 403.

† "Pythagoras was a Samian; according to Aristoxenos, in his life of Pythagoras, he was a Tyrrhenian; and, according to Neanthēs, a Syrian or a Tyrian. So that Pythagoras was, according to most authorities, of barbarian extraction." (Clem. Alex., *Stromata* I, xiv, 62). "He had intercourse with the chief men both of the Chaldeans and of the Magi." (*Ibid.*, xv, 66.) "Alexander [Polyhistor] in his book *On the Pythagorean Symbols*, relates that Pythagoras was a pupil of Nazaratos the Assyrian." (*Ibid.*, 70.) "The name of his teacher is correct enough. This is also the case with the Chaldeans, Kidenas, Naburianus, and Sudinas, who, according to Strabo (XVI, i, 6), were held by the Greeks to have been eminent in science." (Sayce, in *Transactions*, iii, 149.)

‡ *Astrologikē Historia* (ap. Theón, Smyrn., xl).

§ *H. Nat.*, ii, 6.



Kleostratos, who "lived sometime between B.C. 548 and 432," placed the Signs, "et prima Arietis ac Sagittarii." The underlying historical fact is simply that archaic Euphratean lore penetrating across Asia Minor, fell into fruitful soil in meeting with the quick intelligence of sages, partly or wholly Greek, connected with the eastern seaboard of the Aegæan, and some of whom had also doubtless travelled in the East.

𐎧 𐎠𐎢𐎡. Mr. Pinches suggests that perhaps the reading of this word may be *gir-rat*, "meaning 'progress,' 'advance,' from *garāru*, 'to advance.'" Such a rendering would be in accordance with the explanation above given; and would refer to the extreme N. and S. "progress" or "advance" of sun and moon.

19. 𐎠𐎢𐎡 𐎠𐎢𐎡 𐎠𐎢𐎡 𐎠𐎢𐎡 𐎠𐎢𐎡 𐎠𐎢𐎡 𐎠𐎢𐎡 𐎠𐎢𐎡  
 Kakkabi sam - e ul ibassu; matu-va  
*The-stars of-heaven not are; the-land also*

𐎠𐎢𐎡 𐎠𐎢𐎡 . . .  
 la - a . . .  
 not . . .

20. 𐎠𐎢𐎡 𐎠𐎢𐎡 𐎠𐎢𐎡 𐎠𐎢𐎡 𐎠𐎢𐎡 𐎠𐎢𐎡 𐎠𐎢𐎡 𐎠𐎢𐎡  
 Sa D.P. Lu-bat-gut-tav e - ma arχi ul innamar.  
*When Jupiter around for-a-month not is-seen,*

𐎠𐎢𐎡 𐎠𐎢𐎡 𐎠𐎢𐎡 . . .  
 e - ma arχi . . .

(then) around for-a-month . . .

21. . . . 𐎠𐎢𐎡 𐎠𐎢𐎡 𐎠𐎢𐎡 𐎠𐎢𐎡 𐎠𐎢𐎡 𐎠𐎢𐎡 . . .  
 Kakkabi] ana D.P. samsi-atsi iz - mu - ru . . .  
*The-stars] at sunrise rise . . .*

*I.e., the heliacal rising of stars. Cf. W.A.J. III, liii, No. 1, l. 36. where a similar observation is recorded.*

II.

Mr. Pinches has kindly supplied me with a copy of a small fragment of a tablet, British Museum 33-1-18, 205, which reads:—

1. 𐎠𐎢𐎡 𐎠𐎢𐎡 𐎠𐎢𐎡 𐎠𐎢𐎡 𐎠𐎢𐎡 . . .  
 Kakkab Enzu mes-χa im - saχ . . .  
*The-star the-Goat a-measure measured (= rose. Vide*

*Proceedings, May, 1893, p. 317).*



mind of the writer of the Tablet the simple physical fact originally referred to, has been lost in an ordinary spiritual application.

### III.

*The 'Cynosure.'* The name *Κυνόσουρα* as applied to the *Lesser Bear* by Aratos has never yet been satisfactorily explained. When writing on Euphratean names of the *Greater Bear*,\* I quoted the testimony of Achilleus Tatios, † which is in perfect harmony with the monuments, that these two *Bears* were not Euphratean constellation-figures. If *Κύνοςουρα*, as is commonly supposed, means 'Dog's-tail,' then it is incomprehensible why all the 7 (principal) stars of the constellation, and not merely the 3 tail-stars, should be so called. 'Dog's-tail,' like 'Cock's-foot,' ‡ might be the popular name of a constellation, but in this case there is no resemblance in form : and popular names, being the result of simple ocular observation, are always based on a resemblance which is fairly obvious. So far, then, we should be led to conclude that *Κύνοςουρα* does not mean 'Dog's-tail,' which interpretation would seem to be a mere popular etymology. And such is the fact ; for Sir G. W. Cox, speaking of *Λυκόσουρα*, "which the Arkadians insisted was the most ancient of all cities, and the first which Helios had ever beheld," observes, "The Kynosoura has the same meaning, the association of the word with a dog being the result purely of a false etymology."§ Hence, in my version of Aratos, I have rendered *Κύνοςουρα* by "Trail-of-light." But, whilst I fully agree with Burnouf and Sir G. W. Cox respecting the meaning of the Greek word *κυνόσουρα*, I am not satisfied that such was the signification of the name given to the *Lesser Bear*, or that the name preserved by Aratos is Hellenic in origin ; inasmuch as such names as "Trail-of-light" or "Tail-of-light" have no special suitability, and, indeed, are, on the whole distinctly unsuitable to the constellation. And I would suggest that the constellation-name *Κύνοςουρα*, like many other names once supposed to be purely Hellenic, is non-Hellenic, and possibly Euphratean in origin. In *W.A.I.*, III, liii, No. 1, Ob. l. 12, we

\* *Proceedings*, March, 1887, p. 127 *et seq.*

† *Eisagôgê*, xxxix.

‡ Vide *Proceedings*, May, 1893, p. 329 n. 4.

§ *Introduction to Mythology and Folklore*, p. 40. He quotes Emile Burnouf, *La Légende Athénienne*, p. 111, where the matter is fully investigated.



1. The *Lexikon* of Hésychios, cir. A.D. 370, supplies us with the following forms of Euphratean words more or less connected with astronomy and kindred matters:—

\**Ἀτα* ὑπὸ Βαβυλωνίων ἢ \**Ἡρα*. \**Ati* (in *Atar-atah*, *Atar-'ati*, = *Atar-Gátis*. Antipatros of Tarsos, ap. Athénaios, viii, 8), \**Ἀθας* *Θιός* (Philôn Byb. ap. Stephanos Byzant. *in voc. Λαοίτικα*). In Phrygia the goddess was called *Atê*; Ilion was founded ἐπὶ τὸν λεγόμενον τῆς Φρυγίας \**Ἀτης* λόφον (Apollod., III, xii, 3), and hence called \**Ἀτης* λόφος οὕτως τὸ \**Ἴλιον* ἐκαλεῖτο πρῶτον (Hésych. *in voc.*). This goddess, and not the Greek Athênê, was the πότις \**Ἀθηναίη*, ῥυσίπολι (Il., vi, 305), whose temple at Troy was accordingly ἐν πόλι-ἀκρη (*Ibid.*, 297). This great goddess of Western Asia, who was regarded as the analogue of Hêra, had at Ephesos a priestess called in Greek *Κοσμήτρια* (= *Κοσμήτρια*, 'Orderer'); whilst it appears that a non-Hellenic name for her was *Σαραχήρω* (vide *inf. in voc.*; and, as this name is given by Bêrôsos, it is evidently Euphratean. We may therefore conclude that *Σαραχήρω* = *Κοσμήτρια*, and is connected with the Heb. *תְּרַץ* "to arrange in order." *Σόραχος* appears as a Babylonian name in Iamblichos (vide Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, 1856, ii, 281).

\**Ἀδαι* μὴν παρὰ Χαλδαίους. Sem. *Adar*.

\**Ἀϊδής*, \**Αἰδώς* ἢ *σελήνη*, παρὰ Χαλδαίους. Ak. *Idu*, *Itu*. On this very interesting moon-name and its connexions, vide Lenormant, *Étude sur quelques parties des Syllabaires Cunéiformes*, 282; R. Brown, Jr., *The Myth of Kîrkê*, p. 33; *Ibid.*, in *Academy*, March, 10, 1888, pp. 173-4.

*Βελέβατος* ὁ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀστήρ. Βαβυλωνίοι. Ak. \**Bilbat* ("Fire-of-death"). I have not yet met with the originals of *Βελέβατος* and *Μολοβόβαρ* in the Inscriptions. The "Fire-of-death," or the "Ancient-fire," would be a very suitable rendering for the former term; and it is unwise to try and force these classical forms to fit in with widely-different names found in the text. With \**Bilbat* and *Dilbat* compare *Xadis* and *Madis* (*Proceedings*, May, 1893, p. 339).

*Βήλθη* ἢ \**Ἡρα*. ἢ \**Ἀφροδίτη*. Sem. *Bilat*, Gk. Βααλτίς *Bêlthi*. *Balth'* was the Aphrodité of the men of Harrân (vide Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, ii, 22).

*Βήλος* ὀυρανός, καὶ Ζεὺς, Ηοσειῶνος ἵος. Sem. *Bilu*, LXX *Bêl*. A confused and incorrect account, in which Bel of Nipur, the Ak. *Mul-lilla*, is confounded with the late Babylonian Bel Merôdaχ, the

son of Ἐα ("Water-house"), who is here rightly equated with Posëidôn, lord of the deep.

Δελέφατ· ὁ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἀστήρ, ὑπὸ Χαλδαίων. Ak. *Dilbat*.

Κόμβη· Κοιρήτων μῆτηρ. Cf. the Storm-god *Khumbaba*, Gk. Κοιμβάβος (*Peri tēs Suriēs Theou*, xix), whose name, according to Mr. Boscawen (*Modern Thought*, Sept., 1882, p. 327), means "Maker-of-darkness"; probably originally identical with the Elamite divinity *Khumba* (= Κόμβη), or *Khumbu-me*.

Μινεαλόσσασ· ἀριθμὰ καὶ τὰ περὶ οὐράνια σύνταξις. Βαβυλώνιοι. This term is evidently compounded of words connected with the Heb. *midloah*, 'measure,' and *osar*, "to bind," *issor*, 'bond,' As. *usuru*, 'bound.'

Μολοβόβαρ· ὁ τοῦ Διὸς ἀστήρ, παρὰ Χαλδαίους. Ak. \**Mulbabar* ("Star-of-sunrise"). Cf. *W.A.I.* III, lii, No. 1, l. 1: *Kakkab izariχ-za tsi-ri-ir-su kima urru na-mir*, "The-star (*Jupiter*) rises, and its-rising like the-day is bright." (Vide also *Proceedings*, May, 1893, p. 337.)

Ῥαμάς· ὁ ὑψιστος Θεός. As. *Ramānu*, Syrian *Raman*, LXX Ῥεμάν.

Σαλαμβίω· ἡ Ἀφροδίτη παρὰ Βαβυλωνίους. The *Etymologikon Mega* gives Σαλάβας . . . ἡ εἰμίμων. Even Sanskrit has been invoked to assist in the explanation of this name (Vide Movers, *Die Phönizier*, i. 545), which I take to represent the As. *tsalamu* (*tsa-lam-mu*), 'image,' 'symbol,' itself the daughter of the Ak. *alam*, "which probably has the same root as *alad*, 'a colossus,' *alal* or *ala*, 'a demon' [vide the explanation of the *Etymol. Mega*], *alala*, 'the Sun-god,' and *alim*, 'a steer,' literally 'the strong animal.' The word also seems to have been read '*Sulim*' (Sayce, *Rel. Ancient Babs.*, p. 196, n. 2). "*Alad* is 'the spirit,' from *ala*, with the suffix *d* (*a*)." (*Ibid.*, p. 290, n. ). *Allam* (= *Alam*) is a title of Nergal (*Ibid.*, p. 196), and *ala*, *alad*, *alam*, 'spirit' (εἰμίμων), would be a name applicable to any divinity, and one which apparently became specially connected with some of the gods, such as the Sun-god, Nergal, and Istar (= Aphroditê).

Σαραχέρω· παρὰ Βηρώσῳ, ἡ κοιμήτρια τῆς Ἥρας. Vide *sup.* in *voc.* Ἄεα.

Σαρός· ἀριθμός τις παρὰ Βαβυλωνίους. Bab. *sar*.

Σαίη· ὁ κόσμος Βαβυλώνιοι. Bab. *satwe*, *same*, "the heavens."

Σαίς· ἡλιος. Βαβυλώνιοι. Bab. *satwas*, *samas*.

Σιχές· τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ἀστήρ. Βαβυλώνιοι. Ak. *Sakzisa* (*Mercury*).

Vide Sayce, in *Transactions*, iii, 168. *Sak*- $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} vi \\ vi \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ -*sa* = Σελ-έ-ς. Jensen (*Kosmologie*, p. 124) understands Σελές as  $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{smallmatrix}$   $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{smallmatrix}$ , *śa-gas*, but I do not gather from the passages in the *W.A.I.* which he refers to, that this was a planetary, or even a stellar, name. As to the star  $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{smallmatrix}$  *Sar-gas* (*θ* *Scorpionis*), vide *Proceedings*, February, 1890, p. 201; May, 1893, p. 322.

Σόων· οὔτω καλοῦσι Χαλδαῖοι τὸν Πάνημον μῆνα. Sem. *Sivan*.

The terms 'Babylonians' and 'Chaldaeans' appear to be used indifferently. There are also certain words in the *Lexikon* which, although not expressly attributed to the Euphrates Valley, are probably or possibly connected with it, e.g. :—

Ἀράννα· ἄραξα . . . καὶ ἡ ἐν οὐρανῷ ἄρκτος (vide R. Brown Jr., in *Proceedings*, May, 1887, p. 127 *et seq.*).

Κυρόσουρα· . . ἡ μικρὰ ἄρκτος (Vide *sup.* p. 456).

Σάτιλλα· π[η]λειῶς τὸ ἄστρον. *Satilla* is thus said to be a name for the constellation (*άστρον*) of the *Pleiades* ('Clusterers.' Vide R. Brown, Jr., *The Heavenly Display*, p. 9). I have quoted the remark of Delitzsch, that the Heb. *Kimah* (= the *Pleiades*)= the As. *Kimtu*, 'family,' from the stem *kamú*, "to tie" (vide *Proceedings*, February, 1890, p. 185). *Satilla* = (in Ak.) "the bond of life," and therefore *Kimah* ("the Bound-ones,"= family) would be a rendering of the Akkadian name of this closely united and very important little stellar group of season-makers.

Ἐρίων· ἄστρον οὔτω καλούμενον (vide *Proceedings*, May, 1893, p. 323).

2. During the Arsakidan period the astronomical (technical) names of the five planets, according to Epping and Strassmaier,\* were :—

- $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{smallmatrix}$   $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{smallmatrix}$ , *Gut-tu*, = *Mercury*.
- $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{smallmatrix}$   $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{smallmatrix}$ , *Dilbat* (= Δελέφατ), = *Venus*.
- $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{smallmatrix}$   $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{smallmatrix}$ , *Anu*, = *Mars*.
- $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{smallmatrix}$   $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{smallmatrix}$ , *Te-ut*, = *Jupiter*.
- $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{smallmatrix}$   $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{smallmatrix}$ , *Mullalu*, = *Saturn*.

According to Prof. Hommel we should read :—*Gud-bir* (*Mercury*), *An* (*Mars*), *Mul-bir* (*Jupiter*), and *Gin* (*Saturn*),  $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{smallmatrix}$  *ginna*, being, I presume, a variant of  $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{smallmatrix}$ . *Mul-bir*, he thinks, = Μολοβόβαρ.

\* *Astronomisches aus Babylon*.

As the solar Merôdaχ was known in archaic Akkadian astronomy as *Gudibir* (𒌦 𒌶𒌶𒌶𒌶), "the-Bull-of-light," and as *bir*, *pir*, is a phonetic value of 𒌶, we need not doubt that "Jupiter, the nearest of the planets to the ecliptic, was known as Lubat-gudibir, 'the wether of the Bull-of-light.'"\* And, further, according to Prof. Hommel, there was in course of time an exchange of names between *Jupiter* and *Mercury*, and between *Mars* and *Saturn*; so that *Gud-bir* (*Gudibir*), once an appellation of *Jupiter*, became transferred to *Mercury*.

As regards the name 𒌶 𒌶, it does not appear why we should transliterate it either as *Te-ut* or as *Mul-bir*. 𒌶𒌶 = Ak. *te*, † *gal*, and *diχ* (of Assyrian origin), and we might perhaps read *Te-bir* ("Foundation-of-light"); 𒌶 𒌶 = *mulla*, but that is not the reading of the Tablets Sp. 128-9. Nor can we fairly say that *bir* = βóβαρ. Now, *babar*, As. *tsit-samsi*, etc., is an actual variant of 𒌶; such a form as 𒌶𒌶𒌶 𒌶, \**Mul-babar*, would = Μολοβóβαρ.

3. Prof. Hommel gives the earlier names of the five planets as:—

𒌶𒌶𒌶𒌶 𒌶𒌶 𒌶 𒌶𒌶, *Dun*- $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} shad \\ pa \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ -*ud-du*, = *Mercury*.

𒌶𒌶, *Dil-bat*, = *Venus*.

𒌶𒌶 𒌶𒌶, *Lu-lim*, = *Mars*.

𒌶𒌶 𒌶𒌶, *Gud-bir*, = *Jupiter*.

𒌶𒌶 𒌶𒌶 𒌶𒌶, *Zal-bad-a-nu*, = *Saturn*.

He appears to refer to the list in *W.A.I.*, II, xlvi, Ob., lines 48-54; see also *Ibid.*, III, lxii, No. 6, lines 65-7, translated by me in the *Proceedings*, March, 1891, pps. 247-8; and he observes, "Quite false is the explanation of Jensen: † Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, Mars, Mercury; especially the equations 𒌶𒌶 𒌶𒌶 = Mars, and *Zal-bad-A-nu* = Mercury." Jensen, however, is admittedly correct in the case of *Venus*; and, as I believe, also in that of *Saturn*.

As to the forms: 𒌶𒌶𒌶𒌶 is perhaps better read *dun* ('hero') than *sul*, which latter, however, is the reading of Oppert and Sayce. Jensen, whilst admitting that *sul* may be read, prefers to read *umun*.

\* Sayce, *Rel. Ancient Babs.*, p. 291.

† Vide *Proceedings*, March, 1891, p. 250.

‡ *Kosmologie*, pps. 100-141.



𐎶𐎠𐎢 may also be read *zal*, and 𐎶𐎠, *bad* (vide *Proceedings*, April, 1892, p. 284). But why should we prefer the less usual reading *zal*, to the more usual reading *ni*? which latter rendering, moreover, has the great authority of both Prof. Sayce and Mr. Pinches, who read the name *Ni-bat-a-nu*, a form I have always employed. Apparently we are to read *Zal-bad* in order to bring the name into harmony with Βελέβατος, which is itself to be corrected into ‘*Zelebatos*.’ Of course a Greek form Ζελ-έ-βατ-ος would supply an excellent foundation for the reading *Zalbad*. But, unfortunately, there is no such Greek form known to us, the proposed correction being purely arbitrary.

*Lu-lim*, in this list, is explained as 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎶𐎠𐎢, *Sak-us*, a name which Prof. Hommel does not mention in his enumeration, merely giving the As. *Kāiwānu*, Heb. *Kīyyūn* (*Chiun*, Amos, v. 26), Arabic *Keywān*, which, as he admits, was at one time a name of *Saturn*. But *Sakus* signifies “top-of-the-head,” ‘eldest,’ terms perfectly suitable to *Saturn* \*, but certainly inapplicable to *Mars*.

In each of the above lists of the seven planets the two first are *Aku* (*Sin*) and *Utu* (*Samas*), Sun and Moon; and Prof. Hommel’s theory with respect to *Sakus* and *Zalbad* (*Nibad*) is based apparently on the following consideration:—“If the moon precedes the sun [in the lists,—which it does], and Nos. 3 and 4 are Mercury and Venus, and No. 6 Jupiter, we have here [if *Sakus* = *Mars* and *Zalbad* = *Saturn*] the old order of the planets according to their distance from the earth.” But this is just what we have *not*, even on the above suppositions; for, in this case, as Prof. Hommel himself notes, the order ought to be that observed in the Temple of the Seven Spheres (Planets) at Borsippa, whose seven stages from the basis were respectively—Black for *Saturn*, Orange for *Jupiter*, Red for *Mars*, Golden for the Sun, pale Yellow for *Venus*, Blue for *Mercury*, and Silver for the Moon. † Now “the Babylonians . . . had a week of seven days called after the seven planets,” ‡ “the days of the week being dedicated to the moon, sun, and five planets”; § not an order “according to their distance from the earth,” but in accordance with the representations on the Boundary-stones, where

\* Vide *Proceedings*, March, 1891, p. 248.

† Vide Canon Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, ii, 546-7.

‡ Sayce, *Herodotos*, p. 62.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 402.

the Moon and Sun are placed together in the centre in a position of dignity and priority, not with reference to their localization in space. I see no reason, therefore, to differ from the dictum of Prof. Sayce, "The order in which the planets is arranged is always the same: the Moon, the Sun, Mercury, Venus, Saturn, Jupiter, and Mars;"\* and we may regard the Akkadian planetary names as *Aku*, *Utu*, { *Sul* / *Dun* } -*pa-ud-du*, *Dilbat*, *Sakus*, *Gut*-{ *tarv* / *bir* } and *Nibatanu*.†

\* *Transactions*, iii, 167. Cf. Platôn, *Timaios*, ap. Jowett, *Dialogues of Plato*, iii, 620: "There were 7 orbits, as the stars were 7; first, there was the moon which is the planet nearest the earth, and then the sun next nearest beyond the earth."






† Apropos of the name *Nu-mia* ("the Star which-is-not") as applied to *Nibatanu* (*Mars*), it is interesting to find that amongst the Sabaeans, *Mars* was considered to be "the god of the Blind." (Thos. Stanley, *Hist. of the Chaldaick Philosophy*, 1662, p. 87. He gives an interesting description of the Sabaean cult "from a MS. of Mahumed ben Isaac, cited by Hottinger." Cf. Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, ii, 24, etc.).





## NOTES DE PHILOGIE ÉGYPTIENNE.





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



(Suite.)\*

88. Le groupe  et la racine  =  ; 89. Doublets d'un même mot, avec et sans  médial ou final ; 90. L'équivalent du copte CKEN *latus* ; 91. Passage du chapitre XV du *Livre des Morts* ; 92. Quelques remarques sur la lecture du signe , à propos d'une critique récente ; 93. Le nom égyptien de la Lionne ; 94. Passage du Papyrus Abbot.

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88. Dans un article,† paru il y a longtemps, j'ai attiré l'attention des collègues sur la combinaison de signes  que j'ai transcrite *men-su* () et regardée comme une expression verbale. J'avais à cette époque ignoré que BRUGSCH,‡ bien avant moi, fût arrivé exactement au même résultat.

Vers les derniers temps, j'ai eu de quoi changer d'avis concernant cette matière. D'ailleurs, la lecture  = *men* était bien hasardé, car de ce que  équivaut à *men*, il ne s'en suit nullement que cette même lecture doive être conférée au signe  qui—il est vrai—ressemble beaucoup à , sans être toutefois le même signe que ce dernier.

Ce qui, d'ailleurs, me porte maintenant à examiner la lecture du groupe , c'est un point d'un mémoire qui vient de paraître, mémoire dont l'auteur est M. ERMAN.§ Celui-ci, qui ne paraît avoir connu ni mon article, ni celui de M. BRUGSCH, considère  de  comme un *préfixe*, dont la lecture serait *tâ*. M. ERMAN ne cite que quelques exemples du groupe .

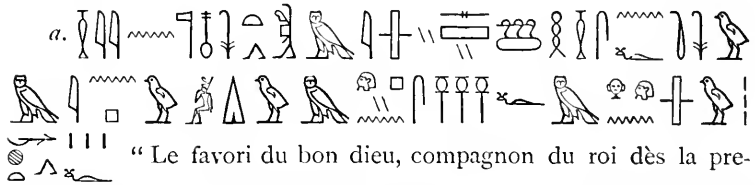
\* Voir *Proceedings*, XV, page 268.

† *Zeitschrift*, 1883, page 135.

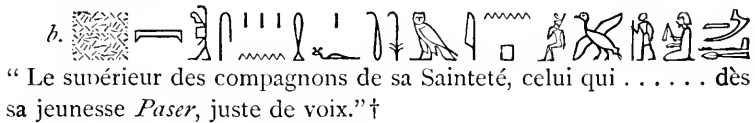
‡ *Zeitschrift*, 1876, page 100. BRUGSCH diffère de moi en ce qu'il a lu notre groupe , forme qui rend plus vraisemblable une transcription *men-su*.

§ *Zeitschrift*, XXX, page 81.

Comme mes annotations fournissent un très grand nombre d'exemples du groupe en question, et qu'il est très utile d'en avoir en quantité pour bien juger de la question, je me permets de les donner ici :—



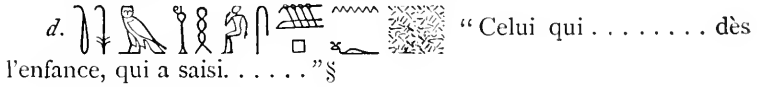
“ Le favori du bon dieu, compagnon du roi dès la première enfance, où il fut favori, celui qui . . . . . dès la jeunesse, celui qui a été placé à la tête des amis du roi, comme chef de ses compagnons.”\*



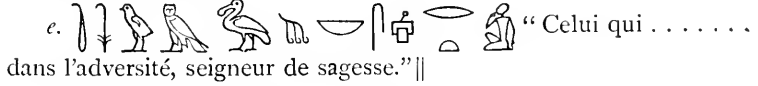
“ Le supérieur des compagnons de sa Sainteté, celui qui . . . . . dès sa jeunesse *Paser*, juste de voix.”†



“ Celui qui a agrandi auprès du roi, celui qui . . . . . dès l'enfance.”‡



“ Celui qui . . . . . dès l'enfance, qui a saisi. . . . .”§



“ Celui qui . . . . . dans l'adversité, seigneur de sagesse.”||



“ Celui qui . . . . . sur le champ de bataille, compagnon du Pharaon.”¶



\*\* expression qui se traduit à peu près comme celle qui précède.

\* PIEHL, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques*. Première Série, Pl. CXIII, lignes 6, 7.  
 † PIEHL, *loc. cit.*, Pl. CXVI, lignes 4-5. Cfr. aussi LEFÉBURE, dans les *Proceedings*, XIII, page 467.  
 ‡ Voir mon article des *Proceedings*, X, page 531.  
 § PIEHL, dans la *Zeitschrift*, 1885, page 61.  
 || DE ROUGÉ, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques*, XXIV, 7.  
 ¶ SHARPE, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, I, 93.

\*\* *Texte historique d'Amenemheb de Schekih-abd-el-Gourna*, ligne 2. Voir PIEHL, dans la *Zeitschrift*, 1885, page 61.

h. (Pharaon) "qui réunit les deux terres, celui qui . . . . dans 'le nid' celui dont la vaillance protège l'Égypte." \*

i. "Seigneur de largesses, qui arrange la succession des deux terres, celui qui . . . . . dans Nou, au milieu du ciel d'en haut et du ciel d'en bas." †

k. "Tu as établi mon héritier, de sorte qu'il s'assoit sur mon trône, lui, le seigneur des deux terres, Ramsès II, qui . . . . . devant lui (moi?), en qualité de mon fils chéri." ‡

l. "Le noble, digne de respect, qui . . . . . sur la terre," § expression qui se compare très à-propos avec celle-ci, empruntée à un monument d'Abidos :—

m. (sic)

Ce dernier exemple, ainsi que le suivant :—

n. "Prince héritier, cœur du Pharaon, celui qui . . . . . en qualité d'unique," ¶ montrent clairement que le signe de est la lettre . Sous ce rapport, nous pouvons donc corroborer et même changer en vérité complète la supposition de M. ERMAN, selon laquelle le de aurait la même valeur phonétique que le de et d'autres expressions, tirées du tombeau de *Her chuf*.

\* CHAMPOLLION, *Notices*, II, 102.

† LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, III, 150a, ligne 2 (époque de Ramsès II). Cfr. LE-FÉBURE, dans les *Proceedings*, XII, page 441, note 5.






‡ LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, III, 150a, ligne 5.


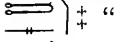

§ DE ROUGÉ, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques*, XXIV, ligne 5.






¶ MARIETTE, *Abidos*, II, 56e.

¶ Extrait de texte, emprunté à un tombeau de *Scheikh-abd-el-Gourna*.


Quant au sens du groupe qui nous occupe, celui de "Genosse" *camarade*, proposé par notre collègue de Berlin, pourrait peut-être s'entendre pour les trois ou quatre exemples qu'il a allégués, mais si l'on veut appliquer ce même sens à la série de preuves que nous venons d'énumérer, on va se heurter, en plusieurs occasions, à des difficultés insurmontables. *Cfr.* notamment les exemples *i, k, l, m*, d'en haut ; et de même un exemple que nous donnons dans la suite.

En cherchant une valeur substantive pour le mot , on serait possiblement autorisé à établir une comparaison avec le groupe , qui est connu par un monument\* de la même époque—le Nouvel Empire—de laquelle datent tous les passages† où se voit le mot qui est notre sujet d'étude. Ce groupe  accompagne comme étiquette des objets qui ressemblent à l'hiéroglyphe , et qui représentent évidemment *des bâtons, des appuis*. Ces objets sont faits en ébène, avec le manche en or et la virole en argent, par conséquent ce sont, dans ce cas, des objets de luxe, ce qui n'exclue point qu'on ait pu avoir des  de fabrication moins coûteuse.

Le mot  se rapproche très à-propos du mot fréquent  ‡ "appui, soutien," et il est à présumer que l'égyptien a *senti*, au moins d'une manière inconsciente, ce sens quand il s'est servi du groupe , comme dans la série d'exemples, précédemment donnée.








Toutefois, la constance avec laquelle partout on emploie le signe syllabique , me porte à regarder ,  comme une formation analogue à  "nègre,"  "sceptre," etc. § Il faut donc peut-être admettre l'existence d'un







\* LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, III, 64. Tombeau qui occupe un point de l'Occident Thébain.












† Excepté un seul, celui-là tiré de l'*Ostracon Sinouhe*. Mais comme je n'ai pas été à même d'étudier cet ostracon—car je n'en possède pas de photographie, et c'est seulement par la remarque de M. ERMAN que j'ai su qu'il renferme le groupe —je ne sais pas s'il date réellement du Moyen Empire ; il se pourrait qu'il fût une copie plus moderne, dont la forme aussi aurait été modernisée.









‡ PIEHL, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques*. Première Série, Pl. I, ligne 6.



§ Voir mon article dans les *Proceedings*, XI, pages 139-142.

radical égyptien , , qui serait à  un peu ce que, par exemple,  est à , ou  est à  — ces radicaux à une consonne et une voyelle (la dernière souvent *sous-entendue*) paraissent de bonne heure avoir eu la tendance de disparaître de la langue égyptienne, ce qui explique leur rareté relative dans la littérature de cette langue.

“Se montrer sous un jour favorable, se manifester brillamment” —voilà des sens qui semblent convenir aux passages où se rencontre le prétendu radical , , du groupe  ,  .

On serait peut-être disposé à rapprocher le radical nouveau , , du verbe commun , et alors on pourrait citer à l'appui les deux formes dialectales   et   que nous offre le *Papyrus Harris* No. 1\* pour un même mot. A ce sujet, il faudrait relever nombre de passages où le verbe  s'emploie exactement, comme par exemple,  ( ) du passage de texte marqué par la lettre *i*; ainsi que le passage de texte que voici :

,  
 où  semble être en parallélisme avec , dont le sens original paraît être, “*up, rise, spring up, start up.*” (Voir LE PAGE RENOUF dans les *Proceedings*, VIII, page 115. Il est visible que le   que nous rencontrons si souvent dans les textes de Thotmès III à la place de  —tous les deux en qualité d'auxiliaires de la première personne du singulier—doit être compté à la même catégorie de mots. Il est donc possible que  et  représentent deux mots, complètement distincts, qui ont été rapprochés, l'un de l'autre, par suite d'effets de l'étymologie populaire.)

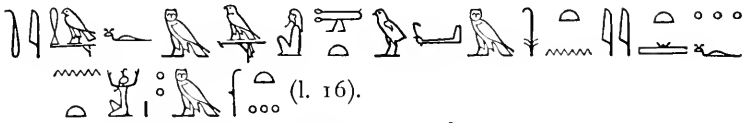
La stèle de Tombos, que j'ai traitée dans ma thèse de doctorat,† renferme deux passages—M. ERMAN n'en cite qu'un—où se voit un groupe   qui mérite peut-être de la place dans notre discussion.

Les voici :—

  
, etc. (l. 3).

\* PIEHL, *Dialectes Egyptiens, retrouvés au Papyrus Harris* No. 1, page 13.

† *Petites Etudes Egyptologiques*, pages 1-28.



Dans ma dissertation, j'avais regardé  $\text{𓂏𓂏}$  de ces exemples comme suffixe, tandis que M. ERMAN a préféré y voir un préfixe\* quant au premier exemple—car il ne dit rien au sujet du second. En admettant comme valable pour  $\text{𓂏𓂏}$  de ces exemples le sens que nous venons de proposer pour  $\text{𓂏}$  de  $\text{𓂏𓂏}$ , on obtient une traduction très intelligible. *D'un côté*: “Sa Majesté s'est brillamment manifestée et s'est emparée de son héritage.”† *De l'autre côté*: “Sa

\* Que je n'avais pas été trop hardi, en assignant à la combinaison de son  $\text{𓂏𓂏}$  de la stèle de Tombos le rôle de suffixe, cela est prouvé par d'autres textes égyptiens où l'on s'est plu à accumuler des suffixes d'ordre divers. A ce sujet, je citerai une petite inscription que vient de publier M. GEORGES DARESSY (*Recueil de l'éveug*, XIV, page 24):



Nous rencontrons ici un nombre de preuves indiquant que l'écrivain de ce texte n'a pas été inspiré par un goût bien littéraire; nous voyons, au contraire, que son style accuse des tendances bien rustiques, mais—d'autant plus sympathiques aux yeux du linguiste.

$\text{𓂏𓂏}$  “passants” est une forme mixte de  $\text{𓂏𓂏}$  et  $\text{𓂏𓂏}$ . Dans






$\text{𓂏𓂏}$ , le suffixe  $\text{𓂏}$  [qu'on appelle à tort “Nisbe”] a été mis après le suffixe pronominal et de cette manière, le




susdit  $\text{𓂏}$  se trouve employé deux fois dans chacun de ces exemples—ce qu'il y a d'énigmatique dans mes paroles sera clair, quand je trouverai l'occasion de parler plus longuement de “Nisbe”—comme aussi *visiblement* dans les mots finals:  $\text{𓂏𓂏}$ . Le pléonasme est une figure syntactique fort aimée chez les individus incultes, comme chez les classes de bas étage.



† A un moment, j'ai voulu corriger les deux  $\text{𓂏𓂏}$  en  $\text{𓂏𓂏}$ , correction d'autant plus raisonnable que l'édition de LEPSIUS, dans ce cas, est criblée d'erreur. J'avoue que la dite correction me sourit encore.







Majesté s'est brillamment manifestée comme Horus, prenant possession de sa royauté pour des années innombrables."




Le rapprochement que, fondé sur des formes dialectales du *Papyrus Harris* No. 1, j'ai hypothétiquement établi entre ,  et , semble encore plus acceptable pour  par rapport à .


Il est donc possible que nous devons enregistrer pour le Nouvel Empire un mot , varr.  et , ayant le sens qu'en haut nous avons proposé ou un sens analogue.\*



89. En attendant que je puisse trouver l'occasion de traiter à fond la question, relative à la *liquida sonans* en égyptien, je me permets de citer une série de mots, écrits à l'aide du syllabique  *ter* ou *ter*—selon les époques—qui ont des doublets sans le  final. Les voici :—




  (*Pyramide d'Unas*, ligne 3) et





  (*Pyramide d'Unas*, ligne 185), "main."



   [DÜMICHEN, *Tempel-Inschr.*, I, 79] et



   [DÜMICHEN, *Tempel-Inschr.*, I, 81, 14] "selon."




  [*Pyramide Merenra*, 33] et






   (*Unas*, 451 ; *Teta*, 259), "étendre.




   (*ép. ptol.*), varr.  et

  "ce que donne le ciel."

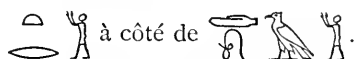
\* Je ne saurais actuellement dire s'il faut expliquer, comme appartenant à cette catégorie, le titre  , que nous présentent les monuments de l'Ancien Empire.

† Dans la formule fréquente   , etc. De même qu'on rencontre

   à côté de   "selon son désir," on a aussi

  à côté de .

Je crois devoir compter aussi ici :



Au moins pour les quatre premières paires, il me semble absolument sûr que chacune représente des mots d'origine identique.\*



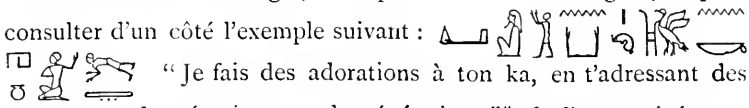





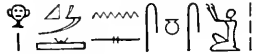
90. L'équivalent hiéroglyphique du prétendu mot copte **CKEN** *latus* n'a pas été retrouvé jusqu'ici, et cela à bon droit, car la dite combinaison de signes représente en réalité *deux* mots: **CKE** + la marque de relation **π**, si fréquente dans la littérature copte.



Je serais disposé à chercher l'origine du mot **CKE** dans l'ancien *latus* qui par métathèse serait devenu **CKE**, de même que par exemple, **ΣΟΡ** copte-sahidique est devenu **ϣϮ** copte-bohairique, ou l'ancien est devenu **ωϣϮ** dans le dialecte sahidique, ou l'ancien est devenu **ωϣϣ** dans le dialecte bohairique, etc. Un exemple comme celui-ci: **εϣεϣωππ** **ecken** **φισσε** "il va séjourner *près* de la mer," se rapproche très bien du suivant: "Tu entres et sors dans la grande salle des deux Maât, *auprès des* Esprits de l'Occident;" † **ecke** du premier exemple correspond parfaitement à du second. Ce dernier groupe n'est, bien entendu, qu'une variante très rare, du mot fréquent, pour lequel nous pourrions citer des preuves innombrables, offrant un emploi analogue à celui du copte **ecke**. Le copte se sert d'ailleurs du mot **CKE** dans une autre combinaison, j'entends celle-ci **ϣICKE**, où la préposition **ϣI** occupe la place de celle de **ε** de la forme sus-mentionnée. Et de même, la langue


\* Un exemple, particulièrement intéressant, de la *liquida sonans* nous offre la forme [PIEHL, *Dictionnaire du Papyrus Harris* No. 1. page 88] *varr.* [Papyrus de Sineha, ligne 308] par rapport au fréquent "petit."

† Passage, emprunté au sarcophage 83 du *British Museum*.



Lobpreis," *louer, louange*, et la locution , où le mot *qema* joue le rôle qu'a souvent ailleurs le verbe , a donc le sens de "faire des louanges," "se prosterner." A cet égard, on peut consulter d'un côté l'exemple suivant :  "Je fais des adorations à ton ka, en t'adressant des louanges et des témoignages de vénération ;"\* de l'autre côté cette expression-ci :  "Les esprits lui présentent leurs hommages †  du premier équivaut alors bien entendu à  du second exemple. Très instructif pour l'emploi du groupe  est aussi le passage de texte suivant :   "L'abondance et la sagesse lui font des ovations." ‡

92. Dans une de mes notes antérieures, § j'ai donné une série d'exemples à l'effet de faire voir que le signe , quelquefois au moins, a la valeur de *fu*. A cette occasion, je n'ignorais nullement qu'on pût relever des cas où—*de l'avis d'autres savants*— semblait devoir se lire d'une façon différente. Toutefois mon opinion n'étant pas arrêtée sous ce dernier rapport, je crus prudent de laisser hors de compte les cas susmentionnés.




Un article, publié dernièrement par M. MAX MÜLLER dans le *Recueil de Vieueg*, § critiquant mes quelques lignes sur la lecture du signe , je regarde comme coportun d'examiner ici les vues

\* BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus*, IV, page 758.

† PIEHL, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques*, Première Série, Pl. LXXXI, 3.




‡ BRUGSCH and DÜMICHEN, *Recueil*, VI, 186.

§ *Proceedings*, XI, page 224.

|| A ce sujet, je pense particulièrement au passage des textes d'Ounas et Teta (*Zeitschrift*, 1884, page 86), où  de l'un correspond à  de l'autre. La présence de  m'avait paru nécessiter pour le second une prononciation, quelque peu différente de celle du premier, acception que je maintiens encore, comme on va le voir dans la suite.

¶ XV, pages 32-36.

de mon honorable contradicteur, d'autant plus que celles-là, *sous plusieurs rapports*, ne lui sont pas personnelles, mais bien au contraire sont partagées par d'autres égyptologues, voire même par toute une école égyptologique.

PREMIÈREMENT, je proteste contre la manière nonchalante, dont M. MAX MÜLLER traite les hiérogammates des basses époques ; et cette nonchalance n'en est pas moins blâmable, parce qu'elle peut invoquer l'exemple d'autres savants—fort autorisés sur d'autres terrains, il est vrai, mais ne connaissant que très superficiellement la langue de l'époque gréco-romaine. Plus on pénètre loin dans l'étude de l'égyptien de cette dernière époque, plus on s'étonne que les traditions d'autrefois *aient pu si bien se conserver*, comme nous le font voir justement les textes des temples de Dendéra et d'Edfou et d'autres, datant des derniers siècles de l'Égypte pharaonique. J'emploie ici le terme "pharaonique" pour désigner tout le temps où l'on s'est servi d'hiéroglyphes comme écriture, cette écriture dénotant le souverain par le titre "Pharaon." Si l'on se donne d'ailleurs la peine de comparer les rédactions gréco-romaines de textes égyptiens à de plus anciennes, faites pour les mêmes documents, on verra que les premières en général sont très correctes et qu'elles ne renferment qu'un très petit nombre de fautes—ces fautes étant souvent dues à des écrivains d'époque antérieure. L'emploi fréquent de l'écriture énigmatique dans les textes de basse époque nous permet souvent de contrôler et d'apprécier les connaissances des scribes d'alors, connaissances qui se montrent la plupart des fois très exactes et qui nous autorisent à désapprouver hautement de la thèse de M. MAX MÜLLER : "Denn was ist der Unterschied von , , , für einen Hierogrammaten der Römerzeit!" Sans cette exactitude des lettrés de basse époque, il nous serait sans doute impossible de retrouver, comme nous le faisons constamment, la valeur et la lecture de bon nombre de ces signes qui sont caractéristiques à la période susdite.

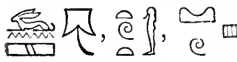
DEUXIÈMEMENT, il n'est nullement prouvé—et je tiens particulièrement à relever cette circonstance non seulement à l'adresse de M. MÜLLER, mais aussi à celle de beaucoup d'autres égyptologues, partisans du même avis que lui—que la langue qui nous est connue par les textes des pyramides de Saqqârah, de même, que par les mastabas de l'ancien empire, soit à regarder comme la mère, par exemple, de la langue, conservée dans les inscriptions des tombeaux de Béni-

Hassan. En d'autres termes, la parenté qu'il y a entre la langue des 4-6 premières dynasties et celle de la XII<sup>e</sup>, n'implique pas avec nécessité la notion d'une filiation directe. La première—pour employer une image—peut tout aussi bien être la *tante* de la seconde. N'ayant pas encore poussé assez loin mes investigations sur ce terrain, je ne me hasarderai pas à donner une tournure plus affirmative à mon acception que j'espère pouvoir mieux soutenir une autre fois.

Toutefois, on n'a, ce me semble, aucune raison de douter de l'existence de dialectes, déjà quant à l'égyptien de l'ancien empire, ce qui nous amène à donner un peu de place aux changements phonétiques dans nos recherches, relatives aux différents syllabiques. Cela étant, il faut procéder avec de la dernière circonspection quand on veut recourir au procédé mathématique. Ainsi, par exemple, quand un texte offre  $\triangle \text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$ , là où une variante en donne  $\triangle \text{𓆎} \text{𓆑}$ , il ne faut pas prétendre *avec assurance absolue*, que  $\text{𓆑}$  comme transcription et prononciation équivaut à  $\text{𓆏}$ ; surtout lorsqu'il y a d'autres faits qui semblent rendre une telle équation moins probable.\*

TROISIÈMEMENT, il n'est pas encore établi que l'égyptien soit une langue sémitique, et quand même il y ait des indices qui parlent en faveur d'une liaison entre les deux idiômes, il est d'une méthode vraiment scientifique de ne pas procéder, comme si les preuves définitives avaient déjà été délivrées à l'appui de la susdite parenté. Qu'on laisse l'égyptien être égyptien jusqu'au moment qu'il se soit révélé comme une langue bien sémitique! Cela dit, je proteste contre l'adoption de ces signes *idéographiques* 3, 5, etc., qu'on a voulu introduire dans les transcriptions des textes égyptiens. Je sais bien que les dits signes représentent des sons pour les



\* "Die mathematische Gleichung:  $\text{𓆑} = \text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$ " que M. MÜLLER proclame à l'aide des variantes, fournies par les textes des pyramides pour l'expression  $\triangle \text{𓆎} \text{𓆑}$ , me semble mal prouvée. Il aurait fallu plutôt établir ici l'équation  $\text{𓆑} = \text{𓆏} \text{𓆏}$ . Mais cette équation ne s'accorde pas bien avec le témoignage que notre critique croit pouvoir trouver dans d'autres textes, plus modernes.

langues sémitiques, mais tant qu'on n'a pas prouvé la présence de ces sons\* en égyptien—et je n'en ai rien vu—je persisterai à appeler  $\aleph$ ,  $\epsilon$ , des signes idéographiques, quant à l'égyptien. A la même occasion, je proteste contre la thèse, soutenue et développée par l'école à laquelle appartient M. MÜLLER, suivant laquelle l'égyptien supprimerait constamment les voyelles; cette thèse résulte aussi de tendances vers le sémitisme. Suivant cette manière de voir,  $\aleph$ ,  $\text{—}$ ,  $\aleph$ ,  $\aleph$ ,  $\aleph$ , ne seraient que des consonnes. En rapprochant, par exemple, les mots anciens  des équivalents coptes  $\text{O}\omega\text{N}\omega\text{Y}$ ,  $\text{T}\text{O}\omega\text{T}$ ,  $\text{T}\text{O}\text{O}\omega$ , on ne peut éviter, selon la nouvelle école, d'établir l'équivalence  $\aleph$ ,  $\text{O}$  = la *semi-voyelle* ou *semi-consonne*  $\text{O}\omega$ .† Je ne puis ne pas énoncer ici la remarque que cette dernière assertion est particulièrement malencontreuse, quand elle vient d'un allemand, car l'histoire de la langue allemande devait presque amener à formuler une thèse diamétralement opposée à la susdite. Cette langue, en passant de "mittelhochdeutsch" à "neuhochdeutsch," subit des changements qui sont très instructifs pour le sujet qui nous occupe. Ainsi, par exemple, la voyelle longue *û*, caractéristique du premier, s'ouvre à la diphtongue *au*, à l'entrée de la seconde période. Le mot *hûs* se transforme en celui de *haus* par suite de ce développement. De même *mûs* passe à *maus*, *lûs* à *laus*, etc. Supposons maintenant que le "mittelhochdeutsch" dans l'écriture sautât les voyelles, comme le fait l'égyptien, et que par conséquent la dite langue écrivit les exemples susdits : *hs*, *ms*, *ls*, ne serait-on pas tenté de proposer pour ces derniers mots médiévaux la vocalisation *haus*, *maus*, *laus*, parce que le "neuhochdeutsch" les présente sous cette

\* Un bon exemple du grand danger qu'il y a à vouloir à priori attribuer à des lettres, appartenant à deux langues indiscutablement congénères, la même prononciation, nous est fourni par la comparaison du F latin avec le Φ grec, qui, étymologiquement, sont identiques (*cf.*, par exemple, *fero* =  $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega$ ), mais qui, néanmoins, se prononçaient de manières différentes; témoin, entre autre, Cicero, qui s'amuse à propos d'un *græc* qui, au tribunal, cite un romain, *Fundanius*, tout en l'appelant *Phundanius*. (RUMPELT, *Das natürliche System der Sprachlaute*, page 57.)






Si donc la plus grande réserve est exigée pour des langues qui sont notoirement et péremptoirement apparentées, elle a encore plus d'à-propos quand il s'agit de langues dont la parenté n'est pas encore suffisamment établie.

† STEINDORFF, *Das Altägyptische Alphabet und seine Umschreibung*, page 722.

forme ? Si fait—bien entendu, en se plaçant sur le terrain de ceux qui nient la valeur vocalique de , , \* etc.

Toutefois, il faut bien se garder de contester les faits, quand même ils s'opposent à des théories préconçues sur l'inaltérabilité des langues. D'ailleurs, je trouve bien risqué de me prononcer dès maintenant sur la lecture phonétique adoptée pendant la XIX<sup>e</sup> et XX<sup>e</sup> dynasties, pour les mots qui existent encore dans la langue copte du 3<sup>e</sup> et 4<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère, tant que le copte reste le point de départ essentiel de nos développements, relatifs à la prononciation de l'égyptien ancien.

QUATRIÈMEMENT, dans les recherches de cet ordre, où il s'agit de comparer au point de vue *phonétique* des formes de mots, séparées très souvent par des milliers d'années, quant à leurs emplo

\* *Loc. cit.*, page 721, se lit : *Im Koptischen . . . . . wird  durch kein besonderes Zeichen wiedergegeben ; z. B. r' (vocalisirt \* rē) = ρΗ " Sonne " ; 'hm (vocalisirt, nach Art der meisten trilitteralen Verben, 'ohēm) = ωϣεϣϣ " auslöschten " ; s' (vocalisirt \* sō) = ϣϣω " Sand " ; k' " Brot " (vocalisirt \* oik, wie die zweiradicaligen ΠΟΕΙΤ " Mehl ", ΠΟΕΙΚ " Ehebrecher ") = ΟΕΙΚ. Es bedarf wohl demnach keines besonderen Hinweises mehr, dass in diesen Beispielen die Vocale Η Ω oder der Diphthong ΟΕΙ nicht dem  entsprechen, sondern vielmehr die von dem  völlig unabhängigen Bildungsvokale dieser Wörter sind." Pour ma part, je ne me contente pas de cette argumentation en faveur d'un  non-voalique, et je me permets d'attirer l'attention de M. STEINDORFF sur les façons dont en "althochdeutsch" s'écrit la conjonction allemande *und*, à s'avoir *ant, ent, int, ont, unt*, etc. La différence de voyelles pourrait nous amener ici à identifier entre elles toutes ces voyelles, cela d'accord avec le système, préconisé par l'école dont MM. STEINDORFF et MAX MÜLLER sont des élèves—bien que nous ne pensons pas qu'il faille accepter cette manière de voir. On serait aussi autorisé—suivant le même système—à formuler la thèse, que les susdites formes *ant, ent*, etc., n'avaient exprimé que les *matres lectionis* de leurs voyelles : cela ferait peut-être le meilleur pendant de l'assertion que nous venons de citer, suivant laquelle " n'est représenté par aucun signe spécial dans la langue copte."—Comme un bon sujet de réflexion pour les philologues, aimant à voir en chaque voyelle le porteur d'un *seul* son, nous citerons quelques paroles d'un auteur, bien compétent en la matière. C'est WHITNEY, qui dit au sujet de l'anglais moderne : "in Betreff der Vocale findet das Verhältniss statt, dass jeder der geschriebenen Vocale zwischen drei und neun verschiedene Lautwerthe besitzt, während auch umgekehrt jeder gesprochene Vocal auf mehrere Arten, von zwei bis zu zwölf, in der Schrift ausgedrückt werden kann" (*Die Sprachwissenschaft*, bearb. von Jolly, page 149). Pour une écriture, aussi conservatrice que celle de l'égyptien, on ne peut guère citer un meilleur pendant moderne que l'orthographe anglaise actuelle.*








dans la langue égyptienne, il faut être très circonspect dans l'application du procédé mathématique. Car les langues n'agissent pas seulement conformément à des lois logiques et mécaniques, mais elles sont aussi sujettes à l'influence, voire même aux caprices de l'esprit humain. Les lois analogiques ont un vaste champ libre où elles peuvent s'exercer, et, par exemple, la différence de vocalisation que, dans une note précédente, nous venons de constater entre  $\text{OEIK}$ ,  $\text{PK}$ ,  $\text{W}\alpha\text{je}\alpha$ , qui tous renvoient à un  $\text{—}\alpha$  ancien, peut fort bien résulter d'un jeu ou plutôt de plusieurs jeux de l'analogie, ayant opéré à des époques différentes. N'oublions pas non plus l'influence de l'accent, les mots empruntant surtout leur valeur à la place qu'ils occupent dans l'enchaînement dont ils forment des anneaux.

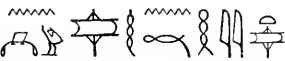






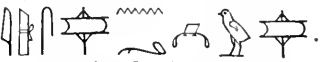
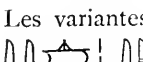
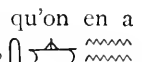
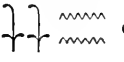

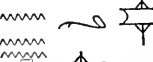

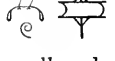


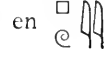
Un petit exemple, emprunté au copte, peut nous éclairer sur l'influence de l'analogie. L'ancien égyptien a un mot qui correspond, dans la langue-fille,\* à  $\text{O}\tau\omega\text{π}$ ,  $\text{O}\tau\epsilon\text{π}$ — $[\text{O}\tau\omega\text{π}=\]$ ,  $\text{O}\tau\eta\text{π}$ , comme se présente la série complète des formes que nous connaissons pour l'équivalent du susdit mot hiéroglyphique. Il y a aussi un mot , composé de et , qui dans la langue-fille est reflété par  $\text{O}\tau\omega\text{π}\epsilon$ . Suivant le procédé mathématique, la forme qualitative de ce dernier devait être  $\text{O}\tau\eta\text{π}\epsilon$ , la forme qualitative du  $\text{O}\tau\omega\text{π}$  simple étant  $\text{O}\tau\eta\text{π}$ , mais il n'en est rien. C'est que l'analogie a fait passer  $\text{O}\tau\omega\text{π}\epsilon$  par la même série de formes qui caractérisent des verbes simples, comme  $\text{C}\omega\tau\text{π}$ ,  $\text{C}\omega\text{π}\epsilon$ ,  $\text{K}\omega\lambda\text{π}$ , etc.

De même  $\text{E}\iota\omega\text{p}\alpha$ ,  $\text{E}\iota\omega\text{p}\epsilon$ , composés par le verbe et les substantifs  $\text{O}\text{S}$ ,  $\text{I}$ , ont été traités comme des verbes simples d'après la sixième classe de STERN, bien qu'on aurait pu s'attendre à une série de forme comme  $\text{I}\rho\iota\alpha$ ,  $\text{E}\rho\alpha\alpha$ —,  $\Delta\iota\alpha\alpha$ —,  $\text{O}\iota\alpha\alpha$ , etc., si l'on se serait placé sur le terrain du procédé mathématique. Les exemples pourraient se multiplier indéfiniment, mais  $\acute{\omicron}\ \acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega\text{v}\ \acute{\omega}\tau\alpha\ \acute{\alpha}\kappa\acute{\eta}\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ .

\* En appelant le copte *langue-fille* de l'égyptien, je me conforme à un usage très répandu, mais qui n'est sans doute pas tout-à-fait correct.]

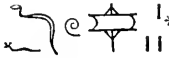
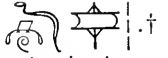

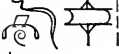





tous les deux ayant une origine commune (l'alle. *Pflicht*).—A ce sujet, il ne faut point identifier comme prononciation les deux mots  et . Ce dernier date des basses époques et doit se lire *afu*. En comparant entre elles la version du chapitre XV qui nous a été conservée par le *papyrus d'Ani*, et celle du *Todtenbuch*, nous voyons que  du premier document correspond à  du second. Mais je ne connais aucune preuve du mot , quant à la belle époque hiéroglyphique, et je ne vois pas pourquoi les basses époques n'auraient pu créer des mots nouveaux et des formes nouvelles ; du reste il serait aisé d'en citer en nombre.






2°.  “le souffle doux du vent du nord.”\* Nous savons par d'autres textes que le signe  se prononçait entre autre , ; † il serait donc téméraire de vouloir combattre la lecture  du signe  du groupe . Dans ces circonstances, je n'hésiterais nullement à lire *às-nefu* le groupe ptolémaïque . Les variantes qu'on en a relevées, à savoir , , etc., indiquent peut-être des tendances de l'étymologie populaire de se faire chemin. On avait les formes pronominales  et , et on s'est cru devoir admettre un  à côté du  réel. La transition de  *nefu* en  n'est pas plus étonnante, que celle de  en , formes du pronom démonstratif.

\* PIEHL, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques*, Première Série, pl. CI, S. Duppli-cata du même texte, LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, III, 114.

† Voir PIEHL dans les *Proceedings*, XIII, page 45.

3°.  \* à côté de  †. Nous connaissons aussi pour ce mot une forme  qui est à  à peu près ce que  est à .

Les exemples cités me paraissent concluants pour la lecture *fu* que je soutiens toujours, quant au signe .

L'examen des mots, écrits à l'aide de , nous a inspiré, il y a longtemps, des incertitudes quant à l'opportunité de l'équation  = *fu* pour certains cas. Mais ces incertitudes n'ont pas été enlevées par l'auteur du dernier essai sur le syllabique en question. Il m'a semblé que la présence de  dans des formes d'une série de mots qui offrent des variantes sans  ni , comme par exemple

 à côté de ,  à côté de , etc., pourrait peut-être

s'expliquer de la même manière que l'insertion de *w* ‡ dans l'arabe vulgaire *houwa*, "lui," doublet de *houa*, ou celle de *j* dans l'arabe vulgaire *hija*, "elle," doublet de *hia*. L'existence de doublets de mots comme ceux que nous venons de citer quant à l'Égyptien et quant au dialecte arabe de l'Égypte actuelle, est d'ailleurs un fait reconnu pour toutes les langues. *Cfr.*, par exemple, l'alle. *Schlucht* et *Schluff*, "fente," l'alle. *sacht* et *sanft*, tous les deux identiques à l'anglais *soft*; pour le français on pourrait citer *chaire* et *chaise* (lat. *cathedra*), *cou* et *col* (*collum*), etc.§


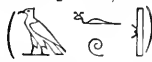

Il y a encore un point de l'article de M. MAX MÜLLER, sur lequel je ne me suis pas prononcé et que je ne puis guère passer sous silence : j'entends la nouvelle règle, établie par lui, selon laquelle l'Égyptien, quand il s'agissait d'écrire un mot qui ne pouvait s'écrire que par des lettres, aucun syllabique n'existant qui reproduisit une partie quelconque du mot ou le mot entier, aurait

\* *Recueil de Vieweg*, VII, 122; VIII, 165.

† BRUGSCH, *Wörterbuch*, VIII, page 1380.

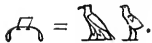
‡ L'effort d'éviter le hiatus qu'ici nous constatons, est un fait, souvent rencontré dans les langues. *Cfr.*, par exemple, WEINHOLD, *Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik*, page 146: "Euphonisches *w* in *bûwen*, *grûwen*," etc.

§ DARMESTETER, *La vie des mots*, page 141.

interverti l'ordre des signes, si par cette mesure se formait une combinaison de signes qui pût se remplacer par un syllabique. Selon cette règle, le groupe  représenterait la lecture  $\text{ʒfw}$  (= *afu* de notre transcription), lecture qui ne pouvait se rendre que *par des lettres* () si l'on ne préférait intervertir l'ordre des signes  $\text{ʒw}$ , auquel cas  remplacerait la combinaison de sons  $\text{ʒw}$ .\*




Les exemples cités en faveur de la nouvelle règle † ne sont pas de nature à vous convaincre, et le point de départ de l'auteur—des mots empruntés aux langues sémitiques, dans lesquels il aurait d'abord constaté la dite inversion—semble bien sujet à de la critique. En effet, rien n'est plus fréquent dans le langage que la dénaturation des mots étrangers qui s'inoculent dans tel ou tel idiome. Les indigènes font de leur mieux pour adapter la forme de l'étranger à leurs organes vocaux et, à cet effet, se servent de tous les moyens qui leur sont accessibles. Non seulement ils modifient des sons et suppriment des désinences, mais très souvent ils renversent l'ordre des syllabes et des sons ‡—du vocable étranger. Cette dernière mesure est presque de rigueur quand le mot à transplanter contient des combinaisons de sons qui ne sont pas familières à la langue adoptante ou quand, par un renversement des sons du dit mot, on obtient des combinaisons de sons, bien fréquentes dans l'idiome en question. Nous croyons donc que le choix de mots d'origine sémitique comme base de la nouvelle théorie, concernant l'écriture hiéroglyphique, a été bien malheureux. Mais les mots d'origine égyptienne que notre auteur a allégués en faveur de sa thèse ne sont, à notre avis, pas plus



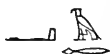

\* On se souvient que l'auteur de la nouvelle règle a formulé la thèse




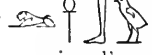
† Quand l'auteur cite ce sien ouvrage, où a paru cette prétendue règle, il nous renvoie à la *Zeitschrift*, 1892, sans indication ultérieure. Je prendrai la permission de désigner cette espèce de citation comme pour la moins négligente. J'ai dû regarder et parcourir 3 articles de notre jeune collègue avant d'avoir trouvé l'endroit de la *Zeitschrift*, où la matière en question a été exposée.

‡ Le copte  $\text{κελεβιπ}$ , "cognée," fournit un bon exemple d'un pareil renversement de sons, car, selon moi, nous devons le regarder comme une forme défigurée du grec  $\text{πέλεκυς}$ . Ou faut-il réellement le rapprocher de  $\text{כַּיִלֶּהוֹת}$ ?






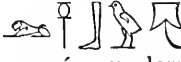

probants. C'est là le cas du nom  de la ville d'Héliopolis, au sujet duquel il est dit que la valeur phonétique en devait être *i'wn* (= *ân* selon la transcription ordinaire) parce que le copte bohairique correspondant est *ⲉⲣⲛⲓ mola*. Toujours le procédé mathématique ! D'ailleurs, est-ce que  réellement a la valeur de *nu*, ou ne faut-il pas plutôt remettre ici son jugement jusqu'au moment où l'on connaît le rôle qu'a joué le  final que nous rencontrons dans nombre de mots égyptiens.

Le groupe  "Bumerang" forme un anneau important dans la démonstration. Notre auteur qui passe sous silence la lecture *āa*, proposée par BRUGSCH, offre lui-même pour ce mot la transcription *āam*. Mais il faut encore prouver cette nouvelle lecture, car M. MAX MÜLLER ne l'a pas fait jusqu'ici, autant que je sais. Et la forme , rencontrée sur un monument de l'ancien empire, se corrige très-simplement à , après quoi tous les indices de l'application quant au groupe  de la nouvelle règle, ont disparu.

Je ne nie du reste pas qu'une règle, semblable à celle que nous venons de mentionner, ne puisse avoir existé en égyptien, bien que je n'en aie aucun exemple et que M. M. MÜLLER n'en ait pu fournir non plus, dans l'ouvrage auquel il nous a renvoyé avec tant d'abandon.

93. Dans une note qui a paru dernièrement,\* il est dit : "On sait que le Lion se nomme  ( $\pi\iota\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\tau\iota = \text{الأسد}$ ), tandis que la Lionne s'appelle  ( $\tau\lambda\epsilon\theta\omicron\iota = \text{اللبؤة}$ ). Cette thèse a été énoncée en guise d'exemple de la règle généralement reconnue, qu'en égyptien, tout comme en d'autres langues, deux racines différentes quelquefois doivent être mises à contribution quand il s'agit de désigner le mâle et la femelle d'une seule et même espèce.

\* *Zeitschrift*, XXX, page 28.

Toutefois, l'exemple en question n'est guère correct. Car si le Lion s'appelle incontestablement , il faut dire que la Lionne se nomme avec la même certitude .\* Quant à la forme copte (†)λ&βΟΙ, elle est bien exacte, mais n'est en réalité qu'un emprunt, fait aux langues sémitiques, témoin non seulement la forme arabe لبوة qui vient d'être citée, mais encore l'hébreu לְיוֹנָה 'lionne.' On pourrait être tenté de voir en  également un emprunt sémitique. Ce n'est pourtant pas mon opinion. Et je ne crois pas que le déterminatif , donné tant par BRUGSCH† que par DE ROUGÉ,‡ existe dans l'original. Au moins la copie, publiée par Champollion,§ ne fournit pas ce signe, et il a vu la tombe de —celle d'où provient le seul exemple connu du mot —à une époque où elle était sans doute mieux conservée que lorsque les BRUGSCH et les DE ROUGÉ l'ont visitée. A l'aide de la copie Champollion, je crois devoir lire la légende du *lion couché* (!) de la sorte:  “travailler le lion au ciseau par le modelleur.”

La manière dont a été tracée notre inscription autorise pleinement l'arrangement que, par exemple à la différence de BRUGSCH, je me suis permis d'adopter, et contre ma traduction il n'y a guère non plus de remarques sérieuses à faire. Cette traduction part d'ailleurs du fait qui bien mérite d'être notée, qu'il s'agit ici *non pas d'une lionne*, mais d'un lion couché. En réalité, quiconque regarde le dessin de

\* BRUGSCH, *Recueil de monuments*, II, pl. 71, l. 4.

† *Wörterbuch*, page 883.

‡ *Mémoire de l'origine égyptienne de l'alphabet phénicien*, page 66.

§ *Monuments*, pl. CLXXX.


|| La tombe se trouve à El-Assassif, actuellement dans un état fort dégradé. Lors de ma dernière visite, je n'ai pu retrouver la légende ni l'image, publiées par Champollion. Pour les inscriptions du monument, voir mes *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques*, Première Série, pl. CXLII, CXLIII, et le texte explicatif que j'y ai joint.

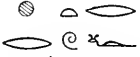






La traduction de M. MASPERO\* est celle-ci : “L’horizon éternel du roi Sarka, fils du Soleil, Aménophis, qui a cxx coudées de profondeur dans sa grande salle [ainsi que] le long couloir qui se trouve au nord du temple d’Aménophis,” etc.

Pour être indépendantes † et fautives à la fois, ces deux traductions se ressemblent étonnamment l’une à l’autre.

Il y a deux points, sur lesquels je crois devoir faire de l’opposition. D’abord, le groupe  masculin ne signifie, à ma connaissance, nulle part ailleurs “chambre principale, grande salle;” tandis que “stèle, monument, monument dressé” ‡ semble être un sens fréquent pour le dit mot.

De même,  ne § signifie ni “en dépendre,” ni “se trouver,” mais plutôt “s’appeler, se nommer.” Cfr., par exemple, *Pap. Harris* No. 1, 60, 3: ; *ibid.*, VIII, 2: ; etc.



Cela étant, je proposerai de traduire le passage cité d’après le Papyrus Abbot, de la manière suivante : “L’horizon éternel du roi Amenhotep, qui a 120 coudées de profondeur à partir de son monument (*d’entrée*); il se nomme “le long corridor,” étant situé au nord de l’Amenophium,” etc.

\* *Une enquête judiciaire*, page 13.

† MASPERO, *ibid.*, préface.

‡ BRUGSCH, *Wörterbuch*, page 92S.

§ Je corrige et lis . Cette correction en nécessite une autre.

Pl. II, ligne 4, il faut lire : . L’erreur qu’ici nous avons supposée, s’explique aisément, si l’on considère que le tombeau de Sorka est énuméré parmi une série de monuments pareils qui s’appellent , substantif qui est du genre masculin.



## EL KAB AND GEBELËN.

BY G. WILLOUGHBY FRASER, F.S.A.

§ I. *El Kab*. This winter Mr. Blackden and myself visited both places in his dahabeah the "Strange Hathor." At El Kab we copied some hitherto unpublished graffiti, but on reaching Cairo we found that Prof. Sayce had anticipated our would-be discovery by a few weeks, and we are indebted to him for kind permission to publish the El Kab notes.

The temple of Amenophis III is the best preserved of the desert monuments: the walls have been decorated by both ancient and modern tourists. Baedeker mentions an inscription in the third year of Napoleon III, and there is one which puzzled us greatly, dated in the 46th year of a king whose name read Henri-bân-merit, intended doubtless for Henri le bien aimé. The weathering in this case affords no clue, it is just the same as ancient graffiti of the XVIIIth or XXth dynasty. After photographing the interior of the temple, some of whose clearer graffiti have been published by Prof. Petrie ("Season in Egypt," Pl. XVII), we examined the rocks to the west of the temple, on the desert road.

Here the inscriptions are very numerous, ranging from the Vth to the XVIIIth dynasty. Names compounded with the cartouches of Tetâ and Pepi occur again and again. But Pepi's name is far the commonest.

The most important graffito of this date (VIth dynasty) was Fig. I. It is, we believe, quite new: its interest lies chiefly in the fact that it appears to point to there having been a temple near by even as early as the VIth dynasty. The date appears to be year 2, the 3rd month of Pert, the 5th day of the month. No king's name is given, but as the proper names are compounded with that of Pepi I, it perhaps refers to his reign. It is not as in the case of the Hat-nub griffiti, dated in the year of the monarch.

The rest of the inscription continues merely with a list of family names and titles: the chief man seems to have been *Her-n-ânk*, his

I.

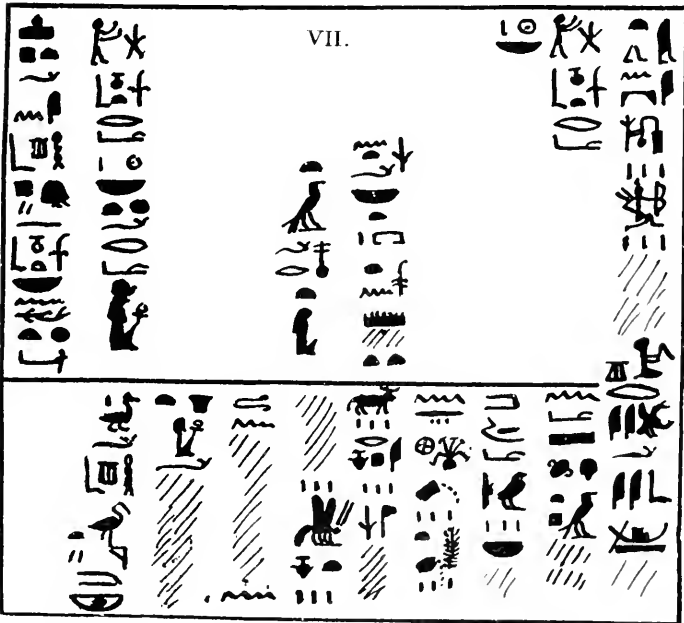
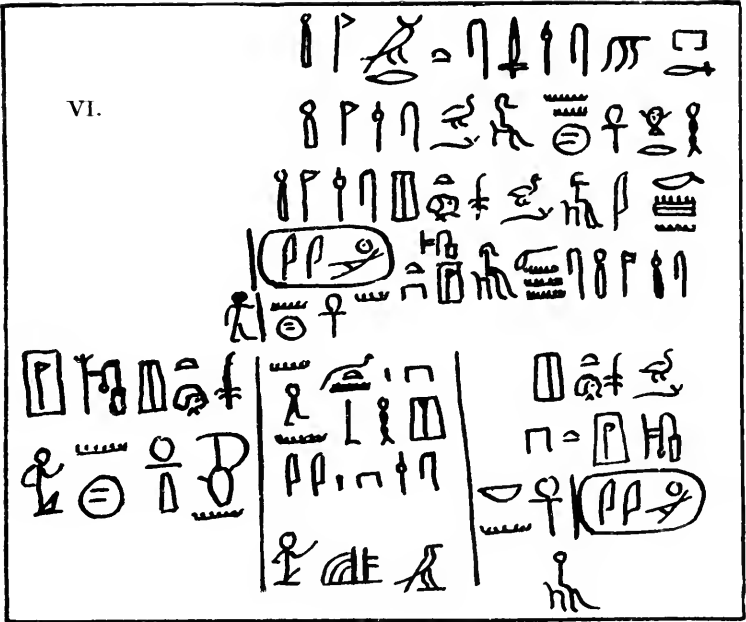
III

II.

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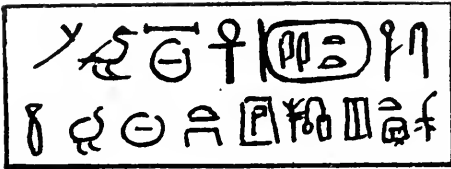
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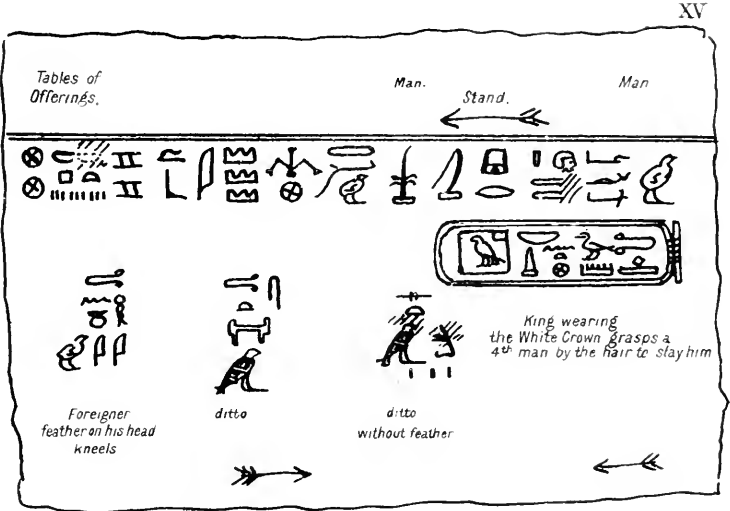


INSCRIPTIONS FROM EL KAB AND GEBELËN II

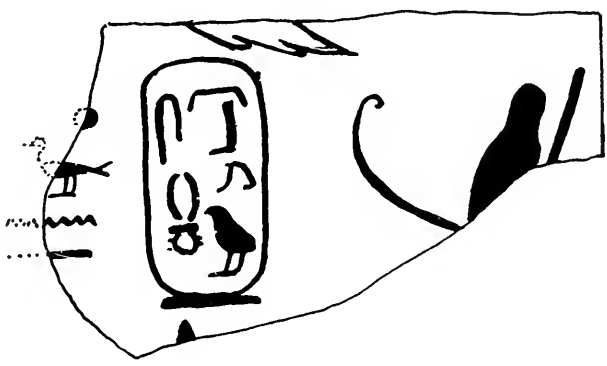




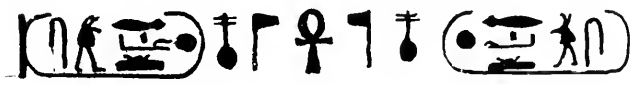
VIII.



XV



XVI.



XVII.





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X

XII.

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XIV

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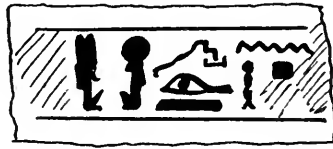
XIII





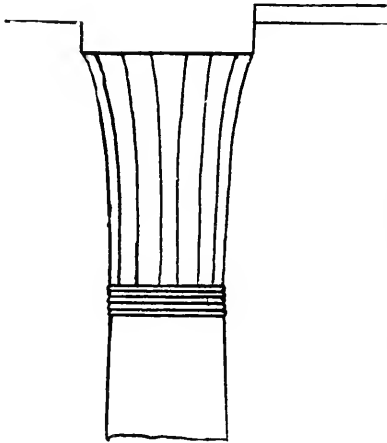
XVIII.

King offering to Anubis  
below is this Inscription.



XIX

XX.



XXI.



Elevation.

XX<sup>a</sup>

XX<sup>b</sup>

Sketch of VI dyn. Column,



Plan.



son was *Ur-n-mena*, his eldest son  $\chi en\acute{a}$ , then the "dep- $\chi$ er-suten," instructor of the divine priest(s), scribe of the temple *Ra-meri-ānk*, etc.

On a large free-standing rock with many names and titles of the VIth dynasty surrounding it, is a square tablet (Fig. II) bearing the name of a king who is only known by two other examples; he appears to have been called *Saradudumes*, and has no cartouche in this instance; his name is followed by a short inscription which reads "Khâ-m-uas; the amanuensis of the son of the sun Dudemes."

Fig. III gives the titles of a man named Tetâ-ānk, who was a "courtier" (admitted to single or private audience) and chief of the agricultural department; also his son, the priest, who was "over the secrets,"  $\chi u\acute{a}$ .

(Fig. IV.) A cartouche doubtless intended for *Āssâ*, but on a very weathered and half-buried stone.

(Fig. V.) A courtier and seal-bearer (*sāhu*) *Pepi-meri*, and his son the instructor (?) *āntef*.

(Fig. VI.) The titles begin *Per-āa-shen* (?), the man's name being *Her-n-ānk*, his son *Kmenâ*, his son *Ra-meri-ānk*, his son *Ra-meri-ānk-neben*, his son . . . (?) and the "dep  $\chi$ er suten," temple scribe, *Khnum-n-ānk*.

(Fig. VIII.) *Pepi-ānk* and his son  $\chi u-uadz$ .

(Fig. IX.) Here we have a different set of titles slightly. The royal superintendent of the temple, the instructor of the divine priest(s), the "*Sāb-ard-mer*," divine priest and temple scribe, *Pepi-n-ānk*, his son of many titles, ending with "chief of the prison (?)" *Khnum-n-ānk*, who is said to be "devoted to his father."

(Fig. X.) Tetâ-ank and his son  $\chi u\acute{a}$ .

(Fig. XI.) The *Per-āa-sab-ard-mer* (of) *Ari-nechob* (El kab), the divine priest *nefer-semem* (?)

(Fig. XII.) The seal-bearer *āpâ*, and one named Tetâ-ānk; it is worth remarking that this is one of the inscriptions beside (Fig. II) that of *Dudumes*.

(Fig. XIII.) Here we have an officer of the palace, *Thes- $\chi$ en*, whose name was *Āntef*.

(Fig. XIV.) . . . his brother, the instructor of the divine priest(s), *Thesek*.

Thus we have a list of titles and names which, with few exceptions, belong to the VIth dynasty or thereabouts. It is curious

that El Kab is only once mentioned (Fig. XI). We get the name Antef only twice in Fig. V, where his father has a VIth dynasty name, and in Fig. XIII, where the name may belong to a later date slightly.

The XVIIIth dynasty graffiti were partly published by Stern (*Z.A.S.*, May and June, 1875), but there is one we have shown in Fig. VII, which is interesting, as it appears to have been cut by or for a man named *Nēcht*, who lived under a queen, perhaps *Hatshepset*; he was "Kerheb," priest, and "Depi" of the town of El Kab; he speaks of an "arrival" from "his expedition," but there is unfortunately a good deal missing; his son was the "Kerheb," priest, *Dzhuti-m-heb*, and his sister the "royal nurse," *Ta-nefert*.

Leaving the desert, we visited the tombs in the hills; the principal ones are well known, but there is a VIth dynasty tomb which seems to have been overlooked. It was never entirely finished, and has now fallen in, but the finished part shows the roof cut to represent the half round under sides of the rafters of a wooden roof. As far as I am aware the only other example of this occurs in a tomb of the Vth or VIth dynasty at Tehneh (owner's name destroyed), but in the buried tombs of Sakarah there may be similar examples.

The roof was supported by columns, one of which has a finished capital with twenty-three (?) fluted sides, bound with five bands below, representing no doubt a palm. A sketch of it is shown (Fig. XIX), as we had no time to measure carefully.

It is very unlike the rough capitals of the same age at Sheik Said, and is interesting as one of the earliest examples yet known, I believe. In concluding these notes on El Kab, I ought to mention that the graffiti here given are only examples of a very large number which are scattered about there.

During this year a sphinx in white marble limestone from El Kab has been set up in the Museum at Ghizeh, it is identical in style with the black sphinxes from Tanis, which Mariette supposed to be Hyksos monuments. There is however no inscription on it either original or usurped. It has been broken in several pieces and a good deal defaced, still there is no mistaking it; even in small details it and the Tanis sphinxes are the same. We shall have occasion to refer to it again, but will now proceed to speak of Gebelên.

§ II. Gebelên is an isolated mass of rock situated on the west bank of the river within a day's sail of Thebes.

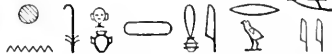
It is a spot of great natural strength and strategical importance, as it completely commands the water way. The rock itself is so narrow on top that it would not contain a town, but there is sufficient space for a strong fort and dependent buildings. The guide books tell us very little about it, as the first important excavations there were made by Monsieur Grébaut, late director of the Ghizeh Museum.

As far as we have been able to gather, the results of his works consist as follows: On the top of the rock he found the remains of a Ptolemaic shrine built by Ptolemy IX (Eueregetes II); in this shrine must have been a considerable statue in black basalt, fragments of which we saw on the ground during our visit. A few inscribed limestone blocks are still lying about (*vide* Figs. XX and XXa, XXb).

The shrine was surrounded by Ptolemaic houses, and in their walls and foundations were found several older inscribed blocks of limestone; amongst them portions of an early temple built by *Mentuhotep* of the XIth dynasty, besides several fragments of the roof with stars cut on it, a piece of the corner exterior moulding (?) of the shrine and fragments of scenes. A fairly complete scene was found on one block: the king wearing the white crown is shown, with his mace raised, and grasping a captive by the hair; before him kneel three figures, representatives of the peoples called *Thhen-uiu*, *Sethti* and the *Set-tiu* (?) (Fig. XV).

In his cartouche in this scene the king is called "Mentuhotep, son of Hathor lady of Ant" (Denderah). This title is unusual, but occurs in the name of Pepi I at Tanis, and on an alabaster lid with the name of Pepi (?) from Kena ("Tanis," Vol. I, Pl. 1). Another block gives the ordinary cartouche Sa Ra Mentuhotep.

The inscription shewn Fig. XV is given in the "Recueil," Vol. XIV, p. 26, but there are some mistakes in it which are here corrected from the original. The blocks are slightly reddened as if from the effects of fire.

A stela on bad stone represents a king *Dad-nefer-ra* son of the sun *Dudumes* led by  who has a hawk's head and the plumes of Mentou; he is received by Anubis (Fig. XVIII); below are two lines of inscription. I am indebted to Monsieur Duressy's copy in the "Recueil," Vol. XIV, p. 26, for this stela, as I have been unable to find the original. He attributes it to the XIIIth or XIVth dynasty, but as before mentioned in El Kab

there are grounds for thinking it may belong to the VIth dynasty. These two inscriptions and a scarab giving his cartouche name are, I believe, the only records we have of this king.

A stone which has done duty in later times as a doorstep, but which is not much worn, gives us the name of *Ra-āa-user* (Fig. XVII), who is known to us as the Hyksos king Apepi I of Eisenlohr's "Mathematical Papyrus."

The sign *user* is here made with two legs surmounted by the head of Set.

Besides kings' names there are three private stelæ which seem to have come from Gebelên. Two of them are exceedingly rough, and bear the name of a man *Sebek-hotep*; the third is a large better-worked piece representing a man (name (?) destroyed) and his wife *Sent* with some lines of inscription.

Some fragments of Greek papyri and some curious Greek pottery with figures of dancing men painted inside and small loop handles with rings through them, complete, I believe, the list of objects found by the Museum.

We paid the place a visit this year and spent some time examining the old town on the plain at the north-west corner of the rock; it does not look older than the XVIIIth dynasty; on the surface is plenty of blue and red painted pottery; we found a piece of a great jar elaborately covered with lotus-flowers, buds and wreath round it, the pottery was red faced-yellow-white; the pattern in a dirty brown colour, the whole like the XIXth dynasty pottery; another jar of a much later style was white-faced with an ivy pattern in chocolate, this was however found on the top of the rock, not in the lower town; we picked up the cutting edge of a small hornstone adze highly polished, and then suddenly came upon a piece of a stela in good limestone (Fig. XVI) bearing the name of an unknown king *Senb-ia-ma*; we are just able to see that he is called the "son of the sun," and that he wears both the red and white crowns; the stela was surmounted by the winged disk. The name should perhaps be read *Senb-i-ma-u*, and belongs, we should imagine, to the XIIIth or XIVth dynasty.

A brick was brought us stamped with the cartouches of *Penedzem* III and his wife *Iset-m-nut* (Fig. XXI), it measured 17 × 7 × 4 inches. A few ostraca in demotic, and one apparently of the transition period between hieratic and demotic, were also found. To complete the list of kings' names found here we should



mention that Professor Sayce had already noted the cartouche of *Hormheb* on limestone, and some fine cutting on limestone very like the work of Sethi I, and which we can perhaps safely attribute to him.

And now, taking the history of kings' names as far as we know them, we get something like this:—

The earliest Dudumes	VI–XIth (?) dynasty.
Menthuhotep,	XIth dynasty
Senb-i-mau	XIIIth or XIVth dynasty.
Ra-āa-user (?)	XVIIth, Hyksos.
Hor-em-heb	XVIIIth dynasty.
Sethi I	XIXth dynasty.
Penedzem III	XXIst dynasty.

And Ptolemy (IX Euergetes II).

To particularise: *Dudumes* is a difficulty, there is no doubt that his name at El Kab, surrounded as it is with VIth dynasty names and titles, must be contemporaneous with them; in fact some of them were probably actually cut after his had been placed there, but at Gebelên we have his second name *Dād-nefer-ra*, which seems like those of the XIth or XIIIth and XIVth dynasties. His scarab bears the second name contained in a continuous scroll; the work is better than the XIIIth or XIVth, so perhaps we shall not be wrong to place him between the VIth dynasty and the Antef kings of the XIth.

*Menthuhotep* appears to have built a temple in limestone, which we may presume was added to by *Horemheb* and *Sethi I*, as their work was also limestone.

*Senbimau's* cartouche was on a small stela which may have come from the temple, or from a tomb in the neighbourhood.

*Ra-āa-user*, or *Apepi I's* cartouches are on limestone, but the block, though, complete, is small, and may have been brought there as ballast in a boat, still it may possibly have belonged to some building or addition to the temple of *Menthuhotep*.

There is not much doubt about *Penedzem III*; he probably built a fortress similar to the ones he erected at El Howarteh, opposite Minia, and at El Hébeh, opposite Feshu. As has been pointed out in the *Academy*, April 8th, 1893, by Professor Sayce, there are the remains of a mud brick building, perhaps his palace at Rawâfa on the eastern bank, between Tûd and Luxor.

Ptolemy IX built a sandstone shrine on the top of the rock, and with him our history ceases, unless we include the shrine of the Arab Sheik el Moussa which now adorns the summit of the hill.

§ III. The Hyksos. Taking El Kab and Gebelên together, there is a question of considerable interest which presents itself.

If we allow that the so called Hyksos sphinxes are really Hyksos monuments, and not merely older monuments usurped by them, how are we to account for the El Kab sphinx and the name of *Ra-āa-user* at Gebelên?

Taking the view that the sphinxes are really what they have been supposed to be, we seem to have two alternatives in regard to El Kab, either that the sphinx was a trophy brought there by the victorious Ahmes after the victory of Avaris, or that it was placed there by the Hyksos themselves.

We learn from Manetho, quoted by Josephus, that the first king *Salatis* imposed a tribute on both Upper and Lower Egypt, and, in order to do so and to maintain their hold on the country, the Hyksos garrisoned certain strong places; what more likely than that El Kab and Gebelên were amongst the number, and that one of his successors, Aphophis, placed the sphinx at El Kab, and built some building from which the stone bearing his cartouches came? This building may have been at Gebelên, or near by.

During the XVth and XVIth dynasties the Hyksos seem to have held complete sway, and it is not till the XVIIth dynasty, or, according to Africanus, 518 years after their arrival in Egypt, that we again hear of a contemporary dynasty of native kings at Thebes.



## LETTRES DE TELL EL-AMARNA.

(8<sup>e</sup> Série).

PAR A. J. DELATTRE, S.J.


## I.

ARAD-ASRATOU AU ROI D'ÉGYPTÉ.

*(Berlin, 97).*

Protestation de fidélité d'Arad-Asratou, le même qu'Arad-Asirta, père d'Azirou.

## TRANSCRIPTION.

1. *A-na šarri* →† *Šamsi 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 biti-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.  *rabiši-ia: li-ḥa-mi*
12. *šabi bi-ta(?) -ti a-na na-ša-ri*
13. *amiluti šarri a-nu-ma kab-bi*
14. *šarru i-ta šarru šabi ḥabali(?)*
15. . . . *ki . . . . . sa-nim mat A-(mur-ri)*
16. *a-na ḥa-ba-lim iš-tu*
17. . . . . *ia u šu . . . . .*
18. . . . . *šar-ri . . . . .*
19. . . . . *na-ša-ar . . . . .*
20. . . . . † *Ḥa-na . . . . .*
21. *i-iš-al-šu šarru bilu(?)*

22. *šum-ma la a-na-ša-ar*  
 23.  $\text{𒌦} \text{𒌦} \text{Su-mu-ri} \text{𒌦} \text{𒌦} \text{Ul-la-za.}$   
 24. *I-nu-ma*  $\text{𒀭} \text{𒀭} \text{𒀭} \text{𒀭} \text{rabišu-ia}$   
 25. *i-na-ši šim-ti sarri*  $\text{𒌦} \text{𒌦} \text{Šamaš,}$   
 26. *u a-na-ku ši-kin tar-ši-i*  
 27. *Ša*  $\text{𒌦} \text{𒌦} \text{Šu-mur, u kab-bi}$   
 28. *matāti a-na šar-ri*  $\text{𒌦} \text{𒌦} \text{Šamaš-ia}$   
 29. *bil-ia a-na-ša-ar-šu,*  
 30. *u šarru bili-a lu-u i-da.*  
 31. *U i-ip-ku(?)id-ni i-na kat*  
 32.  $\text{𒌦} \text{Pa-ḥa-na-ti} \text{𒀭} \text{𒀭} \text{𒀭} \text{𒀭} \text{rabišu-ia.}$

## TRADUCTION.

(1) Au roi, dieu Soleil, mon maître, (2) en ces termes : Arad-Ašratou (3) ton serviteur, la poussière de tes pieds. (4) Aux pieds du roi mon maître, (5) sept fois, encore sept fois, je me prosterne.

(6) Voici, je suis le serviteur du roi et (7) le chien de sa maison, et (8, 9) et je garderai le pays d'Amouri tout entier pour le roi mon maître. (10) Je l'ai dit et répété à Pakhanati (11) mon inspecteur : " Prends des soldats auxiliaires pour garder (13) les sujets du roi, parce que tout (13-19) . . . . . 20 . . . . . Khana . . . . . (21) que le roi mon maître lui demande [à Khana . . .] (22) si je ne garde pas (23) les villes de Zoumour et d'Ullaza. (24) Lorsque mon inspecteur (25) aura apporté la décision du roi, dieu Soleil, (26) alors moi je ferai la restitution (27) de Zoumour. (28) Aussi bien tout le pays, c'est pour le roi, mon dieu Soleil, (29) mon maître, que je le garde, (31) et le roi mon maître le sait. (31) que le roi me donne ses ordres par l'intermédiaire, (32) de Pakhanati mon inspecteur.

## REMARQUES.

Ligne 12.—D'après l'autographie *bi-la-ti*, mais dans les passages analogues on trouve toujours *bi-ta-ti*, *pi-da-ti*.

Lignes 13-19.—D'après les vestiges qui restent du texte, il semble qu'Arad-Asratou se plaigne de pillards qui nuisent à son pays. Il demanderait donc des soldats auxiliaires pour les repousser.

Ligne 31.—*I-ip-ku(?)id-ni* pour *i-ip-ki-ii-ni?*

## II.

## YATIBIRI AU ROI D'EGYPTE.

(*British Museum*, 57.)

Chaude protestation de dévouement au roi d'Egypte. Yatibiri rappelle qu'il a été mené en Egypte dans sa jeunesse par un grand officier, dont il semble être le client, et qu'il a été attaché au service du palais royal. Dans la suite il a porté constamment les armes pour le monarque dans le corps des auxiliaires, et il s'est signalé par de brillants exploits sous les yeux du même grand officier. Yatibiri porte et portera toujours le joug du Pharaon. Rien ne révèle ni les circonstances, ni l'intention particulière qui ont inspiré cette lettre d'une allure assez originale.

## TRANSCRIPTION.

1. *A-na* † *šarri bil-ia*
2. *ilani-ia* † *Šamšani-ia*
3. *ki-bi-ma*
4. *um-m-a* : *Ia-bi-ti-ri ardu-ka*,
5. *ip-ri ša šipi-ka*.
6. *A-na šipi-šarri bil-ia*
7. *ilani-ia* † *Šamšani-ia VII-šu*
8. *u VII-it-ta-a-an am-ku-ut*.
9. *Ša-ni-tam, a-mur, a-na-ku ardi-ti*
10. *ša ki-it-ti šarri bil-ia*.
11. *Da-ag-la-ti ki-ia-am*,
12. *u da-ag-la-ti*
13. *ki-ia-am, u la-a*
14. *na-mi-ir* ; *u da-ag-la-ti*
15. *a-na mu-uh-ḥi šarri bil-ia*,
16. *u na-mi-ir* : *u*
17. *ti-na-mu-šu labitu*
18. † *la-bi-tu iš-tu*
19. *šu-pal tap-pa-ti-ši*,
20. *u a-na-ku la-a i-na-mu-šu*
21. *iš-tu šu-pal šipi*
22. *šar-ri bi-li-ia*. *U*
23. *i-ša-al šarri bi-li*

24.  $\Upsilon$  *Ia-an-ḥa-ma*  $\sum_{\text{III}}$  *rabiša-šu.*  
 25. *I-nu-ma šiḥru a-na-ku, u*  
 26. *šu-ri-ba-ni a-na mat Mi-iṣ-ri*  
 27. *u ur-ra-at-ti šarri*  
 28. *bi-li-ia u iz-zi-iz-ti*  
 29. *i-na abulli šarri bi-li-ia ;*  
 30. *u i-ša-al šarru bil-ia*  
 31.  $\sum_{\text{III}}$  *rabiša-šu i-nu-ma a-na-ku a-na-ša-ru*  
 32. *abulla*  $\succ\Upsilon$  *Az-za-ti u abulla*  
 33.  $\succ\Upsilon$  *Ia-pu. U a-na-ku it-ti*  
 34. *ša-bi bi-ta-at šarri bi-li-ia ;*  
 35. *a-šar ti-la-ku a-na-ku it-ti-šu-nu(?) . . .*  
 36. *u a-nu-ma u i-na-an(?) -na(?) . . .*  
 37. *it-ti(?) -šu-nu(?) a-na-ku*  
 38.  $\Upsilon$  *ni-ri*  $\Upsilon$  *ḥu-ul-lu šarri bil-ia a-na. . .*  
 39.  $\sum_{\text{III}}$  *kišadi-ia u ub-ba-lu-šu.*

## TRADUCTION.

(1) Au roi mon maître, (2) mon dieu, mon Soleil, (3) il est parlé (4) en ces termes : Yatibiri ton serviteur, (5) la poussière de tes pieds. (6) Aux pieds du roi mon maître, (7) mon dieu, mon Soleil sept fois, (8) encore sept fois, je me prosterne.

(9) Vois, je suis le serviteur (10) fidèle du roi mon maître. (11) Que je porte mes regards d'un côté, (12) que je les porte (13) de l'autre, il n'y a point (14) de lumière [bonheur] ; mais que je les porte (15) sur le roi mon maître, (16) il y a lumière : et (16-19) une brique pourra bouger de dessous son four, (20) mais moi je ne bougerai pas (21) de dessous les pieds (22) du roi mon maître. Et (23) que le roi mon maître interroge [sur ma fidélité] (24) Yankhama son inspecteur. (25) Lorsque j'étais jeune, (26) il [Yankhama] m'introduisit au pays de Misri, (27) et je m'attachai au roi (28) mon maître, et je demeurai (29) à la porte du roi mon maître. (30) Que le roi mon maître demande (31) à son inspecteur comment moi j'ai gardé (32) la porte de Gaza et la porte (33) de Joppé. Moi je suis avec (34) les soldats auxiliaires du roi mon maître ; (35) où ils vont, moi (je vais) avec eux, (36) et en ce moment même (37) je suis avec eux. (38) Le joug du roi mon maître est à (39) mon cou, et je le porterai.

## REMARKS.

Lignes 11, 13.—*Ki-ia-am . . . . . ki-ia-am*, littéralement : d'une manière . . . . . d'une autre manière.

Ligne 19.—*Tappati* vient d'une racine פֶּטַע, que l'on connaît par l'hébreu, et qui exprime l'idée de cuire.

Lignes 38, 39.—Il est probable qu'aucun caractère ne manque à la fin de la ligne 38, quoique endommagée, et qu'il faut simplement lire : *a-naki-ša-di-ia*.

## III.

## ABI-SARRI AU ROI D'EGYPTE.

(*British Museum*, 30.)

Abi-sarri, gouverneur de Tyr, voudrait se rendre auprès du roi d'Égypte, par lequel il semble avoir été appelé. Mais Tyr se trouve bloqué par Zimrida, gouverneur de Sidon, qui a reçu des secours d'Azirou, et à moins que le roi ne renforce la garnison de la ville, Abi-sarri ne peut quitter son poste. Il prie donc son suzerain de recevoir à sa place son messenger. A la fin de la lettre, Abi sarri, conformément aux ordres du roi, lui donne des renseignements sur ce qui se passe au pays de Chanaan.

## TRANSCRIPTION.

1. *A-na šarri* >𐎠𐎢𐎣𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎣𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎣 *Šamas-ia ilu-ia ilani-ia*
2. *um-ma* : 𐎠𐎢𐎣𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎣𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎣 *A-bi-šarri ardu-ka.*
3. *VII u VII a-na šipi šarri in-ni-ia am-kut.*
4. *A-na-ku ip-ru iš-tu šu-pa-li*
5. *šini ši-ni šarri in-ni-ia.*
6. *An-nu-u a-na-an-šur maḥaza šarri*
7. *ša ip-ki-id i-na ḫa-ti-ia rabiš.*
8. *Pa-nu-ia a-na a-la-ki*
9. *a-na a-ma-ri pa-ni šarri bi-li-ia,*
10. *u la-a i-ni-š iš-tu.*
11. *ḫa-ti* 𐎠𐎢𐎣𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎣𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎣 *Zi-im-ri-da* >𐎠𐎢𐎣𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎣𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎣 *Zi-du-na* <𐎠𐎢𐎣𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎣𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎣>.
12. *Is-mi-ni-ma i-nu-ma*
13. *i-ra-ḫu, u i-ḫu-uš*
14. *nu-kur-tu it-ti-ia. Li-id-din-ni*

15. *šarru bil-il-ia X amiluti a-na*
16. *na-ša-ri maḥaza šarri bi-li-ia,*
17. *u li-ru-ub a-na maḥ-ri*
18. *šarri bi-li-ia, da-ga-ti*
19. *pa-ni-šu damḫi. Ta-at-ta-din*
20. *pa-ni-ia a-na mi(?) -ru-ti ᵛ sa (?) -bu-ti*
21. *šarri in-ni-ia. Li-iš-al*
22. *šarru bi-li-ia  $\Rightarrow\Rightarrow\Rightarrow\Rightarrow$  rabiša-šu :*
23. *i-nu-ma at-ta-din pa-ni-ia*
24. *a-na maḥ-ri-ti šarri bi-li-ia.*
25. *A nu-um-ma amil šipri-ri-ia(?)*
26. *uš-ši-ir-ti a-na . . . . .*
27. *šarri bi-li-ia u . . . . .*
28. *šarru(?) bi-li-ia amilu . . . . .*
29. *. . . . . duḥ-pa-šu a . . . . .*
30. *u li-ru-ub a-na . . . . .*
31. *šarri bil-il-ia-ma . . . . .*
32. *It-ta-din pa-ni-ia*
33. *a-na maḥ-ri-ti a . . . . .*
34. *pa-ni šarri in-ni-ia,*
35. *la-a i-ti-zi-ib . . . . .*
36. *ardu-šu iš-tu ḫa-ti . . . . .*
37. *li-it-ta-din pa-ni . . . . .*
38. *šarru bi-li-ia u it . . . . .*
39. *mi a-na ši-it-ya-(ma)*
40. *u iši a-na ardi-šu . . . . .*
41. *i-ti šarru bi-li i-nu-ma . . . . .*
42. *i-na  $\langle\mathbf{I}\rangle(?)\mathbf{-}\mathbf{I}$  tamti ni-ta-ša-ab ;*
43. *ia-nu mi u ia-nu iši*
44. *a-na ia-ši-nu. A-nu-um-ma*
45. *uš-ši-ir ᵛ Ilu-milku amil šipri-ri*
46. *a-na maḥ-ri šarri bi-li-ia,*
47. *u at-ta-din V bilāti siparri*
48.  $\Rightarrow\mathbf{I}$  *su-bu-ma, ištīn  $\Rightarrow\mathbf{I}$  ḡinazu ᵛ ḡi-na-zu*
49. *Šarru bi-li-ia iš-ta-par a-na ia-ši(?) -ma(?) :*
50. *ša ta-aš-mi iš-tu mat Ki-na-aḥ-na,*
51. *u šu-pur a-na ia-ši :*
52. *šar mat Da-nu-na mīt,*
53. *u ša-ar-ra aḫ-šu*
54. *a-na arki-šu, u pa-aš-ḫa-at*



55. *matu-šu ; u bit šar* 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 *U-ga-ri-it* 𐎠𐎡𐏁𐎠.  
 56. *i-ku-ul i-ša-tum, mi-ši-il-šu*  
 57. *i-kul u mi-si-(il)-šu ia-nu ;*  
 58. *u* 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 *šabi mat Ha-at-ti, ia-nu ;*  
 59. 𐎠 *I-ta-ga-ma pa-pi(?)ri*  
 60. 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 *Ki-id-ši u*  
 61. 𐎠 *A-si-ra nu-kur-tum,*  
 62. *it-ti* 𐎠 *Nam-ia-pi(?)za :*  
 63. *nu-kur-tum,*  
 64. *a-ta-tu, ha-ba-li.*  
 65. 𐎠 *Zi-im-ri-da,*  
 66. *i-nu-ma ip-hu-ur*  
 67. *ilapi šabi iš-tu mahazani* 𐎠 *A-si-ra . . . . .*  
 68. *a-na muhhi-ia, u da-mi-ik i-nu-ma IV(?) u . . . .*  
 69. *šab imuki bi-ti-ia u ip(?)-li-hu kab-bu. Li-id-din . . .*  
 70. *pa-ni-su šarru a-na ar-di-šu u li-za-tu* 𐎠 *i-za . . . . .*



## TRANSLATION.


(1) Au roi, mon Soleil, mon dieu, mes dieux, (2) en ces termes :  
 Abi-sarri, ton serviteur. (3) Sept fois et sept fois, aux pieds du roi  
 mon maître, je me prosterne. (4, 5) Je suis poussière de dessous  
 (6) les chaussures du roi mon maître. (6, 7) Pour le moment je  
 garderai avec grand soin la ville du roi, qu'il a confiée à ma main.  
 (8) Mon dessein est d'aller (9) voir la face du roi mon maître,  
 (10) mais je ne puis me tirer des (11) mains de Zimrida, préfet de  
 Zidouna. (12) Il a appris que (13) j'allais venir, et il a fait (14) la  
 guerre contre moi. Qu'il me donne, (15) le roi mon maître, dix  
 hommes pour (16) la garde de la ville du roi mon maître, (17) et  
 que je vienne en présence (18) du roi mon maître, pour contempler  
 (19) sa face bienfaisante. (19, 20) Mon dessein est de visiter  
 (21) le roi mon maître. Qu'il interroge, (22) le roi mon maître, son  
 inspecteur, (23) [et qu'il sache] que mon dessein est d'aller (24) en  
 présence du roi mon maître. (25, 26) Pour le moment, j'ai envoyé  
 mon messenger en (présence) (27) du roi mon maître, et (qu'il  
 accueille), (28) le roi mon maître l'homme (messenger), (29) . . . . .  
 sa tablette . . . . (30) et qu'il vienne [le messenger] en (présence)  
 (31) du roi mon maître. . . . . (32) Mon dessein est bien (33, 34)  
 de me présenter (pour voir) la face du roi mon maître, (mais) (35) il  
 ne peut se dégager, (36) ton serviteur, de la main (de Zimrida).

(37, 38) Que le roi mon maître en prenne la résolution, et qu'il soit (fourni) (39) de l'eau pour ma boisson, (40) et du bois pour son serviteur. (41) Le roi sait que (nous), (42) nous sommes situés au *bord*(?) de la mer, (43, 44) et que nous n'avons ni eau, ni bois. Maintenant, (45) j'envoie Ilou-milkou, le messager, (46) en présence du roi mon maître, (47) et je donne cinq talents de cuivre, (48) du *subu*. et un *ginazu*. (49) Le roi mon maître m'a mandé: (50) Ce que tu apprendras concernant le pays de Chanaan, (51) mande-le moi. (52) Le roi du pays de Danouna est mort, (53) et son frère est devenu roi (54) après lui, (54, 55) et le pays est tranquille; et la *maison*(?) du roi d'Ugarit, (56) le feu l'a dévorée; (56, 57) il en a dévoré une moitié et l'autre moitié, non. (58) Quant aux gens du pays de Khatti, rien. (59) Itamagapapiri (60) de la ville de Kidsou, et (61) Azirou, hostilité (62) avec Namyapiza: (63) hostilité, (64) ravages, destruction. (65) Zimrida, (66) après avoir rassemblé (67) des vaisseaux et des soldats des villes d'Azirou, (a marché) (68) contre moi, et bonne fortune si (je reçois) (69) des soldats de mon maître: ils seront tous *effrayés*(?). (69, 70) Que le roi tourne ses regards vers son serviteur, et que . . . . .

## REMARQUES.

Ligne 15.—*Dix hommes*. On est souvent frappé dans nos lettres du nombre insignifiant de soldats auxiliaires, dix, vingt, trente, que les chefs syro-palestiniens demandent pour la garde de leurs villes. Sans doute qu'ils parlent ainsi par litote; ils demandent, comme nous dirions, une poignée d'hommes.

Ligne 42.— . Ce groupe cache probablement un mot qui caractérise la situation de Tyr dans son île rocheuse au bord de la mer.

Ligne 48.—*Gi-na-su*. L'idéogramme , ainsi transcrit dans le texte original, exprime en assyrien le mot *kiššatu*, pour *kinšatu*. D'après cela, *gi-na-su* doit être une expression incorrecte pour *kinašu*. —Nous avons fait observer plus d'une fois que les scribes syro-palestiniens confondent souvent dans l'écriture les consonnes de même organe.

Ligne 58.—La phrase qui forme cette ligne signifie, je crois, qu'Abi-sarri n'a recueilli aucun renseignement sur les gens de Khatti

## IV.

## AB-SARRI AU ROI D'ÉGYPTÉ

(British Museum, 28.)

Après s'être plaint de l'indifférence du roi, qui ne répond pas à ses communications, Abi-sarri expose avec plus de détail que dans la lettre précédente, la même situation qui lui est faite par les chefs voisins: il montre les flottilles de plusieurs villes phéniciennes réunies contre lui. Il semble dire que la ville de Zoumour a été livré naguère à Azirou, sur un faux message du roi, apporté par Zimrida.

## TRANSCRIPTION.

1. *A-na Šarri in-ni-ia* ➤✠ *Šamši-ia ilani-ia*
2. *um-ma* : ✠ *A-bi-šarri ardu-ka.*
3. *VII u VI a-na šipi šarri bi-ili am-kut.*
4. *A-na-ku ip-ru iš-tu šu-ša-al šipi*
5. *šini ši-ni šarri bi-li-ia.*
6. *Šarru bi-li-ia, ki-i-ma* ➤✠ *Šamšu,*
7. *ki-ma* ➤✠ *Addu i-na ša-mi at-ta.*
8. *li-im-li-ik šarru a-na ardi-šu.*
9. *Šarru bi-li-ia ip-ki-üd-ni*
10. *a-na-ša-ar* ➤✠|| *Šur-ri amat šarri ;*
11. *u aš-ta-par dup-ša, u-mu-da*
12. *a-na šarri in-ni-ia, u la-a*
13. *it-ti-ir a-ma-tam a-na ia-ši.*
14. *A-na-ku* ➤➤➤|| *rabišu šarri bi-li-ia,*
15. *u a-na-ku ša u-bal a-ma-tam*
16. *taba u a-na a-ma-(tam) li-im-na*
17. *a-na šarri bi-li-ia. Li-ma-aš-šir*
18. *šarru XX amil imuki, a-na-ša-ar*
19. *maḥaza-šu, u li-ru-ub a-na muḥ-ḥi*
20. *šarri bi-li-ia, u li-mur pa-ni-šu.*
21. *Ma-an-nu ba-la-at amil imuki,*
22. *i-nu-ma la-a it-ta-zi*
23. *ša-a-ru iš-tu* ➤✠✠✠ *pi šarri bi-li-šu,*
24. *u ba-li-it šum-ma šarru iš-ta-par*
25. *a-na ardi-šu, u ba-li-it*
26. *a-na da-ri-ti a-na-ku.*

27. . . . . *ša il-ti-ga-ti-na*  
 28. . . . . *a-na i-ri-bi*  
 29. . . . . *(da)-ga-li pa-ni šarri bi-li-ia*  
 30. . . . . *pi-ra*  
 31. . . . . *it-ti-ir-mi*  
 32. . . . . *ki šarru bi-li-ia*  
 33. . . . . *ši-ri-ib-ka*  
 34. . . . . *ma bi-li*  
 35. . . . . *ra* † *A-zi-ra*  
 36. . . . . *(Arad)-aš-ra-tum*  
 37. . . . . *(a)r-ni šarri* † *Ha-a-bi*  
 38. . . . . *i-li sa(?)-ri*  $\Xi_{\text{III}}$  *mar sipri-ri*  
 39. . . . . *it-ta-din*  $\succ \text{II}$  *Šu-mu-ra*  
 40. *a-na* † *A-zi-ra*, *u la-a*  
 41. *i-ku-ul šarru iš-tu maḥazi-šu(u)*  
 42. *iš-tu mat-ti-šu. I-nu-ma aš-ti-mu*  
 43. *šu-um šarri u šu-um um-ma-ni-šu,*  
 44. *u pal-ḥu rabiš u kab-bi*  
 45. *mat-ti-pal-ḥa-at, u ša-a la-a*  
 46. *i-la-ak a-na arki šarri bi-li-ia*  
 47. *šarru i-ti. Šu-um-ma ša-ak-na-ta-ni*  
 48. *i-na*  $\Xi_{\text{III}}$  *rabiši i-na*  $\succ \text{II}$  *Šur-ri,*  
 49. *il-gi* † *Zi-im-ri-da*  $\succ \text{II}$  *Sa-zu,*  
 50. *iš-tu ardu-ti i-ta-zi-ib-šu;*  
 51. *u ia-nu mi, ia-nu iši a-na ia-ši-nu;*  
 52. *u ia-nu a-ia-ḥa-mi ni-iš-kan*  
 53.  $\Xi_{\text{III}}$  *pagar. U šarru bi-li-ia*  
 54. *li-im-li-ik a-na ardi-šu. Šarru bi-li-ia*  
 55. *i-na dup-pi iš-ta-par a-na ia-ši:*  
 56. *mi-nu-um-mi ta-aš-ti-mi, u šu-pur*  
 57. *a-na šarri. † Zi-im-ri-da ša*  $\succ \text{II}$  *Zi-du-na,*  
 58. *u* † *A-zi-ra amil ar-ni šarri,*  
 59. *u amilut*  $\succ \text{II}$  *Ar-va-da it-mu-ni,*  
 60. *u iš-ta-ni ma-mi-ta i-na bi-ri-šu-nu*  
 61. *u ip-ḥu-ru-nim ilapi-šu-nu*  
 62.  $\text{II}$  *narkabāti-šu-nu ṣabi imuki-šu-nu*  
 63. *a-na ṣa-la-ti*  $\succ \text{II}$  *Šur-ri amat šarri.*  
 64. *Ga-aš-ta-at ḥa-ti šarri da-an-na-tum*

65. *u da-ga-at-šu-nu* >=|| *Šur-ri*  
 66. *la-a i-ni-u-nim a-na ſa-bat.*  
 67. *U* >=|| *Šu-mu-ra ſa-ab-du-nim*  
 68. *i-na* >=Δ< *pi* † *Zi-im-ri-da*  
 69. *ša u-ba-lam a-ma-tam ſarri*  
 70. *a-na* † *A-zi-ra.* *U aš-ta-ṣar*  
 71. *dup-ṣa a-na ſarri bi-li-ia,*  
 72. *u la-a it-ti-ir-ni*  
 73. *a-ma-tam a-na ardi-šu.*  
 74. *Iš-tu mu-ga-ti nu-kur-tum*  
 75. *i-na muḥ-ḥi-ia, ia-nu mi*  
 76. *ia-nu iṣi.* *Li-ma-aš-šir*  
 77. *dup-ṣa a-na ardi-šu,*  
 78. *u li-ru-ub u li-mur ṣa-ni-šu u ſarru . . . . .*  
 79. *a-na ardi-šu a-na maḥazi-šu, u la-a . . . . .*  
 80. *maḥazu-šu matu-šu ; am-mi-nim i-nam-mu . . . . .*  
 81. *ſarru bi-li-nu iš-tu mat-ti u i-ti . . . . .*  
 82. *u i-ti ſa-a-i-ru-it ſarru ſa ia-nu.* *A-nu-um-(ma)*  
 83. *dup-ṣi-ia amil imuki a-na muḥ-ḥi ſarri* >† *Šaṁši bil-*  
*(ia) . . . . .*  
 84. *u ſarru li-it-ti-ir a-na ardi-šu.*

## TRANSDUCTION.

(1) Au roi mon maître, mon dieu Soleil, mon dieu, (2) en ces termes : Abi-sarri ton serviteur. (3) Sept fois, encore sept fois, aux pieds du roi seigneur, je me prosterne. (4) Je suis poussière de dessous les pieds (5) [et] les chaussures du roi mon maître. (6) “O roi seigneur, comme le dieu Soleil, (7) comme le dieu Addou, [ainsi] es-tu dans le ciel.

(8) Que le roi prenne des mesures en faveur de son serviteur. (9) Le roi mon maître m'a établi (10) pour que je garde la ville de Tyr, sa servante ; (11) cependant j'ai envoyé une tablette, j'ai donné des renseignements (?) (12) au roi mon maître, (12, 13) et il ne m'a pas rendu de réponse. (14) Moi, je suis gouverneur du roi, (15) et je le suis pour faire parvenir nouvelle (16) bonne et nouvelle mauvaise, (17) au roi mon maître. Qu'il envoie (18), le roi, vingt soldats, j'assurerai la garde (19) de sa ville, et puisse-je venir (20) chez le roi mon maître, et voir sa face. (21) Quel soldat vit (22) lorsqu'il ne sort pas (23) d'ordre de la bouche du roi son maître?

(24) Il vit lorsque le roi mande ses ordres (25) à son serviteur, (25, 26) et moi [alors] je vis à jamais.

(27) . . . . . que j'ai pris (28) . . . . . pour venir (29) . . . . . voir la face du roi mon maître, (30) . . . . . (31) . . . . . répondit. (32) . . . . . roi mon maître. (33) . . . . . te faire parvenir (34) . . . . . seigneur (35) . . . . . Azirou (36) . . . . . (Arad)-Asratou (37) . . . . . révolté contre le roi, Khabi. (38) (Si) un messenger s'y était rendu, (39) Zoumour (n')eût (pas) été livré à Azirou, (40, 41) et le roi n'eût pas été privé d'une ville à lui et (42) d'un territoire à lui. Lorsqu'on entend (43) le nom du roi et le nom de son armée, (44) on éprouve une grande crainte, et (45) tout le pays est effrayé, (45, 46) et celui qui ne se met pas à la suite du roi mon maître, (47) le roi le connaît.

Lorsque tu m'établis (48) comme gouverneur de Tyr, (49) Zimrida s'empara de la ville de Sazu, (50) et la sépara de [mon] obédience. (51) Et nous n'avons plus [en conséquence] ni eau, ni bois; (52) nous n'avons plus ou déposer (53) les morts. Que le roi mon maître (54) subvienne en faveur de son serviteur.

Le roi moi maître (55) m'a mandé par tablette: (56) 'Tout ce que tu entendras, mande-le (57) au roi. Zimrida de Zidouna, (58) et Azirou, sujet rebelle du roi, (59) et les gens de la ville d'Arvada ont juré, (60) et ils ont échangé leurs serments entre eux, (61) et ils ont [en conséquence] rassemblé leurs vaisseaux, (62) leurs chars et leurs soldats, (63) pour prendre Tyr, la servante du roi. (64) Que la main puissante du roi intervienne (65, 66) et leur troupe n'osera s'emparer du Tyr. (67) Aussi bien ont-ils pris la ville de Zoumour (68) sur la parole d'ede Zimrida, (69) qui a apporté un [faux] message du roi (70) à Azirou. J'avais envoyé [à cette occasion] (71) une tablette au roi mon maître, (72) et il n'avait pas rendu (73) réponse à son serviteur. (74) A cause de la présence des ennemis (75) auprès de moi, il n'y a plus d'eau (76) il n'y a plus de bois. Qu'il envoie (77) une tablette à son serviteur, (78) et que celui-ci vienne et voie sa face, et le roi . . . . . (79) à son serviteur et à sa ville, et ne pas . . . . . (80) sa ville et son pays. Pourquoi . . . . . (81) le roi notre maître du pays . . . . . et il sait . . . . . (82) et il sait qu'il n'y a pas de . . . . . Maintenant (83) un soldat porte ma tablette au roi mon maître, mon dieu Soleil (84) et que le roi réponde à son serviteur.

## REMARQUES.

Ligne 11.—*U-mu-da*, ou bien *u-wu-da*, piel de *widu*, ודע = ורע?

Ligne 82.—*Šu-i-ru-it*, pour *ša-i-ri-it*.

## V.

## ABI-SARRI AU ROI D'ÉGYPTÉ.

(*British Museum*, 31.)

Abi-sarri recommande à la bienveillance du roi, Tyr, *la ville de Salmayati*, et lui-même, *le serviteur de Salmayati*. Salmayati, précédé du clou vertical, déterminatif des noms d'hommes, désigne apparemment un chef tyrien qui s'était distingué au service du roi d'Égypte, et sous le commandement duquel Abi-sarri s'était lui-même trouvé jadis.—Abi-sarri se plaint de ce que les ordres donnés en sa faveur par le roi n'ont pas reçu leur exécution, ce qui fait qu'il est toujours bloqué. Il proteste de sa bonne conduite, qui contraste avec celle de ses voisins.

## TRANSCRIPTION.

1. *A-na šarri* ➤✠ . . . . .
2. *um-ma : A-bi-šarri* . . . . .
3. *VII u VII a-na šipi* . . . . .
4. *A-na-ku ip-ru iš-tu*
5. *šu-ša-li šini ši-ni* . . . . .
6. *u šarru*, ➤✠ *Šamaš da-ri-(tum)*.
7. *Šarru ik-bi a-na ardi-šu* . . . . .
8. *a-na arad Šal-ma-ia-a-ti*,
9. *a-na na-da-ni ši-ku u a-na*
10. *mi* √ *mi-ma a-na ši-ti-šu*.
11. *U la-a i-bu-uš-šu-nim*
12. *ki-ma ka-bi šarru bi-li-ia*,
13. *la-a i-na-an-din-nu-nim*.
14. *U li-im-li-ik šarru*
15. *a-na arad* √ *Šal-ma-ia-a-ti*,
16. *a-na na-da-ni mi*
17. *aš-šum ba-la-ti-šu*. *Ša-ni-tam*,

18. *bi-lišarru, i-nu-ma ia-nu*  
 19. *iši-ia, mi ia-nu, in-nu*  
 20. . . . . . *ru ia-nu, ša-mu*  
 21. . . . . . *li-ti šarru bi-li,*  
 22. . . . . . *Šal-ma-ia-a-ti*  
 23. . . . . . *ba-la-ti a-na šašu*  
 24. . . . . . *(t)a-din*  
 25. . . . . . *a-na ši-ti*  
 26. . . . . . *ti*  
 27. . . . . .  
 28. *(U la-a) id-din-nu-nim*  
 29. . . . *ki-ma ka-bi šarru . . .*  
 30. *u li-ti šarru a-na ardi-šu*  
 31. *u a-na 𐎶𐎶𐎶 Šur-ri*  
 32. *ma-ḥaz 𐎶 Šal-ma-ia-a-ti.*  
 33. *U ša it-ta-zi a-ma-tam*  
 34. *iš-tu 𐎶𐎶𐎶 pi šarri*  
 35. *a-na ardi-šu ša i-bu-uš*  
 36. *a-ma-tam šarri 𐎶 pa-ni mu- . . -la-ak.*  
 37. *šarri 𐎶𐎶 Šamaš da-ri-tum.*  
 38. *U a-na ardi-šu ki-it-ti . .*  
 39. *Šarru bi-li-ia . . . . .*  
 40. *a-na na(?) -ša(?) -ri maḥaz 𐎶 Šal-ma-ia-a-ti*  
 41. *bi-ti-ia. A-nu-um(?) -ma(?) . . . . . bi.*  
 42. *Ša-ni-tam bi-li(?) . . . . .*  
 43. *šabi muḥ-ḥi-ia la. . . . .*  
 44. *a-na ir-ši-ti . . . šarri(?) . . . . .*  
 45. *i-nu-ma ru ša um(?) . . . . .*  
 46. *šarru bi-li-ia u i-ga-ru*  
 47. *i-na ir-zi-ti, u*  
 48. *šarru bi-li-ia lib-bi kab-bi(?)*  
 49. *mat-ti i-ti, u li-id-(din)*  
 50. *pa-ni-šu šarru a-na ar-di-šu(?),*  
 51. *u 𐎶𐎶𐎶 Šur-ri*  
 52. *maḥaz 𐎶 Šal-ma-ia-a-ti*  
 53. *a-na na-āa-ni (iši),*  
 54. *a-na mi a-na ba-(la-ti) . .*  
 55. *Ša-ni-tam bi-li . . . . .*  
 56. *(li)-iš-al šarru 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 rabiša : i-nu-ma . .*



57. (a)-na 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 *Su-mu-ri, a-mur, bil* 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 . . . . .  
 58. . . . . *a-li-ik u bil* 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 *Zi-du-(na)* . . . . .  
 59. . . . . *la-ak, u a-na-ku i-la-ak ka-du kab-bi* . . . . . *kab-bi* . . . . .  
 60. *U li-im-li-ik šarru a-na ardi-šu*  
 61. *u(?) i-šur iš* . . . . .

## TRADUCTION.

(1) Au roi . . . . . (2) en ces termes: Abi-sarri . . . . . (3) Sept fois, encore sept fois aux pieds . . . . . (4) Je suis poussière de (5) dessous les chaussures . . . . . (6) et le roi est le dieu Soleil pour toujours. (7) Le roi a parlé en faveur de son serviteur . . . , (8) en faveur du serviteur de Salmayati, (9) pour qu'on lui donne du bois et pour (qu'on lui donne) (10) de l'eau à boire. (11) Et on n'a pas agi (12) conformément à l'ordre du roi mon maître; (13) on n'a rien donné. (14) Que le roi prenne donc des mesures (15) en faveur du serviteur de Salmayati, (16) afin qu'on lui donne de l'eau (17) pour vivre. De plus, (18, 19), ô seigneur roi, comme je n'ai pas de bois, pas d'eau, pas de *innu* [orge?] (20) . . . . . pas de *šamu*, (21) . . . . . que le roi mon maître sache (22) . . . . . (le serviteur de) Salmayati (23) . . . . . vie pour lui. (24) . . . . . . . . . qu'on lui donne (25) . . . . . pour boire. (26) . . . . . (27) . . . . . . . (28) Et on n'a pas donné (29) . . . . . suivant l'ordre du roi (mon maître). (30) Que le roi en prenne connaissance en faveur de son serviteur, (31) et de Tyr, (32) la ville de Salmayati. (33) Puisqu'un ordre est sorti (34) de la bouche du roi (35) à l'adresse de son serviteur pour qu'il l'exécute, (35, 36) je *m'applique à exécuter* (?) l'ordre excellent du roi, (37) du roi, dieu Soleil perpétuel. (38) A son serviteur fidèle, (39) le roi mon maître (a ordonné) (40) de garder la ville de Salmayati (41) ma demeure. Maintenant . . . . . . . (42) De plus, . . . . . (43) soldats *contre* (?) moi . . . . . (44) pour le pays . . . . . (45) puisque . . . . . (46) le roi mon maître, et la campagne (47) dans le pays. Et (48, 49) le roi mon maître connaît les *sentiments* (?) de tout le pays; qu'il tourne (50) sa face vers son serviteur (51) et la ville de Tyr, (52) la ville de Salmayati, (53) pour qu'on donne (du bois), (54) pour qu'on lui donne de l'eau pour vivre. (55) De plus, le seigneur (roi) . . . . . (56) Que le roi interroge son inspecteur [sur ceci]: lorsque (l'inspecteur se rendit) (57) à Zoumour,

le préfet de . . . (58) (n')alla (point au devant de lui), et le préfet de Zidouna . . . . . (59) (n'y) alla point, et moi, j'y allai avec tout . . . . . tout . . . . . (60) Que le roi donc prenne des mesures en faveur de son serviteur, (61) et il gardera . . . . .

## REMARQUES.

Ligne 5.—Le signe  $\text{𐀀} \text{𐀁} \text{𐀂}$ , qui a entre autres valeurs celle de *mašku*, peau, cuir, est ici l'idéogramme *šinu*, transcrit immédiatement après en ses syllabes *šī-nu*, ou bien c'est un déterminatif aphone du même mot. Ce luxe graphique inutile est omis, dans le même contexte (Brit. Mus., 29, l. 5).

Ligne 14.—*Li-im-li-ik*. Le verbe *malaku* ne peut avoir ici le sens de *conseiller*. Il signifie *pourvoir à*, sens qui convient aux autres passages où il se rencontre.

## VI.

## ABI-SARRI AU ROI D'ÉGYPTE.

(*British Museum*, 29.)

Cette lettre est remplie de l'éloge dithyrambique du roi d'Égypte. C'est la reconnaissance, sincère ou affectée, qui inspire Abi-sarri, lequel vient d'être honoïé par le roi d'un message favorable et d'une distinction qui lui donne rang parmi les hauts officiers. En même temps, Abi-sarri a été délivré, par l'intervention du roi, des difficultés contre lesquelles il luttait. Néanmoins Abi-sarri regrette toujours de ne pouvoir aller en Égypte. Il termine en attirant l'attention du roi sur les intrigues de Zimrida et d'Azirou.

## TRANSCRIPTION.

1. *A-na šarri in-ni-ia ilani-ia*  $\text{𐀀} \text{𐀁}$  *Šamši-ia,*
2. *um-ma* :  $\text{𐀀}$  *A-bi-šarri ardu-ka.*
3. *VII u VII a-na šipi šarri in-ni-ia am-kut.*
4. *A-na-ku ip-ru iš-tu su-ḫa-li*
5. *ši-ni šarri in-ni-ia, bi-li,*
6.  $\text{𐀀} \text{𐀁}$  *Šamši ša it-ta-zi i-na miḫ-ḫi*
7. *mat ma-ta-ti ina um-mi u um-mi-ma*
8. *ḫi-ma ši-ma-at*  $\text{𐀀} \text{𐀁}$  *Šamšu a-bu-šu damḫu,*
9. *ša i-ba-li-iṭ i-na ši-ḫi-šu ṭabi,*

10. *u i-ša-hir i-na ša-pa-ni-šu ;*  
 11. *ša it-ta-ša-ab kab-bi mat-ti*  
 12. *i-na pa-ša-ḥi, i-na kin-ni ašariduti 𐎶 ḥa-ab-ši ;*  
 13. *ša id-din ri-ig-ma-šu i-na sa-mi*  
 14. *ki-ma 𐎶 Addu, u (tar)-ku-ub kab-bi*  
 15. *mat-ti iš-tu ri-ig-mi-šu.*  
 16. *An-nu-u iš-ḥu-ur ardu-du a-na bi-li-šu*  
 17. *i-nu-ma iš-mi mar šipri-ri damḫi*  
 18. *ša šarru, ša i-ga-ša-ad a-na ardi-šu*  
 19. *u ši-ḥu ṭabu ša it-ta-zi*  
 20. *iš-tu 𐎶 pi 𐎶 šarri bi-li-ia*  
 21. *a-na ardi-šu u i-za-ḥir ši-ḥu-šu.*  
 22. *La-am ga-ša-ad amil šipri-ri šarri bi-li-ia,*  
 23. *la-a i-za-ḥir ši-ḥu, i-za-gir*  
 24. *appi ap-pi-ia. A-mur, i-na-an-na*  
 25. *i-nu-ma it-ta-zi*  
 26. *ši-ḥu šarri a-na muḥ-ḥi-ia,*  
 27. *u ḥa-ad-ia-ti rabiš*  
 28. *umišam(?), 𐎶 a-ru-u i-na um-mi u um-mi-ma.*  
 29. *Aš-šum ḥa-ti-ia-ti, la-a ti . . . .*  
 30. *ir-zi-tum. I-nu-ma iš-mi*  
 31. *mar šipri-ri damḫi ša iš-tu bi-li-ia,*  
 32. *u kab-bi mat-ti pal-ḥa-at*  
 33. *iš-tu pa-ni bi-li-ia. I-nu-ma*  
 34. *iš-mi ši-ḥu ṭabu u mar sipri-ri damḫi*  
 35. *ša i-gu-ša-ta-ni, i-nu-ma*  
 36. *ik-bi Šarru bi-li-ia 𐎶 ku-na*  
 37. *a-na pa-ni šabi rabuti, u ik-bi*  
 38. *ardu-du a-na bi-li-šu 𐎶 ia-a-ia-ia*  
 39. *a-na muḥ-ḥi ga-bi-ti-ia muḥ-ḥi 𐎶 zu-ri-ia*  
 40. *u-bal a-ma-tam šarri bi-li-ia.*  
 41. *Ša iš-mi a-na šarri bi-li-su u*  
 42. *u-ra-ad-šu i-na aš-ra-ni-šu,*  
 43. *u it-zi 𐎶 Šamšu i-na muḥ-ḥi-šu,*  
 44. *u i-za-ḥir ši-ḥu ṭabu iš-tu 𐎶 pi bi-li-šu ,*  
 45. *u lu-a iš-ti-mi a-ma-tam šarri bi-li-šu,*  
 46. *ḥal-ga-at ma-ḥazu-šu ḥa-li-ik bitu-šu,*  
 47. *ia-nu šu-um-šu i-na kab-bi*  
 48. *mat-ti i-na da-ri-ti. A-mur*

49. *arda-da ša iš-mi a-na bi-li-šu,*  
 50. *tar-mu mahazu-šu tar-mu bitu-šu,*  
 51. *šu-um-šu a-na da-ri-ti.*  
 52. *At-ta* ➤✠ *Šamšu ša it-ta-zi i-na muḫ-ḫi-ia,*  
 53. *u du-u-ri siparri ša is-ku-bu*  
 54. *a-na ša-a-šu ; u aš-šum ašaridut sarri*  
 55. *bi-li-ia da-na-ti*  
 56. ✠ *nu-ug-ti* ✠ *ba-ti-i-ti.*  
 57. *An-nu-u ik-bi*  
 58. *a-na* ➤✠ *Šamši A-bi-šarri : bi-li-ia*  
 59. *ma-ti-mi i-mur*  
 60. *pa-ni šarri bi-li-ia ?*  
 61. *U a-nu-um-ma a-na-an-šur*  
 62. ➤✠✠ *Šur-ri mahazu ra-bi-tu*  
 63. *a-na šarri bi-li-ia ; ša(?) -lam(?)*  
 64. *i-pi-zi ašaridut šarru da-na-tu i-na muḫ-ḫi-ia,*  
 65. *a-na na-da-an mi-i a-na šu-ta-ia*  
 66. *u iši a-na šu-ḫu-ni-ia. Ša-ni-tam* ✠ *Zi-im-ri-da*  
 67. *bil* ➤✠✠ *Zi-du-na iš-pu-ur ina um-mi u um-mi-ma*  
 68. *amīl ar-ni* ✠ *A-zi-ri mar* ✠ *Arad* ➤✠ *-aš-ra-tum*  
 69. *aš-šum kab-bi a-ma-tam ša iš-ti-mi iš-tu mat Mi-iš-ri.*  
 70. *A-nu-um-ma iš-pu-ur a-na bi-li-ia, u damḫu*  
 71. *i-nu-ma i-ti.*

## TRADUCTION.

(1) Au roi, mon maître, mon dieu, mon dieu Soleil, (2) en ces termes : Abi-sarri, ton serviteur. (3) Sept fois, encore sept fois, aux pieds du roi mon maître, je me prosterne. (4) Je suis poussière de dessous (5) les chaussures du roi, mon maître, mon seigneur, (6) du dieu Soleil qui se lève sur (7) les régions tous les jours, (8) suivant la disposition du dieu Soleil, son père bienfaisant ; (9) par les paroles propices duquel on vit, (10) et par les doux discours duquel on se ranime ; (11) qui établit tous les pays (12) dans le repos par la force de son autorité ; (13) qui fait entendre son tonnerre dans le ciel (14) comme le dieu Addou, (14, 15) et toute la terre tremble par l'effet de son tonnerre.

(16) Maintenant le serviteur envoie message à son maître, (17) après avoir entendu le porteur du message propice (18) de la part du roi, qui est parvenu à son serviteur, (19) et la bonne parole qui est sortie (20) de la bouche du roi mon maître (21) à l'adresse

de son serviteur, et après que sa parole [l']a reconforté. (22) Si le messager du roi mon maître n'était pas arrivé (23) et que cette parole ne [m']eût pas reconforté, (23, 24) mon visage se serait contracté. Vois, maintenant (25) qu'est sortie (26) la parole du roi à mon adresse, (27) je me suis grandement réjoui (28) *chaque jour* (?), j'ai éprouvé du contentement tous les jours. (29) Parce que je me réjouissais, ne pas . . . . . (30) la terre. Lorsqu'il eut entendu (31) le porteur du message propice venant de mon maître, (32) tout le pays fut saisi de la crainte (33) du roi mon maître. Lorsque (34) j'eus entendu la bonne parole et le porteur du message propice (35) qui m'est parvenu, lorsque (36) le roi mon maître m'eût dit [par la bouche de son messager]: Prends place (37) en présence des grands officiers, alors (38, 39) le serviteur répondit à son maître: Yâyaya! (39) sur mon dos, sur mes bras, (40) je porterai le commandement du roi mon maître. (41) Celui qui obéit au roi son maître (42) et s'attache à lui par son amour, (43) le dieu Soleil [le roi] se lève sur lui, (44) et une bonne parole sortie de la bouche de son maître [le] ranime; (45) n'écoute-il pas l'ordre du roi son maître, (46) sa ville périt, sa maison périt, (47) son nom n'existe plus en aucun (48) pays, à jamais. (49) Le serviteur qui obéit à son maître, (50) sa ville est fondée, sa maison est fondée, (51) son nom se maintient à jamais. (52) Tu es le dieu Soleil qui se lève sur moi, (53, 54) et le rempart d'airain contre lequel on se *brise* (?); par l'autorité du roi (55) mon maître, [j'ai] puissance, (56) *contentement, délivrance* (?)

(57, 58) Maintenant Abi-sarri dit au dieu Soleil: Mon seigneur, (59) quand verrai-je (60) la face du roi mon maître? (61) Pour le moment, je garderai (62) Tyr, la grande ville, (63) pour le roi mon maître; (63, 64) l'autorité du roi mon maître a étendu son ombre [protection] sur moi, (65) afin qu'en me donne de l'eau pour ma soif, (66) et de l'eau pour mon chauffage.


Enfin Zimrida (67) préfet de Zidouna, envoie journallement message (68) au rebelle Azirou, fils d'Arad-Asratou, (69) pour toute nouvelle qu'il entend du pays de Misri. (70) Je le mande donc à mon maître, car il est bon: (71) qu'il le sache.


## REMARQUES.

Ligne 8.—Le dieu Soleil ici n'est pas le roi d'Égypte, mais le vrai soleil.

Ligne 9.—*Šiḥu*, à rapprocher de l'hébreu שִׁחַ dans le sens de parole, discours.

Ligne 10.—*Šapani*, pluriel de *šapu*, d'une racine *šouḥ*, (= צַפַּח?). On voit par le rapprochement de lignes 10 et 23 que *šapu* et *šiḥu* sont synonymes.

Ligne 12.—Le signe  est susceptible de la lecture *ašariādut* (Brunnow, 6468), puissance, autorité. Le nom exprimé par ce signe, énonce dans tous les cas, d'après la ligne 54, une qualité ou un attribut du roi.—*Ḥabši* me semble être une glose chananéenne expliquant *ašariādut*. On se rappellera l'hébreu שָׁבַשׁ, dominer, gouverner (Job, xxxiv, 17 ; Isaïe, iii, 7).

Ligne 14.—(*Tar*)-*ku-ub*, les vestiges du premier signe indiquent . A comparer avec l'araméen ܕܪܘܚܐ, trembler.

Ligne 56.—*Nugti*, cf. Strassmaier, 6396, *nu-ug lib-bi*.—*Ba-ti-i-ti*, plus correctement *pa-di-i-ti*?



## A PECULIARLY SACRED POSTURE AVOIDED IN ANCESTOR WORSHIP.

REV. CAMDEN M. COBERN, PH.D.

The writer, a few winters ago, while in the Ghizeh Museum, made the observation that the typically sacred posture of the uplifted empty hands, which was used in innumerable instances where men appeared before the divinities, was carefully avoided in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, and very rarely used in the New Kingdom, when they appeared before their ancestors.

This observation was afterwards confirmed by a visit to the British Museum and the Louvre, and by an examination of the plates of Rosellini, Lepsius, &c.

That this posture was a peculiarly sacred one is proved by its use from the very earliest times in the hieroglyphic "to worship." Thus also the gods adored the supreme divinity:—

"Hail to thee, Râ . . . thy mother Nut presents her hands to thee in the act of homage." [Ani Papyrus, Plate I.]

This attitude is of all others the most common one taken by the worshipper when he enters the presence of his god; yet almost universally is it avoided when the relatives gather to reverence their ancestors.

It cannot be denied that there are a few exceptions to the general practice, but in almost every case the exception proves the rule.

Hate . . . and Kheti do stand in the sacred posture before Usertesen and Mes-en-hotep, who are figured as little creatures standing on top of the table of offerings; but the inscription is one distinctly addressed to Osiris and Anubis. (Louvre, C. 19.)

Another significant exception is that of Khent-Khat-ur, who stands before his ancestors in this sacred posture; but stands with his face turned from them and his hands uplifted—towards the unseen. [Plate 109, Eg. Inscrips. British Museum, London, 1837.]


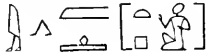
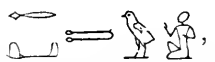
There can be no doubt that this habit was too universal to allow the possibility of its being accidental. That there was one special attitude saved for the deity proves how greatly elevated were the gods above the deceased, and would seem to have some bearing upon the theory of the origin and meaning of Ancestor Worship which is now generally accepted.

## THE VIZIERS OF THE NEW EMPIRE.

BY DR. W. SPIEGELBERG.

Kurt Sethe\* has drawn up a list of names of the viziers of the *Old Empire*, and in connexion with it a history of this office; this work has to be done yet for the *New Empire*, and I should like to make a beginning at least in the following to close this palpable gap. The subjoined list, which gives besides the names only an abbreviated reference to the respective sources and also, as far as possible, the degree of kindred of the officials, is divided into two parts. In the first I have put together the viziers whose time of office could be established with certainty,† in the second I put in alphabetic order those whose dates I did not succeed in fixing exactly. I do not assert that this list has any pretension to completeness in spite of the care bestowed upon the perusal of the material appertaining to it. However, I trust that even in its present state it may be of good service especially for the fixing of dates.

## I.—XVIIIth Dynasty.


1.  Sharpe: *Eg. Inscr.*, I/7. **Amenophis I.**
2.  Grébaud: *Musée de Boulaq*, T. XVI. **Thutmosis I.**
3.  *L.D.*, III, 25, *bis o* (cf. Griffith: "Notes on a Tour," *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1889, p. 103). Virey: *Tombeau de Rechmara*, Pl. III. **Thutmosis III.**


\* *A.Z.*, 1890. 43 fol.


† The fixing of dates of the viziers is given according to the Pharaohs in the sense that the respective governor officiated under the rule of the king quoted in the margin without precise limitation, *i.e.*, it not being excluded that he was already acting under the predecessor or successor.


‡ About , cf. my *Studien und Materialien*, p. 100, A, 14.



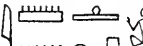
4. , son of the preceding. Virey: *Tombeau de Rechmara*. Louvre: *Stèle 74* (Lieblein: *Dict.*, p. 914). Louvre: *Salle hist.*, No. 368 (*cf.* Brugsch: *Dict.*, V, p. 393). Louvre: *Pap.* 3326 (published by Brugsch: *Thesaurus*, p. 1079).


5. , Mariette: *Karnak*, 32 g. Pierret: *Rec.* II/24 c. *Ä.Z.*, 1883, p. 133. Pleyte-Rossi: *Pap. Turin*, I/3 (?).

6. , Lieblein: p. 608, 657. Berlin: *Palette* 3427. Schiaparelli: *Catal.*, p. 1570 (*cf. ib.*, p. 205).


7. , see the literature in Schiaparelli: *Catal.*, p. 197. I cite beside, Devéria: *Musée de Lyon, Stèle 88*. Mariette: *Catalogue d'Abydos*, p. 408.

**Amenophis III.**

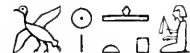
8. , Inscr. in the hieratic character, 29<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>.

9. , *L.D.*, III, p. 114 h. **Ay (?)**.


**II.—XIXth Dynasty.**


10. , his tomb at Thebes (Champollion: *Notices*, p. 520-525, 846-847. Dümichen: *H. I.*, II/41. Champ.: *Mon.* II/ pl. 170, 1. L.: *D.*, III, 132 n-r). Leemans: *Monum. v. Leyden*, II/44. Statue Wilbour.\* *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1886, p. 230. *Catalogue, Alnwick Castle*, p. 72. Pierret: *Rec.*, II 85, and a number of antiquities with his name in the Museum of Berlin and the Louvre.

**Sety I—Rameses II.**

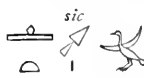
11. , † Mariette: *Abydos*, II/41. Mariette: *Catalogue d'Abydos*, p. 1160 (dated of the 42nd year). Louvre: *A* 66 (Pierret, *Rec.*, 1/5). ‡

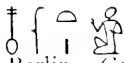
**Rameses II.**


12. , Champollion: *Notices*, p. 647. Brugsch: *Rec.*, I, 83/2. Brugsch: *Thesaurus*, p. 1128.\*

\* Found near Tell el-Robb. I do not know the reason for a distinction between a  of the reign of Sety I—Rameses II and that of Amenophis III-IV. According to my opinion the two supposed viziers are identical.


† This vizier is not to be confounded with the below named *Kc-hr* without the article.


‡ In the curious orthography  based apparently on a faulty transcription of the hieratic text.

13. , Sharpe : *Inscr.*, I/103. Lieblein : *Dict.*, p. 886, 1068. Berlin : *Catal.*, p. 220, 2290 (286). *Rec.*, X/131.


14. , *L.D.* III, 200, c. Brugsch : *Rec.*, I, 74/5 a.† Champollion : *Notices*, p. 648 ; cf. 259.‡

**Mr-n-ptḥ.**

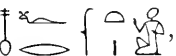
15. , *Pap. Bologna* 1086, II/2.

16. , *Pap. Salt*, 2/17. Mariette : *Karnak*, 46/12. **Sety II.**


*XXth Dynasty.*

17. , Champollion : *Notices*, p. 271 (= Brugsch : *Thesaurus*, p. 1129). Ostracon Caillaud : (published by Chabas : *Voyage*). *Pap. Turin*, 44/18. Ostracon : *Louvre*, p. 696 (published by Maspero). *Mission* : III/183. § *Recueil*, XV, p. 68.


**Rameses III.**

18. , Brugsch : *Thesaurus*, p. 1456. *Pap. Turin*, 49/3, 58/12. ||

**Rameses IV.**

19. , *Pap. Abbott*, 4/15, 8/A. 20. *Pap. Mayer* (Liverpool) A, 1/6.

**Rameses IX.**

20. , *Pap. Abbott* (*passim*). *Pap. Turin*, 83'A, 3, 90/1. *Pap. Turin* (ed. Chabas-Lieblein), 3/7 (*sic*).

**Rameses IX-Rameses X.**

21. , *Rec.*, XIII/173. *Pap. Turin*, 61/I, 6.

**Rameses X.**

\* Four inscriptions dated of the year 44 + x (*i.e.*, 44, 45, or 46) of the reign of Rameses II.


† Dated .


‡ From the last passage it follows that the vizier yet officiated under the reign of Sety II.



§ See *Recueil* XV, p. 68.

|| See *A. Z.*, 91/83.

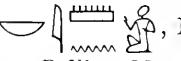
ALPHABETICAL LIST OF THE UNDATED VIZIERS.


22. , *L.D.*, III, 72 (= Brugsch: *Thesaurus*, p. 1216 *gg*)  
*A.Z.*, 1883, p. 131.

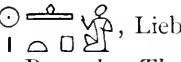
23. , Son of a Governor. Mariette: *Karnak*, 46/11. Mariette: *Abydos*, p. 439 (*Rec.*, IV/105). Petrie: *Season*, XXII/60. Wiedemann: *Grabkegel*, 6.


24. , *Pap. Brit. Museum* 10054, 1'3, his tomb is mentioned. Accordingly to his title  he is to be counted amongst the *New Empire*.


25. , *Pap. Salt*, 13.

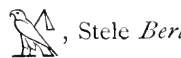
26. , Mariette: *Abydos*, II/56 (= de Rougé, *I.H.*, 47). *Pap. Rollin*, 1882, 2/4, 2.

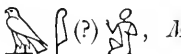
27. , *Ä. Z.*, 1883, p. 27. Mariette: *M. D.*, 70/21.


28. , Lieblein: p. 997. Mariette: *Catalogue d'Abydos*, p. 1138. Brugsch: *Thesaurus*, p. 950.

29. , Petrie: *Season*, XXII/62. Prisse: *Mon.*, pl. 27.

30. , Pierret: *Rec. d'Inscr.*, II/58. *Rec.*, XII, p. 18 (= Lieblein p. 975). Perhaps are identical with him.

a. , *Stele Berlin* 8169 (published in Brugsch: *Thesaurus*, p. 811).

b. , *Mémoires de la Mission*, III, 185.\*

\* Over the hieratic signs, which may be easily read , is written the above hieroglyphic group.



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